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SOCIO-HUMANITARIAN DEVELOPMENT OF UKRAINIAN SOCIETY IN THE EPOCH OF MODERNITY AND CURRENT POSTMODERN

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**Bielkin I., Bogatchuk S., Levchuk K., Makarov Z., Shvets L.,
Mangora V., Mazylo I.**

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SOCIETY IN THE EPOCH OF MODERNITY AND CURRENT
POSTMODERN TRANSFORMATIONS**

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Author's:

Bielkin I., Bogatchuk S., Levchuk K., Makarov Z., Shvets L.,
Mangora V., Mazylo I.

Editor:

Konstantin Levchuk, doctor of historical sciences, professor, head of the department of history of Ukraine and philosophy. Vinnytsia National Agrarian University, Vinnytsia, Ukraine.

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The collection of scientific articles published is the scientific and practical publication, which contains scientific articles of students, graduate students, Candidates and Doctors of Sciences, research workers and practitioners from Europe and Ukraine. The articles contain the study, reflecting the processes and changes in the structure of modern science.

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ANNOTATION

The collective monograph is devoted to the study of current problems of socio-economic development of modern Ukrainian society. The study uses an interdisciplinary approach that allows you to analyze different aspects of society, which increases its importance.

Historical research begins with the study of socio-economic transformations in the second half of the nineteenth century. In particular, an analysis of the socio-economic development of Ukrainian lands after the agrarian reform of 1861, considered the social situation of the peasantry after the abolition of serfdom, analyzed the development of the railway industry and its impact on economic reforms.

Resistance to Russian aggression and the issue of post-war reconstruction are relevant for Ukraine today. The study of the historical experience of Ukraine's participation in World War II requires further work of researchers. It is with Ukraine, and even more broadly, that the decisive events on the entire Soviet-German front are connected with the entire southern direction as its geographical extension. The fate of the whole war was decided on the Ukrainian and in general the southern part of the Soviet-German front.

The phenomenon of the volunteer movement, which today allows us to solve a number of pressing problems of Ukrainian society, originated in Soviet times under the influence of Gorbachev's policy of "perestroika". The monograph pays considerable attention to such a large-scale social phenomenon as the emergence and development of amateur informal organizations outside the state influence in 1987-1989. Researchers conclude that the democratization of Ukrainian society marked the beginning of the struggle for Ukraine's independence.

Studies of socio-humanitarian problems remain relevant for the modern socio-economic development of Ukraine. Today, in conditions of fierce competition, which requires constant updating of technologies, accelerated development of innovations, rapid adaptation to the demands and requirements of consumers of socio-cultural services, the question of increasing the competitiveness of managers is acute. Training of future managers of marketing communications consists in development of effective models of management, approbation of new projects of activity of the organization. Therefore, the most effective method of learning is a business game.

In almost any business game, a real professional situation is simulated, which requires a managerial decision. In addition, business games have such components that fundamentally distinguish them from all other technologies, primarily in that they have an operational scenario or block structure, which is embedded algorithm "correct" and "incorrect" decision, ie the participant in the game sees the result of his decisions on future events.

The text of the collective monograph focuses on such a topical phenomenon as the philosophical view of nature in retrospect of the current environmental crisis. The current international level of measures to harmonize economic expansion into nature and the principles of ecological balance reveals the need for an appropriate worldview scale of rethinking the relationship between man and nature, beginning with the recognition of their mutual influence and ending with reformulation of fundamental definitions. From this point of view, they appear to be relatively long-lasting and reproducible connections over a certain historical period, in which objective reality is a prerequisite for the existence and spiritual development of mankind not only as an external environment but also as a potential for internal possibilities.

Today in most countries of the world the issue of observance and protection of human and civil rights is very acute. The institute of human rights protection began to

develop especially actively at the beginning of the XXI century, when most countries set a course for democratization and development of civil society. In this regard, there are many regulations at the international level that enshrine human rights and the protection of human rights. Of particular importance in the context of the protection of human rights is the constitutional right to protection. The realization of a person's right to protection can be carried out through various political and legal mechanisms.

The content of the monograph corresponds to the direction of research work of the Department of History of Ukraine and Philosophy of Vinnytsia National Agrarian University "Study of trends in socio-economic development and consolidation of Ukrainian society in modern history of Ukraine." The methods of historical research, statistical analysis, sociological and pedagogical approaches were used in the work.

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1. The use of business games in preparing a future manager in higher education institutions as a scientific problem

1.1 Training of a manager in higher education institutions of Ukraine and other countries

Today, in conditions of fierce competition, which requires constant updating of technologies, accelerated development of innovations, rapid adaptation to the demands and requirements of consumers of socio-cultural services, the question of increasing the competitiveness of managers is acute. Professor A.P. Panfilova rightly notes: "In the age of global information, modern management requires working leaders and specialists in innovative technologies of interaction, participatory style, corporate organizational culture and productive models of partnership, which undoubtedly requires educational institutions in the near future. advanced training that provides such training. This can be done only with the widespread use of intensive technologies, the effectiveness of which is predictable "[1, p. 159].

Europe entered an era of global transformation of national education systems after the signing of the Sorbonne Joint Declaration (1998). The decision to participate in the voluntary process of creating the European Higher Education Area was made a year later in Bologna, by representatives of 29 countries (Bologna Declaration, 1999). The most important conditions for the formation of a new world society are the creation of a fundamentally new system of higher education and the transition to an economy based on the productive use of innovative knowledge. According to O.G. Belarus, today in Ukraine and around the world there is a transition of globalization "... from finance and economics... to social, humanitarian and political..." [2, p. 69].

Currently, one of the acute problems of the education system, which goes far beyond it, is the lack of compliance of the training structure of the education system with the current and future employment structure. The system of vocational and higher

education, the system of adult education should train not those specialists whom it can train, but those who are really needed today and will be needed tomorrow in the national economy.

In the context of globalization, Ukraine is in the force field of trends related to the transition of humanity to a new phase of civilizational development, which is defined not only as an information society, but increasingly - as a knowledge society. Aiming to enter the circle of the most developed countries in the world, Ukrainian society must become a society that is constantly learning, dynamically accumulating and effectively using new knowledge. The prospect of building a knowledge society in Ukraine requires a deep reform of the educational sphere, which should be carried out on the basis of a reasonable combination of best foreign experience with national traditions [3, p. 70].

The National Strategy for the Development of Education in Ukraine for the period up to 2021 states that one of the strategic directions of state policy in the field of education should be the development of scientific and innovative activities in education, improving the quality of education on an innovative basis.

It is worth noting that the professional training of modern competitive managers must take into account changes in the paradigm of social development. We are talking about changes in industrial society with a new economic system - the knowledge economy. The knowledge economy reveals the new role and place of man in modern society, the impact of information - as the main productive force - and the subject of production on the development of the economic system.

Modern educational institutions are required to introduce new approaches to learning that ensure the development of communicative, creative and professional competencies, needs in self-education based on the potential diversity of the composition and organization of the educational process.

In view of the above, the task of training personnel of the new formation in the field of management becomes especially important.

Manager - (from the English. Manager - manager) - is a manager, a specialist in production management and sales of goods, who works for hire. Managers organize work at the firm, manage the production activities of groups of employees of the firm.

The manager is an official of the firm in which he works and is part of the middle and senior management of firms.

The Marketing Communications Manager is a marketing specialist who is responsible for planning and implementing an integrated approach to marketing communications. Bringing to the target audience consistent strategic messages ("communication links"), which include the use of an agreed range of communication channels and the development (often in collaboration with external providers) of various promotional materials.

Therefore, as G.V. Osovska rightly defines: "A manager is a professional manager who works for hire and specializes in increasing profits.

That is, he is the head of the enterprise in a market economy "[4, p. 87].

The manager's workplace is the primary link of production, the area of employment of one or more (if the workplace is collective) performers, determined on the basis of labor and other applicable regulations and equipped with the necessary tools for employment [4, p. 88].

Managers are the basis of any management system. They have a special subject of work - information, and based on its analysis and transformation, they make decisions on all management functions. However, in relation to the evaluation of their work increasingly distinguish between work performed and performance, which is characterized by the achievement of goals of individuals and the whole organization as

subjects of management [5, p. 159]. Of course, the result of the work of managers in a particular organization is positive when it develops and prospers.

The work of Ukrainian scholars clearly shows the unity of views on the need to form their own, Ukrainian model of management, not to mechanically borrow the experience of foreign management, but to select from it those elements that can be effectively used in Ukraine in the current transition period and in the future.

An important factor in working with heads of state enterprises, institutions and organizations is the formation of personnel reserve, which is carried out annually in accordance with the Regulations approved by the Cabinet of Ministers of October 18, 1999 № 1912. Candidates for admission to the personnel reserve property and their associations, responsible employees of central and local executive bodies, as well as local governments. Selection of candidates for the positions of heads of enterprises is carried out by the personnel department together with the relevant departments and other structural units of the governing body by carefully studying the business, professional and personal qualities of candidates and comparing them with the requirements of the Handbook of Qualifications. Of Ukraine of December 29, 2004 № 336.

An analysis of the creation of curricula, programs and their content in the universities of Great Britain, in particular, in Oxford and Cambridge, suggests that the general trend of equipping students with the humanities knowledge system, not just special theoretical knowledge of management. In this country, it is believed that it is socio-humanitarian knowledge that forms a universal manager who is able to work effectively in various spheres of society and in production. Instead, technical and managerial skills are mostly acquired in practice in the process of performing functional duties.

The study of the experience of management education in British schools of management allows us to emphasize that they are based on plans and programs of in-service training, although for all other characteristics (in particular, a combination of management theory and practice, humanism, interdisciplinary links, etc.) that are similar to the American.

However, the American experience has shown that training programs on the "development of managers" for all their importance can only create or strengthen the basis for the performance of his duties in modern conditions. The gained experience of practical work cannot be replaced by anything, and therefore it is necessary to specially organize the acquisition of managers of various management skills. To do this, the so-called rotation of management staff is widely used, in which the candidate for promotion systematically moves from one division of the company to another: between technical, financial and others. functional services, between the company's divisions in different regions of the United States and abroad, as well as between different industries or branches of production at the firm. Rotation is seen as the main method of training managers - "generalists" who have a broad profile, overcoming the functional (purely engineering, economic, sales) limitations of their views on the problems facing the company.

Japan's success in the world market is increasingly attracting the attention of management professionals, especially the forms and methods of governance in this country. Interesting for our study is the fact that in Japan, managers usually do not have management education, while in the United States without a master's degree in business administration is difficult to realize themselves in the management system of any industry.

Japan is characterized by a synchronous type of manager. He is busy with many things at once: he perceives time as mobile, elastic and inseparable; easily distracted

from business; counts everything in a certain time (plans, agenda), throughout life establishes and periodically restores permanent ties, as a representative of a certain social group is responsible for using the achievements of the past in the present to guarantee better in the future, considers his friend time, solves conflicts by meeting multiple needs with a minimum of coordinated processes.

France, like most Western European countries (Italy, Spain, the Netherlands), adheres to a mixed model of training, which combines the traditional European system of training in higher education for managers with American. It is worth noting that the number of schools that have switched to this model in Europe is already several hundred.

In the new conditions, market competition pushes the leading countries to find unique management models, say L.V. Batchenko and L.V. Chorna [6, p. 67], which leaves its mark on the formation of the Ukrainian system of management education. In this regard, it is advisable to analyze the practice of training managers in the Free Economic Zone abroad and in our country. It is especially important to note that foreign experience is heterogeneous in nature. In different countries, due to a number of historical, economic and political conditions, three models of management training have been formed: Anglo-American, French and Japanese (Table 1.1).

The work of the manager includes the tasks that must be performed for the organization to achieve its goals, as the activities aimed at obtaining results, is a criterion for evaluating the manager, the main measure of his professionalism.

Table 1.1

Models of management training

Model	Content
Anglo-american	Management training is provided on the basis of business schools and management schools, which are in the vast majority of structural units of larger educational institutions (usually universities). The performance of this function is under the control of the state.
Japanese	Management training is provided exclusively on the basis of corporations and, as a rule, without separation from production. As part of university courses, students are taught only individual management courses, aimed more at the general intellectual development of the student than at training the relevant specialist.
French	Leading place in the system of management training is given to specialized educational institutions, the so-called higher commercial schools. The difference in this case is that such schools exist in the regional chambers of commerce and industry, which play a primary role in determining specialties and specialization, as well as in determining the directions of development of these schools.

In a market with increasing competition, it is not enough to develop a new, high-quality, competitive product, set an optimal price for it and choose efficient distribution channels. Such a component of the marketing complex as marketing communications is becoming increasingly important. Their system is aimed at informing, persuading, reminding consumers about the company's services, sales support, creating a positive image of the company, establishing close mutually beneficial partnerships between the

company and the public, and assessing the market situation through feedback to adapt the company's goals to the situation formed.

Marketing communications is a set of signals coming from the company to a variety of audiences: intermediaries, competitors, consumers, suppliers, shareholders, government agencies, its own staff. The main types of communication, which are called the complex of promotion, are advertising, personal selling, sales promotion and public relations (public relations) [7].

According to L. Vlodarska-Zola, professional training of future managers should take into account the realities of the information society, in particular - the need to implement new professional functions of the manager related to the operation of modern information. The need to introduce into the curriculum of professional training of subjects related to information management, the formation of the ability to use the Internet as a new technology in management practice, which gives the right to properly use and control information opportunities (Internet rules; creation of virtual organizations; methods of managing virtual organizations new forms of presentation based on electronic media).

It is hardly possible and not necessary for a domestic manager to have all the features of a top-ranking manager, which is described in the modern world literature on management. The manager must have a certain minimum of them. Modern Ukrainian practice does not yet allow to determine their exact minimum. Yes, quick decisions, unreasonable risks can lead to negative results in Ukrainian business, because there are no sufficient state guarantees, Ukrainian partners do not always fulfill their obligations. Therefore, caution and accurate calculation, for example in the process of choosing business partners, can be crucial in achieving success. The ability to work with both well-trained professionals and nonprofessionals can be considered important factors in the success of Ukrainian managers.

The process of training managers is considered by the world's leading companies as a strategic task. This is a multistage process that requires constant attention and support from the company's management and that ensures the change of generations, preservation of traditions and the introduction of new ideas in the management of the company, reducing the time to adapt to a new manager.

The term "executives" around the world includes managers ranging from deputy heads of companies to presidents of corporations. A top manager is definitely a leader. The fundamental difference between senior and middle managers is that there are always managers above the middle ones, and there are no managers above the top ones. The criterion for the level of a manager can be not only the position he holds, but also the degree of responsibility: the manager who is ultimately responsible for everything he does is higher, although he may occupy the second or even third position in the company. Senior are the managers of marketing, sales, human resources, chief lawyers of the company and more.

The main difference is that the top manager is a strategist and the middle manager is a practitioner. Here is a typical example. One of the world's leading companies in the field of telecommunications is looking for a marketing manager in Ukraine. The company has strong enough performers, but the task of the new manager will be to fully assess how ICT will develop in Ukraine in the next 10-15 years in order to develop an optimal strategy.

A midlevel manager is an expert in a specific field. The senior manager is able to perform all functions: financial management, law, marketing, public relations, production, etc. The work of a senior manager is weakly affected by national specifics, he is able to work in any country; the middle manager is, of course, local. The middle manager provides production. Higher - does not make any specific product. He must create the conditions for others to work better. The average manager is called to know

what and how to do, what is the quintessence of management. An ordinary manager can be talented, but this is not enough - he needs a lot of experience. The first works in a specific area of business. The other is as if above business. He makes contacts in all spheres, in business and political circles.

Senior executives have their own specific characteristics in different fields. Managers in the industry usually manage large teams, they need a lot of practice, the same applies to banks. Financial companies (especially in Ukraine) are often dominated by "fresh heads", the leaders there are usually young and mobile. Science-intensive industries require people like Bill Gates, it can be a person aged 30-35 years.

In other areas, "generality" often predominates.

There are several difficult questions related to the age of the manager: what is the age limit of managers in different types of professional activities, at what age should the manager leave the position or are there any age standards for the manager?

There is no unambiguous answer to these questions. For example, the average age of top managers of Japanese companies is 63.5 years, while American managers - 59 years. The average term of office of the president of a Japanese company is 8 years. Most Japanese managers of this rank have worked for the company for over 30 years.

Lee Yacocca writes in his book *Career Manager*: "If a 65-year-old can still work and do well, why should he resign?"

Not all owners are able to develop as fast as the market. New managers are needed here. Owners who are convinced that hired managers can successfully manage the company have a better chance of long-term success. However, in Ukrainian practice, they usually begin to search for similar leaders among acquaintances or acquaintances. Only after difficulties and mistakes, lost time, business owners create their own services to find staff, turn to consultants who are professionally engaged in the selection of senior management. Today, the Ukrainian market opens up many

opportunities for them and gives a faster return than the Western one. Therefore, it has become a characteristic trend that these specialists are already beginning to return. In addition, there are many foreign managers potentially ready to work in Ukraine. At least several thousand senior and middle foreign managers currently work in Kyiv alone. Among them are many people with Ukrainian roots. Such managers, with the experience of leadership in Ukraine, are of great value.

In all cases, a complex and expensive process of attracting high-class leaders is simply necessary. The more successfully it will develop, the faster the companies operating in our market will progress, the faster and more professionally the market itself will be formed [9, p. 312-314].

The main reason for the success of the Japanese economy lies in management methods. There are mainly two groups of methods used: "kanban" ("just in time") and "integrated quality management" ("zero defects"), according to which the work with staff is built, their education, selection and formation of the reserve.

Japanese management style is based on persuasion, not coercion. The boss does not distinguish himself from the mass of subordinates, his task is not to manage the work performed by others, but to promote the interaction of employees, provide them with the necessary support and assistance, to form harmonious relationships. Usually, Japanese companies do not have detailed job descriptions, and the provisions on structural units are general. An employee who is sent to work receives only a certificate of appointment, with the information that from a certain number he is appointed to a certain department for a certain tariff category, without specifying specific responsibilities, responsibilities or terms of work. Upon entering the unit, the employee masters the labor operations and features of interpersonal relationships in the team with the support of colleagues and the immediate supervisor. The organization of the workplace and production facilities in every way promotes teamwork.

Common criteria for recruitment in American companies are education, practical experience, psychological compatibility, ability to work in a team. Executives in the company are appointed.

In American firms, the dismissal of personnel, including managers, is always accompanied by a series of evaluative and educational techniques, except in extreme situations (theft, fraud, obvious disorder). Each employee is evaluated once or twice a year. The results of the evaluation are discussed by the employee and his boss, signed by them. They contain a list of shortcomings in the work and ways to eliminate them, as well as, if necessary, warnings of dismissal or the fact that further tenure depends on the improvement of work.

Compared to the American in Western European management, the manager is not so clearly distinguished in teamwork; An essential feature is the teamwork of the team led by a leader who is able to work within certain structural boundaries of the organization. European managers value innate leadership skills, "extraordinaryness" (the ability to see problems and solve them in a non standard way).

For example, in France and Belgium, it is illegal to use job vacancies in the press for the purpose of covert advertising of the company (the jobs offered may not actually exist). In addition, in France it is forbidden to indicate in the ads the maximum age of the candidate. Those who do not comply with this law may be subject to a small fine. The application form for employment in France in accordance with labor law must not contain questions about the candidate's membership in trade unions, his religion, political views or marital status.

In Italy, vacancy announcements must comply with the requirements of the State Statute, which prohibits the mention of political views of candidates for the place, their participation in trade unions, racial and religious views.

In Spain, the law guarantees jobseekers freedom from intrusion into their privacy. In addition, the Spanish Public Employment Service has the right to ban job advertisements in the press in order to exclude any possibility of discrimination on the grounds of sex, although this is extremely rare in practice.

As for the domestic experience in the field of personnel management, an important role in the Ukrainian management is played by the intuitive search for optimal solutions in the field of personnel management. And this approach is insufficient. Those who become most loyal to those who appoint them are often appointed to leadership positions. And many top managers who work in small and large enterprises, often play the role of crisis managers who save the company from complete collapse.

The widespread public interest in management is now closely linked to the emergence and development of business schools or management schools. Diversity in the content of business school programs creates a significant number of problems of choice for potential students. Usually these problems are exacerbated by the lack of reliable information about the quality of a training program. This issue is most acute for those who want to obtain the highest and universally recognized level of management qualification MBA (Master of Business Administration). It is now possible to obtain an MBA degree in any country in the world.

The system of education in business and management, as in most other specialties, is three-tiered in the United States. After graduating from high school, after studying for 4 years at a university or college, you can get a bachelor's degree. This is followed by a two year education in master's programs: "Master of Business Administration", "Master of Science in Management", "Master of International Management", etc.

The third step in teaching business and management is the PhD program. They provide 3-4 years of study with the obligatory defense of the dissertation and the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Those who receive it do not intend to become managers-practitioners, but will be engaged in research and teaching in this field, or the professional work of a planner, analyst at companies.

One of the indicators of the school's reliability is its participation in the AACSB - an international organization dealing with business education. In North America, the United Kingdom, and continental Europe, the Association of MBAs is accredited by the Association of MBAs (MBAs).

Currently, there are six business schools in Ukraine that offer education to citizens under these programs. The priorities of the latter are indisputable, but problematic in terms of recognizing the state "professionalism" of such training. To be introduced into the educational process, the program must be twice accredited: first, to pass the state accreditation process and be recognized by the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine;

The main purpose of state accreditation of any educational program is to ensure a minimum level of requirements for the quality of higher education and eliminate from the market those structures that do not meet these requirements. Indeed, there are currently a significant number of educational institutions in Ukraine that, through the provision of low-quality educational services, devalue the very idea of higher education. However, the content and scope of the MBA program from the beginning is focused on the selected group of consumers - mostly people with basic higher education or experience in management. This means that special disciplines will predominate among the disciplines, and they should be taught by practitioners who know how laws and principles actually work.

The next formal factor of accreditation is the social responsibility of the state for the training of specialists. From a social point of view, it is very difficult for business institutions working on these programs to compete with large public institutions that meet or have to meet the requirements of the current legal field. After all, the MBA program is quite flexible and constantly updated, and therefore advanced compared to current legislation on, for example, the organization and content of the educational process, its timing or focus on a particular specialization.

A possible solution to this contradiction is the creation of business education institutions under MBA programs at large educational centers - universities, which is rightly emphasized by a number of researchers. According to them, this will increase competition between different forms of education - public academic and commercial, which will improve its quality and, consequently, contribute to the development of the country. In addition, it will make it possible to create correspondences between the current national standards of education and its new content, which is embedded in the very concept of such programs. For example, O.V. Shcherbina offers three structural components of such a program: basic disciplines, normative and elective disciplines. The basic block is higher economic education, which includes mastering basic knowledge of macro- and microeconomics, management, accounting, etc. The normative one envisages managerial functional disciplines - financial, operational, marketing management, as well as strategic and anticrisis management, international business, competitiveness management, etc. The variable component may include both disciplines chosen by the educational institution and at the choice of the student.

Despite the fact that according to official statistics, the number of Japanese army managers is approaching three million, the severity of their shortage is not decreasing. Forms of training managers in Japan are:

- a) training in free educational institutions and special educational institutions;

b) internship in advanced training courses;

c) improvement of skills in the conditions of practical management of labor collectives.

The basics of management science are mastered, for example, in Tokyo, Osaka, Nagoya, Kyoto, Nagasaki universities, where there are various management courses. Students, acquiring a specific specialty, say, an economist, also study management. In addition to universities in Japan, there are specialized educational institutions for the training of managers. According to the Japanese Management Association, in the early 80's of last century their number reached two hundred, and some of them are subordinate to the state. About 40 scientific and methodological centers for the training of managers are organized at large banks, commercial and industrial firms.

At a particularly high level, the training of managers capable of managing people, the activities of organizations of various sizes is conducted at the Konoske Matsushita School of Public Administration. Its activities have been dubbed by foreign scholars "streaming production of managers of the XXI century."

In order to clarify the professional orientation of students, expand their worldview, ideological education at school, roundtable discussions are held, which invite leaders of political parties, presidents of large companies and banks, ministers, famous journalists, television commentators, newspaper editors and more.

Students are taught how to work with a book, how to handle catalogs, statistical reference books, etc. Computer technology, television systems, multimedia projectors, sound recordings, etc. are actively used in the educational process.

The main thing is to abandon the use of existing outdated management methods as soon as possible and start the transition to new management technologies in line with global and advanced domestic achievements in key areas (investment management and business planning, financial management, budget management,

leasing, logistics, inhouse planning, controlling and etc.), to move from the management of individual activities to the management of conceptually oriented programs.

The selection of academic disciplines should correspond to the basic ideas about the activities of the manager, which are the focus of the selection of applicants. In addition, it should contribute to the creation of a certain business and creative atmosphere, where, along with the improvement and acquisition of new knowledge, skills and abilities, the decision on the right life choice should be approved. The experience gained in the research process allowed us to identify the main components of this process. First, it is a clear clarification and even to the point of schematization (because the scheme always gives the right to present the process more clearly and holistically) about the main aspects of the profession. Secondly, the rational organization of subject areas and the implementation of links between subjects.

Thus, in order to implement both requirements, considering the purpose and essence of the basic training courses, we will determine their need for theoretical training of future managers of marketing communications.

According to the specified groups training of managers is conducted.

The first group includes a group of subjects that introduce the basics of economics: basics of market economy, introduction to micro and macroeconomics, basics of economic knowledge, basics of accounting and auditing, basics of business economics, international accounting and auditing system, basics of marketing, basics of management, basics of advertising.

The second group is to train future managers in the techniques of obtaining and using information. These include items such as personal computers and management documentation, shorthand.

The third group of subjects includes introduction to the specialty, production and non-production management, management of foreign economic activity of enterprises, administrative and environmental management, marketing, finance and credit.

The fourth group of items should help the manager to create his personal image. Therefore, it includes such subjects as the basics of public speaking, the basics of psychological knowledge, communication and etiquette, general physical training.

The fifth group of educational activities should form the so-called cultural layer of the manager. Therefore, among the subjects of this cycle - foreign, Ukrainian languages, the foundations of state and law, introduction to culturology.

Training of managers in accordance with world standards. This is a difficult process, largely complicated by the lack of highly qualified management teachers and the lack of appropriate equipment and tools.

Soon, those educational institutions that will now invest or have already invested the necessary funds in the creation of preparatory structures that will help not only to correctly identify the most relevant field of activity, but also to adapt future students to the requirements and training programs. As well as those who will use the theory of personnel management in the selection of students, the elements of which are personnel management and marketing of education.

