



способствуют сокращению латентных преступлений, раскрытию и выявлению преступников.

Список использованной литературы:

1. Фрис П.Л. Уголовно-правовая политика Украинского государства : теоретические, исторические и правовые проблемы [Текст] / П. Л. Фрис. – К. : Атика, 2005. – 332 с.
2. Беккариа Ч. О преступлениях и наказаниях // О свободе. Аналогия западноевропейской классической мысли / Отв. ред. М.А. Абрамов. – М., 1995. – 483 с.
3. Селиванов В., Диденко Н. Правовая природа регулирования общественных отношений [Текст] / В. Селиванов., Н. Дидеренко // Право Украины. – 2000. – № 10. – С. 16.
4. Грищук В.К. Проблемы современной уголовной политики Украины [Текст] / В.К. Грищук // Республиканец. – 1993. – № 16. – С. 53–58.
5. Миньковский Г., Мирзажанов К. Проблемы охраны правопорядка и борьбы с правонарушениями [Текст] / М. Миньковский, К. Мирзажанов. – К. – Ташкент: Узбекистан, 1984. – 175 с.
6. Коробеев А. И. Советская уголовно-правовая политика: проблемы криминализации и пенализации: [монография] [Текст] / А. И. Коробеев. – Владивосток : Изд-во Дальневосточ. ун-та, 1987. – 267 с.
7. Грек Б. Декриминализация деяний как один из видов гуманизации уголовной ответственности: сущность и основания [Текст] / Б. Грек // Юридическая Украина. – 2012. – № 8. – С. 90–95.
8. Грищук В.К. Понятие криминализации [Текст] / В. К. Грищук // Весник Львовского ун-та. Серия юридическая. – Вып. 31. – Львов, 1994. – С. 76–80.
9. Митрофанов А. А. Основные направления уголовно-правовой политики в Украине : автореф. дис. ... на соискание наук. степени канд. юрид. наук : спец. 12.00.08 «Уголовное право и криминология; уголовно-исполнительное право» [Текст] / А. А. Митрофанов. – К., 2005. – 22 с.
10. Сташис В. Роль та значения наказания в системе предупреждения преступности [Текст] / В. Сташис // Право Украины. – 2011. – № 9. – С. 167–173.

ORGANIZATION OF REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEES IN POLTAVA PROVINCE (DECEMBER 1919 – FEBRUARY 1920)

Vasyl STRILETS,

DLitt in History, Professor

Poltava Law Institute, Yaroslav Mudryi National Law University

Summary

The article deals with setting up Soviet power in Poltava province in late 1919 – early 1920 in the form of its extraordinary bodies: provincial, county, district and village revolutionary committees. The organization of revolutionary committees took place mainly on the basis of a legal act of the Soviet Russia with the use of military power. It is shown that the organization of district and village revolutionary committees was conducted mainly by provincial and county revolutionary committees in the form of elections. Much of the rural population of the province was actively involved in the process of organizing local revolutionary committees, but its results in social and political terms did not satisfy the provincial and county revolutionary committees. Therefore, local revolutionary committees were re-elected in order to make their staff consistent with the principle of Soviet regime as a dictatorship of proletariat and poorest peasantry.

Key words: Poltava province, Soviet power, revolutionary committees.

Аннотация

В статье рассматривается установление на рубеже 1919–1920 гг. в Полтавской губернии советской власти в форме ее чрезвычайных органов – губернского, уездных, волостных и сельских революционных комитетов. Организация ревкомов состоялась в основном на базе нормативно-правового акта Советской России с использованием военной власти. Показано, что организация волостных и сельских ревкомов проводилась в основном губернским и уездными ревкомом в форме выборов. Значительная часть сельского населения губернии достаточно активно включилась в процесс организации местных ревкомов, но его результаты в социально-политическом отношении не удовлетворили губернский и уездные ревкомы. Поэтому местные ревкомы реорганизовывались в форме переизбрания, с тем, чтобы их состав соответствовал принципу советской власти как диктатуры пролетариата и беднейшего крестьянства.

Ключевые слова: Полтавская губерния, советская власть, революционные комитеты.

Formulation of the problem.

