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PARTICULARITIES OF FUNCTIONING OF CIVIL-MILITARY ADMINISTRATIONS ON THE TERRITORY OF UKRAINE DURING ITS BEING PART OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

Abstract. Purpose. Results. The relevance of the article is due to the fact that an important issue is the legal formalisation of the status of the Governor-General and, accordingly, of the Governorate-General as a civil-military administration. It is necessary to dwell on this comprehensively. For a long time, the Russian Empire lacked unifying norms that would regulate the activities of governorates-general and their heads, while the powers were determined for each specific governorate by separate regulations. The Russian imperial authorities' policy on the process of incorporating the Ukrainian Hetmanate into the administrative system of the Russian Empire should be noted. Despite the fact that the Hetman's Cossack statehood was granted autonomy and a unique status, the Russians gradually (it took them about 150 years) took steps to limit it. The process resulted in the extension of the administrative-territorial imperial system to Ukrainian lands, the elimination of all democratic institutions, and the entire population being absorbed into the feudal structure of the Russian social order. This happened without any significant armed resistance, etc. **Conclusions.** Ukrainian history experienced the functioning of military and civilian institutions already during the Ukrainian State of Pavlo Skoropadskyi. In general, this talented politician was able to build an effective and efficient administrative and territorial apparatus in a short time in extremely difficult conditions. It is concluded that in the Russian Empire, governorates-general performed a number of important tasks for the tsarist regime in terms of military control and the development and implementation of a new civil administration and administrative system in the newly annexed territories. In addition, due to the combination of military and civilian powers, governors-general pursued an active policy on unification and "harmonisation" (so to speak) of local regional specificities in various sectors of society to the general imperial standards. During the Ukrainian State, P. Skoropadskyi built a model of effective local authority, within a limited timeframe and budget, as well as in the context of domestic and foreign policy crises.

Key words: governor-general, empire, central authority, powers, administrative system.

1. Introduction

In the current realities faced by Ukraine, it will be especially valuable to study the experience of governorate-generals on the territory of Ukraine when it was part of the Russian Empire. The governor-general's administration in the empire was a civil-military administration, the head of which, i.e. the governor-general, received a huge amount of authority in the military and civilian sectors. Governorates-general as administrative-territorial units emerged after the abolition of the institution of viceroynalties (which performed identical functions) in 1796. The governor-general was appointed directly by the emperor. The insti-

tution of the Governorate-General was used in the nineteenth century in the ethno-national regions of the empire, where there were difficulties with the implementation of the all-Russian legislation on administrative and territorial governance. In Ukraine, there were Governorates of Malorossiiia, Kyiv, Novorossiiia, and Bessarabia. This form of administration was used to subjugate and russify the regions incorporated into Russian statehood. The main goal of the governorates was the gradual elimination and unification of the regional particularities that existed in the newly annexed lands (Shandra, 2004).

The scope of powers for each Governorate-General was unique, as it depended on

the specifics of the region where the Governorate-General was introduced, especially the nature of the accession (voluntary or as a result of aggression), the term the region had been part of the empire, the particularities of the pre-existing institutions of power, the legislative system, local self-government, etc. The governor-general was in charge of eliminating particularities and unifying legal and other norms in accordance with the general imperial legislation. He controlled the spread of the Russian language in all sectors of society and the administrative mechanism of the state. Since 1862, the governor-general automatically became the head of the military district. If the Governorate-General was abolished, it served as an indicator that the territory was fully assimilated and integrated, and that there was no longer any need for such a structure (Shandra, 2004).