We share the opinion of O.N. Elbrecht that in the current situation, changing the model of management education should have a leading effect on the stereotype of managerial thinking, professional culture of managers, national culture in general. The transition to a multilevel education system in Ukraine has not yet clearly identified qualitative differences in the perception of managerial qualifications "bachelor", "graduate", "master", and therefore does not fully adapt the Ukrainian education system to new requirements of market economy and labor mobility. The author emphasizes

that the academic concept that dominates the higher education system in general continues to apply to the training of managers, without taking into account the specifics of professional activities of managers as practice-oriented, and without taking into account the specific needs of consumers - businesses and individuals.

A good manager is an organizer, a teacher, a friend, an expert, a leader, and a person who knows how to listen to others. According to our research, this is ensured not only by the content of the educational process, but also by the personality of the manager, his individual qualities and abilities. According to the authors, especially important abilities for management are: dominance, self-confidence, emotional balance, camaraderie, resilience, creativity, desire to achieve goals, entrepreneurship, responsibility, reliability, independence.

According to our research, in order to improve the quality of professional training of managers in Ukraine it is necessary to pay special attention to the formation of managerial skills in students, actively use innovative forms and methods of teaching, constantly update curricula in accordance with the requirements of practice. in modern market conditions.

At present, Ukraine has a clear system of professional training of public administration personnel. Let us briefly dwell on its characteristics. Its territorially extensive network of educational institutions is represented by: the National Academy of Public Administration under the President of Ukraine with its Dnipropetrovsk, Lviv, Odessa and Kharkiv regional institutes of public administration; higher educational institutions of the IV level of accreditation of the system of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine, which train specialists of the educational and qualification level "Master" in the specialty "Civil Service" of the educational branch "Public Administration" - 15; branch educational institutions - 40; regional centers for retraining and advanced training - 27.

According to the well-known researcher of education B.S. Gershunsky, “the global crisis of education, which has been talked about and written about so much in recent years and which manifests itself in one form or another in all countries, is not only due to insufficient efficiency of education in terms of its economic, pragmatically understood return. The real essence of the global educational crisis is the helplessness and inefficiency of modern education in the face of global problems of civilizational scale.

It follows that only by overcoming the crisis, transforming the content of training, forms and methods of organizing the educational process, using fundamentally new technological support, education systems can meet the challenges of time and become an effective resource for development, ie to have such qualities as innovation. This is noted by such authors as L.A. Omelyanovich - in the analysis of the quality of higher education through the prism of the Bologna process, S.M. Nikolaenko - in the study of the quality of higher education in Ukraine, V.G. Kremin - in the study of Bologna process in national education, V.I. Korgoliev - in the process of forming a modern system of quality management of educational services ZVO. In the foreign management literature, the problem of training, retraining and advanced training of managers is widely represented by the works of N. Bexter, P. Weil, M. Woodcock, C. Grayson, P. Drucker, M. Dovann, J. Dell, T. Peters, R. Waterman, B. Warren, D. Francis. And if it is obvious that one of the main resources of development at the present stage of social progress is staff training, it is also obvious that an essential attribute of development is the innovation component.

The interaction of the principles of training managers can be considered as a factor in the development of education itself, because, according to D. Markovich "- there is no human development, its abilities and its creative forces without education,

it is clear that education (along with science or with it) becomes the most important resource of development ”[10, p. 14-15].

In our country there is a whole network of both public and private educational institutions that have a fairly high level of accreditation. Other higher education of the manager (postgraduate) can be received in many free economic zones. Abroad, this is done by independent business schools and business schools at the Free Economic Zone. Both in them and in ours in many cases diplomas of the master of business administration (abroad - MDA) are issued. MDA is a specific training program for professional managers, which trains the management elite.

The International Institute of Management, established in 1990 in Kyiv, is the first business school in Ukraine that specializes in training managers. In addition, both abroad and in Ukraine, the system of retraining and business training is widely developed.

In Ukraine, there is no quality "market" training of leaders in the higher education system, which significantly hinders the development of civilized entrepreneurship. Specialists who do not have the necessary qualities and do not have professional education or practical experience of managerial work in production and economic activities often come to production management. Training and retraining of managers in the transition to a global market economy is a key issue.

In order to provide the country with managers of different hierarchical levels of government, it is necessary to solve a number of problems: introduction of system-complex programs of multilevel training of specialists-managers in state free economic zones; development of alternative education, tested by the world practice of continuous training and retraining (public, paid, municipal-private); formation of a reserve of managers and their training in special management technologies; use as additional professional education (for this purpose to use the potential of free economic education,

especially in the regions, or to revive the institutes of advanced training); study and evaluation of students' managers effective combination of theoretical and scientific-practical capabilities, their implementation in educational technology; research of interrelations of disciplines which have scientifically applied value in technology of education; using the opportunity of educational technology to teach students of management specialists to consciously and independently make management decisions; elimination of the dominance of pedagogical activity over scientific, which leads educational technologies to conservative principles of management; ending discrimination against management as an academic and scientific discipline (reducing it to marketing, special issues) as representatives of "useful" technical disciplines and the administration of free economic science, among which is a surprising ignorance of the theory and practice of modern management; increasing the requirements for students in the field of managerial training, improving the capacity of universities in the training of high-class professionals, bachelors and masters of management.

An important task of management is to determine the parameters of the organizational order of complex systems and the search for structures-attractors (centers of gravity and active force), which allow to bring businesses into a mode of sustainable operation and development. Students studying management are obsessed with pragmatism. The trend of shortage of specialists-managers in general in Ukraine and in some of its regions continues to grow. The level of quality educational staff of managers does not change in a positive direction. The need to develop programs, educational technologies and mechanisms for their implementation, which combine interrelated theoretical, scientific, practical knowledge, skills, abilities of a specialist manager, remains relevant.

1.1.2 Business game as a method of professional training of managers in higher education institutions

The key to quality professional training of marketing communications managers is the optimally organized educational process in the Free Economic Zone, which provides a trend from cognition to selfknowledge and creativity. Leading role in this process is given to interactive learning methods. They activate the independence of students' thoughts, involve them in working with large amounts of information, form a system of attitudes, create an atmosphere of understanding and empathy, make students real subjects of learning. The conceptual foundations of "active learning" were laid at the beginning of the last century by the American philosopher D. Dewey and were further developed in the works of Yu. K. Babansky, L.S. Vygotsky, V.V. Davydov, and others.

I. Ya. Lerner, A. M. Matyushkin, M. I. Mahmutov, and others made a significant contribution to the development of methods of active learning. The works of A.A. Verbytsky, V.I. Lozova, A.M. Smolkin, and others play an important role in the formation and development of active learning methods.

Scientist O.V. Shuvalov defines methods of active learning as a set of activities aimed primarily at learning to think forward, unconventionally, alternatively, focus on developing students' needs for knowledge, create personal interest in the results of work, develop their own creative approach to solving problems.

We are impressed by the interpretation of methods of active learning, which is presented in the work of S.A. Mukhina [11]. In particular, the researcher considers them as "ways of organizing learning, which provides, evaluates and manages student activity."

According to Professor O.V. Torichny, the methods of active learning involve the use of such a system of innovations, which is aimed mainly not at teaching ready-

made knowledge and their reproduction, but at students' independent acquisition of knowledge in the process of active cognitive activity. So, based on the above, we can conclude that the methods of active learning - is learning based on activities. We believe that it is in active learning activities, guided by the teacher, that students acquire the necessary knowledge, skills and abilities that will be necessary in their professional activities. The basis of these methods is dialogic subject-subject interpersonal communication both between the teacher and students, and on the basis of self-study and between students themselves.

Researcher V.I. Chuprasova, based on the definition of methods of active learning as methods that promote the organization of cognitive activity of students, offers the following classification: a) communicative games (group discussions, lectures, problem situations); b) game methods (didactic games, role-playing, business games); c) constructive (problem-based learning, programmed learning); d) corrective methods (autotraining, game psychotherapy, psychological and dramatic correction).

Analyzing this problem, T.V. Vakhrusheva, identifies tasks designed to solve the introduction of active learning methods in the process of professional training of future management professionals: the subordination of learning to the actions of the teacher; ensuring active participation in educational work of both trained and unprepared students, establishing direct control over the process of learning the material.

Active learning methods are the most productive because they make good use of students' life and professional experience. They are based on experimentally established facts that a person's memory reflects (other things being equal) up to 90% of what he does, up to 50% of what he sees, and only 10% of what he hears. Thus, the most effective ways of learning should be based on the active involvement of most or all "analysts" of students in appropriate actions.

Among the modern methods of active training of future managers of marketing communications, scientists identify intellectual, business, psychological and economic training, coaching training, business games to acquire skills, brainstorming, games to simulate unusual, critical and conflict situations, cohesion. All these methods of active learning are used both for students in training and for staff already working.

Let's take a closer look at the most common of them.

At the beginning of the XXI century, another specialty was recognized in the world, the expediency of which is to help individuals in their development, education and success - coaching. Coaching originated in the late twentieth century, thanks to T. Golvy, a tennis specialist, a Harvard teacher, as one of the methods of teaching tennis. Later, the methodology of tennis T. Golvy extended to the game of golf. Former Ford racer J. Whitmore has extended the coaching method to business consulting. And financial consultant T. Leonard, noticing that some of his clients need personal help, became the founder of life coaching. So coaching began to penetrate into various areas of human life.

Coaching (from the English. Coaching - coaching) - a tool of personal and professional development, the formation of which began in the 70s of XX century. The foundations of coaching lie in sports coaching, positive, cognitive and organizational psychology, in the idea of conscious life and opportunities for continuous and purposeful human development [12. P. 110-112].

Coaching is a category that is actively studied by foreign scholars. The work of the following scientists is devoted to the use of coaching in production:

E. Stack, R. Dilts, M. Downey, M.R. Jay, L. Whitworth, G. Kimsey House, B. B. Martinkovskaya, F. Sandal, J. Whitmore, and others. Among the studies of coaching by domestic scientists, we can pay attention to the work of Y.E. Kravchenko, O.Y. Kushniruk, O.B. Martsinkovskaya, M.B. Nagara, V.I. Pavlov.

J. Whitmore explains coaching as "a new style of human resource management, technologies which help to mobilize the internal capabilities and potential of employees, continuous improvement of professionalism and skills of employees, increase their competitiveness, develop competence, encourage innovation in the production process" [13, p. 13].

Mentoring is similar to coaching - a form of training in which the mentor as a more experienced person helps the ward as a less experienced worker to acquire the necessary professional competence, as well as introduce into the sphere of socio-psychological relations through which the professional role.

"Mentor - ward" is a relationship that has long existed in human history, and was glorified by popular media. There are many different "mentor-ward" relationships in today's world. For example, when an employee first enters a company or business, he or she will be accepted by someone who has been in the company or business for a long time. A new employee may face many problems, both corporate culture and problems and issues that will arise in the workplace. In this situation, the new employee needs the help he actually receives from the mentor. The mentor acts as a buffer and leader in how the company or business works, what and how to do in the new workplace, introduces elements of corporate culture, thus making it easier to adapt to new conditions for the ward. In the process of integrating an employee, a mentor can show his potential in that he can be a person who can lead others, move on and at the same time be good at everything.

A coach can also provide moral support and help a person believe in themselves again. The employee is not subordinate to the coach, as in the "mentor-ward" model, the ward is subordinate to the mentor, but can listen to him and find a solution to the problem. Trust and the desire to find solutions to problems in the workplace, in the team, in personal life play a very important role in cooperation with the coach.

The mentor teaches the ward how best to live and work. Coaching should be considered as a more specific method of mentoring, the coach leads the team to achieve the ultimate goal. For sports coaches, it will mean winning the game, for coaches in the company the achievement of the ultimate goal will be awareness of the head, subordinates of their own goals, as well as their common goals and objectives, and finding ways to achieve them.

Coaching emphasizes "active learning" and "feedback learning". Therefore, learning models are used in coaching. Coaching is action-oriented and is based on action learning. Tasks based on constructive experience that determine adequate changes through feedback. One of the effective models of coaching is the D. Kolb training cycle, which was the basis of the experimental training model proposed in 1984. The sequence of processes of this model is as follows:

1. Experience.
2. Reflection.
3. Conceptualization.
4. Planning and testing.

Training in this cycle consists of four stages. The first stage focuses on direct learning, which is essential for the second stage - observation and reflection on what has happened and the generalization of experience. This reflection is assimilated into short concepts - general principles that emerge to manage (regulate) what has happened and what can be used to predict what may happen in the future. The fourth and final stage is the planning of new actions, testing hypotheses and entering a new cycle again (cyclicity occurs with the addition of knowledge and experience).

The coaching process coincides with D. Kolb's model, provided that the client performs the action. Without action, there is no feedback and no experience for reflection testing. The cycle ceases to operate if at least one of the stages of the cycle

is not performed. The technology of coaching procedures is based on three whales of coaching - beliefs, values and goals.

According to J. O'Connor, learning is in the plane of horizontal change, adding to the knowledge that you have already accumulated or become more perfect than previous ones. Learning is linear, evolving at a steady pace.

Coaching technology is a mechanism that gives the individual the right to develop and achieve certain results in life. Coaching is also defined as a social mechanism in the process of transition from one stage of development to another. Coaching is a movement towards self-actualization and self-organization.

Collective "brainstorming" (or "brainstorming" or brainstorming). This method was proposed by the American scientist A. Osborne as an improved version of the heuristic dialogue of Socrates. It is used in groups of forms of education, and the most optimal are groups of 3 to 12 people (the number of participants should be divided by 3).

The experience of using this method in the practice of teaching students the basics of intercultural communication has shown that its implementation is effective taking into account the psychological and pedagogical laws and relevant principles: co-creation in solving creative tasks; trust in each other's creative powers and abilities; optimal combination of logical and intuitive.

It is difficult to create something new on your own. It is much easier (both in marketing and in any work in general) to find solutions for the whole team or team of like-minded people [14, p. 16].

The undoubted advantages of this technology include the fact that all its participants are "equalized", as it completely eliminates authoritarianism in the process of its application. In addition, a friendly psychological microclimate creates the

conditions for freedom, "emotional fire", activates intuition and imagination, automatically removing laziness, routine thinking, rationalism, formalism and more.

According to AB Kotova, cognitive activity determines the ability to self-learn, independently plan, organize the process of cognition, monitor and evaluate the results. According to the analysis of literature sources, most scholars consider the concept of "activity" through "activity" and "activity" through "activity", thus emphasizing that there is no activity outside the activity [15, p. 14].

Professor P.S. Atamanchuk, approaching from the standpoint of activity-personal approach to learning and system-structural analysis of the pedagogical process, notes that "management of cognitive activity reflects both the content and activities of learning and carries signs of knowledge and ways extraction ”.

Analyzing the scientific literature on the research problem, we came to the conclusion that the game cognitive activity helps the teacher to form in students a certain system of skills, competencies that help improve the quality of training of future professionals.

The set of such characteristics of students as motivation for choosing a profession, orientation in a professional environment, ideas about the profession and social attitudes to further education allowed, - says V.A. Petruk, to identify types of students in relation to the level of professional orientation [16. with. 90-91].

The first type is students with a positive professional orientation, which they retain until the end of their studies ($\approx 73\%$). Orientation in the professional environment is associated with the attractiveness of the content of the profession, significant public importance. They are characterized by a high level of activity.

The second type - students for whom the choice of profession does not have a clear professional motivation, who do not have enough complete information about the

profession and the attitude to it was not fully determined ($\approx 16\%$). Activity is characterized by inconsistency, alternating ups and downs.

The third type - students with a negative attitude to the profession. The motivation for their choice is due to the general prestige of higher education, choice at the request of parents and the level of perception of the profession is low ($\approx 11\%$). The activity rates of students of this type are low and unstable. (The results were obtained through a survey of students) [17, p. 40].

In the studies of O.G. Pindyk, T.G. Temerivska emphasizes that cognitive activity as a complex systemic property of the individual, integrates important qualitative characteristics: cognitive independence, cognitive initiative, completeness and mobility of knowledge, skills and abilities. An important qualitative characteristic of cognitive activity is cognitive independence, which is manifested in the ability to achieve goals without assistance.

Today, the business game is offered by scientists and teachers as an effective form of educational work, a means of developing professional skills, development and improvement of students' speech abilities, ethics of communication and more.

Business games are a method of learning a professional activity by modeling it, close to real conditions, with the obligatory dynamic development of the situation, task or problem that should be solved according to the nature of decisions and actions of its participants.

The well-known pedagogue M. Yu. Kademina defined the principles, the observance of which is necessary in the process of conducting games, in particular: simulation modeling of conditions and dynamics of production; game modeling of the content and forms of professional activity; joint activities; dialogic communication; biplanarity; problems of the content of the simulation model and the process of its implementation in the game.

Foreign scholars believe that game teaching methods have the greatest potential in ensuring professional development, improve activities and create new models of professional practice that meet the goals of actualizing managerial professionalism in modern conditions.

Business game is based on self-regulation. The teacher who conducts it is required to activate the participants before the game, during the analysis of the game at the final stage. Accordingly, it requires considerable preparatory work, theoretical and practical skills of game design.

Business game is practiced by teachers as a form of reproduction of subject and social content, professional activity of the specialist, modeling of the relations characteristic of this activity. The game usually takes place according to the following technological scheme: the stage of preparation, which includes game development (script, plan, description, content of instruction, preparation of game material) and introduction to the game (problem statement, conditions, rules, role distribution, formation groups, consultations); stage of the group: group work on tasks (work with sources, training, brainstorming, work with a game technician) and intergroup discussion (group presentation, defense of results, rules of discussion, work of experts); stage of analysis and generalization (exit from the game, analysis, reflection, evaluation and self-evaluation of work, conclusions and generalizations, recommendations).

Business games are usually in the form of a coordinated group mental search, which requires the involvement of all participants in the game. In essence, this method of learning is a special form of communication. In any type of communication, one of the participants is an author who expresses his point of view. Another participant is a recipient who, perceiving the author's text, builds an image of what he has understood in order to reconstruct the author's point of view. The third participant in the communication within the business game can be a critic, who, based on the results of

the decision, develops his own point of view, more formalized and perfect. The fourth participant - the organizer of communication - coordinates all types of work and turns the disparate efforts into a purposeful movement to improve the author's point of view. The business game ends with a summary, where the main focus is on the analysis of its results, the most significant for practice. However, the final phase can be extended to reflect on the entire course of the game.

Among these functions performed by gaming technology, a significant place is occupied by the development of communicative competence. We fully share the opinion of L.V. Baranovska that "communicative competence is the ability to communicate effectively, it is such a level of skills to interact with people that gives the individual the right within their abilities and social status to function successfully in this society" [18. P. 146].

The general didactic aspect of the game form of classes is revealed in the works of M.V. Clarin. In particular, the scientist emphasizes that business games are characterized by: creativity, which has an improvisational and active nature; emotionality, rivalry and competition; the presence of direct or indirect rules that reproduce the content of the game, the logical sequence of its development.

Game actions performed by students in communicative situations, simulate activities that have a common structure, components that interact with each other and ensure the reliability of professional growth and a positive learning outcome. The structure of activity implies the presence of both objective properties (objectivity, purposefulness) and the reflection of the internal states of the subject (motivation, needs, interests, relationships). In the process of didactic game conditions are created for the full structure of activity: motive - purpose - objective actions - methods - operations - process - result.

Communicative and playful situations in which students play a variety of roles ensure the unity of consciousness and activity, which serves as a means of developing their personality. In the unity of the content of knowledge acquired by the student, and value orientations, external influences and psychological processes of his personality, motivation of stimuli coming from outside, there is a professional development of students. The use of game methods in teaching confirms the position formulated by LS Vygotsky that human consciousness is a product of its relations, its relationships with the environment; learning shapes a person psychologically, without leaving his development unchanged, promotes the creation of new, special forms of conscious activity; communication is a systematized form of learning in which human development takes place; training should work in the area of immediate development.

The need for games of this type arises when the available abilities of participants in management activities are not enough to implement the ready-made rules, or there is a difference in activities and as a result of changing external conditions. Therefore, there is a need to develop skills in the process of business play on a special modeling platform.

Scientists argue that the business game gives the right to simulate more adequate compared to traditional conditions for the formation of the personality of the specialist. The game reproduces the basic laws of professional activity and professional thinking on the basis of dynamically created and solved by joint actions of participants in educational situations. The purpose of business games is to teach students to make independent decisions and take responsibility for them, to test themselves, their abilities and desire to work in the chosen specialty.

Learning activity is an activity of self-transformation, the product of which is the changes that have occurred in the process of its implementation in the subject. Well-known scientist AA Verbytsky believes that the condition for improving the

effectiveness of education in the free economic zone is the creation of psychological and pedagogical conditions in which the student becomes an active subject of educational activities. However, according to the author, there are two problems that hinder the spread of this approach. Their essence is that professional and educational activities are fundamentally different in nature, means of implementation and forms of organization.

In reality, the range of knowledge necessary for life and work is constantly expanding, and the possibilities of their assimilation are not limitless. The most important task, therefore, is not only the ability to select the necessary knowledge, systematize them, but also the ability to transform this knowledge, bring them closer to current life and professional situations, practice, to real professional activity. This means that business games, as a method of active learning, help in the theoretical and practical aspects of training. Business games as a method of learning give the right to "live" a certain situation, to study it in direct action. Business games allow to model various production situations, to design ways of actions in the conditions of the offered models, to demonstrate process of systematization of theoretical knowledge on the decision of a certain practical problem.

Learning, which implements a playful approach to the organization of classes, provides a positive emotional and intellectual atmosphere in the student audience, an atmosphere of psychological comfort for each student. Learning technology is carried out through pedagogically organized communication in the systems "teacher - student", "student - students".

The nature of this relationship determines the effectiveness of training of future professionals in the field of management. Therefore, in our opinion, in practical classes it is necessary to ensure: psychological protection of each participant of the game, so that the game roles they play do not reduce social status, do not cause feelings of

professional hopelessness and discomfort; the prospect of professional growth, awareness of the relationship between the quality of play and the success of professional development; formation of a positive attitude to communicative and gaming activities and active participation in it; involvement of each student in a situation of success that stimulates activity, independence and creativity; inclusion of students in the system of relations built on the principles of pedagogical interaction, cooperation and cocreation, which provides everyone with freedom of action and activity in a communicative and playful situation; implementation of reflexive and empathic processes that allow you to control the emotional feelings and state of the participants of cognitive activity, show flexibility, perceive students in play activities as they are, without imposing on them someone else's approach to the game task.

The use of business games gives the right to implement not only diagnostic and cognitive functions, but also training. By playing roles, students perform functions, make their own decisions, in the process of which skills of professional behavior in the team, the ability to analyze the nature of interpersonal relationships, make decisions in emergencies and extreme situations. These methods are flexible and can be combined with various forms of learning, for example, programmed, problem-based, heuristic, group work, etc. [19, p. 110].

The complexity of describing the business game as a complex learning technology necessitates its use in terms of system-forming elements. The desire to identify the basic elements of the game unites the work of most researchers. Some authors who describe the structure of the business game, first of all distinguish between formal and informal parts. Scientist VI Kramarenko, developing this idea, divides all elements of the business game into two groups. The formal part of the game includes: the purpose of the game; a way to assess the degree of achievement of the goal; formal rules of the game; the purpose of the simulated subsystems. The authors include the

following elements to the informal part of the business game: game participants; informal rules of the game; circle of business game.

The concept of game, defined in general form - is a kind of unproductive activity, the main motive of which is not its result, but the process itself. A game is a set of meaningful actions united by the unity of motive. It is an expression of a certain attitude of the individual to the surrounding reality. In animals, it is associated with the basic forms of instinctive activity that support their existence; in man the game is the "child of labor" (W. Wundt). Human play is the product of an activity through which a person transforms reality and changes the world. The essence of human play is in the ability to reflect, to transform reality.

Scientist KV Zmievska notes that the business game itself is not a model, but serves as a means of working with the model embedded in the structure of the business game [20, p. 89].

When preparing future specialists, teachers should strive not only to equip students with scientific knowledge, but also to promote the development of their actual diligence and entrepreneurship, to form skills of active economic thinking. Therefore, it is important to conduct educational business games with students, which to some extent mimic professional economic situations.

Students - participants of the game develop practical skills in the work team, they gain experience in management, leadership and organization of the team, learn the skills of complex creative problem solving.

When building, preparing and conducting a business game, it is necessary to create a real environment in which students perform specific roles. Roles should be problematic, and their distribution should take into account the individual capabilities and aptitudes, the social status of students.

Modeling or simulating the conditions and dynamics of relations between students, business game is a means of updating, applying and consolidating knowledge and a means of developing communicative competence. This effect is achieved through the interaction of game participants. Thus, in order to achieve the set educational goals, five psychological and pedagogical principles are implemented in the business game. Namely: simulation of the situation; content problems; role interaction in joint activities; dialogic communication; dichotomy of game educational activity.

During business games, the usual occupation turns into a working day in the office, a presentation of the company and so on. From the first lessons, the roles are distributed among students: manager, CEO, sales representatives. Students get acquainted with information about the company, agree on its location, determine the type of business they will do. As a result, each participant in the game solves the same issues in terms of their individual positions.

A characteristic feature of active learning methods is that they encourage students to work together. In the process, their activity is longer.

In generalized form, the main differences between traditional and active learning can be reflected in the form of tables. 1.2.

The following modifications of the business game are used in the system of active learning process.

Simulation games. Classes simulate the activities of a particular organization, enterprise, educational institution, etc. Can simulate events, specific activities of people (business meeting, discussion of the plan) and the conditions in which the event takes place (meeting room, manager's office). The simulation game script, in addition to the plot of events, describes the structure and purpose of the processes and objects that simulate them.

Table 1.2

The main differences between traditional and active learning

Traditional education	Active learning
1. Purpose - the acquisition of knowledge, skills and abilities	1. Purpose - the development of the individual as a whole
2. Notification of ready knowledge, their information completeness	2. The principle of problematic and incomplete information
3. Insufficient development of motives, interests	3. High level of inner motivation and emotionality
4. Monologic communication, dialogue of individual students with teachers	4. Dialogue of students with teachers and with each other
5. Individual mental activity	5. Collective mental activity
6. Emphasis on the active work of the teacher	6. Emphasis on active student activities
7. Development of memory	7. Special development of thinking
8. Game as an element of charging	8. Game as an element of learning
9. The content of education is abstract knowledge	9. Professionalization of content
10. Ensuring mainly the first and second levels of assimilation (reproductive activity)	10. Ensuring mainly the third and fourth levels of assimilation (productive activity)

Operating games. They help to work out the implementation of specific operations, for example, the method of conducting a survey of respondents, tasting goods in the store. In operational games, the corresponding process is modeled. Games of this type are held in conditions that mimic real. Performing roles. These games work out the tactics of behavior, performance of functions and responsibilities of a particular official. To conduct games using roles, a model is developed - a play of the situation, roles are distributed among students [21, p. 38].