The problem of setting up Soviet power in Ukraine requires an unbiased research as the issues of formal and actual status of the Ukrainian Soviet statehood, Soviet Russia's and the Bolshevik Party's influence on its development have not become purely academic scientific problem, significantly influencing the political process in modern Ukraine. National Soviet law and history scholars repeatedly turned to the subject [1]. However, despite significant accumulation of factual material, for obvious reasons they could not avoid the mandatory set of ideological cliches answering a range of important questions. In turn, modern historiography has shown no significant interest in the problems of the Soviet state-building, which reinforces the relevance of the proposed research.

The aim of the paper is to investigate the regulatory framework and the actual

process of the provincial, county, district and village committees as extraordinary revolutionary Soviet authorities in Poltava province in late 1919 – early 1920.

Basic material. The experience of revolutionary events of 1917–1919 persuaded the Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) (RCP (b) in the effectiveness of revolutionary committees for strengthening Soviet power, especially in the national areas of the former Russian Empire, where the level of public support was much lower than in Grea Russia. However, by the end of 1919 it had become necessary to generalize the previous experience of creating revolutionary committees, their activities and to determine their legal status. Therefore, on October 24, 1919 the Russian Central Executive Committee (RCEC) and Soviet Russia Defence Council adopted «on revolutionary committees», which defined the legal



status and approaches to organizing these extraordinary Soviet authorities. The Regulations identified three types of revolutionary committees: revolutionary committees of liberated territories, front-zones revolutionary committees and rear area revolutionary committees. The purpose of all of them was «stunch defense against the enemy and maintaining revolutionary order». The revolutionary committees of liberated territories and front-zone revolutionary committees were defined as bodies of military and civil authorities. The former had to be established on the liberated territories by the Military Revolutionary Council involving local Soviet authorities (i.e. any previous Soviet governments) consisting of 3 to 5 members [2, p. 430]. Although in purely formal legal terms, these Regulations were to be applied only in the RSFSR, Ukrainian republican and local Party and Soviet bodies as well as front-line and army institutions used it as a basis for developing a number of instructions, regulations and other acts which more specifically defined legal status, objectives, structure and function of revolutionary committees. Thus, «Instruction for revolutionary committees organized in the sphere of influence of the Southern Front», adopted by the Front's Military Revolutionary Council on November 18, 1919 (the territory of Poltava province was within this very zone in late 1919), determined the procedure of organizing revolutionary committees in the Southern Front area. According to the Instruction revolutionary committees in cities and at central railway station could only be formed by the Front Military Revolutionary Council, and in towns – by the Army Military Revolutionary Council under the control of the Front Military Revolutionary Council. Thus, this Instruction determined the procedure of organizing revolutionary committees only at the provincial and county levels, as the district centers were located not in cities but in small towns and large villages. The instruction stated that the revolutionary committees didn't have the right, «except for the apparent betrayal» to suspend the orders of military institutions [3]. The latter provision became a kind of «legal» basis used by military authorities for numerous reorganizations of revolutionary

committees formed both by them and other authorities.

However, the local Bolsheviks used another document on Soviet power reconstruction in Ukraine. At the end of 1918 on the basis of the Decree of the Provisional Workers' and Peasants' Government of Ukraine «Organization of local authorities» there were developed «Temporary Regulations on the organization of workers' and peasants' local government», which stated that small mobile Revolutionary Military Committees (in villages – committees of the poor) should be immediately organized on the liberated territories. Those revolutionary committees were to be supervised by county Revolutionary Military Committees, the latter – by the provincial ones [4, p. 6–7].

On December 13, 1919, three days after the Red regular troops' entry into Poltava a joint party meeting decided to create a provincial revolutionary committee consisting of a chairman and 6 members [5]. On December 14, 1919, a leaflet announcing the provincial revolutionary committee formation was released in Poltava [5, file 8, fol. 13]. However, the Southern Front Revolutionary Military Council ignored the provincial revolutionary committee formed by grassroots initiative and presumably on the basis of the above mentioned Temporary Regulations of the Ukrainian government and guided by «Instruction for revolutionary committees organized in the sphere of influence of the Southern Front», exercised their right to form a provincial Revolutionary Committee. Obviously, for military authorities the back up reason for reorganizing provincial revolutionary committee was its politically unreliable staff including two representatives of non-Bolshevik party. According to the documents back on December 8, 1919 (probably antedate) the Front Revolutionary Military Council adopted decree number 3265, under which, from the date of its publication (i.e. December 18) revolutionary committee consisting of chairman Drobniś (former chairman of the Poltava province executive committee) and members Butsenko and Kotsyubynskyi entered upon their duties on managing the province [5, file 8, fol. 1 – 1 v]. Adopting the decree on December 8 the military authorities probably tried