2. The functioning of Governorates-General on the territory of Ukraine during the period of its being part of the Russian Empire

Initially, by tradition, all governors-general were military officers with the rank of general. Due to the fact that the Governorate-General was introduced in the newly annexed territories, the governor-general had to exercise control over the border as well as over the local armed forces. Thanks to his control over the police, he was able to exercise coercion during recruitment (in the Russian Empire, recruitment meant serving in the army for 25 years, given the average age at that time, as well as the level of sanitation, etc. in the Russian army, this actually meant that a person had to serve for life and most likely die in the army, which probably did not cause much excitement in the new territories, leading to resistance), tax collection. The governor-general was responsible for appointing officials and had the right to dismiss them. In addition, only through his review and approval the candidates were elected for provincial and district leaders of the nobility. In addition to supervising the feudal classes of society (after the incorporation of new territories, the feudal class system of the Russian Empire, which included serfdom, etc., was immediately introduced, which could also cause social tensions), the governor-general exercised supervisory functions over local courts. For example, the death penalty as a sentence was agreed with the governor-general. If the governor-general considered court decisions to be unreasonable, he could appeal against them, submit them to the Senate (the highest judicial authority in the empire), and even the most resonant decisions could be submitted to the emperor. V. Shandra argues regarding the status of governor-general:

"Enjoying the personal trust of the monarch, knowing the 'intentions of the supreme power', governors-general 'were a law unto themselves and ruled at their own discretion', coordinating the actions of the local administration. Therefore, the governors-general functioned as institutions of military and administrative-political supervision, which was due to the lack of basic separation of powers and clear boundaries between administrative and judicial functions. Dependent only on the emperor, the governors-general were treated as semi-sovereign monarchs..." (Shandra, 2005, p. 49).

For example, in the Governorate-General of Kyiv (operated from 1832 to 1914). In order to gradually integrate and russify the region, this authority was granted a special status. It included three provinces: Kyiv, Podillia, and Volyn. The official reason for the introduction of the Governorate-General was the Polish uprising of 1830. The emperor delegated some of his powers to the Governor-General, who, as already mentioned, was dismissed and appointed personally by the emperor. His powers were regulated by special laws, as well as by the "Instructions to governors-general" of 29 May 1853, and, of course, by special imperial orders. He was also partially subordinated to the Senate, the Committee of Ministers, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Military Ministry and the Ministry of Justice. The governor's corps and police institutions were subordinated to the governor-general. The Governorate-General chancellery with executive powers operated under him. The power of the governor-general was sole. He embodied the highest administrative power, the right of legislative initiative, and determined the extent to which the provisions of imperial legislation were applied in the territory of the Governorate-General. The Kyiv governor-general supervised the activities of all government agencies and officials. He appointed senior officials in provincial representative offices. He was even given foreign policy functions. In addition, military power in the region was concentrated in his hands, as he was the commander-in-chief of the Kyiv Military District. He also oversaw the implementation of the liberal reforms of the 1860s and 1870s in the region (Shandra, 2007).

According to V. Shandra, in general, the specifics of the activities of such civil-military administrations varied and went through several stages. Initially, the governor-general assessed the situation in the region and monitored the possibilities of relying on some representatives of local elites in his activities. Having completed the first task, the governor-general moved on to the second phase: he conducted a serious analysis of local regional

particularities and differences from other parts of the empire in the political, cultural and religious spheres, as well as in the economic sphere. After collecting the information, he would pass it on to the central authorities, and they would discuss it in order to mutually develop a plan for further action in the region. At the third stage, the aforementioned particularities were gradually eliminated due to the huge amount of powers granted, and, as mentioned above, the process of "russification" of the legal, political, cultural and economic spheres was underway. The main goal of such actions was to prevent even theoretically any separatist and centrifugal tendencies (Shandra, 2007, p.157).

It should be noted that, in accordance with the powers of the Governorate-General, there were several main fundamental trends in activities. Of course, the most important thing, as already noted, is the problem of overcoming separatist tendencies on the part of local elites who had previously participated in the management of their own statehood (by the way, the Russian imperial authorities were quite wise in dealing with representatives of the Cossack officers, granting them the privileges of noble status, which almost completely removed the motivation to resist). Moreover, the governor-general pursued a policy of appointing to certain positions persons who publicly demonstrated their loyalty to the empire, as well as if such persons adopted Russian culture, etc. Another area of the governor-general's activity was to take political, socio-cultural, and economic measures to integrate the local political elite (Shandra, 2007, p.158).