There are eight main qualities of marketing communications managers, which are formed in the business game skills:

- 1) communicate on a formal and informal basis and interact effectively on an equal footing;
- 2) show the qualities of a leader;
- 3) navigate in conflict situations and resolve them correctly;
- 4) receive and process the necessary information, evaluate, compare and assimilate it; make decisions in uncertain situations;
- 5) manage their time, distribute work among others, quickly make organizational decisions; to show business qualities of the businessman: to set perspective purposes, to use favorable opportunities;
- 6) practically assess the consequences of their decisions, learn from their mistakes.

Analysis of the business game and experience is the most important and at the same time difficult task of the game. The analysis is conducted by a group of game designers, the results are discussed with the heads of institutions. When discussing the results and summarizing the results of the business game, the winners are announced, the reasons for the victory of some groups and the failures of others are determined. The peculiarities of the adopted management decisions are determined, special attention in the process is paid to the originality of decisions. Weaknesses in the theoretical knowledge and practical training of students are identified, instructions are given to eliminate these shortcomings. Specific recommendations are made for the practical use of the results of the business game. These issues determine the structure and content of the final stage of the business game.

1.1.3 Model of formation of readiness for professional activity of managers in institutions of higher education with the use of business games

The issues of professional training of future managers of marketing communications on the basis of the competence approach have repeatedly been the subject of research by both Ukrainian and foreign scientists.

According to V.S. Ponomarenko, the main feature of the competency-based approach to specialist training is the focus of all research and educational activities not on the process, but on the end result with an emphasis on significantly raising the role of the student. Analyzing the concept of "competence of future economists", the scientist emphasizes the importance of the competence approach, which involves the formation of competence as a system, rather than as a set of individual elements of knowledge, skills, abilities and more. It is the system of specific knowledge, skills and other qualities that gives a person the right to become a competent specialist.

Therefore, it is necessary to provide students not only with quality training, but also to develop skills and abilities to continue their education throughout life. To do this, it is necessary to develop students' creative abilities, ability to self-determination and self-development in a mobile, alternative and open society, free choice of types and methods of activity mastered at a high professional level, ability to change their professional preferences [22, p. 17].

The difference between a competent specialist and a qualified one, according to Ukrainian researcher O.P. Savchenko, is expressed in the fact that the former implements in his work professional knowledge, skills and abilities; always self-develops and goes beyond discipline; considers his profession of great value.

Thus, a person competent in a certain field has the appropriate knowledge and skills that allow him to reasonably express judgments about this field and act effectively in it. Professional competence is called individual psychological education, which includes experience, knowledge, skills, psychological readiness [23, p. 42].

In this regard, it is important to improve the training of future marketing communications managers. The result of their training can be improved only if a scientifically sound model of professional training of the future manager of marketing

communications with the help of business games is introduced into the educational process.

Political and socio-economic processes in Ukraine, which aspires to be a European state, require certain changes in the system of higher professional education, its harmonization with modern needs. Operating in a market economy, institutions require highly effective management based on modern concepts, strategies and management models focused on achieving a specific educational result. The main figure in this process is a competent manager who is able to see the future and make quality management decisions. In order to effectively solve the problem of training a competent manager in modern conditions, it is necessary to turn to the experience of world practice.

Given the dynamism of knowledge and the level of their relevance, the current strategic series of reforms forms a fundamentally new system of education that can provide a real opportunity to receive, replenish and update their knowledge throughout active life. This system is called continuing education. It pursues a dual purpose: continuous improvement of professional competence of the specialist; meeting one's own needs in obtaining various knowledge.

Integration into the international community is an integral part of every state's modern educational policy. The realization of this goal implies the need to introduce new approaches to the whole educational process. One of such innovative approaches is competence-oriented learning. It should be noted that the concept of competency education came to us from foreign countries, where this area of research is actively developing both in theory and in practice.

As V.I. Baidenko explains in his work [24, p. 9], if in the Western European system of vocational education and training the expression "competence-based learning" is adopted, then in the Russian vocational education and training the term "competence approach" has taken root. As a basis for various pedagogical developments, the scientist proposes to use the Western European definition of competencies, which includes "knowledge and understanding, knowledge of how to act, knowledge of how to be." Competences in this definition are a combination of

characteristics related to knowledge, positions, skills and responsibilities, which describe the level or extent to which the specialist is able to implement these competencies. In the same work, the author refers to Yu. G. Tatura, who points out that it is necessary to distinguish between competencies and personal qualities. This is evidenced by the scientific literature on the study of competencies. It is pointed out that research conducted in the field of competencies by A. David McClelland and his successor Richard Boyatzis, focused on finding effective behavior and performance of successful managers, which did not have and could not show the average manager. It is noted that in the process of these studies there was an interest in finding and differentiating behavior, the results of successful work, depending on the availability of certain competencies. Thus, the list of competencies additionally included competencies of actions and motivations that ensure the achievement of successful results through the ability to apply knowledge and skills, behavior, which is the difference between successful managers.

Competence approach is not fundamentally new for the Ukrainian education system, its elements were used in Ukraine as a component of the quality management system of education and training. Different ways of organizing educational activities with a focus on these elements are described in the works of L.M. Dybkova, M.B. Yevtukh and other researchers of the education system.

The development of a competency-based approach in the higher education system leads to the fact that the basis for determining the content of the manager's education is the model of his professional activity or behavior. Creating such a model is an urgent problem of higher school didactics. One of the leading trends in the development of the model is related to the description of the set of personal qualities of the manager that ensure the successful implementation of professional activities [25, p. 45].

Leading role in the implementation of the competency approach in higher education is played by methods of active learning, which means ways to organize the pedagogical process in freelance, which maximize the activities of students and teachers, encourage them to identify activity and independence, self-realization and

self-development. These methods are based on maintaining a dialogue between teacher and students, and between students themselves; development of communicative abilities in the process of dialogue; ability to collectively solve tasks; student language development, etc.

In the theory of vocational education, the transition to a competency-based approach means a reorientation from the process to the outcome of education in the activity dimension. This presupposes the need to ensure the ability of high school graduates to meet new demands of professional activity, to have the appropriate potential for practical solutions to life problems, finding their "I" in the profession, in the social structure. Competence approach in education is a relatively new phenomenon. It changes the purpose and vector of the content of higher education from the transfer of knowledge and skills of subject content to the education (formation) of a developed personality with established life and professional competencies. The introduction of the competency approach in the educational process involves the development of integrated training courses in which subject areas are correlated with different types of competencies, expansion in the structure of curricula of the interdisciplinary component.

Ukrainian scientist M.F. Stepko, analyzing the essence of the competency approach to the organization of training of specialists with higher education, notes that on the basis of qualification characteristics and requirements for socially significant traits and qualities of a graduate of free economic education qualification characteristics [26, p. 43].

Is it possible to teach competencies within the framework of professional training (to ensure the development of specialist competence)? Lyle M. Spencer Jr., Saine M. Spencer view this issue as an iceberg model, where relatively easy-to-learn knowledge and skills are a visible part of it, while personal traits, motives, and self-concept are hidden "below sea level." , bearing in mind that they are very difficult to develop during training. To form the necessary personal qualities in future professionals in the process of training it is necessary to develop and use additional and other approaches to training.

Competence cannot be isolated from the specific conditions of its implementation. It organically connects the simultaneous mobilization of knowledge, skills and behaviors aimed at the conditions of a particular activity. Therefore, scientific approaches distinguish between the professional competence of an already working specialist and the professional competence of a future specialist. If in the first case it is a question of ability and ability gained by work experience, in the second it means readiness of the subject to show the competence in a possible sphere of professional activity.

Business games play a significant role in the development and education of future marketing communications managers in the formation of their professional competence. They are an effective method of active formation of the student's personality, becoming his specialist.

Ukrainian scientist S.M. Lutkovska notes that the game puts future professionals in a situation that includes the same limitations, motivation, coercion that exist in the real world. Role-playing games help students develop interpersonal skills. In the role play, in the conditions of joint activity, each student acquires the skills of social interaction, value orientations and attitudes inherent in a competent specialist. Motivation, interest and emotional uplift of the participants of the role play provide ample opportunities for the organization of purposeful activities to achieve results, productive communication and interaction, for the development of creative thinking of students in the system of special education [27, p. 112].

Creative activity of the individual in the role-playing game is conditioned by the fact that the game gives the right to feel the significance of his "I", especially in cases where the student finds an original solution that immediately affects the course of the game and accordingly evaluated (by the teacher who leads the game or by the participants of the game); there is a gradual removal of demobilizing tension, rigidity, indecision and increasing mobilizing tension on the basis of increasing interest in the gameplay.

It is interest that is the strongest stimulus for the actions of game participants, sets the creative orientation of the individual, evokes positive emotions, which,

accompanying the search process, accelerate it, awaken the logic of thinking [27, p. 113].

The trajectory of the theoretical consideration of professional competence in domestic psychology includes a number of definitions: the level of education of the specialist; availability of appropriate education, broad general and professional erudition, continuous improvement of scientific and professional training; professional training and ability of the individual to perform the tasks set before him by daily activities; as a potential willingness to solve professional problems with knowledge of the case; component of personal potential, which distinguishes general and special-professional knowledge and skills that determine the ability to successfully perform specific professional activities.

According to researchers V.A. Adolf, V.I. Zhuravlyov, S.B. Yelkanov, V.M. Mindikan, T.V. Novikova, N.F. Talizina, the general characteristic of professional competence is the involvement of man in the general cultural world of values humanity as a whole and individual society.

Personnel, or personnel (which, in our opinion, can be considered in this case as synonyms) are the bearers of the labor potential of the enterprise. Under the staff, or staff of the business structure means a set of permanent employees who have received the necessary training and have practical experience and skills.

There is an opinion that "... the concept of personnel is considered as the existing number of named employees of the enterprise, and the term " personnel "should be used as a synonym for highly qualified, intellectual potential of the enterprise."

In the modern dictionary of foreign words competence [Lat. competentens (competentis) - appropriate, appropriate] is interpreted as "1. authority, awareness; 2. possession of competence ". Other dictionaries define competence as "awareness, awareness, authority", a property to the meaning of competent. Competent has two meanings: "valid" and "one who knows, has the necessary information, authoritative in something."

The concept of competence [<Lat. competentia <competere - to achieve; to answer, to strive] is interpreted as: 1. the range of powers of a body or official; 2. A

problem that everyone has a lot of information about that allows them to solve it professionally. The Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language in 11 volumes edited by ML Mandryk (1973) interprets the competence as follows: 1. good knowledge of something; 2. the scope of authority of any organization, institution or person. The modern dictionary of foreign words for secondary and higher school interprets the concept of competence as a range of powers in which a person has certain powers, experience.

To study in more detail the problem of distinguishing between the concepts of "competence" and "competence", we turned to foreign dictionaries [28, c. 29]. Logman Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English [28, p. 291], as well as the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary [29, p. 246] do not distinguish between these terms and give the following interpretation: competence, as well as competence is defined as the ability to do something good, for example: Students acquire competence in a wide range of skills) [28, c. 29]; also means the skills needed to perform a specific job.

In modern conditions, the formation of knowledge is not the main goal of education (knowledge for the sake of knowledge). Knowledge and skills as units of educational outcome are needed, but not enough to be successful in modern society and apply this knowledge in work. This is professional competence. In addition, a qualified employee is characterized by a certain degree of general education, so that he has an idea of what is happening in related fields. For example, a good design engineer knows and understands general economic laws. He has an idea of what is income, profit, where his salary comes from, he is aware of their legal and civil rights, understands in general what is happening in other production departments of his company, etc. This component of the qualification is called "Supra-subject or supra-professional competence".

Researcher V. Beinum identified the following traits needed by a competent leader: the ability to make responsible decisions, especially when it is necessary to break the rules for the needs of a particular situation, the ability to perceive the work of his institution in the context of society, and the ability to translate decisions.

The classification of competencies is accepted by many countries as a strategic condition for the implementation of lifelong learning. Conceptual provisions for the

acquisition of key skills and competences are included in the White Paper developed by the European Commission (1996), the Memorandum on Lifelong Learning (2000), the EU-Council of Europe Action Plan (2002), the European Commission's Skills and Mobility Action Plan (2002), etc. .

Competence approach becomes the main method of personnel evaluation, which helps in the process of selecting candidates and in building more effective work with existing specialists. The main advantage of the competence approach in terms of staff development is the ability to track the knowledge, skills and abilities that the specialist already has, as well as those that require further improvement. In practice, to better understand the process of specialist development, it is necessary to introduce a relatively new element of competence for Ukrainian education - meta-skills, which gives a clearer understanding of the reasons for the presence or absence of certain knowledge, skills and abilities.

The term "meta-skill" was used by Arnold Mindell, the founder of process-oriented psychology, in the 1970s. His wife, Emmy Mindell, later studied meta-skills. The very method of work of a psychotherapist explicitly or implicitly reveals his deep ideas about life, social and political issues, the development of personality and relationships with the world, the nature of therapy. She describes the concept of meta-skills as a new art form that contains or skills that can be studied and nurtured, in her opinion meta-skills flow from one to another and have no clear boundaries, they can only be described by analogy.

Meta-skills can be formed by learning, but provided that those who teach them use a variety of intensive learning technologies.

The future uncertainty of internal and external conditions of entrepreneurial activity encourages managers to constantly deepen and expand their knowledge of management theory and practice. If before the management relied on the power of power and the issuance of orders, now it acts on the basis of consent and cooperation of employees under the leadership of the head. Relations of rigid subordination are a thing of the past. Previously, it was possible to appoint an employee responsible for any field of activity, regardless of his professionalism or desire, attitude of other people.

At present, this can no longer be done, as the conditions in which managers operate have changed qualitatively.

The knowledge management system in the situational approach also gives the right to: acquaint students with the basic elements of knowledge management, to form skills, techniques, competencies that allow them to be used in the future for practical purposes; it is most effective to detect, store, transmit and use not only new data, information, knowledge, management problems, but also innovations that allow them to be later translated into innovations.

According to this approach, each future manager of marketing communications is considered to be a carrier of a certain level of marketing culture, which includes his knowledge, skills, practical skills in marketing, values, needs, other professional and personal qualities related to his future. professional activity.

Formation of readiness of future managers of marketing communications for professional activity during realization of model of professional training of managers of marketing communications by means of business games is possible by means of four components: structural, substantial, operational-activity, effective diagnostic.

Defined criteria, levels and indicators of readiness for future managers of marketing communications will provide an opportunity to conduct monitoring research on this issue, which is the prospect of further research in this direction to identify ways to improve the readiness of future managers of marketing communications in economic ZVO.

The training process is implemented through disciplines, the content of which is reflected in state standards (catalogs of programs of normative disciplines for the training of management specialists) and educational documentation (curricula and work plans and programs).

Modeling, being one of the theoretical methods of scientific research, is widely used in pedagogy. This method is integrative, it allows you to combine empirical and theoretical elements in pedagogical research, ie to combine pedagogical experiment with the construction of logical constructions and scientific abstractions. Researcher

RH Juraev defines pedagogical modeling as "a method of developing and creating pedagogical systems, situations or processes, as well as the main ways to achieve them, which studies not the object of knowledge, and its image in the form of the so-called model, and the result the research is transferred from the model to the object ”.

One of the main methodological principles of building a model of professional training of marketing communications managers with the help of business games is a systematic approach that allows to consider relatively independent elements of the model not in isolation, but in their relationship with each other.

The purpose of this model is to form the level of readiness of future managers of marketing communications through business games, ideally, to a high level. In our opinion, the future manager of marketing communications will form such competencies that we distinguish within the professional competence, namely: competence in the use of standard means of information processing, competence in the organization of professional work with information technology in the subject area and terminological and communicative competence. Students as subjects of the educational process are provided in each structural element without explicit graphic designation in the scheme of the model.

The normative block as an element of the experimental model is the foundation of the whole system of formation of readiness of future managers of marketing communications with the help of business games. A certain "brick" of this foundation are program-conceptual and normative acts that consider the competence approach in general and education in particular, as one of the strategic directions in their development:

Law of Ukraine “On Higher Education”, Law of Ukraine “On Education”, Decree of the President of Ukraine “On the National Strategy for Education Development in Ukraine until 2021”, Resolution on the State National Program

“Education” (Ukraine of the XXI Century), etc. These and other state and regional concept documents allow us to talk about the relevance of forming a professionally competent specialist.

One cannot but agree with E.F. Zeer that the documents on the modernization of education proclaim the competence approach as one of the important conceptual provisions for updating the content of education, that the concept of competence approach is based on the ideology of interpreting the content of education. ("Output standard"), that the purpose of the competency approach is to ensure the quality of education [30, p. 345].

The next structural element of the model of professional training of marketing communication managers with the help of business games is the prognostic-target module, within which we define the goal: formation of professional competence of future marketing communication managers, as well as approaches and principles of formation and development of specific competencies.

Well-known scientist E.F. Zeyer, referring to the competence approach to the basic meaning-making concepts of modernization of education, in the most concise terms defined its essence as a priority orientation on the goal - vectors of education: learning, self-determination (self-determination), self-actualization, socialization and development of individuality [30 c. 347]. Competence approach allows the appropriate organization of the educational process, in the transition from post-industrial society to the informational application of such pedagogical technologies, which emphasize methods that stimulate learning through action, exchange of experiences, creative problem solving, etc. Thus, the competence approach strengthens the practical orientation of education, subject-professional aspect.

The motivational and cognitive stage requires real action on the part of the student, the development of a professional habit of using innovative technologies in

their activities. The goal is to gain automation in solving routine tasks in the process of performing roles in a business game. The future specialist must learn to make optimal use of professional knowledge, consciously seek to solve educational and professional problems. During the study, students' activities are monitored by the teacher through observation, intermediate tests, etc., and, if necessary, adjusted.

At the operational and cognitive stage of formation of professional competence of future managers of marketing communications with the help of business games the dynamics in formation of qualitative mastering of professional technologies is traced: movement from low (fragmentary) level of professional competence to high (professional) through average (sufficient).

The next element of the organizational and functional module is the function of forming the readiness of future managers of marketing communications with the help of business games. We define the function. In its simplified form, a function is an external manifestation of the essence of an object. Scientist LM Semenov regarding the construction of a structural-functional model defines function as a stable, characteristic of this system behavior, which is one of the most important aspects of this system, and in this sense - one of its internal characteristics [31, p. 54].

It should be noted that the functioning of the model of training of marketing communications managers through business games will be effective in a number of pedagogical conditions: modernization of the content of training of future marketing communications managers taking into account current training needs of modern specialists realization of communication comfort of students in professional training of managers of marketing communications in the game environment; application of business games as a method of interactive learning of students in real industrial communication.

Another element of the structural and functional model of professional training of managers of marketing communications with the help of business games is a technological module. It is a question of availability in ZVO of material and technical base, educational classrooms equipped with technics (computers, projectors, etc.), and also the software and methodical maintenance necessary for full-fledged educational process.

Formation of readiness of future managers of marketing communications for professional activity during realization of model of professional training of managers of marketing communications by means of business games is possible by means of four components: structural, substantial, operational-activity, effective diagnostic.

The first component of the projected model of professional training of managers of marketing communications with the help of business games - structural shows what elements we have identified in the structure of readiness. The process of formation of readiness for professional activity of future managers of marketing communications, described in this work, is carried out during the application of business games in the educational process. In this regard, a comparative analysis of the content of the Sectoral Educational Standard of Higher Education of Ukraine in the direction of training 030601 "Management", the provisions of the Standards of professional activity in the field of marketing communications management and didactic units of professional disciplines "Organization of manager's work", "Business Economics", "Information Systems in Management", "Marketing", "Advertising in the Marketing System", "Marketing Activities of the Enterprise", "Marketing Communication Policy".

The results of the analysis allow us to conclude that the necessary knowledge and skills in the field of marketing communications management in the selection and adaptation, training and development, staff evaluation, the student can get only by

studying these disciplines. Therefore, in the study of professional disciplines, the issues of selection and adaptation, training and development, staff evaluation should be given more attention. To do this, you need to allocate more hours from the total.

The second component of the model of professional training of managers of marketing communications with the help of business games - meaningful - determines the content of the educational process, which forms the readiness for future activities of future managers of marketing communications.

The third component of the projected model is operational-activity, related to such actions, both on the part of the teacher and on the part of students, who actually represent the educational process of studying specialized disciplines.

The model of formation of readiness for professional activity of marketing communication managers with the help of business games uses a partial search method, which gradually attracts students to solve problems based on existing knowledge base, gives the right to acquire new knowledge and conduct targeted mental search. This intellectual difficulty in students.

One of the technologies that supports the competency approach in education is the technology of working with the student's portfolio. In this study, the portfolio is understood as a collection of samples of educational and cognitive activities of the student, collected in the folder. This portfolio includes all tests and creative work of the student (practical work, articles with abstracts, draft documents reflecting the work of future managers of marketing communications in simulated organizations, teacher-tested tests, conference papers, role in business games), performed throughout the study of specialized disciplines. The portfolio is used as a document that reflects the development of the student, his system of relationships and the results of his self-expression as a future manager of marketing communications, as an opportunity to reflect on their own changes.

The fourth component of the presented model is the effective diagnostic. It includes a description of the structural components of our readiness for professional activity of future managers of marketing communications, activity, analytical, communicative, as well as criteria and levels of professional competence.

"Cognitive" means "carried out by the mind, which promotes cognition, the acquisition of knowledge about anything, cognition through experience." In this study, the cognitive component is considered the main one, because without some knowledge, it is impossible to perform any targeted actions. "Knowledge, as the main element of the content of education - is the result of knowledge of reality, the laws of nature, society and thinking," - said SA Smirnov. Thus, the cognitive component of readiness for professional activities of future managers of marketing communications in this study includes a system of knowledge about the management of marketing communications, the assimilation of which ensures the formation of students' scientific picture of the world, armed with a dialectical approach to cognitive and practical activities.

Another component of readiness for professional activities of future marketing communications managers is activity, which expresses the applied aspect of professional activities of marketing communications managers, because the formation of competence in the educational process is possible only when mastering new activities needed to solve professional problems. The formed readiness for professional activity of future managers of marketing communications at students assumes that they should be able, for example, to apply methods and tools of selection of the personnel, to be able to develop and implement programs of adaptation, to develop criteria of estimation of the personnel, etc.

Assessment of competencies - a systematic, purposeful process of gathering evidence, forming and documenting judgments about the degree of readiness for

professional activity of the controlled person, the degree of achievement of certain learning outcomes, the degree of compliance with abilities, qualities, skills, motivation of students. In the designed model of professional training of marketing communications managers with the help of business games the following levels of formation of readiness for professional activity in the field of marketing communications management are distinguished: low - allows direct reproduction of knowledge and methods of activity; medium - allows the transformation of existing knowledge; high - allows mastering new ways and methods of activity, managers of marketing communications in the learning process.

In the research of V.I. Zagvyazinsky, together with the criterion of novelty, the following criteria are used: relevance and prospects, stability, the possibility of creative application, optimality. The following criteria are also widely used in pedagogical practice: motivational-goal-setting, axiological, cognitive, operational, analytical-reflexive, integral, individual-creative, etc. Motivation as an internal psychological characteristic of the individual is manifested in the implementation of professional activities. Any activity with a weak motive or without a motive is extremely unstable, unstable. To perform and implement professional activities requires knowledge, skills and abilities. Based on the above, we selected the criteria for readiness for professional activities of future managers of marketing communications in the process of its development: personal; cognitive; activity-instrumental.

Indicators of personal criteria allow to determine the attitude of the future manager of marketing communications to the awareness of the need for professional activity. Orientation on value relations to it act as basic support for readiness for professional activity of future managers of marketing communications in the course of development. The activity is motivated by motives, external and internal. Internal motivation allows personal interest, interest in professional activities. Personal motive,

as one of the leading motives, determines the readiness for future activities of future managers of marketing communications. This is an internal factor that determines the desire of the individual to high professional growth. An external factor is the social motive, as a result of interaction with the educational process. The order of time, society is reflected in regulations. Adherence to the requirements of standards - aimed at implementing the idea of transition to personality-oriented learning - are one of the external motives for the implementation of professional activities.

Thus, the indicators of this criterion are motivation, interest in professional activity and focus on value relations to it in the process of its implementation.

Indicators of cognitive criterion contribute to the formation and development of a system of scientific knowledge about the readiness for future activities of future managers of marketing communications, professional activities, ways to implement it. Completeness of knowledge, awareness and consistency are required to increase the level of readiness for professional activities of future managers of marketing communications. The level of development of readiness for professional activity of future managers of marketing communications must meet the requirements of the educational process. The results of professional activity of future managers of marketing communications, their involvement in the scientific and practical process is largely determined by indicators of cognitive criteria. Knowledge is needed for application in practice, for self-realization of the future manager of marketing communications in professional activity. In this process, such qualities as flexibility, mobility, depth and awareness of the use of knowledge are important.

The activity-instrumental criterion is related to the implementation of professional activities aimed at developing the professional readiness of future managers of marketing communications. This implies the availability of organizational skills, opportunities for creative application of knowledge, the introduction of

professional forms of work in the development of readiness for professional activities of future managers of marketing communications, the relevance of providing and the prospects. Working in a team with the subjectivity of professional activity is impossible without communication and prognostic skills. This ensures the realization of goals, professional growth, development of readiness for professional activities of future managers of marketing communications.

Within this study, the indicators of activity-instrumental criteria are prognostic, organizational-activity, communicative and creative skills, readiness for self-development and reflection.

One of the results of the professional activity of the future manager of marketing communications is the development of his professional competence. The effective component characterizes the achieved result - the level of development of readiness for professional activity of future managers of marketing communications. According to most scientists, including B.G. Ananiev, L.A. Filimonyuk, the result of professional competence of the future manager of marketing communications requires the need to measure the level of its formation, determines the search for scientific tools for its evaluation [32; p. 290]. To this end, we have developed an assessment base to determine the levels of development of readiness for professional activities of future managers of marketing communications. Based on the analysis of scientific literature (works of V.I. Baidenko, I.A. Winter) [33; p.115] distinguish the following levels of readiness for professional activities of future managers of marketing communications: low, medium and high.

The low level is characterized by the fact that the motivation to carry out professional activities is low, there is almost no interest in its implementation. Awareness of the importance of this activity is almost not observed, but arises as needed and under outside control. Self-criticism is weak.

Knowledge of professional activity is fragmentary, unsystematic and incomplete. Organizational skills are poorly developed, creativity is not manifested.

Readiness for self-development and reflection is almost absent.

The middle level is characterized by the importance of certain stages of professional activity depending on personal or motivational motives, interests. The future manager of marketing communications evaluates his activity quite critically, adequately. Uses the opportunities of professional activity and shows initiative, active both in the discussion and in activities dedicated to the implementation of business games, well versed in the application of their knowledge of simulation methods. Organizational, communicative and creative skills, readiness for self-development and reflection are well developed. Can work productively in a team, well acquainted with the forms of work in the game and modeling [34. p. 150].