to sideline the Ukrainian Revolutionary Committee, established on December 11, 1919 by the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee and the Ukrainian Council of People's Commissars, from the process of forming revolutionary committees in the province.

The actual process of forming district revolutionary committees by the military authorities in Poltava province to some extent discorded with the procedure specified by the regulatory acts of the Soviet Russia, because the above mentioned Temporary Regulations of the Ukrainian Soviet government were in force on the territory of Ukraine and revolutionary committees in urban areas (i.e. county revolutionary committees) were by no means always established by the Army Revolutionary Military Council. Military authorities did not consider the All-Ukrainian Revolutionary Committee, which was instructed to set up «stable peasants' and workers' power in the liberated Soviet Ukraine» by the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of Ukrainian [6, p. 2]. Military authorities did not regard the provincial revolutionary committee which on December 18 attempted to form county revolutionary committees by sending appropriate telephone messages to the county towns [5, file 14, fol. 224 v].

In the days following the expulsion of Denikin's troops some county revolutionary committees of the province were formed by local Bolsheviks' organizations apparently based on the «Temporary Regulations on the organization of workers' and peasants' local government», but the final decision on their staff was usually taken either by military authorities or by reorganized provincial revolutionary committee. For example, Kobelyaky County Revolutionary Committee consisting of 5 Bolsheviks was organized by a local committee of the Ukrainian Bolsheviks' Communist Party on December 6, 1919. After several unsuccessful re-elections of the Revolutionary Committee its staff was appointed to the provincial revolutionary committee on January 18, 1920 [5, file 145, fol. 12; file 158, fol. 245 v].

Most district revolutionary committees of the province were formed by military authorities. Thus, Khorol County Revolutionary Committee was organized in early December 1919



by the 535th regiment. On December 24 the Revolutionary Committee was reorganized by the executive staff of the 60th Division of the 12th Army, and soon reorganized again by the political commissar of this Division. [5, file 158, fol. 13] Lohvytsya County Revolutionary Committee consisting of 2 Bolsheviks and 1 Borotbyst was organized by the political commissar of the 60th Division [5, file 158, fol. 11 v].

Pryluky County Revolutionary Committee was organized by Tarashcha brigade commissar's order on December 3, 1919. On December 19 the Revolutionary Committee was reorganized by the 60th Division authorized representative's order [135, file 153, fol. 6, 34]. Subsequently, a member of the Revolutionary Committee was replaced by the 12th Army Political administration [5, file 153, fol. 236 v]. Konstantynohrad County Revolutionary Committee consisting of a chairman, 2 members and 2 alternate members was appointed on December 28, 1919 by the 41st Division Political Department's order, signed by the head of the Division Political Department and the authorized representative of the Commission for Soviet power restoration under the 14th Army Military Revolutionary Council. The order was based, as stated in the document, on the above mentioned Provisions of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Defence Council of the RCFRR (in the order wrongly named the Decree of the Council of People's Commissars) on October 24, 1919 [7, p. 166–167].

Pyryatyn County Revolutionary Committee was organized on December 7, 1919 by the Tarashcha regiment political commissar [5, file 142, fol. 134]. But on December 23 it was reorganized by the authorized representative of the 60th Division 12th Army Political Department on the basis of number 1206 mandate of December 12 [5, file 142, fol. 81].