3. The powers of Governorates-General on the territory of Ukraine during the period of its being part of the Russian Empire

Social policy was an important area of ensuring stability in the newly annexed regions. The governor-general controlled the fiscal and financial activities of local state imperial institutions and self-government bodies. He also monitored the pricing of goods of strategic importance at the time, such as timber, bread, and land.) In addition, it was the governor-general who dealt with disaster relief, organised social assistance to the population in the event of epidemics and crop failures. In terms of social policy, he encouraged foreign and domestic migrants to resettle in the region under his jurisdiction and monitored the sanitary level (Shandra, 2007, p.159).

Another strategic orientation was personnel policy. As noted above, it was the governor-general who appointed some of the top officials in the provinces. However, he was also tasked with organising the employment conditions of local elites in such a way that they would actively

forget about "local interests" and think in terms of the general imperial one. Therefore, the staffing was based on the principle of "carrots and sticks". If representatives of the local elite showed demonstrative loyalty, they were promoted to civil service. In other cases, either the activities of local representatives were controlled, or disloyal individuals were completely deprived of the opportunity to hold a certain position.

The governor-general's educational and cultural activities were also an important area of focus. He initiated the introduction of the Russian language and culture into all sectors of life in the region. It was the governor-general who oversaw the opening of educational and cultural infrastructure institutions that became centres and sources of dissemination of Russian civilisational markers (Shandra, 2007, p.159).

The governor-general, of course, had an apparatus that assisted him in the exercise of his powers. He had a special chancellery under him. This office was granted the status of the highest supervisory and administrative regional state institution, which stood above the provincial authorities. Each governor-general, due to the uncertainty of the legislation and the particularities of the situation in the region, concentrated different amounts of power in his hands, and accordingly formed his chancellery. In addition to the officials of the chancellery, the governor-general had officials on special assignments as his assistants. These were representatives of the highest official hierarchy, and they were entrusted with the most difficult tasks by the leadership. Such officials were not constrained by any job description in their actions (Shandra, 1999, p. 104).

The entire bureaucracy was conditionally divided into managerial and clerical branches. The managers, in addition to officials on special assignments, included heads of departments and chancellors. All of them were in direct contact with the governor-general and were responsible for carrying out his instructions. Others prepared documents, kept archives, etc. (Shandra, 1999, p. 108).

An important issue is the legal formalisation of the status of the Governor-General and, accordingly, of the Governorate-General as a civil-military administration. It is necessary to dwell on this comprehensively. As noted above, for a long time the Russian Empire lacked unifying norms that would regulate the activities of governorates-general and their heads, while the powers were determined for each specific governorate by separate regulations.

On 13 October 1831, the Senate issued a decree "On the permission for governors-general to conclude contracts for up to 25 thou-

sand rubles". This document outlined the scope of the governor-general's powers. In terms of socio-economic issues, it was determined that the governor-general should lead the provincial government like the governors of the internal provinces. Subsequently, a "decree" was issued to governors in 1837, which stated that governors should coordinate their actions with governors-general on security issues (in case of detection of secret societies) and on the establishment of printing houses. In addition, the powers of governors-general specified that they: "...exercised control over fiscal and financial operations, and therefore approved zemstvo estimates and guaranteed the use of funds in the public interest; controlled the conclusion of contracts for ransom. The governor-general was responsible for approving court cases that were conducted by order of the emperor. Moreover, the governor-general had the final say in the verdicts of military courts. It was once again emphasised that the dignitary was appointed to this position by the emperor and was his confidant. By order of Nicholas I, it was the governors-general who were charged with approving the development of provincial and county towns" (Shandra, 2005, p. 55).