A high level allows for a high level of personal interest in the implementation of professional activities. The future manager of marketing communications makes the most of professional opportunities for the development of professional competence. Has organizational and activity, communicative skills, readiness for self-development and reflection. Works creatively, productively, shows considerable interest in the experience of other students. The high level is characterized by the awareness of future managers of marketing communications of the semantic aspects of professional activity, the acceptance of professional activity as an emotional and effective practical development of creativity. At this level, the future manager of marketing communications is original and proactive, evaluates his capabilities and abilities adequately.

Increasing the levels of development of readiness for professional activity of future managers of marketing communications is determined by pedagogical conditions [35. P. 4].

The essence of the motivational component of readiness for professional activities of future marketing communications managers is to determine the goals, attitudes, orientations, interests, motives that motivate the professional activities of marketing communications managers and determine the professional orientation of the individual. Semantic - contains such components as awareness, mastery of general scientific and professional knowledge and experience, professional thinking, social functions of the modern manager of marketing communications, the norms of the future profession.

The personal component of readiness for professional activity of future managers of marketing communications consists in their abilities, personalities and qualities which influence result of professional activity and define its individual style. The activity component consists of professional skills, mastery of economic technologies and economic management.

Thus, the defined criteria, levels and indicators of readiness of future marketing communications managers will provide an opportunity to conduct monitoring research on this issue, which is the prospect of further research in this direction to identify ways to improve the readiness of future marketing communications managers . in economic free economic zones [36. P. 68].

Thus, the proposed model gives the right to reduce training time, work out the search for effective solutions, take into account all the necessary information, increase the effectiveness of decisions in order to achieve the planned result.

Conclusions

The training of managers is considered by the world's leading companies as a strategic task. Analysis of the creation of curricula, programs and their content in the universities of Great Britain, in particular, in Oxford and Cambridge, suggests that the

general trend of equipping students with a humanitarian knowledge system, not just special theoretical knowledge of management.

Forms of training managers in Japan are: a) training in free economic zones and special educational institutions; b) internship in advanced training courses; c) improvement of skills in the conditions of practical management of labor collectives.

The American experience has shown that training programs for the "development of managers" for all their importance can only create or strengthen the basis for the performance of his duties in modern conditions.

In Western European management, the manager is not so clearly distinguished in teamwork; An essential feature is the teamwork of the team led by a leader who is able to work within certain structural boundaries of the organization.

As for the domestic experience in the field of personnel management, an important role in the Ukrainian management is played by the intuitive search for optimal solutions in the field of personnel management. In Ukraine, there is a whole network of both public and private educational institutions that have a fairly high level of accreditation.

If the purpose of training future managers of marketing communications is to master effective management models, to test new projects of the organization, the most effective method of training is a business game.

In almost any business game, a real professional situation is simulated, which requires a managerial decision. In addition, business games have such components that fundamentally distinguish them from all other technologies, primarily in that they have an operational scenario or block structure, which is embedded in a more or less rigid algorithm of "correctness" and "incorrectness" of the decision. , ie the participant of the game sees the result that made his decision on future events.

The manager of marketing communications is considered to be a carrier of a certain level of marketing culture, which includes his knowledge, skills, practical skills in marketing, values, needs, other professional and personal qualities associated with the features of his future career.

On the basis of the analysis and systematization of the received materials the basic modules of model of formation of readiness for professional training of managers of marketing communications by means of business games are defined - normative, prognostic-target, technological, methodical, organizational-functional and effective. The model of formation of readiness for professional training of marketing communication managers with the help of business games is based on determining the requirements for professionally significant personal qualities of marketing communication managers, taking into account objective and subjective factors that contribute to the effectiveness of this process.

Formation of readiness of future managers of marketing communications for professional activity during realization of model of professional training of managers of marketing communications by means of business games is possible by means of four components: structural, substantial, operational-activity, effective-diagnostic.

Defined criteria, levels and indicators of readiness of professional managers of marketing communications will provide an opportunity to conduct monitoring research on this issue, which is the prospect of further research in this direction to identify ways to improve the readiness of future managers of marketing communications in freelance.

2. Socio-economic changes in Ukraine in the 60-80s of the XIX century

Abstract.

Many scientific works are devoted to the study of this problem. Interest in the socio-economic situation of Ukrainian lands after the agrarian reform of 1861 increased sharply in the 60-80s of the XIX century.

Deterioration of the social situation of the peasantry in the first half of the nineteenth century. in the conditions of serfdom led to the activity of peasant movements, which shook the foundations of an autocracy.

Agrarian reform was carried out in the interests of the landlords. The abolition of serfdom did not bring the peasants full equality. They were obliged to pay ransom payments. In addition, after the agrarian reform, the peasants received less land than they had before 1861.

The abolition of serfdom was a kind of key to the modernization of the Russian Empire. Such a radical transformation in the agricultural sector required urgent changes and shifts in other spheres of public life, which would make it possible to harmonize and stabilize the situation in the country.

According to scientific and archival sources, statistical data, the article analyzes the impact of the development of railway transport on the economic development of Ukrainian lands in the Russian Empire - in the 60-70's of the XIX century.

Scientific research examines the process of building a railway network in the 60-70s of the XIX century. in connection with the economic growth of industries and agriculture in the Ukrainian lands and their efficiency.

It is analyzed that the government has recognized the need to improve transport routes (railway construction) for the economic development of the country.

Construction of the railway network in the second half of the XIX century. particularly influenced the development of domestic trade, commodity agriculture and increasing sown areas.

The railways contributed to changes in production conditions, became an impetus for further capitalization of the village, as evidenced by figures on increasing

the commodity production of wheat and other agricultural products, their transportation.

From the middle of the XIX century. Ukrainian lands are gradually becoming one of the economically developed regions of the Russian Empire with its strong railway network.

Nevertheless, the problem of the abolition of serfdom, the impact of the reform of 1861 on the economic development of Ukrainian lands, and today continues to be one that requires further research.

Introduction

On the basis of scientific research, analysis of archival sources, statistical data of the study analysis of socio-economic development of Ukrainian lands after the agrarian reform of 1861, the social situation of the peasantry after the abolition of serfdom, analyzed the development of the railway industry and its impact on economic reform.

The source base of the problem is given first of all by an array of works of pre-revolutionary history of Ukraine, in particular by collections of statistical data.

A certain role in the socio-economic study of Ukrainian lands was played by the activities of the General Staff of the Tsarist Army to study the provinces of the Russian Empire. The tenth volume of the "Military Statistical Review of the Russian Empire" contains information about the state of the peasantry in the mid-nineteenth century [37].

Research published by P. Batiushkov "Podolia. Historical description: with one chromolithography, 2 phototypes, 46 engravings and 2 maps "(1891) reveals the features of economic, social, national and spiritual (religious) development of the Podolsk region in the late eighteenth - first half of the nineteenth century. [38].

Fundamental study of historical and economic nature "Abolition of serfdom in Ukraine: Sat. documents and materials "was dedicated to the anniversary of the agrarian reform of 1861 [39].

The research of historians Leshchenko L. [40], Zlupko S. [41], Shcherbyna P. [42], Zayonchkovsky P. [43], who studied the reform of the agricultural sector in 1861, is devoted to the study of this problem. and its impact on the economy of the Ukrainian lands of the Russian Empire, and the associated dissatisfaction of the Ukrainian peasantry with their social status.

The monograph by Reyent O., Serdyuk O. "Agriculture of Ukraine and the world food market (1861-1914)" reveals the peculiarities of the development of agriculture in Ukraine and its integration into the world food market in the second half of the XIX - early XX centuries. achievements of Ukrainian farms in the export of grain and other agricultural products, found out the reasons that hampered the development of export trade [44].

Of great interest in the study of our topic is the work of Prysyazhnyuk Yu. "Ukrainian peasantry of Dnieper Ukraine: sociomental history of the second half of the nineteenth - early twentieth century." XIX - early XX centuries. [45].

A fundamental study of the historical and economic nature of P. Andreev was dedicated to the 25th anniversary of the South-Western Railway [46]. An important fact for the study of this problem is contained in the memoirs of contemporaries, namely S. Witte, who as director of the Department of Railways and Minister of Railways, paid attention to improving rail transport, rational use of the railway network [47].

The development of the railway network is contained in the issues of the Journal of the Ministry of Railways, a body of the Ministry of Railways of the Russian Empire, which was published in St. Petersburg from 1826 to 1917. [48]

The research of the issue of railway construction is devoted to the scientific pages of the historian S. Kulchytsky, who considers the development of the railway network in the 70-90s of the XIX century. in connection with the industrial revolution in Russia and its impact on the economy of the Ukrainian lands of the Russian Empire [49].

Setting objectives. Researchers' attention to the issues of the agrarian reform of 1861, the social situation of the peasantry after the abolition of serfdom, socio-

economic development of Ukrainian lands due to the expansion of the Ukrainian railway network remains relevant.

The aim of the research is to try to analyze the main results of the agrarian reform of 1861, which was based on the elimination of serfdom of the peasantry from the landlords, which contributed to the capitalization of the agricultural sector, railway construction and economic development.

Thanks to the informational and analytical-synthetic methods of research on this topic, the economic development of Ukrainian lands in the 60-80s of the XIX century is considered. after the agrarian reform of 1861 - the abolition of serfdom.

2.1 Agrarian reform of 1861 and the situation of the Ukrainian peasantry

At the beginning of the XIX century. The feudal system slowed down the development of most branches of industrial and agricultural production throughout the Russian Empire, including the Ukrainian lands. Europe at that time freed itself from feudalism, embarking on a path of capitalist development with high economic performance.

The basis of the feudal system was established by law ownership of land, regardless of who was the owner of the land - the state or the landlord. Landlord and state peasants had no right to own land. Serfs made up 70% of the peasantry.

In most landed estates serfdom is becoming widespread as a form of labor rent. Thus, in the 1940s, in the South-Western region, out of 408 estates in 131 serfs, each peasant worked 3-4 days a week, and in 277 estates - each yard. In the provinces of the Left Bank of Ukraine, the size of serfdom, which was performed by more than 99% of landlord peasants, reached 4-5, and in some cases, 6 days a week [40, p. 52].

The Military Statistical Review of the Podolsk Province (1850) notes that peasants were forced to serve 6 days a week by whole families (except for girls under 12), which affected their low standard of living [37, p. 89].

Men aged 18-55 and women aged 17-50 served in serfdom. Peasants worked three-day serfdom, tasks were transferred through the treasurer [37, p. 96].

There were also other forms of duty. Thus, in the Podolsk province, peasants were forced to maintain a night guard of 2 people daily. At the direction of the landlord, they could work in a factory or factory [37, p. 97].

The state tried to legislate the amount of exploitation of serfs, and the size of their duties in most cases depended on the will of the landlord. The number of landless peasants from whom landowners have taken away land plots is growing. They were more often sent to work or used on farms as free labor.

In the first half of the XIX century. there is a deterioration in the social situation of peasants. With the development of commodity-money relations, the forms of social duties of serf peasants increased significantly and diversified. The intensification of serfdom contributed to the mass migration of peasants to the South, where taxes and duties were much lower.

Capitalist relations originated in Europe in the late eighteenth - first half of the nineteenth century. For the Russian Empire, serfdom became a brake on the further capitalist development of the entire state and Ukrainian lands. But already in the 20-30's of the XIX century. the process of disintegration of this system is planned, which was accompanied by a severe agrarian crisis. At the same time, there is a rise in popular discontent, and peasant movements are becoming more widespread, for example, led by V. Karmelyuk in the Right Bank of Ukraine. In addition, the causes of peasant movements were national and religious factors. In 1839, the governors-general of Kyiv, Volyn, and Podolia reported to the Minister of the Interior that Catholic clergy and gentlemen in the provinces were cruel to peasants, using violence, cruel punishment, and forcing them to starve, thus persecuting them for their Orthodox faith. [50, p. 247].

During 1855 there were 101 peasant demonstrations in Ukraine, in 1856 - 82, in 1857 - 191, in 1858 - 190, in 1859 - 63 and in 1860 - 81 demonstrations. Instead, during January-May 1861, the number of performances here was 622 [10, pp. 356-400]. However, as in the empire as a whole, they all occurred mainly after March 9-10, ie after the publication of documents on the reform of 1861.

Defeat of Russia in the Crimean War of 1853-1856 pp. showed the negative features of the feudal system.

On January 3, 1857, a Secret Committee was established, which was renamed the Main Committee for Peasant Affairs [15, pp.104-107]. According to the tsar's decree, the responsibilities of this committee included: to monitor the implementation of regulations on peasants freed from serfdom, to participate in the creation of a general peasant statute [52, p. 4].

Thus, those who were interested in the stability of their own situation had to solve the peasant question.

Tsar Alexander II understood the need to liberate the peasants. At the same time, going for reforms, Alexander II sought to preserve the existing form of government by adapting it to new trends and thus strengthen both domestic power and international authority of the empire, which was shaken after the defeat in the Crimean War. Under such circumstances, he, taking care of the state's interests, one must think, but thought little about how the masses would react to this.

In accordance with the order of the government, provincial committees were set up in the provinces to prepare for peasant reform. Particularly interested in the abolition of serfdom was the bourgeoisie, whose factories and mills needed free labor, and in the conditions of serfdom they were not enough - the peasants were attached to the land.

Thus, in the second half of the XIX century. in the Russian Empire there was a reform of the agricultural sector - the abolition of serfdom, or historians call the peasant, agrarian reform.

The main provisions of the reform of 1861 were set out in the Manifesto of February 19, 1861 and the "General Regulations on Peasants Freed from Serfdom." According to these documents, the peasants became personally free.

According to Article 1 of the General Regulations, it was declared that "the serfdom of peasants living in landed estates and of courtiers is abolished forever ...". According to this provision, serf peasants were declared "free peasants" and ceased to be the property of the landlord. They were allowed to conduct free trade, open industrial and craft enterprises, trade establishments, enroll in shops, buy, own and sell movable and immovable property, even, without the landlord's permission to marry, send children to educational institutions.

Agrarian reform provided for the following measures: 1) the abolition of serfdom, granting peasants the rights of citizens; 2) endowment of peasants with land and determination of duties for its use; 3) redemption of peasant holdings.

Despite the elimination of personal dependence on the landlords, the peasants continued to belong to the lower class. Without the permission of the community, they could not obtain a passport and leave the village, that is, they were restricted in their right to move. Peasants received a passport only for a year, paid a per capita tax, performed conscription. Until 1904, corporal punishment, separate peasant courts, and a circular guarantee for the payment of taxes and performance of duties persisted. Landlords were considered trustees of the rural community.

The landlords continued to own all the land, and the peasants became perpetual users of their share. According to the royal "Manifesto", the former serfs received the estate and allotment of field land for indefinite use. Norms of field allotment were set depending on the quality of land and terrain. According to the landlords, the government kept the maximum amount of fertile land.

The peasants protested against the unjust endowment of their land: "All of us are exhausted to the point of impossibility, around our small estates is bordered by the land of the former landowner Miklashevsky, an area of 120 acres. all kinds of inhuman abuse" [45, p. 281].

According to the agrarian reform, the peasant economy was separated from the landlord. Peasants received the right to engage in agricultural and other activities. Allotment land was provided to the village community, which, in accordance with government decisions; a) transferred it to the peasants in the hereditary land, b) left in public ownership and periodically distributed among the peasants' yards for temporary use depending on the quality of land, available souls and livestock. The most common were manor, foot and additional allotments. Infantry allotments were given to all peasants, for long-distance peasants there were additional allotments.

The decision on the procedure for redemption of land by peasants and the amount of the redemption amount was determined by a special Regulation on redemption.

Peasants could buy estates in the absence of debt to the landowner and the treasury. Only with the consent of the landlord could allotted land.

The law of 1881 introduced compulsory redemption of allotted land for landlord peasants.

The size of the ransom was determined by the capitalized value of the annual land rent and duties of the peasants (a sum of money, which, being deposited in the bank, would bring income in the amount of the value of the duties of the peasant before the reform of 1861 at a bank rate of 6%). If the rent and duties of the peasant was 10 rubles., Then, subject to the capitalization of this amount, he had to pay the owner of the land 166.6 rubles. ($10 \times 100 : 6$). This is the approximate cost of ten horses. The peasants paid the landlord 20-25% of the ransom in cash at the conclusion of the ransom agreement. Then the government became the mediator, paying the landlord 80% of the peasant's debt when providing a full allotment (75% - incomplete) part of the money, but mostly in the form of 5% of banknotes or redemption certificates. Peasants became debtors of the state and were obliged to repay the loan within 49 years, paying annually in% of the redemption amount. The average ransom was 150 rubles. outside. Thus, the landlord annually had interest on the ransom, which was equal to the income from the peasant economy before the reform [43, p. 304].

For each Ukrainian province, the amount of redemption payments for 49 years (million rubles):

- Chernihiv - 54.6 million rubles, which is 4.5 times the redemption exceeded the market price of land;

- Poltava - 49.4 million rubles, which is 5.6 times the redemption exceeded the market price of land;

- Kyiv - 110.0 million rubles, which is 3.7 times the redemption exceeded the market price of land;

- Podilska - 101.0 million rubles, which is 2.5 times the redemption exceeded the market price of land;

- Kherson - 33.2 million rubles, which is 5.8 times the redemption exceeded the market price of land;

- Tavriya - 3.5 million rubles, which is 7.4 times the redemption exceeded the market price of land.

Specific (belonged to the royal family) peasants received the right to buy land in 2 years. According to the law of 1866, state peasants received a permit to buy land for 6 years or assigned it for indefinite public allotment or yard use. The value of land rent was determined for 20 years. In 1886, compulsory land redemption was introduced for state peasants.

The law forbade the sale or purchase of allotted land until its full redemption.

The abolition of serfdom did not bring the peasants full equality. They were obliged to pay ransom payments. In addition, after the agrarian reform, the peasants received less land than they had before 1861.

The peasants of the Right Bank of Ukraine kept allotments in the amount determined by the inventory rules of 1847-1848 pp. On average, peasants were given 1.9-2.3 tithes per capita. As on the Left Bank, the land was allocated to the rural community and assigned to the peasants in the hereditary yard land use. In connection with the Polish uprising of 1863 p. tsarist government July 30, 1863 p. issued a law introducing compulsory redemption of peasant holdings.

Most Ukrainian peasants received manorial and foot plots of land. While cultivating it, it was not enough to provide for oneself. The average allotment per capita on the Left Bank was up to 2.5 tithes, in the provinces of Steppe Ukraine - up to 3.2, on the Right Bank - 2.9 tithes. The allotments of state peasants averaged 4.9 tithes per capita, which was almost twice the size of the serfs' allotments. Landowners gave them the worst lands. But the peasants continued to consider the land - "nurse" the mediator between God and people, through whom good is transmitted, the Lord's mercy [45, p. 281].

Pastures, hayfields, forests, part of which after the reform was left in the common use of peasants and landowners, after the Senate decree of 1886 p. almost completely became the property of the landlords.

Agrarian reform had a certain feature in the Right Bank Ukraine. Doubting the loyalty of the Polish nobility (as evidenced by the Polish uprising of 1863), the

government tried to attract Ukrainian peasants to its side and distributed 18% more allotments than they had before 1861. But when they received larger allotments, the peasants were forced to pay for them at inflated prices. During the reform, the landlords took the best lands, leaving the worst to the peasants.

In the post-reform era on the Right Bank, the richest were Counts Branicki, who according to a special separate act issued by the Kyiv Judicial Chamber on February 28, 1866, received three polling stations - Bila Tserkva, Stavyshche and Boguslav. There were 145,000 children in the Bila Tserkva polling station. land, Stavyshchenskaya - 139, Boguslavskaya - 123, and together - 407 thousand dec. It should be reminded that the above-mentioned act did not include 97,994 acres, in particular, villages with lands in Cherkasy district - Kumeiky, Plevahy, Stanislavchyk, Mykhailivka, Shelepuhy, Bereznyaki, Sofiyivka and Gusha.

Possessions of Count KK Potocki only in Bratslav district of Podolsk province, on both sides of the Southern Bug, exceeded 20 thousand dec. The ancient Potocki Palace was located on the stone cliff of the river and sank in an extremely picturesque park [44, p. 17-18].

Police and gendarmes systematically informed the governors of the peasants' hostility to Polish and Russian landowners. The incompleteness of the peasant reform prompted the peasants to active mass demonstrations. Thus, in the Podolsk province, the peasant movement covered about 300 villages, or 32% of the total number of settlements in Ukraine. In the Kiev province participated residents of 242 settlements, which was 30% of their total [40, p. 51].

It is clear that the reduction of size had a depressing effect on the moral and volitional mood of the peasants-owners and members of their families [45, p. 283].

With the reduction of livestock in the yards, the peasants gave up, first of all, field plots (on occasion, they were forced to rent them on unfavorable terms) and only later got rid of gardens. Life became worse and worse, and crop failures led to a reduction in feeding supplies. And if before the peasants plowed their land with two or three pairs of oxen, now they were forced to use a pair of bad horses. Therefore, they often abandoned their farm and went to the city [45, p. 284].

In areas that were less suitable for cultivation, fields were more often used for pastures, carts and other trades were spread, firewood was cut and sawed, work was done in furnaces, sugar factories, near steam mills, and so on.

In the works of the Vinnytsia Committee of Economic Status it is noted that in Vinnytsia County there is 0.67 dec. land, 3.8 acres per yard, 8% have only one estate, 2.3% - landless and 14% with full plots. On average, peasants receive 12 rubles. per year per capita gross income from the land, per yard - 70 rubles., per tithe - 18 rubles. and this is still the best situation in the county due solely to local earnings. Unfortunately, the vodka drunk by the population goes to each yard in the amount of 25 rubles, ie 2.5 times higher than taxes (all redemption) [53, p. 351].

Large landowners of the Right Bank of Ukraine were forced to actively rebuild their farms due to the abolition of serfdom, adapting to new conditions and using self-employed labor, quickly becoming capitalist farmers and industrialists, which allowed them to save their land.

In addition to land, the landowners also owned mills, fishing, taverns, distilleries, looms, brickyards, sawmills and sugar factories, and so on. The largest sugar growers were Bobrynsky, Branytsky, Potocki, Baskakov, Balashov, and landowners — Tereshchenko, Kharitonienky, Brodsky, and others. There was a direct and inseparable connection between large landowners, sugar and other industries [44, p. 20].

Thus, the agrarian reform of 1861 was carried out in the interests of the landlords, which was reflected in its content and ways of implementation. Despite its bourgeois nature, it was fiscal to the peasantry.

With the support of the state and the lack of land demarcation before the reform, the landowners of the Russian Empire not only seized the best lands, but also cut off many of their peasants: from 14% in Kherson province to 37% in Ekaterinoslav. Therefore, after the reform, 220 thousand Ukrainian peasants remained landless, almost 100 thousand had an allotment of up to one tenth and 1,600,000 - from one to three tenths. In general, in the post-reform period, almost 94% of peasant farms owned plots of up to 5 acres, which did not allow for efficient farming. In addition, as a result

of the reform, Ukrainian peasants lost 1 million acres (over 15% of the total land area), which were previously in their use [51, p. 22].

The reform was carried out at the expense of the peasants, who were forced to pay landlords ransom for land, and in fact it was compensation for the abolition of feudal duties. Since they could not pay the full amount of 11 annual taxes from the peasant's court at once, the state acted as an intermediary between the peasants and the landlords. She paid ransom to the landlords, and gave the peasants a loan for 49 years. As a result, the royal treasury for each ruble given to the peasants received 63 kopecks of net profit [41, p. 236].

The ransom operation became a real robbery of the peasants. The peasants paid three times their value for their land. The peasants considered the reduction of their land use especially unfair. Cruel landlord exploitation, predatory nature of the reform itself caused dissatisfaction of peasants, which led to mass peasant demonstrations, one of the most important demands was the return of "segments" [42, p. 27].

The abolition of serfdom was a kind of key to the modernization of the Russian Empire. Such a radical transformation in the agricultural sector required urgent changes and shifts in other spheres of public life, which would make it possible to harmonize and stabilize the situation in the country.

The formation of bourgeois land ownership, the introduction of machinery and agricultural machinery, and the improvement of the structure of the economy contributed to an increase in yields, an expansion of sown areas and an increase in commodity production, and an increase in domestic and foreign trade.

The abolition of serfdom was one of the most important events of the second half of the XIX century. The state is forced to eliminate the feudal system that has existed for hundreds of years. The reform was prepared by the serfs, so it was not possible to make it radical. It was half-hearted, inconsistent, with a focus primarily on the interests of the nobility. The greatest achievement of this reform was that the peasants received personal freedom.

The peasant community remained in the villages, restricting the personal freedom of the peasants and regulating their economic activities, maintaining archaic

relations in the countryside. The peasants tried to leave the community and move to backyard land use.

Objectively, the peasant reform led to the improvement of the life of the peasantry and contributed to the economic and socio-political development of Ukrainian society. It was an important step in the capitalist transformation of society.

After the abolition of serfdom in 1861, the Russian Empire began a slow transition from archaic to industrial society. The authorities sought to increase labor productivity, introduce new technologies in agriculture, and focus producers on the production of competitive products. However, agriculture remained the most important area of employment for the vast majority of the population. In different regions of Ukraine from 70 to 80% of rural residents lived exclusively through agricultural fishing [44, p. 11].

In the post-reform period, the expansion and strengthening of private land ownership, the reduction of landlordism, and the growth of its mortgage debt were decisive for agrarian relations in Ukraine.

Land became a commodity whose price was constantly rising. The process of stratification intensified the concentration of land in the affluent. Up to 80% of peasant farms were landless and landless.

The result of significant remnants of serfdom in the agricultural sector of Ukraine was artificial overpopulation. The surplus of labor in the countryside forced the peasants to go to work. The vast majority of villagers moved to the southern regions of Ukraine, Crimea, Caucasus, Bessarabia (about 800 thousand people.) [43, p. 142].

2.2 Construction of the railway network

Railways have played an important role in regulating the country's economic development and its place at the international level.

Given their capabilities, the owners of large estates were looking for ways to export their products to domestic and foreign markets.

It should be noted that the question of building railways was raised in the 30s of the XIX century. The Governor-General of Novorossiysk, Prince M. Vorontsov, argued that the railway was of great importance for the development of the Ukrainian economy. By connecting important cities by rail, each region of Ukraine could transport a large number of stocks of bread and other goods for trade, which would contribute to the future economic development of the regions [55, p. 27].

In the 40s of the XIX century. with the participation of the Governor-General of Novorossiya MS Vorontsov developed a project to build the Odesa-Parkan railway (on the Dniester) and to Olviopol; it was also planned to build a railway branch to the Baltic. Then the railway was to be extended to Kremenchuk. In addition, Odesa was mentioned in almost all railway construction projects. And this is understandable, because in the 30-40s of the XIX century. Odesa was a large grain export port [56, p. 194-195].