Such repeated reorganizations of already formed revolutionary committees outraged the provincial revolutionary committee members even those dependent on the military authorities. On January 12, 1920 its chairman had to send a telegram of protest against the practice of reorganizing the revolutionary committees and interference in their affairs to the political commissar of the 60th Division and the Military Revolutionary Council of

the 12th Army. «I consider unacceptable the whim of revolutionary committee's daily shift. I demand non-interference in the affairs of the Revolutionary Committee», – was noted in the telegram [5, file 24, fol. 134]. Military authorities' reorganizing revolutionary committees as a factor affecting their activity was indicated in the report of the information and instructional subdivision of the Administration Department of the Poltava province Revolutionary Committee on January 20, 1920 [5, file 158, fol. 42 v].

The process of organizing local (district and village) revolutionary committees in the province was specific. Military authorities did not affect their formation directly. Appropriate regulations of the All-Ukrainian Revolutionary Committee founded on December 11, 1919 did not influence significantly the procedure and process of forming local revolutionary committees in the province. As the All-Ukrainian Revolutionary Committee didn't have a real impact on the formation of Poltava province and county revolutionary committees, the latter, in fact, ignored its «Temporary Regulations on the organization of Soviet power in Ukraine» dated 22 December 1919, under which local revolutionary committees were to be appointed by superior revolutionary committees [8, p. 26], especially since the process of forming local revolutionary committees through their election had already begun and covered a large area of Poltava province. In practice, the organization of local revolutionary committees in the late 1919 – early 1920 implemented the idea of electing district and village revolutionary committees. So the Soviet authorities of provincial and county level in a certain way tried to legitimize themselves as their position in the rural areas was quite shaky and uncertain.

On December 18, 1919 the first staff of the Poltava Province Revolutionary Committee sent a telephoned message to county revolutionary committees demanding to organize revolutionary committees in the districts of the county, though no additional instructions on the rules of their organization were sent [5, file 8, fol. 13]. The instructions on organizing district and rural revolutionary committees were sent to the regions Poltava province Revolutionary Committee only in the period from January

20 to February 10, 1920 (the exact date could not be determined), that is, when, according to documents most respective revolutionary committees in the counties of the province had been organized [5, file 158, fol. 66]. Obviously, the provincial Revolutionary Committee issued the instructions only after the NKVD of the RSFSR had developed «Regulations on village revolutionary committees», which complemented «Regulations on revolutionary committees», adopted on October 24, 1919 by the Central Executive Committee and the Defense Council of the Soviet Russia. «Regulations on village revolutionary committees» were developed in early 1920 and came to the regions only at the beginning of February [9, p. 33–34]. Therefore, local government formation was initiated by county revolutionary committees established in late 1919 – early 1920. Realizing the idea of organizing local revolutionary committees, they met the aspirations to spontaneous self-organization of the peasantry exhausted by constant changes of power.

In some provinces the formation of local government was initiated from below and in very different ways. Thus, in December 1919 in Khorol county where the attitude to power was generally sympathetic, farmers often on their own initiative organized village and district revolutionary committees, guided by the instructions that had survived from the previous period of the Soviet regime (probably instructions on local councils election) [5, file 158, fol. 5 v].

Organizing the elections of district and village revolutionary committees, county revolutionary committees were guided by the idea of Soviet power as the dictatorship of the proletariat and the poor peasantry, but at first they were not always able to implement this principle in practice since it entered into conflict with real public sentiments, especially in rural areas, and the very idea of elections that peasants associated with the the idea of universal suffrage enshrined in their minds in previous periods of the revolution.

In general, the staff of elected local revolutionary committees in Poltava province turned out to be unreliable, and even hostile to the new government. Therefore, if the revolutionary committee staff, elected by peasants, did not satisfy Bolsheviks' government, provincial



and county revolutionary committees organized their re-elections. The reorganization of local revolutionary committees by re-elections was influenced by issued on January 22, 1920 Instruction «For all provincial and county revolutionary committees» which clearly stated that in the overall structure of the Soviet regime district and village revolutionary committees were organizations of urban and rural poor people [5, file 6, fol. 59]. Re-elections of local revolutionary committees in different scale took place in all counties of the province. Thus, according to the report of the Administrative Department of the county revolutionary committee of 18 February 1920, in Lubny county, the district and village revolutionary committees «which appeared not up to their situation» were re-elected [5, file 150, fol. 29]. In connection with electing well off peasants to all local revolutionary committees of Lohvytsya county, they were re-elected under the supervision of the Administrative Department of the county revolutionary committee [5, file 158, fol. 101 v]. In Luchansk district parish of this county the staff of village revolutionary committees was re-elected several times [10, file 3, fol. 38].