On 29 May 1853, the first legal regulation summarising the status of governors-general was issued, entitled "General instruction to governors-general" ("Общая инструкция генерал-губернаторам" in original). In the monograph "Governorates-General in Ukraine...", this instruction was characterised as follows: it "...became the first generalising regulatory document that consolidated their position, defined their official rights and duties. From now on, governors-general were subordinated to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The annual salary of the chief governor of the province was significantly increased to 15,000 rubles, and his convoy was increased to 25 people. The initiator and one of the authors of the instruction was the then Minister of Internal Affairs D.H. Bibikov (in 1852-1855). The Instruction legitimised the already established areas of activity of governors-general, gave them universality, and depersonalised the position as such. The governor-general remained the guardian of the inviolability of the supreme rights of the autocracy, and had to take care of the state's benefit, the common good. It confirmed his responsibility for internal security, healthcare and food supply, the judiciary, and the personnel of the local bureaucracy (distinguishing between state and elected positions) and granted him the right to eliminate anything that did not comply with the "intentions of the supreme power". The governor-general was outside the provincial administration,

had no advisory bodies, and was supported only by a small chancellery and officials on special assignments" (Shandra, 2005, p. 57).

These instructions should be analysed comprehensively. In the introduction, the first paragraph already indicated the person who appoints the governor-general. Regarding his status, paragraph 2 stated that he was the main guardian of the foundations of autocracy in the region, compliance with imperial laws and government orders. Paragraph 4 specified him as a local senior law enforcement and security official who was to constantly carry out audits of the authorities under his jurisdiction to ensure that laws were not violated. Paragraph 5 outlined in general terms the subjects of the governor-general's jurisdiction: internal security, public welfare and food issues, issues of the national economy, and the administration of justice (General instructions to the governors-general, 1853).

The first section was focused on the issues of security in the Governorate-General. According to paragraphs 6 and 7, he was to monitor the mood among the nobility as a pillar of the autocracy, whether their actions were in conflict with the foundations of imperial power. In addition, paragraph 8 requires him to monitor the situation of retired military personnel, their social security and financial situation. Moreover, it was supposed to control the ideas that were circulating among representatives of other segments of the population. If the unrest could not be dealt with by local officials on their own, he was to intervene. Clause 12 set out the tasks of assisting the population during emergencies (General instructions to the governors-general, 1853).

In addition, the legal regulation defined the procedure for the relationship between the head of the civil-military administration and purely civilian provincial administrations, other local authorities. According to paragraph 40 of Section III, all governors, as well as other institutions and officials that were part of the provincial government, had to comply with all legal requirements, proposals and instructions of the governor-general. In cases where during the audit of a region the governor-general encountered facts of unrest and so on that required his special orders, he had to inform the relevant provincial authorities of all such orders (General instructions to the governors-general, 1853).

The study of the experience of functioning of civil-military administrations in the form of governorates-general is important in terms of the tasks that were set for it, as well as the conditions and situation in the territories where it was introduced. This is because the reasons for the establishment of such civil-military administrations could be uprisings, incorporation of terri-

tories with a different ethnic composition or their unique cultural and political traditions, and mechanisms of state structure. We should not forget about the historical experience of governors-general in the tasks of spreading culture, education, and language in new territories. The Ukrainian authorities will eventually face the issue of restoring not only Ukrainian administrative institutions in the temporarily occupied territories, but also the problem of reintegrating the region into the Ukrainian cultural and linguistic space, etc.

The Russian imperial authorities' policy on the process of incorporating the Ukrainian Hetmanate into the administrative system of the Russian Empire should be underlined. Despite the fact that the Hetman's Cossack statehood was granted autonomy and a unique status, the Russians gradually (it took them about 150 years) took steps to limit it. The process resulted in the extension of the administrative-territorial imperial system to Ukrainian lands, the elimination of all democratic institutions, and the entire population being absorbed into the feudal structure of the Russian social order. This happened without any significant armed resistance, etc.

Ukrainian history experienced the functioning of military and civilian institutions already during the Ukrainian State of Pavlo Skoropadskyi. In general, this talented politician was able to build an effective and efficient administrative and territorial apparatus in a short time in extremely difficult conditions.