M. Vorontsov's project was approved by the tsar in 1850. The Crimean War delayed construction, significantly damaging Ukrainian agriculture, whose share in the foreign market decreased [57, p. 245]. But another reason for the delay in the construction of railways was the lack of interest of Ukrainian landowners in solving transport problems. With the construction of railways, landowners lost one of the duties of their serfs - "underwater".

The first railway companies were established in the 1940s and 1950s. Thus, in 1848, a secret adviser to Marina proposed to build a railway from Odessa through Olviopil to Kremenchuk. An amount was allocated from the local fund to study the area under construction. But the project was not completed since Marina died.

In 1852, Prince L. Kochubey asked the government's permission to form a company to build a railway from Kharkiv to Feodosia with a branch to the Dnieper pier near Katerynoslav with a 4% guarantee of fixed capital of 25 million rubles for 50 years. After the completion of this project by the government, the customer refused to build.

In the spring of 1857, another railway construction company appeared in Ukraine. Representatives of the Trade House "T. Bonar and K »princes S. Dolgoruky

and L. Kochubey, Count F. Lubensky and others asked to form a joint-stock company to build a railway from Odessa to Balta, Bratslav, Kyiv, Nizhyn with a length of 1483 km, determining its value at 2.8 million *кpб.* silver. All this was rejected due to more favorable offers [58, p. 85-86].

With the introduction of the agrarian reform of 1861, the transport backwardness and crisis became clear. Thus, in 1862 in the landed estates of the Right Bank of Ukraine remained without sales up to 1.34 thousand tons of grain [49, p. 104].

The lack of perfect transport links delayed the development of industry. So, in 1866 in Donbass there were 10 million tons of not taken out coal.

On January 15, 1863, the Novorossiysk Governor-General P. Kotsebu began to build a railway line from Odessa to the Fence at the expense of state funds [48, p. 36]. On March 26, 1864, Kotzebue was ordered to extend the railway to the town of Balti. Balta was a significant trade center of the Podolsk province, where there were long bread shops and fairs. Products produced mainly in the South-Western region (bread, lard, wool, seeds, etc.) were sent to Odessa from the Baltics [23, sheets 79, 88]. In the middle of the XIX century. this city actually became a shopping center in the south of Ukraine, where large fairs were held. The great importance of this railway line was that the products of the South-Western region were sent from the port of Odessa [46, p. 60].

As early as December 1865, the movement of goods and, later, passenger traffic began along this line.

In the same year, the Society de Vriere and K. was commissioned to build the Kyiv-Baltic Railway with a branch to Volochysk. The length of this line reached 456.5 km.

In 1871 the railway lines Kyiv-Kozyatyn, Birzula-Zhmerynka, Zhmerynka-Volochysk (488 km) were put into operation [60, p. 2, 39]. It should be noted that all this intensified and paved the way for the sale of local products for the population of Kyiv, Volyn, Podolsk provinces, which made it impossible to transport them by oxen [61, p. 9]. The opening of the Kyiv-Baltic Railway contributed to the further development of the South-Western region.

Dozens and hundreds of entrepreneurs interested in big profits have been involved in the railway business since the mid-1960s. In order to accelerate the development of the railway network, the government pursued a policy of unlimited support for joint-stock companies, using a concession system of construction. This period lasted from 1866 to 1880, ie for 15 years [62, p. 7].

Joint-stock railway companies were considered as one of the best forms of private capital investment [63, p. 54]. The treasury, by giving concessions to joint-stock companies for the construction and maintenance of the railway, guaranteed them profits on shares and bonds of railway loans, took into account all their losses. The government provided continuous financial assistance to shareholders, guaranteeing 5% return on investment for 80 years or more. In addition, the treasury took on the task of selling share capital, holding all bonds and issuing them to shareholders specified in the charter. Railway companies, for their part, undertook to pay annual interest to the treasury and repay the specified amount within a specified period.

However, railway loans were not sold by the company, but directly by the government in foreign markets. Companies paid only interest on bond loans, but the difference between the income from the sale of loan capital and the interest paid on it came to shareholders and was the source of their dividends. All joint-stock companies received a government guarantee. In addition, the treasury guaranteed a return on capital, calculated on the basis of the inflated cost of railway construction. Government agencies did not interfere in the company's affairs. Railway construction provided large profits to concessionaires, and employees on private railways received high salaries. Yes, S.Yu. Witte received more as the manager of the private South-Western Railway than as the Minister of Finance [47, p. 152].

The first railway in Ukraine, built by the joint-stock company with significant financial assistance from the treasury, was the Kursk-Kiev railway, which connected the central industrial region of Russia with the center of the sugar industry of Ukraine. In November-December 1868, the Kursk-Kiev railway was opened to trains. In July 1869, the Kursk-Kharkiv section was opened, with a total length of 243 km [64, p. 15].

The Fastiv railway built by the society was opened to traffic on November 23, 1876, connecting the lines Kyiv-Odesa, Kharkiv-Mykolayiv, with a length of 354 km [58, p. 244]. The main purpose of this area is to serve the sugar industry.

In 1873-1875, the Lozova-Sevastopol railway network was built, thanks to which the Left Bank was connected with the Donetsk-Kryvyi Rih district and the Crimea [65, p.2]. This railway played an important role in increasing grain exports, opening the way to Donetsk Dnieper coal [58, p. 270].

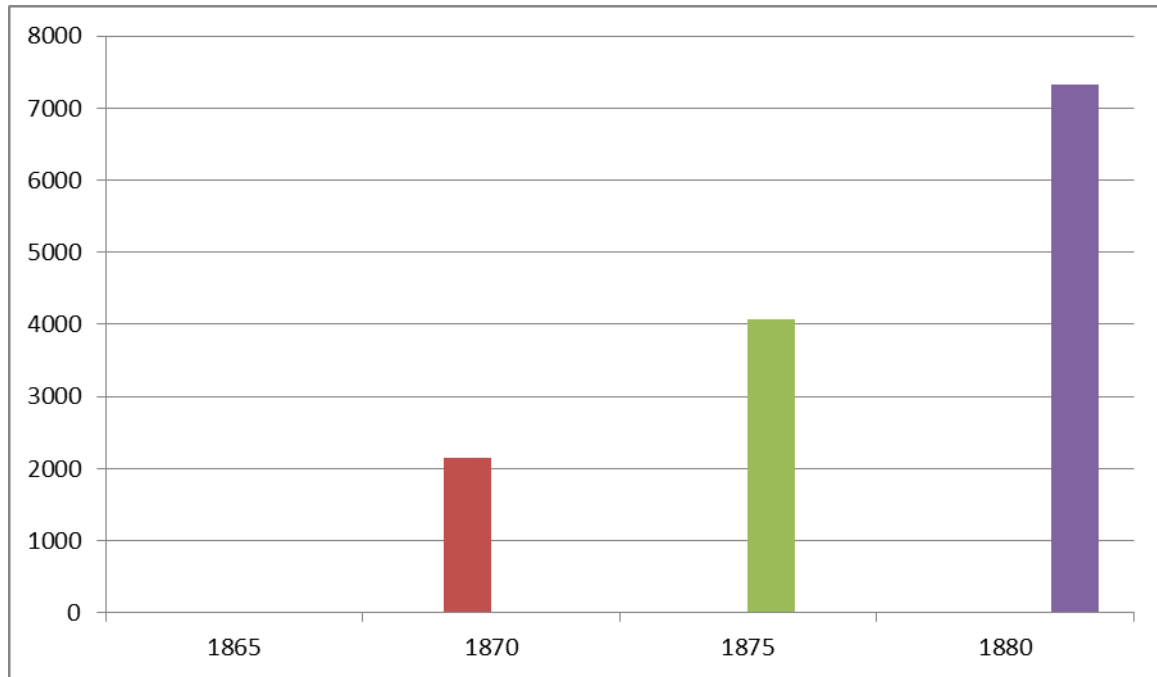
In 1876, the construction of the Donetsk Railway began, which was expected to revive the coal industry, facilitate the supply of metal and mineral fuels to the Black Sea Fleet. It was partially opened to traffic in December 1878, and finally in August 1879.

In the 70s of the XIX century. the merger of small railway companies begins. Thus, in 1878 the societies of Kyiv-Brest, Brest-Grayev and Odessa railways merged into the "Society of South-Western Railways", the length of which was 2167 km [66, p. 5-45]. The formation of this railway network was an extraordinary event.

The main line of the South-Western Railway Society is the most important artery connecting the Black and Baltic Seas, and through other railway lines it supports the connection of southern Russia (Odesa) with the Warsaw and Moscow industrial regions. Its importance for the South-West region is that it provides access to locally produced products (bread) both in the south (Odesa) and in the north (Danzing, Keninsberg). From January 1, 1895, the South-Western Railways will be transferred to the state (state) use [46, p. 3-4, 96].

During the period from 1875 to 1879, the Ukrainian railway network increased from 4,069 to 7,335 km, which is shown in Table 1.

Table 1.



Sources: CDIA of Ukraine. F.442. Op.534, Spr.180, ark.8; F. 442. Op.566. спр.49. arch. 17; Engine. 1870. Jan. 26, April 29; Kiev. 1865. December 2; Angeleiko V. Railways of Ukraine in 1865-1965 // Essays on the history of technology and science. 1962. S. 13-14.

The railways completely changed the conditions of production, became the impetus for further capitalist development of the village. This was reflected in the increase in agricultural production and export.

2.3 Interdependence of agricultural development and railway transport

With the gradual expansion of the railway network, industrial areas merged with agricultural suburbs, which contributed to the improvement of trade, strengthening the domestic market. The construction of new railways during this period allowed to expand trade relations with Europe and Asia. Thus, in 1866 the Ukrainian railways exported 736 thousand tons of wheat, 60 thousand tons of corn, 5.9 thousand tons of wool, 7 thousand tons of lard to Europe and Egypt [31, p. 16b].

Wheat remained the main crop. With the expansion of railways, the center of economic life moved to the southern and southeastern regions [68, p. 65].

The southern Ukrainian regions also needed to improve transport connections for their own development. There was a need to build a new port in Nikolaev, which in 1862 received the status of trade. This contributed to the increase in wheat exports to 40 million tons per year [69, p.11].

Therefore, the government is taking the following urgent decision: to build the Znamyanka-Mykolayiv railway to open access to the Left Bank of Ukraine. In August 1873, the movement of trains was opened by this railway branch. During the year it sent more than 8 million tons of wheat [70, p.11].

Large transport centers were formed: Kyiv, Kharkiv, Odesa. Each Ukrainian district had connections with the Black Sea-Azov ports.

Due to the increased capacity of rail transport, most of the goods were transported by him. Thus, Ukrainian sugar produced in 1871-1872, weighing 70,000 tons, was transported through Ukrainian territory by the following railways: Zhmerynsko-Odesa, Kremenchuk-Kharkiv, Kremenchug-Odesa, Kozyatyn - Kyiv - Moscow. In 1879 the export of sugar and grain cargo amounted to more than 376 thousand tons [71, p. 345].

The process of decentralization of trade took place: trade operations were carried out not only in large shopping centers, but also at small railway stations. At the same time, the role of large shopping centers grew, especially those that were railway junctions or ports.

Railway stations were flooded with a lot of small traders, commission agents, who bought bread, hemp, leather, lard, sheepskin, bristles and other goods. Layers of small trade intermediaries penetrated the village, quickly involved it in commodity-money circulation, contributed to the growth of marketability of agriculture.

Bread remained an important product in the domestic market. The expansion of the railway network was the impetus for the development of commodity bread production in the Ukrainian lands, especially in the southern provinces.

In 1871-1873, grain cargo accounted for 40.4% of the total cargo turnover of the Ukrainian railway network. The average annual export of grain from the South-Western region was up to 320 thousand tons. Gradually, this figure was increased. If

we analyze the period of 60-70's, it turns out the following: in 1862-1866 - 144 thousand tons, in 1867-1871 - 256 thousand tons, in 1872-1876 - 352 thousand tons , in 1877-1878 - 622 thousand tons [72, p. 2].

From 1878 to 1882 wheat was exported only from Poltava province: 7.5% to Belgium and Holland, 42% to England, 31.2% to France, 31% to France, 18% to Italy, Spain, Austria, Turkey and Romania. , 1% [48, p. 48-49].

The railways contributed to changes in production conditions, became an impetus for further capitalization of the village, as evidenced by figures on increasing the commodity production of wheat and other agricultural products, their transportation.

In 1875, grain transportation by Kyiv-Brest railway reached 72.9% of the total number of grain transportation [73, p.74].

During the period under study, the volume of grain exported from the Russian Empire, although with some fluctuations, gradually increased. In 1877, 252.011 million poods of five main cereals (wheat, rye, barley, oats, corn) were exported to the world market, including flour and bran [74, p. 4].

And if in the first half of the XIX century. The supplier was the Left Bank, then in the late 70's in the first place are the southern provinces of Ukraine, the average annual export of which is 464 thousand tons of wheat, compared with 320 thousand tons from the Right Bank provinces [68, p. 73].

Grain and flour were also important items in the internal trade of the Right Bank of Ukraine. Beginning in the 1950's, most of the bread from the Right Bank of Ukraine was sold for 2.5% of the annual harvest. The main bread was sold in local and domestic markets, processed into vodka, supplied to the army. 40% of bread fell on the Right Bank of Ukraine (wheat - 57%), about 38% - in the southern province, more than 22% - in Bessarabia.

Food products were sold in nearby and distant markets. The development of rail, sea and river transport provided them with direct access to Central Russia, Belarus, the Baltics, the Kingdom of Poland, the Caucasus, Siberia, the Far East [75, p. 34].

The leading role belonged to grain production. Arable land and crops expanded. The area of arable land in the 60-70's of the XIX century. increased from 19.7 to 29.1 million acres. The average grain harvest from the tithe on the Right Bank increased by 60%, on the Left Bank - by 92%, in the South - by 72% [76, p. 237].

The construction of the Catherine Railway contributed to the expansion of sown areas in the steppe provinces of Ukraine (Kherson, Ekaterinoslav and Tavriya), to sown areas increased from 5528.9 thousand acres in 1883-1887 to 8423, 9 thousand acres in 1898-1900. [76, p. 204].

In particular, in the Ekaterinoslav province, wheat production increased from 563 thousand tons in the 60's to 850.9 thousand tons in the 80's of the XIX century, ie by 51%. In the Kherson province for this period - from 236 thousand tons to 1111.2 thousand tons, and in the Tavriya province - from 167.5 thousand tons to 666.2 thousand tons of wheat annually [76, p. 146].

Ukraine was the main region of the Russian Empire, where wheat, barley, rye, oats, and buckwheat were grown.

Many potatoes were grown, which took an important place in the diet, became a raw material for industrial cultivation and starch production.

Sugar beet crops grew rapidly, in particular, in the Right Bank, Kharkiv, Chernihiv provinces. In general, Ukraine gave 82% of the gross collection of the empire [48, p. 60].

Flax and tobacco remained important technical crops in Ukraine. Despite some upsurge, crop production in eastern Ukraine remained backward.

In the agricultural sector of Ukraine, both in its western and eastern regions, significant remnants of feudal relations continue to persist, due to the very content of agrarian reforms. It is clear that they hinder the development of market relations, but, despite this, they are still gradually gaining ground in both landlord and peasant farms.

In the 1870s, bread was exported from Ukraine across the western land border, the Baltic and Black Sea-Azov ports. The latter were actively used by landowners of the Right Bank. At the same time, the latest research of Ukrainian historians clearly shows that "the importance of Baltic ports in European bread trade gradually declined,

while the role of southern ports was constantly growing and reached in the 1890s almost $\frac{3}{4}$ all-Russian" [74, p. 15]. Moreover, during the 70-80s of the XIX century. the share of Northern Black Sea ports in Black Sea grain exports has been gradually increasing, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2.

**Cargo turnover of the Black Sea-Azov ports in the 70-80's of the
XIX century.**

(thousand tons)

Port / years	187-75	1876-80	1881-85	1886	1887
Odesa	1081.87	1118.2	1325.16	1261.35	2052.7
Sevastopol	54.78	715.8	1003.36	2381.84	2998.56
Mykolaiv	301.64	1408.7	3392.15	3254.44	6610.69

Source: Bulletin of Finance, Industry and Trade. 1888. Vol.2. №36. Pp. 586-588

Improvements in grain exports have been observed in recent years. This was facilitated by the fact that at the end of the XIX century. Agriculture entered a new period of its development, which was accompanied by increasing the efficiency of various forms of land tenure - from small farms to landlords. At the same time, the extent of steppe plowing has significantly increased in the provinces of Southern Ukraine, as well as in the Don region, the Volga region and the North Caucasus. Thus, in 1894 in Ukraine was collected more than 1 billion poods of bread, a huge surplus of which was exported to foreign markets even in the following 1895. All this gave additional impetus to the overall development of productive forces, the industrial boom of the second half of the 1890s. and hence to increase the capacity of seaports in Ukraine [74, p. 20].

During this period, the Ukrainian provinces, compared with other regions of the Russian Empire, occupied a decisive place in the export of grain to the world market.

In total, about 178 million poods of bread (44.79%) were exported by rail from 9 Ukrainian provinces in 1895, 176.7 million (44.56%) from 28 Russian provinces, from the provinces of the Kingdom of Poland, Bessarabia, the Baltic region and the Belarusian provinces. - 41.8 million poods (10% of all exports by rail) [77, p. 79].

The post-reform period was marked by the undeniable dominance of Odessa among the Ukrainian Black Sea-Azov ports in terms of grain shipments to foreign markets. In 1890, the city received 83,650 railway wagons with grain cargo or about 50.19 million poods of various grains. For comparison: in the same year over 21,856 million poods of grain were delivered to Mykolayiv by rail, 13,659 million poods to Sevastopol, 3,492 million poods of grain to Mariupol [74, p. 13].

Relatively insignificant, given the distance from the main regions of grain growing, were the volumes of grain exports from Sevastopol. After the commissioning of the Kursk-Kharkiv-Sevastopol railway, the export of bread from the port of Sevastopol increased. Other ports through which grain was exported include Feodosia, Yevpatoria, Kerch, Henichesk and Skadovsk. The amount of grain coming to Feodosia for a long time also depended on the intensity of navigation on the Dnieper. However, from 1892 the situation became more favorable - after the completion of the construction of the railway Feodosia-Dzhankoy and its connection with Lozovo-Sevastopol branch. Since then, grain began to arrive en masse in the Crimea from Ekaterinoslav, Tavriya, Kharkiv and Poltava provinces.

It should be noted that at the end of the XIX century. Ukrainian territory became one of the economically developed regions of the Russian Empire, thanks to the expansion of the railway network and the industrial revolution in the 70-80's, which contributed to the formation of large industrial regions such as Donetsk coal region, Kryvyi Rih iron ore, Nikopol and Pipan manganese sugar.

Railroad tracks were often connected directly to land estates and sugar factories. Due to rail and river connections, the export of agricultural and livestock products to seaports and border points on land, and from there to the markets of Europe and the Middle East (to England, Germany, France, Italy, Turkey, Egypt and other countries) increased.

Conclusions. Summing up, it should be noted that the agrarian reform of 1861 had its own peculiarities, was carried out at the expense of the peasants, who had to pay ransom to the landlords. Formally, this ransom was intended for the land, but in fact it was compensation for the abolition of feudal duties.

The abolition of serfdom did not bring the peasants full equality. They were obliged to pay ransom payments. After the abolition of serfdom in European Russia, including Ukrainian lands, the remnants of feudal relations remained. It should be noted that after the reform the peasants had less land than before 1861.

The reform of 1861 was not completed. Mass landlessness of peasants, preservation of the remnants of serfdom in the countryside - all this led to the impoverishment of the bulk of the peasantry, to strengthen its class differentiation, the separation of the rural bourgeoisie (kulaks) and rural proletariat and the middle peasantry.

Significant evolution of agrarian relations and the development of the agricultural sector in the post-reform period of the second half of the nineteenth century. there was a deepening of specialization, increasing the yield of grain and industrial crops, the use of machines.

A series of subsequent reforms of the 60's and 70's of the XIX century. contributed to the transformation of the empire into a bourgeois monarchy, and the reforms of the 80-90's of the XIX century. allowed to maintain the existing form of government. On the other hand, the reform left great opportunities for the preservation of the remnants of feudal relations, the basis for this was the preserved landlordism and economic dependence of a large part of peasant farms on landlord farms.

The railways, which began to be actively built in the post-reform era, had a positive impact on the development of agriculture in Ukraine. The construction and expansion of the railway network have created favorable conditions for the export of agricultural products not only to the domestic but also the world market. The construction of new railways during this period allowed to expand trade relations with Europe and Asia. At the same time, the increase in the length of railways was accompanied by an increase in sown areas of grain and other crops.

Often, access tracks were brought directly to land estates and sugar factories, which contributed to their further economic recovery. Due to rail and river connections, the export of agricultural and livestock products to seaports and border points on land, and from there to the markets of Europe and the Middle East (to England, Germany, France, Italy, Turkey, Egypt and other countries) increased.

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3. The emergence and development of informal organizations in Ukraine (1987-1989)

3.1.1 Historiography of the problem

The first attempts to analyze a new social phenomenon - informal organizations - were mostly journalistic and descriptive. At the same time, the pace of socio-political transformations in the republic was ahead of the historiographical novelty of research, which focused mainly on informal youth associations (V. Kononov, I. Sundiev, O. Kashcheeva, R. Apersyan, O. Donchenko, S. Shapoval). [78] Scholars tried to find out the origins and social base of youth associations. They believed that the impetus for the creation of informal associations was the intensification of socio-political movements in Ukraine, publicity and the emergence of the first rudiments of political pluralism. O. Razumkov and S. Khodakovsky noted that informal associations of young people in the field of leisure ("hippies", "rockers") have existed in Ukraine since the 70s of the twentieth century. In 1985-1987, most youth informal groups, feeling the easing of psychological and administrative pressure from Komsomol and Communist Party groups, united young people for leisure activities. Since 1987, the process of formation of organizations of socio-political, national-cultural, environmental orientation begins. The formation of socio-political clubs served as an accelerator of the amateur social and political movement of the youth. [79] A number of authors (V. Shchegortsov, A. Kochetkov, A. Shchegortsov, L. Dyachenko) considered informal organizations in the context of an amateur social movement that operated outside the officially existing institutions. [80] A. Gromov and O. Kuzin defined informal associations as voluntary amateur public formations that arose at the initiative of the "lower classes" and acted in the interests of their members, regardless of the purpose and nature of the association. [81]

Modern researchers of the recent history of Ukraine consider the process of formation of informal associations in Ukraine in the context of the formation of the national opposition, highlighting the period 1985-1991 as the last stage of the Ukrainian national liberation movement. The main organizational structure of the

movement was the Ukrainian Language Society (TUM) Taras Shevchenko, Ukrainian Helsinki Union (UHS), and the People's Movement of Ukraine (NRU) [82]. Scholars pay considerable attention to the regional aspects of the development of the informal movement [83, 84, 85], which allows us to objectively and impartially assess the level of civic activity of the population of Ukraine during the years of perestroika.

3.1.2 The emergence of informal youth associations in Ukraine

The opportunity to freely express their opinion (at least among like-minded people) on ecology, history, assess the state of national language and culture, organize their leisure set the citizens to create diverse organizations, which later became informal. The intensification of public life outside the organizations traditional for the Soviet political system was prompted by bureaucratization, formalism, and the lack of initiative that prevailed in these associations.

A significant proportion of informal associations were created by young people, but did not go beyond the youth subculture (at least until 1987). Therefore, the Komsomol was entrusted with the control and supervision of informals by the party and state leadership. Thus, during 1986-1987 a club of rock music lovers was organized at the Lutsk House of Culture, headed by V. Voron, a correspondent of the regional Komsomol newspaper "Young Leninist".

In March 1987, with the participation of representatives of the Lutsk City Committee of the Leninist Communist Youth Union of Ukraine (hereinafter - LKSMU), students of the Lutsk Pedagogical Institute, who served in Afghanistan, created a regional council of young reserve soldiers. The Constituent Assembly approved the regulations and statutes of the new association. At the meeting, representatives of young soldiers of the Air Force Reserve proposed to create clubs at communal structures to prepare teenagers for service in the army. [86, p. 3-4]

In June 1987, the Voroshilovgrad Regional Committee of the Komsomol informed the Central Committee of the LKSMU that there were about 200 amateur youth groups with 3,500 members, while in December 1987 there were 500 youth associations with about 4 members. 5 thousand people. Namely: sports (football,

weightlifting) - 95 (560 participants); sports and technical (hang gliding, karting) - 70 (800); musical (rock bands, amateur art) - 42 (600); diverse - 200 (about 2 thousand), others (metalheads, hipsters, football fans) - 82 (750-1000). According to Komsomol officials, the number of informals increased during 1983-1986. The reasons that led to the intensification of the informal youth movement were caused by the poor organization of leisure by the Komsomol and cultural institutions, as well as the low level of logistics of cultural and sports institutions. In 1986, a regional federation of amateur associations was established to supervise youth groups with the assistance of the Komsomol regional committee. [86, p. 5-8]

The lack of a unified methodology for defining informal structures led to the fact that in March 1986 the Lviv Regional Committee of the Young Communist League of Ukraine included in the informal 33 associations of teenagers created on a territorial basis (so-called "parties") the Zhytomyr Regional Committee of the Komsomol in June 1987. year, out of 338 youth associations, 42 informal groups - rockers, breakers, football fans, metalheads, whose participants were high school students, vocational schools, students. [86, p. 15]

The Odessa City Committee of the Young Communist League estimated the number of informal youth groups at 3,000, including the socio-political club, the Argo sports and theater studio, the Third Pole Travelers Club, the break dance studio, the amateur song club, and the poetry club. "Lira" association, rock club, clubs of fans of cinema, fiction, poetry, football fans, student environmental groups, metal groups. [86, p. 40-41]

A number of city committees of the Komsomol continued to tightly control the informals, assessing their activities as anti-social manifestations. Thus, the Feodosiya City Committee of the LKSMU reported to the Crimean Regional Committee of the Komsomol on the availability of a file of persons registered at the drug treatment center, engaged in prostitution, as well as the availability of lists of "rockers". During 1988, Komsomol officials conducted raids to identify "rockers", reported to the administration at the place of work of their parents. [87, p. 1]

The intensification of informal associations required an understanding of the new socio-political phenomenon and the appropriate response of Komsomol structures. In May 1986, the Public Sociological Laboratory at the Kherson Regional Committee of the Komsomol, with the participation of the Research Center of the Higher Komsomol School, conducted a sociological survey among Kherson youth. Researchers stated that 18.5% of respondents participated in the activities of informal associations. Informal amateur youth associations were defined as various amateur associations that arose spontaneously, not with state and public organizations, and united by a common interest. [86, p. 72]

Thus, the transformation of informal youth groups into amateur organizations took place through the establishment of Komsomol guardianship, registration of statutes and programs of their activities by Komsomol or state structures, providing the necessary material and methodological assistance. At the beginning of 1988, the LKSMU accumulated considerable material on the activities of informals, which allowed Komsomol functionaries to carry out their own classification by areas of activity: 1.) socio-political amateur clubs (All-Union Socio-Political Club, "Democratization", "Bolshevik"); 2.) inter-movement (inter-brigade), created for manifestations of solidarity with the anti-imperialist struggle of developing countries; 3.) peacekeeping groups ("Watch of Peace", "Trust"); 4.) music and literary and artistic groups (fans of rock music, metalheads, literary circles); 5.) dubious and anti-social organizations (hippies, "parties", "Ukrainian Cultural Club" (UCC), nationalist and fascist groups). [86, p. 60-65]

It should be noted that the inter-movement (30 inter-brigades and clubs of international friendship) was under the ideological leadership of the Komsomol committees. Supervision of music and literary and artistic groups was established without much difficulty. Politicized youth groups, including political and discussion clubs that emerged on their own, with the participation of Komsomol and Communist Party structures, were of some concern to Komsomol functionaries. The clubs brought together socially active young people, including students, teachers, university professors, engineers and individual workers. At the beginning of April 1988, more

than a thousand political and discussion clubs operated in Ukraine under the auspices of the Komsomol committees. [87, p. 1]

At the meeting of the secretariat of the Central Committee of the LKSMU on March 24, 1988, the certificate "On some negative processes in amateur youth associations" was considered. Komsomol officials noted with concern that the activities of informal associations are gaining a qualitatively new meaning: "their politicization is intensifying, focusing on socio-economic, national and historical and cultural issues." in the organization of protection of workers from bureaucratic arbitrariness of the administration. "[87, p. 2-3] Among the ideological opponents of the Komsomol, the authors of the reference included associations of both left-wing radicals and critics of Marxism, nationalist youth groups.

The Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League received information that in May 1987 the inaugural conference of the All-Union Social political club. Branches of the organization appeared in Kyiv, Lviv, Kharkiv, Kherson, Simferopol, Mykolayiv. J. Kupka, a student of Kyiv University, was elected the club's coordinator for Ukraine and Moldova. E. Patrikeev, a student of Lviv University, was elected a member of the council. The purpose of the club was to promote the further development of perestroika by deepening democracy and more effective realization of the benefits of socialism. [86, p. 61] Other political clubs began to operate without the permission of party structures. The common worldview prompted them to form a coalition - a union of socio-political clubs, which included clubs "Longjumeau", "Bolshevik", "Fatherland", "Sobriety". A statement from the organization declared its commitment to Marxism: "There are groups in our union that support the creation of opposition (but Marxist-Leninist) parties. We do not and do not always agree with the instructions of the CPSU, although we support the perestroika led by it. We want a return to Leninism, which was forgotten by the Communist Party in the 1930s and has not yet been revived. We do not organize demonstrations without the consent of the authorities. But we are in favor of allowing the printing and distribution of documents if they do not call for the overthrow of the Soviet government and do not spread war and violence. "[88, p. 83]

The desire of young radicals to "purify" the communist idea was also manifested in the manifesto proclaimed by the Bolshevik Political Club, which stated, in particular, that the Bolshevik Political Club was a political organization of revolutionary youth that defended Marxism-Leninism and intended to create Marxist-Leninist Workers' Party. The CPSU cannot solve the economic and political problems facing our country. The CPSU was reborn from a proletarian party to a nationwide one, which transformed the CPSU from a Marxist-Leninist party into a petty-bourgeois one with an almost Marxist phrase." [88, p. 85]

A number of clubs offered unique approaches to promoting the restructuring and democratization of society. Thus, the socio-political club "Democratization", established in Poltava in 1987, in the draft program-maximum considered it necessary to implement such principles - to promote the independence of enterprises; strive to combine commodity-money relations with centralized planning; to introduce mainly economic methods of managing the national economy. A variant of the electoral system reform was proposed, according to which representatives of labor collectives, members of public organizations and ordinary citizens would be elected to the councils of people's deputies. The only force capable of resisting bureaucratic structures could be the councils of labor collectives. [88, p. 88]

3.1.3 Development and politicization of the informal movement in Ukraine under the liberalization of the Soviet regime

Unexpected trends in the development of the informal movement have caused concern among party structures. On March 1, 1988, the resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU "On overcoming negative trends in the activities of some amateur associations." In April 1988, the regional committees of the CPU, Ukrprofrad, the Central Committee of the LKSMU, and the Ministry of Culture provided the necessary information to the Central Committee of the CPU about amateur organizations and methods of interaction with them. The party structures began a meticulous analysis of the new socio-political phenomenon. For example, in the first half of 1988 there were "rockers" and "metalheads" (rock music clubs) in the

Zaporizhia region. At the meetings of the club of cinema lovers "Ascension" films not recommended by the authorities were watched with their further discussion. [89, p.47]

In the Lviv region at the beginning of 1988 the associations of "avant-garde artists", "Rock Music", groups "Trust", "Hippie", Lviv Political Discussion Club were the most active. Informal members were significantly influenced by members of the editorial board of the self-published magazine Ukrainian Herald, which included V. Chornovil, M. Horyn, and I. Gel, which was resumed in August 1987 after the release of human rights activists from the camps. Law enforcement agencies continued to hold "preventive" talks with the leaders of these groups. In order to influence the informals, the Lviv regional committee of the party recommended to head the discussion club of a member of the CPSU. [90, p. 3-4] Attempts by human rights defenders to resume active civic activity were tightly controlled by party structures. Thus, on December 8, 1987, V. Chornovil, M. Horyn, and I. Gel were summoned to the prosecutor's office and warned of the undesirableness of their visit to the Moscow Public Seminar on Human Rights. The next day they were detained at the railway station under a contrived pretext - suspicion of drug trafficking, which led to their delay on the train to Moscow. [91, p. 13]

In December 1987, the human rights group Dovira was established in Lviv. The practical activities of the association were limited to the dissemination of information in society unauthorized by the authorities. Thus, law enforcement agencies thwarted an attempt by activists to distribute leaflets in the city demanding the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. In January 1988, the leaders of the organization M. Marhorin, A. Baldin through representatives of the editorial board of the self-published magazine "Glasnost" established contact with members of the editorial board of the magazine "Ukrainian Herald" V. Chornovil and M. Gorin. [92, p. 77]

Most amateur and amateur organizations were created at the Houses of Culture, trade unions and Komsomol structures. Many of them originated in the early 80's. Thus, in the Vinnytsia region in June 1988 there were about 1.5 thousand diverse amateur associations and interest clubs, of which more than 280 declared their existence in 1985-1987. Among them, the most numerous were associations of socio-political,

artistic, art, sports and health. Vinnytsia Regional Committee of the Communist Party paid special attention to the activities of amateur groups "Coast", "Key", "Meeting with the 10th Muse", "Studio 5", clubs of amateur song, science fiction, rock music, which were not particularly interested in establishing contacts with representatives of party and Komsomol activists. [93, p. 44]

In April 1988, there were about 3,000 amateur associations and interest clubs in the Odessa region. Compared to 1986, their number has increased 1.5 times. To ensure its influence, the party leadership annually certified and certified informal organizations. According to the decision of the regional committee of the Komsomol, a number of leaders of these formations were included in the nomenclature of the regional committee, city committees and district committees of the LKSMU. [94, p. 114-115]

There were more than 2,300 amateur associations in the Kharkiv region, numbering more than 100,000. With the support of the CPU regional committee, 12 political studios and 95 political clubs with more than 8,000 members were established. Given the scale of the informal movement, a group of sociologists and psychologists was set up at the Komsomol regional committee to study amateur youth associations. [94, p.140-142]

The Chernivtsi regional committee of the Communist Party approached the case quite carefully. Thus, according to the estimates of the regional committee, in April 1988 there were 1,142 amateur groups in the region. Of these, 324 are socio-political, 78 are industrial and technical, 125 are natural and scientific, 180 are artistic, 107 are sports, 107 are collector's, 7 are collectibles, 24 are socially oriented, 247 are socially oriented, and 74 are sober. thousand people. Officials of the CPU regional committee closely monitored the social composition of the leaders of these associations. Among them were 426 workers of culture and education, 173 specialists of the national economy, 196 party, Komsomol, Soviet workers, 37 doctors, 21 pensioners. [94, p. 179-180]

In the summer of 1988, in the Crimean region, the informal association Dobra Volya held unsanctioned rallies in support of the course of perestroika to democratize

public life, criticizing the bureaucracy of local party and Soviet officials. Dobra Volya tried to register its charter with local self-government bodies, which caused concern to the CPU regional committee over the uncontrolled development of public activity. Within the ideological department of the regional committee, a sector for working with informals was created. To carry out counter-propaganda activities, the Simferopol, Sevastopol, Yalta, and Kerch city committees of the CPU were asked to use opposition groups formed by trade union activists, university professors, and Komsomol activists to take part in informal rallies. [95, p. 2]

The informal movement in Kyiv was in full swing. The creative intelligentsia and students became the subject of the informal movement. Thus, in 1988, the initiative group of the Memorial Society began to operate, which sought to help fill the so-called "White spots" in the history of Ukraine, in particular the famine of 1932-1933, the mass deportation of the population from Ukraine during 1939-1941 and 1944-1953. Informals demanded full, public rehabilitation of victims of repression of all periods of the administrative-command system, demanded the condemnation of Stalinism in all spheres of public life.

In February 1988, the Ukrainian Studies Club "Heritage" was established at the Kyiv House of Scientists of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, the purpose of which was to study and promote the creative achievements of the Ukrainian people in the context of cultural relations with other peoples. [96, c. 16]

Hromada clubs of Kyiv State University named after Taras Shevchenko and Perestroika, which included employees and students of the Kyiv Institute of National Economy. The "green" movement was organized. Its most active wing, the Nebaiduzhi group, was formed during a discussion of a project to build a new railway station.

Unauthorized rallies and demonstrations have become widespread. Only in Kyiv in 1988 they were held 27. [97, p. 34] On June 5, 1988, during a rally organized by environmentalists in defense of the Holiivskyi Forest, calls were made to establish a People's Union for Perestroika (NSPP). There were about 200 supporters of this idea. In the autumn of 1988, the union held several rallies calling for democratic rights and freedoms guaranteed by the USSR Constitution. According to the program principles,

the main goal of the NSPP was to implement the slogan "All power to the Soviets"; creation of an independent press and independent trade unions; legislative support of various forms of ownership; achieving economic independence of Ukraine; elimination of the privileges of the party and state nomenklatura; proclamation of the real sovereignty of Ukraine; ensuring the rights of the indigenous nation in the republic; protection of the rights of other peoples living in Ukraine. [98, p. 18]

With the expansion of the informal movement, the work of law enforcement agencies intensified. In the information of the Kyiv City CPU on the implementation of the resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU "On overcoming negative trends in the activities of some amateur groups" noted that "since the emergence of amateur associations, ATC Kyiv City Executive Committee in close cooperation with other interested agencies worked to study their ideological orientation, composition, policy documents, identify leaders and assets. "[97, p. 20]

The Ukrainian Republican Council of Trade Unions reported to the Central Committee of the Communist Party on its work with amateur organizations. The report noted that between 1986 and 1987, the number of amateur associations and interest clubs created by trade unions had almost tripled to 30,000 with a total of 1,347,000 members. 28 percent were associations of socio-political direction, 9.2 percent - production and technical, 10 percent - science, 25 percent - art, one-seventh - sports and recreation, 3 percent - collection and collection. [17 , p. 185]

In May 1988, the Central Committee of the Communist Party sent information to the Central Committee of the CPSU. The actions of the party bodies to establish control over the informals were presented in a winning light. In particular, the certification of amateur associations and the certification of their leaders in a number of areas has become an all-party phenomenon with the help of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. As an achievement of the party leadership of the republic, it was noted that 45.5 thousand amateur organizations and interest clubs operated at state and trade union cultural institutions. More than 70 thousand youth associations were established at Komsomol committees, labor collectives and educational institutions. [94, p. 3] Only "some nationalist elements try to create anti-social groups, pretending

to be amateur associations." To the anti-social groups party functionaries included: "Committee for the Protection of the Ukrainian Catholic Church", the Ukrainian Cultural Club, the Ukrainian Association of Independent Creative Intelligentsia. [94, p. 5]

The gradual liberalization of the regime intensified the creative intelligentsia to protect the Ukrainian language and helped unite all those who care about it into informal structures. Creative unions and individual state-owned public organizations served as a nourishing solution for newly established organizations. At the end of 1986, the Writers' Union of Ukraine (WUU) established a commission for communication with educational institutions, which included writers, poets and artists: D. Pavlychko (chairman of the commission), O. Pidsukha, S. Telnyuk, O. Kolomiets, V. Donchak, I. Drach, A. Moroz, G. Sivokin, V. Skomorovsky.

The commission published numerous facts of exemption of students from studying the Ukrainian language, demanded to recognize the state status of the Ukrainian language. It was demanded that the number of Ukrainian-language institutions be proportional to at least the number of Ukrainians in the country. There were proposals to certify regional and district employees of cultural departments to verify their competence, education on Ukrainian culture. [99, p. 163]

On March 23, 1987, the Club of Ukrainian Language Admirers was organized at the SPU, which was attended by Yu. . During the meetings of the club issues related to the history of Ukrainian culture, the state of preparation of textbooks on the Ukrainian language and literature, the use of the Ukrainian language in various spheres of public life were analyzed. In particular, the meeting of the club, which took place on December 22, 1987, gave impressive figures: in Ukraine, of the existing 22,800 kindergartens, which educated 2,600,000 children, only 11,000 kindergartens were Ukrainian-speaking, attended by only 642,000 children [99, p. 160]

Some representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia were convinced that the Ukrainian language could be protected only through the concessions of the Moscow leadership. Thus, in May 1988, a letter was sent to the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev, signed by Professor P. Leshchenko from Kiev.

The letter stated that with the establishment of Stalin's arbitrariness, not only all leading party and Soviet cadres were destroyed, but also the majority of the national intelligentsia. The violent process of Russification began. Everything was Russified: nurseries and kindergartens, schools, pioneer, Komsomol and party organizations, factories, plants and institutions. ”[96, p. 1]

In June 1988, members of the Ukrainian Heritage Club sent an appeal to delegates to the XIX All-Union Conference of the CPSU, urging the Communist Party leadership to abandon the policy of Russification of national republics and support a set of measures to protect the Ukrainian language. In particular, to return to the Ukrainian language the status of the official language of state institutions on the territory of Ukraine; to resume teaching in the Ukrainian language in vocational schools, secondary special and higher educational establishments; consider it obligatory to study the Ukrainian language in schools with other languages of instruction; resume the publication of Ukrainian-language newspapers in the regions where they were closed; to resume the publication in the Ukrainian language of textbooks for universities, scientific, technical and political literature; to end the practice of special benefits for teachers of Russian language and literature, which consisted in increasing their salaries by 15 percent and dividing the class into two groups; to restore the course of Ukrainian history as a separate subject in the schools of the Ukrainian SSR. [96, p. 9]

In line with the national revival, one of the first structured informal public organizations in Ukraine, the Lion Society, was formed. On July 4, 1987, on the initiative of the Lviv City Komsomol, a subbotnik was appointed to improve the city's territory. Members of the Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments, the Club of Young Scientists, and the Dzerkalo Literary Group came to Lychakiv Cemetery. As more and more people became involved in this action, the idea of creating a national democratic organization gradually matured. On October 19, 1987, the founding meeting of the Lion Society took place in the club of the Lviv Forestry Institute. The purpose of the Society was to fight for the preservation of historical monuments, to promote the national revival of the Ukrainian people, to

preserve the purity of the Ukrainian language. Among the official founders of the Lion Society were the Lviv branch of the Ukrainian Cultural Foundation, the Lviv City Komsomol, the Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments, and the Society for the Protection of Nature. R. Bratun, R. Krypyakevych, N. Matvienko and other famous figures of Ukrainian culture became members of the Lion Society. [99, p. 10] It should be noted that participation in conservation activities for many activists of the organization was a way of legal expression of political preferences. Thus, T. Stetskiv, a former member of the Lion Society, admitted that "in addition to caring for ancient monuments, they began to engage in politics." [100]

In 1988-1989, active educational work, ethnographic research and searches in the Lviv region were carried out by informal associations created by enthusiasts of cultural and educational work: "Lemkivshchyna", "Nadsyannia", "Kholmshchyna", "Pidlyashshya", Ethnographic Society named after I. Franko, the community "Community" named after D. Bobrokh, public and cultural society named after V. Kobilnyk, "Roztochiv Brotherhood", youth society "Written Well". [101, p. 15] Participants of informal associations sought to preserve the cultural heritage of the Ukrainian people, to instill in young people respect for Ukrainian customs and traditions, to launch regular ethnographic festivals.

In July 1987, the establishment of the Ukrainian Association of Independent Creative Intelligentsia was declared in Lviv, the organizational formation of which was completed in January 1989. Former political prisoner and dissident E. Sverstyuk headed the Association. It included poets, writers, artists from 9 cities of Ukraine, whose work was not recognized in Soviet Ukraine. The association organized the publication of self-published literature. Thus, in Lviv the magazine "Department" and the almanac "Evshan-potion" were published, the editor of which was I. Kalinets. In Ivano-Frankivsk the magazine "Treasures of the mountains" was published, and in Dnepropetrovsk - the magazine "Thresholds". [102, p. 53-54]

In the second half of the 1980s, various informal national educational organizations emerged in Lviv. During 1988, the first informal national-cultural societies were established: admirers of the Armenian culture "Akhpyur", admirers of

the Jewish language and literature named after Sholom Aleichem, Polish culture. [102, p. 67] The main purpose of the associations was the development of national culture, promotion and study of literary heritage, organization of exhibitions dedicated to the preservation of national traditions, care for the native language. In 1989, the Armenian Society organized a Sunday school to study the native language and a number of exhibitions, concerts and evenings of Armenian music. The Mazoltar dance ensemble was established at the Sholom Aleichem Society, and Jewish language courses were opened. The Jewish theater "Maska" has opened on the basis of the Palace of Culture of the Electron Production Association. A choir and Polish language courses were organized at the Polish Society. [101, p. 16]

The republican network of Jewish culture societies was actively formed. In the late 1980s, Jewish societies emerged in Donetsk, Zhytomyr, Chernivtsi, Rivne, Lutsk, Odesa, and other Ukrainian cities. In September 1989, the Republican Society of Jewish Culture was established at the Ukrainian Cultural Foundation, which united more than 20 regional and city associations. [103, p. 11] A number of factors contributed to the rapid self-organization of the Jewish community in Ukraine. The religion of the Jews, Judaism, played a significant role in uniting the nation. Among the Jews there was a significant layer of scientific and creative intelligentsia. At the beginning of 1988, Jews made up only 1.3 percent of the population of Ukraine, but among the residents with higher education Jews were 8 percent, among researchers of the USSR Academy of Sciences - 4.4 percent, among members of creative unions - 7.5 percent. [104, p. 18]

In September 1988, a voluntary public movement "Friends of Ukrainian Art and Literature" was founded at the Lviv Regional Branch of the Cultural Foundation. The task of the association was to involve the Russian-speaking population in the study of the Ukrainian language, to acquaint it with Ukrainian culture, literature and art. [102, p. 55]

The activities of informal organizations contributed not only to the increase of political activity of Ukrainian citizens, but also to the revival of their national self-consciousness. Thus, in early 1989 in Mariupol, the most active in the public and

political life of the city were members of the environmental association "For Clean Mariupol" and the historical and educational organization "Memorial". It was the activists of these associations - representatives of the Greek ethnic group - on January 25, 1989 created the first Greek organization in Ukraine called the "Society of Greek Language and Culture of the Azov Sea". [105, p. 5-7]

The difficult environmental situation in Ukraine, complicated by the Chernobyl accident and the lack of necessary information about the threat to public health, has contributed to the emergence of an informal environmental movement. In the mid-80's of the twentieth century. on the territory of the USSR (2.7 percent of the territory of the USSR) was concentrated 25 percent of the industrial and agricultural potential of the USSR. 92 percent of Ukraine's land fund was included in the economic turnover. 20 million tons of gas-forming and dust particles were released into the environment annually, 1 billion 150 million m³ of liquid waste was dumped into rivers and reservoirs, one sixth of which without any treatment. 10 billion tons of solid waste were accumulated, more than 230 thousand hectares of fertile land were removed for their storage. Arable land erosion in Ukraine reached 43 percent. In 1984-1989, the incidence of malignant neoplasms in Ukraine increased by 15.7 percent, and the number of patients with gastric ulcers - by 30 percent.

In December 1987, the secretary of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League of Ukraine V. Tsybukh stated that among young people there is a growing interest in the ecological situation of the republic. In an official note addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party, it was noted that the interest leads to the emergence and formation of various associations and clubs in the field of environmental protection. The activity of student wives on nature protection was especially active. The environmental student movement was founded in the 1960s. Since 1983, the number of amateur student groups has tripled and in November 1987 was about 30 wives and 15 initiative groups operating in 22 regions of Ukraine. The number of active participants in the environmental movement has increased to 1.5 thousand people. [106, p. 18]

The fundamental difference between the newly formed associations and traditional environmental organizations, in particular, the Ukrainian Society for Nature Protection (UTOP), was that the wives were organized on the initiative of the students themselves, without the indication of party and state structures. The "Regulations on the Student Wife for Nature Protection", which were adopted in December 1986 at a meeting of the Presidium of the Republican Council of UTOP, caused a negative reaction among students. According to activists of the movement, the normative document deprived of initiative, limited the rights and opportunities of associations, over-regulated their work, did not comply with the principles of the democratic movement. The Komsomol leadership, seeking to maintain its influence among the youth, sought to find a possible compromise by balancing between youth initiatives and the formalism of state-owned NGOs.

In November 1987, the Central Committee of the Young Communist League of Ukraine together with the Republican Council of UTOP held a republican meeting of commanders of student wives and representatives of initiative groups (70 people in total), inviting Komsomol activists and employees of regional councils of UTOP. A. Glazovy, an employee of the Soviet Ukraine newspaper, spoke at the meeting. He introduced himself as a member of the initiative group of the Green World Association, which was registered with the Ukrainian Republican Committee for the Defense of Peace. The main tasks of the association were to create an information bank of "hot" ecological zones, to conduct a public examination of environmentally hazardous projects, to organize ecological expeditions. [106, p. 19-20]

Attempts to limit the movement of the "green" bureaucratic framework proved futile. 1988 was the year of the development of the informal environmental movement in Ukraine. The Green Movement was closely linked to the development of civic activism and democracy in Ukraine. In order for the population to feel responsible for the state of the environment, a combination of two factors was needed - socio-political and environmental. The Chernobyl accident changed the attitude of Ukrainians to the "peaceful atom". The scale of the Chernobyl disaster and the policy of publicity have forced the Communist Party bureaucracy to be relatively tolerant of informal activities.

In a number of regions of Ukraine, environmental associations have managed to achieve certain results thanks to the broad support of the population. In 1987, the regional environmental association "Green Peace" was formed in Mykolayiv, which led a wave of public protest against the development of the South Ukrainian energy complex. The Greens opposed the construction of the 4th reactor of the South Ukrainian NPP and the creation of channel reservoirs on the Southern Bug River. In 1988, activists of environmental organizations collected about 200 thousand signatures demanding an environmental examination of the construction, which were later transferred to Moscow. [107, p. 14]

In April 1989, the secretary of the Mykolayiv regional committee of the Communist Party L. Sharayev in a letter to the secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party V. Shcherbytsky noted that the party's regional committee and regional executive committee repeatedly appealed to the USSR Council of Ministers construction of nuclear power plants and reservoirs. [108, p. 38]

The Crimean Association of Public Environmental Organizations "Ecology and Peace" emerged in 1988 in the midst of the struggle for the construction of the Crimean NPP. V. Pivovarov, Professor of General Physics, Simferopol State University, was elected President of the Association. In 1988, activists of the organization collected 350 thousand signatures against the construction of nuclear power plants, organized thousands of pickets in the cities of Crimea and directly on the construction site of nuclear power plants. [109, p. 9] They stressed the need to clarify the seismic characteristics of the Nuclear power station (NPS) construction area, which was not taken into account when drafting the construction project. In July 1988, by order of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, a commission was set up to clarify the geological and seismic conditions of the territory of the Crimean NPS industrial site. In October 1988, the commission recognized the magnitude of the maximum possible earthquake in the construction area - 9 points, which threatened catastrophic consequences not only for the Crimean peninsula. Under public pressure, in 1989 the construction of the Crimean NPS, the 4th reactor of the South Ukrainian NPS and reservoirs on the Southern Bug River was stopped.

In the conditions of limited liberalization of the political regime, the interest in the history of Ukraine, its national symbols, folk customs and traditions grew among the youth, and the critical attitude to the dominant communist ideology intensified. According to documents, in 1987 the Central Committee of the Young Communist League began to receive information that some members of the Komsomol had made anti-Soviet and nationalist statements. Among them were students of vocational schools from Ivano-Frankivsk, employees of "Donbaskanalbud" (Donetsk), young people of Dnepropetrovsk secondary schools. Secretary of the Komsomol Committee of the Faculty of Design and Construction of the Odessa Civil Engineering Institute M. Morilyak sought to create a group of students of Ukrainian studies from among the students from the western region of Ukraine. [88, p. 79-82]

In August 1987, the Ukrainian Cultural Club (UCC) began its activities in Kyiv. Its founders and members were former political prisoners E. Sverstyuk, O. Shevchenko, S. Naboka, L. Milyavsky, M. Horbal, V. Ovsienko, and A. Lupinis, V. Fedko, V. Ishchenko, O. Geiko-Matusevych and others. The club consisted of several sections: on Ukrainian literature, language, history, philosophy, religion. Criticizing the Soviet system, the club members turned to the history of Ukrainian statehood, considered issues of national identity, the development of Ukrainian culture. For the first time, the club's meetings called for the rehabilitation of the banned Ukrainian national symbols, the Greek Catholic and autocephalous Ukrainian churches, and the facts of the Holodomor in Ukraine in 1932-1933. [110] At one of the first meetings of the historical section, the report "Lenin and Marxism" was heard, in which it was stated that Lenin, seeing in Marxism only the doctrine of class struggle, looked at the dialectical-materialist understanding of history. The report "Recent History or Encyclopedia of Lies" argued that the borders of the USSR are protected from people who want to leave the country to escape party terror. About 300 people gathered at some meetings of the club. [88, p. 74] These were people of different ages and different professions. According to UCC member R. Polevoy, "the first secretary of the Podolsk district committee of the party, I. Saliy, came to one of the club's meetings, explaining his visit by the need to know the situation in the district entrusted to him." therefore,

meetings of the club since October 1987 were held in apartments. In the fall of 1988, the UCC joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Union with all its members.