Respectively, as defined by the provincial revolutionary committee, inspections of local revolutionary committees aimed at cleaning from well off peasants were held in all districts of Zinkiv county [5, file 158, fol. 103 v]. Complete or partial reorganization (re-election) of district revolutionary committees was conducted in 10 districts of Kremenchug county because of district revolutionary committee members' «political unreliability, disability and power abuse» [305, file 158, fol. 233 v]. But even after the re-composition the revolutionary committee staff of some counties did not fully meet the requirements of provincial and county governments. Thus, the fifth county Soviets' congress of Workers, Peasants and Red Army Deputies in Lubny county on April 14, 1920 under the influence of the county revolutionary committee by a majority vote took rather eloquent resolution stating a complete lack of support to the county revolutionary committee from the district and village revolutionary committees, as they comprised «mostly well off peasants and

elements hostile to the Soviet regime» [5, file 150, fol. 255 v].

So another establishment of Soviet power in Poltava province in the form of its extraordinary bodies – revolutionary committees was mainly based on the legal act of Soviet Russia («Regulations on the revolutionary committees» adopted by the Central Executive Committee and Defense Council of the RSFSR on October 24, 1919) using military authorities. State governing bodies of the officially independent Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee, the Council of People's Commissars and the All-Ukrainian Revolutionary Committee) played a subordinated role in the process. Military authorities slightly considered local committees of the Ukraine's Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) – the party that was actually a regional organization of VKP (b), though under pressure had to pursue to some extent independent policy in Ukraine. However, in Poltava province, it managed to form and defend entirely only some district revolutionary committees' staff.

Conclusions. The organization of district and village revolutionary committees in Poltava province was conducted mainly by province and county revolutionary committees in the form of elections. Tired by constant changes of government, reaction Denikin's policy significant part of the rural population was actively involved in the process of organizing local revolutionary committees, but its results in social and political terms did not satisfy the provincial and county revolutionary committees. Therefore, local revolutionary committees were reorganized in the form of re-election in order to be consistent with the principle of the Soviet regime as a dictatorship of the proletariat and the poor peasantry.

List of reference:

1. Потарикіна Л.Л. Ревкоми України в 1918–1920 рр. / Л. Л. Потарикіна.– К.: Видавництво Академії наук УРСР, 1957. – 156 с.; Литвинова Г.И. Революционные комитеты в годы Гражданской войны / Г. И. Литвинова. – М.: Юридическая литература, 1974. – 152 с.; Бугай Н.Ф. Чрезвычайные органы Советской власти: ревкомы 1918 – 1921 гг. / Н. Ф. Бугай. – М.: Наука, 1990. – 320 с.

2. Декреты Советской власти. – Т. VI. – 1 авг. – 9 дек. 1919 г. – М.: Политиздат, 1973. – 584 с.

3. Власть Советов. – Полтава, 1919. – 14 декаб. – С. 2.

4. Собрание узаконений и распоряжений робоче-крестьянского правительства Украины. – 2-е издание. – 1919. – № 1. – (1 – 30 июня 1919 г.). – 16 с

5. State Archives of Poltava region. – Fund 1865. – Inventory 1.

6. Собрание узаконений и распоряжений Всеукраинского революционного комитета. – 1-е издание. – № 1. – (26 декабря 1919 г. – 10 февраля 1920 г.). – 19 с.

7. Трудящиеся Полтавщины в борьбе за установление и укрепление Советской власти (1917 – 1920 гг.): Сборник документов и материалов. – Полтава, 1957. – 245 с.

8. Радянське будівництво на Україні в роки громадянської війни (1919 – 1920): Збірник документів і матеріалів. – К., 1957. – 410 с.

9. Бугай Н.Ф. Чрезвычайные органы Советской власти: ревкомы 1918 – 1921 гг. / Н. Ф. Бугай. – М.: Наука, 1990. – 320 с.

10. State Archives of Poltava region. – Fund 3179. – Inventory 1.