With regard to the civilian component of the administrative system, it should be noted that P. Skoropadskyi abolished the previously existing system of government under the Central Rada and introduced a system of division into provinces and counties. He introduced the institutions of provincial and county elders, who, in fact, had the same powers as the respective leaders of the Russian Empire. They represented the central executive branch in the regions and monitored the implementation of laws and government orders by local authorities. The commissioners organised the functioning of local police institutions (state guards) (Halaty, 2011, p. 329).

The civilian administrations were accompanied by military commandants. A. Sydorenko argues: "Order No. 159 of the Military Office of the Ukrainian State of 15 May 1918: 'The power of the Governorate and County Commandants is formed... to assist the civil authorities (provincial and county starostas) in cases of need to suppress anarchy and riots'" (Sydorenko, 2015, p. 146).

4. Conclusions

Therefore, in the Russian Empire, governorates-general performed a number

of important tasks for the tsarist regime in terms of military control and the development and implementation of a new civil administration and administrative system in the newly annexed territories. In addition, due to the combination of military and civilian powers, governors-general pursued an active policy on unification and "harmonisation" (so to speak) of local regional specificities in various sectors of society to the general imperial standards. During the Ukrainian State, P. Skoropadskyi built a model of effective local authority, within a limited timeframe and budget, as well as in the context of domestic and foreign policy crises.

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ОСОБЛИВОСТІ ФУНКЦІОНУВАННЯ ВІЙСЬКОВО-ЦИВІЛЬНИХ АДМІНІСТРАЦІЙ НА ТЕРИТОРІЇ УКРАЇНИ У ПЕРІОД ПЕРЕБУВАННЯ У СКЛАДІ РОСІЙСЬКОЇ ІМПЕРІЇ

Abstract. Результати. Актуальність статті полягає у тому, що важливим питанням є правове оформлення статусу генерал-губернатора та, відповідно, такої військово-цивільної адміністрації, як генерал-губернаторство. Необхідно на цьому зупинитися більш детально. Як уже було сказано, у Російській імперії тривалий час відчувався брак уніфікаторських норм, які б урегулювали діяльність генерал-губернаторств та їхніх голів, а повноваження визначалися під кожне конкретне генерал-губернаторство окремими актами. Необхідно зауважити на політику російської імперської влади щодо самого процесу інкорпорації Української гетьманської держави до адміністративної системи Російської імперії. Незважаючи на те що гетьманська козацька державність отримала автономію, унікальний статус, росіяни поступово (приблизно їм знадобилося 150 років) здійснювали кроки з її обмеження. Процес завершився тим, що на українські землі було поширено адміністративно-територіальну імперську систему, усі демократичні інститути ліквідувалися, а все населення влилося до феодальної структури російського суспільного устрою. Це відбулося без суттєвого збройного спротиву тощо. **Висновки.** Українська історія знає ще досвід функціонування військових та цивільних інстанцій за часів Української держави Павла Скоропадського. Загалом цей талановитий політичний діяч у короткі строки зміг вибудувати ефективний та дієвий адміністративно-територіальний апарат у надскладних умовах. Зроблено висновок, що в Російській імперії генерал-губернаторства виконували низку важливих для царату завдань із військового контролю та розбудови й упровадження нової цивільної адміністрації та адміністративного устрою на нових приєднаних територіях. Окрім того, завдяки поєднанню військових та цивільних повноважень генерал-губернатори проводили активну політику уніфікації та «гармонізації» (якщо можна так сказати) місцевих регіональних особливостей у різних сферах життя суспільства до загальноімперських стандартів. За часів Української держави П. Скоропадський вибудовував модель ефективної влади на місцях в умовах обмежених хронологічних рамок та бюджету, а також кризових внутрішньо- і зовнішньополітичних явищ.

Ключові слова: генерал-губернатор, імперія, центральна влада, повноваження, адміністративна система.

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