An important milestone in the development of the informal movement was the formation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union. In June 1987, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR issued an amnesty decree on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution, which contributed to the repatriation of a large number of repressed human rights defenders and dissidents in 1987-1988. V. Chornovil, B. Horyn, and I. Gel resumed the publication of the self-published magazine *Ukrainsky Visnyk*, which became the publication of the revived Ukrainian Public Group for the Promotion of the Helsinki Accords, which was banned in 1977. In July 1988, the Ukrainian Helsinki Association (UHS) was established on its basis. UHS has never sought mass. Rather, it was a well-organized, well-organized organization of like-minded people. Of the 495 delegates to the UHS congress on April 29-30, 1990, representing 2,400 members of the union, almost one in two was convicted of anti-Soviet activities. [111, p. 18]

The Ukrainian national democratic movement has never been nationally limited. The ties, friendly relations that arose during the stay of dissidents of different nationalities in the camps, the presence of a common enemy - the totalitarian Soviet empire, contributed to the establishment of contacts after liberation. On June 11-12, 1988, a meeting of representatives of the national democratic movements of Georgia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Ukraine was held in Lviv to discuss ways to resolve the national question in the USSR. The final statement, signed by representatives of the restored UHS from Ukraine, made the following demands: granting national languages the status of state languages; their study by the whole population; functioning of national languages in all spheres of state and public life of the republics; the right to cultural and national autonomy for national minorities; return to the homeland of the peoples evicted during Stalin's rule; the need to establish the citizenship of each republic; achieving full republican self-sufficiency; creation of national military formations within the Soviet Army; military service on the territory of the republic. [112, p. 26-27] Coordination of positions on the national issue, which is extremely

important for all democratic forces, contributed to a certain synchronization of the opposition's actions. A characteristic feature of the requirements was their relative moderation and gradualness.

On July 7, 1988, the Declaration of Principles of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union was promulgated. The UHC program document noted that the restoration of Ukrainian statehood, which at that time existed only on paper, would be the main permanent guarantee of economic, social, cultural, civil and political rights of both the Ukrainian people and national minorities living in Ukraine. The future coexistence of the peoples of the USSR is possible in the form of a confederation of independent states, a transitional stage to which may be a federation of sovereign democratic republics. According to A. Rusnachenko, the lack of calls for Ukraine's independence in the text of the document was caused by tactical motives to enable the organization to work legally, to push public opinion, to be ahead of it, but not to break away from it. [113, p. 262-263]

B. Horyn, one of the co-founders of UHS, acknowledged that the basis of the union's political activity was evolutionary theory. In his opinion, "UHS became the first in Ukraine legal anti-Marxist well-structured organization, which set its program goal of a gradual struggle for an independent Ukrainian state." [114] "When UHS seeks to reinstate an unjustly fired person, it acts as a human rights organization; when it seeks the repeal of Article 6 of the USSR Constitution, it acts as a political organization." [115]

The organizational structure of the UHS was based on the principles of federalism with broad self-government of autonomous organizations. Regional Coordination Councils were established on the ground. Representatives of regional organizations of the union and heads of the main sections of the union elected at the all-Ukrainian conference of the UHS were elected to the All-Ukrainian Coordination Council. The recommended forms of work for all autonomous organizations were identified. Namely: wide collection of information from all areas of human rights activities using the collected material on the ground and its transfer to the regional Kyrgyz Republic and the executive committee of the WRC; appeals on behalf of

regional and other autonomous organizations and groups of UHS to local and republican authorities; appeal to the Government of the USSR and the Government of the USSR demanding legislative and other decisions; appeals to the governments of other countries that have signed the Helsinki Accords in cases where, despite appeals to the government of the USSR, violations of human and national rights continue; wide propaganda of ideas and demands of UHS through mass media, rallies, meetings, demonstrations, signature sheets, leaflets, independent press, news agencies and press of the countries that signed the Helsinki Agreement. [116, p. 40-41] As subsequent events have shown, these methods of pressure were widely used not only by UHS, but also by other informal organizations.

Thus, in Ukraine, the development of amateur activity, initiated by the processes of publicity and perestroika, contributed to the formation of associations and groups outside the Communist Party. Since 1986, the Komsomol and law enforcement agencies have stopped persecuting informal youth groups, trying to subordinate them to local Komsomol structures, and promoting informal organizations to become amateur groups. At the same time, the authorities were not prepared to cooperate with associations of cultural, educational, environmental and human rights. Local departments of official public organizations promote the legalization of informals. The formation of the UCC, the Lion Society, UHS, and environmental organizations marked a natural stage in the further structuring of the informal movement at the local level and the growing influence of the creative intelligentsia and former dissidents on socio-political processes in Ukraine.

3.1.4 Formation of informal all-Ukrainian public organizations

1989 should be considered the year of formation of informal all-Ukrainian public organizations, which was caused by a number of factors. First, in all regions of Ukraine there were informal associations and groups free from the influence of party and state structures. The development of civic activity contributed to the structuring of some associations at the regional level, the development of horizontal ties at the interregional level, the search for like-minded people within Ukraine. Secondly, the growth of socio-

political activity of Ukrainian citizens was caused by the preparation and participation in the elections of people's deputies of the USSR in the spring of 1989 and the deterioration of the population's supply of consumer goods. Third, the successful development of a mass socio-political organization, the People's Movement of Ukraine (NRU), could only take place on the ground prepared by informal associations. At the same time, the intensification of movement structures contributed to the consolidation and consolidation of informal associations into public organizations.

The impetus for the establishment of the People's Movement was the holding of the constituent congresses of the People's Fronts of the Baltic republics in the autumn of 1988. In October 1988, at an environmental seminar held at the Writers' Union of Ukraine (SPU), a proposal was made in a speech by F. Burlachuk to create a People's Front of Ukraine. In November, an initiative group to promote perestroika is being set up under the SPU party committee. At the same time at the Institute of Literature. Thanks to the activity of the secretary of the party bureau V. Bryukhovetsky, an initiative group was also created. In January 1989, the draft program of the NRU was supported by a meeting of the staff of the Institute of Literature. Taras Shevchenko and the general meeting of the Kyiv Writers' Organization. On February 16, 1989, the draft program of the NRU was published in the newspaper "Literary Ukraine". [117, p. 20-21] The main goal of the NRU was to assist the current government in creating and operating a democratic mechanism that would serve the development of a society based on true democracy and a balanced economy that meets the needs of the Ukrainian people and the entire population of Ukraine, any violations of social, political, economic and environmental human rights are impossible. [118, p. 3] During the spring and summer of 1989, founding conferences of Rukh supporters took place in the regions of Ukraine, which contributed to the intensification of informal associations in all regions of Ukraine. On March 4, 1989, the founding conference of the Memorial Voluntary Historical and Educational Society was held at the Republican House of Cinematographers. Its organizers were the Union of Cinematographers, Writers, Artists, Architects, Theater Actors of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Cultural Foundation, the newspaper "Literary Ukraine". [117, p. 37] On May 27, 1989, the founding conference

of the regional society "Memorial" took place in Lviv, which approved the charter of the regional organization. The statute noted that "Memorial" intends to promote the complete and final elimination of Stalinism and neo-Stalinism in all spheres of public life, creating effective guarantees of the inevitability of the democratization process, the revival and establishment of humanism. [119, p. 17]

An important milestone not only in the development of Ukrainian cultural and educational societies, but also in the development of the informal movement in Ukraine should be considered the beginning of the Ukrainian Language Society named after Taras Shevchenko (TUM). The organizational design of the educational organization began in Lviv on June 20, 1988. The founding organizations of the Society are the Lviv regional branches of the Ukrainian Cultural Foundation, the Writers' Union of Ukraine, the Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments, and the Ukraine Society. The educational organization was headed by the famous Ukrainian writer R. Ivanychuk. The main tasks of the Society were to popularize and expand the functioning of the Ukrainian language by involving the general public and interested organizations, using their creative initiative, voluntary cooperation and material opportunities. [119, p. 1] According to the statute developed by the Lviv TUM Council in 1988-1989, regional centers in Dnipropetrovsk, Odessa, Yalta, Nikopol, Ternopil, Rivne began to work.

The Communist Party leadership in the regions tried to counteract the unauthorized and mass initiative. In Kolomyia and Ivano-Frankivsk, the administration did not allow a constituent assembly. In Donetsk, at the founding meeting of the Society in January 1989, two points of view fought for the right to exist. The first was to create an effective Ukrainian national-patriotic cultural organization. While the second position, supported by the CPU regional committee, was to create a "native language society" with many national sections, including Ukrainian, which leveled and solved the main problem - the revival of the language and culture of the indigenous people. [120, p.13] The Mykolayiv Regional Committee of the Communist Party in December 1989 informed the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine that the attempt of the "nationalist elements" to head the local Ukrainian Language

Society had been thwarted. The society included party workers, "advanced intelligentsia", who tried to overcome the "manifestations of nationalism" in the activities of the organization. [94, p.111]

The process of organizational design of the Ukrainian Language Society named after Taras Shevchenko ended on February 11-12, 1989 at the founding republican conference in Kyiv. In his speech, R. Ivanychuk noted the fact that "Lviv is slowly becoming the center of the Republican Society, and the forces to cover all regions of the republic and go beyond its borders, where many Ukrainians live - not enough, so I proposed to create Republican Society of the Ukrainian Language in Kyiv." The conference was attended by 405 delegates from all regions of Ukraine, representatives of Ukrainian cultural societies from Russia, Latvia, Estonia and Poland. The conference adopted the charter of the Society, which noted the direction of the establishment of the Ukrainian language in all areas of public life of Ukraine, its comprehensive development, protection of its purity and identity; for the preservation and development of national culture and traditions of the Ukrainian people; formation of national self-consciousness and historical memory of citizens; overcoming national nihilism; harmonious development of interethnic relations. [121, p. 185]

TUM became the first mass amateur public organization in Ukraine, the formation of which took place outside the influence of party structures. At the beginning of 1989 the organization numbered up to 70 thousand people, in June of the same year the number of members reached 200 thousand [113, p. 260] The value of TUM then. Taras Shevchenko was that on May 20, 1989 the Society became the first informal organization of Ukraine, registered at the national level. The local branches of the society contributed to the formation of another mass socio-political organization, which became an alternative to the CPU - the People's Movement of Ukraine. According to V. Biletsky, who was one of the organizers of the TUM and Rukh structures in Donetsk region, "the Ukrainian Language Society and the Rukh were ideological twins, dual membership was considered the norm, even their central governing bodies worked side by side in the same room in the Writers' Union. he did

not have the status and acted under legal cover and literally under the roof of the Society.” [120, p. 216]

In the late 80's in Ukraine there are a number of youth organizations, alternative to the Komsomol: "Sich", "Sprouts", "Golden Eagle" and others. The Union of Independent Ukrainian Youth (SNUM) has gained considerable popularity. In July 1989, the Union of Ukrainian Youth was established in Kharkiv. On August 19 of the same year, the Lviv Union of the same name was established. On September 20, the Kyiv leadership of SNUM was organized, and on October 28, the Ternopil leadership. Yu. Morhun, one of the leaders of the Ternopil branch of SNUM, acknowledged that the program of their activities is based on the declarative principles of UHS. During the period from August 1989 to May 1990, SNUM organized 27 mass socio-political actions, including 23 unauthorized people, in which 64 thousand people took part. In 1990, SNUM supported 28 percent of the youth of Lviv, 30 percent - in Ivano-Frankivsk, 15 percent - in Donetsk. [119, p. 91-94] The program of the Kyiv organization of SNUM, which was adopted in November 1989, clearly defined the main goal of the organization: "SNUM seeks to rebuild the Ukrainian Independent Conciliar State in all Ukrainian territories. group affiliation, which is based on the political sovereignty of the Ukrainian State and the political independence of the Ukrainian liberation struggle. On May 27-28, 1990, the first All-Ukrainian Congress of the SNUM took place in Ivano-Frankivsk, uniting 18 regional organizations into a single union. The number of SNUM at that time did not exceed 1 thousand people. [122, p. 333]

The social base of the newly created youth organizations was mainly students. In 1990, there were 148 universities and 738 technical schools in Ukraine. Inpatient training covered more than 1 million people. In May 1989, the creation of the Student Brotherhood was proclaimed in Lviv. The main activities of the youth organization were the creation of a system of social protection of students, the impact on the quality of the student process, participation in the socio-political life of universities, cultural and educational activities. The program principles of the new youth association were formulated at a rally on August 31, 1989 in Lviv. The resolution of the rally noted:

"Student Brotherhood" in close cooperation with the NRU, TUM, SNUM, the Lion Society, Plast fights for the revival of national education based on the experience and traditions of Ukrainian higher education and societies "Education", "Sich", "Falcon". The participants of the rally demanded to legalize the Ukrainian national symbols; to teach disciplines in universities in the Ukrainian language; opposed the annual compulsory agricultural trials for students; supported the proposal to establish university councils on the basis of equal representation of teachers and students. [123, p. 16-17]

On December 8-10, 1989, the founding congress of the Ukrainian Student Union (USU) took place at Kyiv State University (KSU). 167 delegates from 13 cities of Ukraine took part in its work. The most numerous were delegations from Kyiv - 69 people representing 9 universities, and Lviv - 49 people (6 universities). Among the delegates were representatives of informal student organizations: "Student Brotherhood" (Lviv), "Free Wave" (Odesa), "Left Front of Independent Students" (Dnepropetrovsk). KSU student S. Kyrychenko made the main report. It formulated the following requirements: the abolition of Article 6 of the Constitution of the USSR, the independence of the USSR as a socio-political organization from power; abolition of social science courses and state exams in Marxism-Leninism; deideologization of education; free establishment of religious associations in universities; introduction of spiritual education; liquidation of KGB departments in universities. [124, p. 218]

In December 1989, members of the Student Brotherhood initiated a movement to abolish state exams in the history of the CPSU, scientific communism, and Marxist-Leninist philosophy. Thus, on December 18, 1989, a warning strike of students took place at the Lviv Polytechnic Institute under the slogans: "Get out of the curriculum of social disciplines!", "Democratic elections of the rector of the institute." Similar requirements took place in other universities of the city. [125, p. 19]

At the beginning of June 1989, there were 47,000 amateur associations in Ukraine, of which 6,957 were socio-political, 1,460 cultural-historical, 1,946 environmental and 10,859 artistic and entertainment, 6,124 physical culture and health, and sports and technical. - 4239, collection and collection - 685 and 14 politicized

organizations: in Kyiv - Ukrainian Cultural Club, Ukrainian People's Democratic League, "Community", "Heritage", "Society for Rehabilitation of Political Prisoners", Committee for the Revival of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church; in Lviv - the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, the Committee for the Protection of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the Lion Society; in Odessa - the People's Union for Assistance to Perestroika; in Crimea - "Good will"; in Kharkiv - "April", "Chance"; in Ivano-Frankivsk - the Ukrainian Christian Democratic Front. These organizations became the basis for the formation of grassroots structures of the People's Movement of Ukraine for Perestroika. Politicized associations spread their influence throughout Ukraine. Thus, UHS at that time had branches in 9 regions of Ukraine - Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Ternopil, Chernivtsi, Dnipropetrovsk, Odessa, Vinnytsia, Donetsk, Kyiv. [117, p. 76-77]

Lack of access to the official media forced the informals to intensify efforts to hold rallies and demonstrations, to organize the publication of self-published literature. The number of rallies was approaching as the Rukh's founding congress approached. From August 1988 to July 1989, 97 unauthorized rallies were held in Ukraine. Over the next two months, there were 145. Participants demanded recognition at the legislative level of the Ukrainian national flag, the anthem "Ukraine is not dead yet", the proclamation of Ukrainian as the state language, rehabilitation of all victims of Stalinist repression, legalization of the banned Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant. [126, p. 109, 210]

The Ukrainian diaspora and foreign media outlets, such as the Voice of America, Radio Svoboda, etc., which covered protests in Ukraine, broadcast appeals and appeals of leaders of informal organizations to the Ukrainian public, had a certain influence on the development of the informal movement in Ukraine. According to the USSR KGB, in 1989 foreign OUN units allocated more than \$ 600,000 to support the national liberation movement in Ukraine. Of which \$ 100,000 was spent on publishing nationalist literature for distribution in the USSR. 50 thousand dollars was financial assistance to various organizations and groups. [127, p.14-15]

The growth of social activity of the population was perceived with anxiety in the party structures. The information of the Dnipropetrovsk Regional Committee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine dated August 29, 1989 noted: "Currently, the socio-political situation is characterized by increasing politicization of all segments and groups of the population. Its situation is negatively affected by serious difficulties in solving economic, social and environmental problems." It was emphasized that there are 1.5 thousand amateur groups in the region, including about 20 politicized cultural and national social formations, socio-political organizations, the active composition of which is several hundred people (Ukrainian Language Society named after D.I. Yavornytsky, environmental association, society of historians, "Memorial", UHS, confederation of anarcho-syndicalists, etc.). The social basis of these associations were representatives of the creative, scientific and technical intelligentsia, dissidents who suffered during the years of stagnation. In July-August 1989, these organizations held a series of rallies in Dnipropetrovsk, Kryvyi Rih, and Dniprodzerzhynsk under the slogan "All Power to the Soviets." On August 19, 1989, despite a government ban, the NRU's founding conference was held, and on August 20, a rally under the slogan "Council without Communists" was held. Of particular concern to the workers of the regional committee was the desire of the Communists - university teachers to create a party club "Communists for Perestroika". [128, p. 19-21]

Some regional committees of the CPU tried to influence the informal movement, to subjugate it to official policy. Thus, the Zaporizhzhya Regional Committee of the Communist Party tried to create a coordinating council of social movements "within the framework of combining the initiative from below with the activities of party and Soviet bodies." The Sich Political Club (Zaporizhzhya) and the Union for Reconstruction Assistance (Mariupol) not only refrained from joining the union, but also supported the process of forming local branches of the NRU. In Nikolaev in July, 1989 the regional committee of party held a meeting of heads of influential public organizations, including informal, at which offered to create coordinating council on

assistance to perestroika. The initiative group for the formation of the NRU (activists of the Taras Shevchenko TUM and the Green Peace Association) refused to cooperate.

In the summer of 1989, an initiative group was set up in Transcarpathia on the initiative of the regional organization of the Writers' Union of Ukraine to prepare for the NRU regional conference. The Communist Party Regional Committee suggested that party organizations "bring to justice members of the CPSU who are in vague ideological positions, if necessary, to create alternative labor formations in labor collectives." [128, p. 21-31]

In the process of developing the democratic movement in Ukraine, some national societies tried to use language and cultural issues to change the administrative and territorial structure of the country. In February 1989, the Society of Hungarian Culture of Transcarpathia (TUKZ) was founded. On September 3, 1989, the Beregovo district organization TUKZ initiated the creation of the Hungarian Autonomous Okrug on the basis of the Beregovo district of the Zakarpattia region, emphasizing that 73 percent of the population of the district is Hungarian. [117, p. 155-156] October 14, 1989 at a meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party considered a note of the Transcarpathian Regional Committee of the party, which noted that the situation in TUKZ out of party control. At the initiative of TUKZ and with the participation of people from Hungary, work is underway to restore monuments and signs with the names of famous Hungarian statesmen in the region. During their official speeches, the leaders of the TUKZ supported the demands of the democratic forces to give the Ukrainian language the status of the state language. At a meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party it was stated that the structures of the Rukh Movement are interested in the activities of the society. [129, p. 25-26]

Informal associations have tried to extend their influence to labor collectives. The Kyiv regional committee of the party stated that in the summer of 1989 NRU branches were established in 17 groups, and work on their organization was being carried out in 28 groups. The Rukh branches at the Lenin Forge plant, the Kyivmetrobud production association, and the institutes of the USSR Academy of

Sciences were especially active. The guild party organizations of the Chernihiv Radio Equipment Plant instrumental production association published an open letter in the factory's multi-volume edition demanding the eviction of party and Soviet workers from the elite building and the placement of a children's preschool in the building itself; to transfer to the medical institutions of the city a dormitory and medical and sanatorium management at the regional party committee. [128, p. 93]

A significant event in the development of the amateur socio-political movement in Ukraine was the founding congress of the NRU (Rukh), which took place on September 8-10, 1989. At the time of the founding congress, there were about 500 primary organizations of the Movement, of which more than 70 percent operated in the Western region of Ukraine. In Kyiv, Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Rivne, and Ternopil, the Movement's organizations were established at many large enterprises and academic institutes. 1109 delegates registered at the constituent congress, representing about 280,000 active participants (according to the party's regional committees, 77,000). At that time, among the members of the Rukh were representatives of: engineering and technical workers - 22.3 percent, creative intelligentsia - 14.9 percent, teachers - 13.4 percent, researchers - 12 percent, workers - 9 percent, employees - 9 percent, retirees - 4.3 percent, middle managers - 3.6 percent. About 8 percent of the Movement's members were Communists and 35 percent were Komsomol members. More than half of them were between the ages of 25 and 45. Among the motives that led to the NRU's participation were concerns about the fate of the republic - 84 percent of responses, desire to preserve Ukraine's national identity (78 percent), dissatisfaction with the activities of party, Soviet and public organizations (62.4 percent). Proponents of national-democratic orientation accounted for 24 percent of the congress delegates, and 23.5 percent of the population. [117, p. 198-200] Public opinion polls show the significant popularity of the newly created organization. 36.9 percent of the population of Ukraine supported the idea of its creation, 28 percent did not express their opinion, 25 percent negatively assessed the creation of the Rukh. According to analysts of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, the social base of Rukh supporters was about 12 million people. In Kyiv, the Movement was positively assessed - 61.8 percent

of respondents, in Lviv - 53.4 percent. 44.1 percent of respondents expected the solution of economic problems with the creation of the Movement, 26.3 percent - environmental, 12 percent - cultural and linguistic, 13.3 - political. [117, p. 203-204]

Thus, during 1989, all-Ukrainian public organizations, free from party guardianship, were established in Ukraine – TUM named after Taras Shevchenko, Green Peace, Memorial, youth organizations, workers' strike committees, which united a significant part of Ukrainian youth, creative and scientific-technical intelligentsia, workers and former dissidents. Thanks to their active work, the Communist Party regime was gradually liberalized, and conditions were created for the emergence and deployment of a mass opposition organization, the People's Movement of Ukraine (Rukh). The logic of the development of socio-political processes in Ukraine, the lack of opportunities for the creation of political parties politicized the informal movement. Informal associations were formed on the basis of a voluntary initiative of the citizens of Ukraine. The self-satisfaction of party bodies in the presence of mass (in terms of number of members) state-owned public organizations, which recognized the leading and guiding role of the CPSU-CPU and were part of the command-and-bureaucratic system, proved fatal. For most, membership in trade unions, the Komsomol, the Communist Party, and other public soviet organizations was not a conscious choice, but for the most part a fulfillment of the rules of the game necessary for a quiet life or career. The emergence of alternative organizations has shown that small groups can be much more effective not only in the protection of historical and cultural monuments, but also in environmental protection, in the competition for the state status of the Ukrainian language. Millions of Ukrainians have begun to feel like conscious citizens, on whose will the fate of Ukraine and the future of their children will depend.

The government's publicity policy and the elimination of censorship played a significant role in the development of the informal movement. Previously unknown information about the historical past of the Ukrainian people, its cultural heritage, and current socio-economic problems that needed to be addressed appeared in the columns of central and national newspapers and magazines. Attempts by the Communist Party leadership to dose information proved ineffective. Distrust of the official assessment

of the causes of the Chernobyl catastrophe led to the emergence of politicized informal associations that criticized the ability of the CPSU-CPU to determine the effective path of socio-economic development of Ukraine.

The deteriorating economic situation in the country during the years of perestroika, the lack of tangible results of reforms did not increase the authority of the ruling Communist Party. The impetus for thousands of miners' rallies and strikes in the summer of 1989 was the lack of detergents, the unsatisfactory state of social infrastructure in the miners' settlements, and the lack of free sale of a number of food and industrial goods.

The formation of the Rukh was in line with complex socio-political transformations not only in the republics of the Soviet Union, but also in the countries of the so-called "socialist camp". Dissatisfaction of the masses with the policies of the ruling communist regimes led to the emergence of mass opposition movements in Hungary, the GDR, and Czechoslovakia. In Poland, the Solidarity trade union has gone underground. These events could not but affect the intensification of social processes in Ukraine. A. Michnik, one of the active participants in the opposition movement in Poland, speaking at the founding congress of the Movement, said: "A common European family must be built on equal rights for all peoples. Every nation must have the right to its own identity, its own history, its own national symbols." [130]

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4. Development of philosophical ideas about nature in retrospect of the current environmental crisis

4.1 Introduction

Today, government programs, international foundations, and community conservation organizations (like Global Nest, WWF, EEA, IUCN etc.) in many countries are markedly limiting the practice of barbaric exploitation of nature. At least for the public consciousness, the contradictions between the appreciation of *individual* living beings and the preservation of ecosystems of their *species* existence [131] or the discussion of the right of certain landscapes to remain in the wild remain intact [132]. However, the ideological eclecticism that has developed in this area (Earth ethics, bioethics, ecofeminism, social ecology, ecosophy...) leads to a one-sided understanding of environmental ideas, the depletion of the most humane values and the selective adaptation of relevant institutions to local pressing interests.

It is known that during the historical separation of the category of nature from the mythological and religious, socio-anthropological and natural-scientific spheres in the philosophical discourse fixed several of its meanings, that replace each other depending on the context:

1) the innate essence of an *individual* thing (or class of things), represented in a visual image, the relationship of properties or framework of development;

2) the world as a *whole*, taken in the sensory diversity of phenomena (processes, properties) or as an abstract substance, or as a set of all forms of motion of matter – from mechanical to social;

3) the material *half* of the world, which is the antipode, environment, product or initial basis for the development of the spiritual half (man, society, god).

The first meaning was introduced in antiquity, and although not completely out of use (for example, attracted by the Enlightenment, when they, despite the external diversity of people asserted their legal equality on the basis of a common «nature»), in the XVII-XVIII centuries transferred its terminological authority in the European worldview to the second of these common meaning [133]. It, in turn, came into

categorical opposition to the third as φύσις *and* natura (or both natura naturans *and* natura naturata), which denote, respectively, a spontaneous organic self-sufficient generating principle *and* a long material connection of phenomena devoid of expediency.

Not so long ago, this opposition has become entrenched in the public consciousness and has entered into a more general opposition to anti-scientism *and* scientism, leading all discussions on nature management (toxic pollution, greenhouse effects, deforestation, etc.) to the impasse of «internal contradictions of scientific and technological progress»: the more objectively mankind learns about nature, the more intensely it delimits itself with it as a «resource», «past» and «environment», as a result of which survival as the original goal of knowing nature passes into its arbitrary exploitation and, ultimately, destruction. Instead, the alternative overcoming of «alienation» from nature often appeals to irrational moral and value arguments such as «compassion» from the philosophy of J.-J. Rousseau, A. Schopenhauer, A. Schweizer, O. Leopold or «anthropocosmism» in the spirit of the philosophy of V.I. Vernadsky, N.F. Fyodorov, M.G. Cholodny, K.E. Tsiolkovsky, O.L. Chizhevsky.

As evidenced by the collisions of selfishness and moral acceptability surrounding cloning, euthanasia, artificial insemination, intensive poultry farming, plantation agriculture and other recent advances in medicine, energy, ecology or biotechnology, the watershed between living and non-living, natural and artificial, or Cicero's terminology, «first» and «second» natures is not easy [134]. The classical science, except for the famous outbreak of the physioocratic economic opinion in the XVIII century, encouraged scientists to perceive the parameters of human influence on nature in purely moral, applied and secondary aspects, and the present post-industrial civilization is generally transformed from interaction with nature as such (mining, fishing, forestry or agriculture) or transformed (use of energy and materials for machine production of goods) for interhuman relations. It is their «reset» in the new legal and axiological space that is beginning to be perceived as an internal anthropocentric resource for overcoming external environmental contradictions.

However, this resource is increasingly burdened by the mediation of interpersonal relationships through telecommunications and computer technology, which go beyond the original feasibility and acquire their own quasi-natural ontology [135]. In this way, the controversy over the enlightenment idea of scientific and technological *progress* is renewed, which, on the one hand, frees the human spirit from the burden of *material nature*, and on the other – conquers human nature with it. In addition, the lack of terminological reflection on the above innovations (works by H. Jonas [136], P.S. Karako [137], G.E.R Lloyd [138], A.M. Malivsky [139], V.V. Petrov [140]) leads to the dual status of the respective problems and their palliative solution either by rational measures of science and law, or by irrational means of religion and morality.

Given that considerations of nature have become perhaps the first philosophical considerations in Europe, the task of historical and philosophical reconstruction of promising models of nature awareness in the relationship of subjective and objective, rational and irrational aspects in the context of the current global environmental crisis.

4.2 The process of understanding nature in antiquity

Considering the history of ideas about nature, we can distinguish several qualitatively unique, but also interconnected epochs. In primitive times, in the mythological consciousness, the *natural* world differed little from the *human*: the phenomena of nature (and even supernatural forces) were often endowed with human traits, and vice versa. In particular, it is about *animism* – endowing the soul of forests, fields or mountains; the cult of *mother-nature* – the identification of all natural processes with the ability to spontaneous fertility and endless renewal of life; *totemism* – the kinship of the whole tribe with a particular plant, animal or landscape; symbol of the *world tree* – the imaginary arrangement along the plant axes of the structures of space, time, calendar, material elements, fauna, phenology, etc. The intersection of the above two worlds was *genesis*: the ability to generate and grow in pedigree are crucial in nature and primitive society, not without reason the plots of many explanatory myths are reduced to describing family ties or individual origins of plants, animals, humans or the world as a whole.

In pre-Greek society and in the early period of antiquity, myth was the basis of all human ideas, and *nature*, according to him, was alive, spiritual, endowed with meaning and self-worth. Mythological spirits were the defenders of every *object* of nature and in their totality were opposed to social measures or personal intentions as a true, unchanging and related neighborhood. With the advent of philosophy and science, nature becomes categorical as synonymous with *existence* with semantic nuances of *self-sufficiency* (independence from the arbitrariness of people or gods), materiality and sensuality, which can be inherent not only in the «neighboring» but also in the human world. For example, in Hippocratic medicine, the term φύσις corresponds to the *meaning* of human body constitution, etiology of the disease and the active substance of the drug, and senior sophists in the context of educational theory add to them the meaning of ancestral and personal inclinations [141].

In contrast to today's familiar environmental meaning, which is capitalized, early Greek «nature» is more individual, as evidenced by modern European translations of the Hippocratic aphorism φύσεις ἰατροῖ νόσους, when for different diseases had to imagine many different healing natures [142]. The disease here is the result of unequal struggle of internal forces and harmful external causes – improper groundwater, air composition, climate extremes, nutrition... Thus, in Hippocratic teachings, in contrast to Eastern medicine, the causes of health and ill health associated mainly with environmental conditions.

Pre-Socratic philosophers, depending on their worldview, imagined nature as an innate fundamental state of things with their material composition of elements and atoms (Democritus), unchanging internal structure (Heraclitus) or changeable appearance (Parmenides). As philosophy developed, these differences manifested themselves in the alienation into the «fractional» categories of existence of the «numerator» of natures and the «denominator» of being, with a tendency to define the cosmic order as a «denominator». Similar changes are taking place in Ancient Greece with an understanding of the personal origins of man. At the beginning of the epic era (IX century BC) the realization of individuality took place at the level of ethnocultural features, which in Homer's «Iliad» and «Odyssey» were represented by the famous

«heroes». In the Hesiodian epos (VIII-VII centuries BC) the number of advice on life and agriculture already indicates the disintegration of family and patriarchal heredity and the need to artificially instruct individuals or separate them from the secrets of economic activity institution of «ostracism» – ten years of expulsion from his native settlement, but not from a family that then had a wider geography among the Greeks).

In the VII-VI centuries B.C. prominent exiles, such as Pythagoras or Heraclitus, began to restore on their own lost with community care global awareness with the help of theoretical means of philosophy or lyrical poetry and music. And only in the V century B.C. independent thinking about supra-individual reality becomes the norm for both individuals and the polis states in which they live, creating the basis for the word *ἰδιώτης*, which in democratic polises meant a person separated from political power, not authorized to speak from the general point of view. From now on, expulsion to an «outside» world became impossible and was replaced by execution, which coincided with the predominance of state law over tribal law and overcoming «tragic» cases of responsibility of individuals for the crimes of their entire community [143].

In a gradual way of being, the beginning of which was previously seen mainly in the viable forms of nature, takes the form of cosmic or even human mind, as the younger sophists thought. Since Plato, such an intelligent being has increasingly moved beyond the world as far from absolute and devoid of perfection to the higher realm of ideas, while nature acquires the role of a general spontaneous mediator – a means of movement or a source of properties – in the expedient ordering of lower material bodies.

At the same time, in parallel use, the «embryos» meaning of nature as the internal device of any individual (idea or thing) is preserved, which potentially determines its properties. Aristotle on this basis contrasts the natural with the artificial: plants and animals have a cause in themselves, so their existence is essential in any change; artistic (technical) products make sense only in the final manufacture, so do not have a life [144, p 143-161; 145].

Similar differences between Plato and Aristotle are observed in political doctrines, although, at first glance, both presuppose a priori *harmony* of man and society in the

person of the family and the state on the basis of the common good. In Plato, it is due to the greater effectiveness of collective efforts for physical survival, while Aristotle continues this argument with the possibility of released in this way resources for personal self-realization (εὐδαιμονία). At the same time, both classics, without denying social inequality, criticized the heredity of caste privileges (*meritocracy*), depending on the harmonious relations in society from political *practice*, which was not so much as an arena of power struggle, as the quintessence of human life. «Every citizen, as much as he wished and had free time (due to the presence of slaves), participated in the sovereignty of the people, that is, could enjoy the realization of their own participation in governing the state» [146, p. 55.].

Herefrom the meticulous attention to state *regimes*: Aristotle, for example, described as many as 158 varieties to reduce them to 6 known types, which obviously set completely different *conditions* for the εὐδαιμονία of the citizens of the polis. Interestingly, with the aim, like his teacher, of social conditions for electing leaders, educating them and other people in civic virtues, pursuing the interests of the common good, caring for the rule of just laws... Aristotle finally identifies them with the *republican* regime (πολιτεία) unacceptable to Plato. The fact is that he justifies his choice through the socio-economic structure of society: the ruling middle «middle class» is the *majority* in the polis, which inevitably leads to stabilizing and moralizing social consequences, while Plato begins with the moral foundations and adjusts the social organism to them (utopia).

In the Hellenistic-Roman era, the imperial scale of political life went beyond personal moral responsibility, turning yesterday's polis common good, with which the Athenian classics could associate life, to analogous to partial selfish interests. In particular, Diogenes of Sinope, still full of the morality of the Socratic common good, as can be seen from his compliments to virtuous citizens, already understands that at the level of available to the person polis experience good becomes accidental even in the forms of consecrated tradition. The apparent arbitrariness of the new monarchs in granting civil rights led the «Crazy Socrates of Sinop» and his followers to regard laws and traditions as immoral and unreasonable conventions subject to pantomime ridicule.

Instead, the example of dogs (κύων) emblematic of the Cynic school, which in the role of the natural antithesis of culture in all policies behave the same, shows that the most general cosmopolitan level of public good paradoxically begins to coincide with a single natural. The shortest to this nature in the Cynics – the reduction of vital needs to the physical (rural), and then from this ideal emotionally and culturally impartial by the method of dialectical wisdom (ἀδιάρροπον) to deduce the rest of the norms of social life [147].

Thus, although natura as a material-sensory and space-time «numerator» of space is no longer a management matter, the ancient cosmic *principle*, which represents any thing as part of something greater, allows it to retain the power that generates and motivates things. No wonder the Epicureans, the naturalness of the sage, implies the liberation of the soul from superstition in order to follow the desire to enjoy and avoid suffering. For the Stoics, «living by nature» means subordinating one's own behavior to the innate *intuition* of morality and art, which is present in man through the expediency of his bodily organization (as is present in the matter of the body «fiery pneuma») and corresponds to intelligent and fatal arrangement of cosmos.

4.3 Contradictions of the natural ontology of the Middle Ages

Medieval ideas about nature bear the imprint of the general ontological duality of this era. On the one hand, being a strong-willed divine creature, nature is wonderful, full of the greatness of the Plan for her. In Aurelius Augustine and the subsequent Franciscan tradition of theology, this is illustrated primarily by the aesthetic advantages of nature, in which Christian creationism is combined with Stoic and Platonic arguments of *proportion* and *harmony* of parts: without these principles of beauty, the Creator did not leave, according to the bishop of Hippo, not a feather of a bird or a leaf of a tree, each time combining in visible creatures corporeal and incorporeal nature [148, p. 234, 1399.]. Hence, Severin Boethius sees the basis of the harmony of opposites in the good provided by the Creator and concludes that actions in nature can not contradict him [149, p. 247].

On the other hand, being struck by original sin, nature loses its substance and needs to be renewed. In the days of patristics, this is manifested in the interpretation of nature as a guide to the divine *will* concerning the passage of man through all the vicissitudes of irreversible world history, so all natural things are moral *symbols* of otherworldly meanings and a resource of human existence to improve and save the soul [150]. This perception of nature corresponded to the predominance of unconquered natural landscapes in Europe at the time, the confinement of small centers of Christian civilization hostile natural and barbaric environment [151, p. 528–543].

This duality has affected the understanding of society: the human community, in fact, is a mixture of *two types* of individuals, guided by opposite motives and subject to different assessments. Aurelius Augustine defined their relationship through a synthesis of ideas such as creationism, the fall, the linearity of history, ecumenism: those who belong to the City of God are willing to accept the church's *higher* guidelines, while the representatives of the Earthly City rather they are subject to the *earthly* coercion of state institutions or prominent figures. One of the applications of this dualism was the dramatic distinction between imitation of Christ and family devotion, because long after the destruction of ancient state and legal institutions, family affiliation was a condition of personal survival. ««...» The behavior of many of the upper echelons, based on asceticism and the Christian emphasis on the individual connection of the soul with God, rejected by both pagans and non-ascetic Christians, which provided for the distribution of family property to the poor instead of multiplying it for heirs, or abstinence from marriage and the obligation to have children to procreate, significantly contributed to the intensification (which continues to this day) of the process of individualization: for the first time individual well-being (also spiritual) became more important than family wealth» [151, p. 44].

Although the self-awareness of medieval society took place in similar static rich oppositions which are given by God (rich / poor, free / unfree, laity / clergy, people / rulers), in practice the social organization established by the institutions of the *church* (sacerdotium) and the *state* (regnum) for several centuries was a *compromise* for the systematic preaching of the gospel and the administration of the sacraments require a

diverse secular infrastructure, and governance, from some scale, is forced to supplement direct reward or violence with threats, promises, and generally values and spiritual guidelines. Philosophical and theological reflection has shown that in a sinful world, pious knights, peasants, or kings form a system of forced but necessary inequality for social protection, production, or rule. If in this way the earthly City, at least, represses moral evil more than itself, it becomes useful to the *City of God* in the role of its forerunner or reflection. Then the political structure in society is perceived as provided by the Creator, at least the rulers look chosen by God, and political resistance – as a denial of God’s will.

After the translation of Aristotelian «Politics» in 1260, Thomas Aquinas substantiates this function on the basis of peripatetic schemes of substantial teleology through a hierarchical classification of laws, where each of the lower servants uses to achieve the goals of the higher:

- «eternal law» (*lex aeterna*), which regulates the involvement of certain things in the upper good;
- «commandments of Moses» (*lex divina*), which translate the divine will into the form of social traditions;
- «natural law» (*lex naturalis*), which is the basis of morality both inside and outside the church;
- «human laws» (*leges humanae*), which adapt new historical possibilities of man to the public good.

In a similar way, Thomism defines the Creation of nature through the divine *mind*, which contains the intelligentsia that gives rise to the hierarchy of created «natures». This «scale» begins with intelligible theologically active «forces» (substantial qualities), which delegate the driving functions of the divine management of world history: ««...» He governs the lower [things] through the mediation of the higher ones, and not because of a lack of His ability, but because of an excess of His goodness, so that the ability to cause is also transmitted to creation» [152, p. 196]. Although the root causes remain in the possession of the absolute divine Will (*theocentrism*), in this way a system of causal relations is formed between the created things: in the «book of

nature» appears its own grammar in the form of world order Ordo (*natural centrism*). It begins to give man coordinates for a clear proportion of his own free initiatives and their moral significance on the part of the divine Subject: without direct and constant theistic care, man can receive gratitude or punishment indirectly – through instructive (non)violation of the Ordo.

So, on the one hand, *nature* restores the objectivity lost in late antiquity in a new form of «space cathedral» [153], where each component is a goal for the lower step and a means for the higher. However, on the other hand, its observed legal conformities are only specifications of the properties of the absolute Subject, which through these relative evidences can be known («natural theology»), endlessly improving both them and human ideas about them [154]. According to Bonaventure, ««...» in the present state of our nature, the created world is a scale for ascension to God. Among the creatures, one is God's footprint, the other is His image, one is corporeal, the other is spiritual, the other is transient, the other is immortal, one is outside of us, the other is within us. Therefore, in order to attain contemplation of the Primordial Source, who is supremely spiritual, eternal, and superior to us, we need to go through traces that are corporeal, minimal, and external to us, and this will lead us to God» [155, p. 489.].

4.4 The relationship between man and nature in the Renaissance and the Reformation

Although the idea of nature as a «scale of beings» is still found in Dante's ascent from the depths of hell to the celestial spheres to the top of paradise (and the minds of naturalists continue to possess until the time of Charles Darwin) already in the days of the Renaissance of piety and knowledge of God begins to penetrate *intensely* the vertical of entity. In art, the above-mentioned intensification of ontology acquires a humanistic direction in projects of *artificial* reproduction of the spiritual essence («root causes») of the divine creation, materialized and sensualized in nature. Practicing the works of «second nature» famous artists and inventors of the Renaissance are trying to discover the limits of the original Plan, secularized in the harmony of the sensual necessity of the «first, or created nature».

The possibility of assimilating universal natural actions in the form of laws of symmetry, perspective projection and strict proportion becomes the best evidence of involvement in the same root causes that medieval philosophers sought to reach through endless interpretations of the written word. In this way, humanism not only removes moral and substantial constraints from the sublunary world of nature, but also sets out to show perfect examples of overcoming the erroneously established order of sin – these are visible images of the infinite, beauty as sensually comprehensible greatness of the divine mind [156].

As such an *independent* involvement of Renaissance man in the higher senses, he begins to build his life not on the basis of traditional patterns, but on the basis of consciously determined by the mediation of nature. As before, the created and sinful order required an educational *superstructure*, but its moral *modification*, lowered by God in addition to Creation, began to be replaced by *political*, normatively provided by prominent figures. Together with the focus on the common good, the great geographical discoveries of overseas lands and the reception of the *concepts* of Platonic utopia, neo-Pythagorean brotherhood, the communal tradition of the Essenes, this led to the flourishing of rational projects of an ideal society in the role of building the «kingdom of God» or «heavenly Jerusalem» on Earth. As with Plato, the social condition of new projects was the abolition of private property, but unlike the ancient context, much attention is paid to equal work, spiritual leisure, the study of «creatures of the Lord» for their *own* reasons, and much hope is placed on «machines to transform nature for a happy and creative life».

In other cases, under the influence of economic degeneration of feudalism, dynastic leaps at court, cynical militarism of monarchs, sacred examples of justification of disobedience and other trials of medieval law, ontological levels of sacred celestial and simple earth halves began to differ by sectors and strata of public life. From this point of view, Protestantism is the dilution of political governance (*Res publica romana*) and spiritual life (*Res publica christiana*) in a society united by autocracy, and Machiavellianism is their consolidation as goals and means, respectively, in a society forever divided by *class* goods.

A strong impetus to this anti-traditionalism was made by the Copernican revolution in astronomy, which, together with the structure of the world order of Aristotle and Ptolemy, shook its symmetrical moral and religious scale of values [157]. When in this way the inner, self-conscious life of the individual in its intensity and significance begins to compete with his external life, he has a sense of isolation from nature and comparison with its relative forces in the ancient scheme of *microcosm* and *macrocosm*.

In the natural philosophy of the Late Renaissance, each of these halves of the natural *cosmos* is a harmonious whole in which individual creatures are connected to others horizontally and vertically by a mixture of material, linguistic, symbolic, and psychological regular relations. In such a *speculative* way, the teachings of B. Telesio, P. Pomponazzi, F. Patrizi, R. Fludd, T. Campanella, G. Bruno et al. provided the restoration of ancient substantiality in *nature*, making it a sensual incarnation of truth. It is through this pantheism that the foundations are laid for future veneration in German idealism and romanticism of *naturalness* as the priority inherited in nature of integrity, harmony and ease in the process and results of human creativity or simply social behavior [158].

At the same time, on the other side of the Alps, the principle of *sola fidei* dictates to Protestants an exclusively *empirical* way of understanding nature, because it, like man, through the re-actualization of voluntarist creationist rhetoric seems hopelessly distant from otherworldly meanings. For example, for matter this is manifested in the abolition of internal activity – all spirituality and unmathematical qualities («occultism») in favor of only «corpuscular texture» – visual and commensurate with everyday trade and craft experience and Lutheran understanding of the Eucharist. Such «small machines of nature» are no longer driven spontaneously – by inner souls, mutually agreed upon by a higher Plan or worldly sympathy – but by the *actions* of other parts of matter, ideally covered by *formal means* of mathematical functions.

So, just as a Protestant man is forced to rely on earthly means of salvation, he can know nature only through its hypothetical ordering by means of experiment and mathematics. Unlike *natural philosophy*, where the «book of Nature» is endowed with

substantiality and is perceived as homogeneous – with equal expediency of all elements, including man, the status of the *Protestant* «book of Nature» is purely epistemological: on the one hand – enterprising man, on the other – spontaneously atomistic nature [159].

4.5 Formation of subject-object dichotomy in Modern times

In Modern times there is an intersection of traditional alternatives in the notions of *nature*: it returns to itself from the afterlife, but the form of its discovery is considered as «raw». By philosophically reducing («idealizations») these «raw materials» to the sum of «inanimate» interacting forces and scientific comprehension of their stable combinations in the role of natural laws, man is able to natural phenomena «bring to readiness», but not in the direction of their moral and aesthetic improvement, but for free human goals. For example, F. Bacon, describing the utopian island of Benshalem in 1623 by analogy with Plato's myth of prosperous Atlantis, deviates from Plato when it comes to nature: it does not fall apart in bounties, its benefits can only be obtained by scientific study and technical transformation [160].

According to environmental ethics, such a technological perspective became possible due to the agreement of modern European scientists atomistic and Platonic images of nature, which equally denied it spiritual expediency: Democritus figurative unification of matter allowed universal mathematical nomology, and the Platonic vertical world hierarchy found a continuation in horizontal Cartesian dualism [161].

Thanks to the program works of F. Bacon, G. Galileo, R. Descartes and others the exploitation of nature is normalized as the realization of the freedom of the *subject who sets goals*, and scientific and technological achievements are celebrated as the *overpowering* and mastery of the material-empirical *object*. In this system of values, images of nature appear as a workshop for a skilled enterprising man [162, p. 5]. The privilege of human domination over nature is dictated by a new interpretation of inherited worldview axioms: «the image and likeness of the Creator of all things» is now seen in the *universal* mind, which allows man to *intensively* realize the extensive embodiment and gradual course of natural laws. According to Galileo, such an

awareness corresponds to the original creative idea of the world and is manifested in *mathematical* language, the knowledge of which alone allows to «read» the original «book of Nature» [163].

The polarization of nature and man as a purely corporeal *object*, guided by spontaneous forces, and a *subject* with spirituality, capable of endowing natural forces with mechanistic meanings, has been noted since the end of the XVIII century is criticized by natural philosophy. For example, in F. Schelling's «speculative physics» in addition to the mechanistic empirical properties of things established by natural science, universal theoretical principles (polarity, development and organic integrity) are substantiated, which allow to cover barely known to science phenomena with *non-mechanical* causality – «animal electricity», electrolysis, electromagnetism, oxygen combustion, cellular metabolism and more.

In the boundless and continuous «hierarchy of productivity» of self-sufficient and internally unified deified nature, which is concretized in these «phenomena of development», *quantitative* mathematical dependences indicate only the external and surface level of processes. Together with the language of experimental and mathematical science, they are subject to subordination to *qualitative dialectical* principles that reflect the deployment of this productivity, when nature, finding an obstacle in finite things, splits into an object involved in *real* relationships and unconsciously creative subject possessing general *expedient* connection. The human mind, reproducing these laws, rises «hierarchy of productivity», thus acting as an instrument of self-awareness of Nature [164, p.184].

Such a Nature with its inherent values (Unum, Bonum, Verum, Pulchrum), demonstrating to the alienated man the ideal of integrity, can be found in the natural philosophy of Goethe and «romantic» aesthetics, whose ideas were rethought in the «philosophy of life» and existentialism. However, as a result of Hegel's influential «castling», nature finds itself in the place of an intermediate step of man's dialectical path to the ideal of the rational Spirit. Considering its supra-individual integrity as a system of conditions and results of human socio-cultural activity, Hegel on a new level continues the main subject-object dichotomy for the new European *mentality*.

4.6 The development of human civilization within the subject-object paradigm

In the Modern philosophical society, this dichotomy is often regarded as a prerequisite for civilizational progress and ecological regress at the same time. Leading among its practical applications are, first, the *liberal model* of public administration, which proclaims the individual *freedom* of citizens to grow and meet their own needs, which limits itself only to considerations of social security and subject-subject law and order. The organizational basis of this *model* was the revolutionary abolition of legal, economic or spiritual privileges (*egalitarianism*), the mechanistic rejection of human history of higher expediency in favor of earthly optimism (*social progress*), the formation of independent judiciary and electoral political system (*democracy*), while among the practical consequences – entrepreneurship (*laissez-faire*), competition, free thought and the positivist orientation of the social sciences and humanities (law, socio-economic philosophy, political philosophy, history).

Secondly, the subject-object dichotomy is continued in this principle of *laissez-faire*, which unfolds into a expedient rationality type of activity («Zweckrationalitaet» of Max Weber), which instead of moral and value principles is subject to regulatory agreements and dictates to scientists experimental-technological («neutral») attitude to studied natural objects, and producers – market guidelines for *maximizing* profits. Expedient rationality, in turn, enables an industrial way of management, based on *unlimited* expedient transformations of nature due to its mechanistic uniformity, analyticalness and predictability.

In retrospect of these three appendices, human civilization was doomed sooner or later to encounter progressive limitations of its vital activity in terms of the limit parameters and resource capabilities of the natural environment. Under the conditions of a «stalemate» situation, which, similarly to the effect of a nuclear bomb, is called an «environmental bomb», the *classical guidelines* for the development of civilization look historically transient or purely tactical and are subject to new *strategic* ones.

In particular, reports from the Club of Rome in the late 1960s state that scientific «neutrality» and economic «maximalism» about nature must be subordinated to the

«optimistic» value of human survival as a species [165]. Aimed at providing social development strategies, it is at least designed to prevent social pathologies and focus on improving social health in the form of medicine indicators, demography, social insurance, ecology, etc. In this way, in the 1970s, system-analytical «global models» of world dynamics were developed, which in 1992 at the International «Earth Summit» in Rio de Janeiro were implemented in the principles of «living within ecological possibilities», which forbids humanity to endanger future generations to the extent of its current needs [166].

Soon, in leading civic communities, classical innovation begins to be balanced by interdisciplinary guidelines of «sustainable development» through the appropriate selection of means of management and associated with the preservation or intensive restoration of nature. Moreover, halting the depletion of the natural environment here correlates with bridging socio-economic gaps and extremist doctrines, as well as outpacing technological progress, so that it has become a *coevolutionary* factor: «future technologies must ensure the use of biosphere products beyond the ecological capacity of the planet. These limits should “fit” in 1% of bioproducts of the entire biosphere, taking into account the specifics of certain ecosystems» [167, p. 20].

The ideological justification of this strategy is often seen in the concept of the noosphere E. Le Roy, P. Teilhard de Chardin, V.I. Vernadsky, who considers man as such a stage of *self*-awareness of the natural evolution of the biosphere, which in the future through the mind is able not only to adapt but also to curb its natural development. In particular, it is a question of coordination of rates of development of technical and social systems for the sake of preservation of a human race and its biosphere resources thanks to transition to a planetary (and even wider) level of planning of own life [168].

However, the necessary scientific basis usually remains *ambivalent*, ensuring the creation of both environmental and operational applications, and the choice between them rests on deadlocks: external administrative and legal feasibility usually contradicts economic as long-term interagency – short-term departmental, and internal ethical appeals to various *irrational* values – from mythological syncretism in worldview

images of anim(at)ism, world tree or mother-nature [169] to environmental pluralism without any worldview coordination of life values of man and nature.

For example, in the latter case, according to C.D. Stone [170], M.A. Warren [171], A. Brennan [172] and others, coexistence with nature means an equal partnership not only in the material-spatial neighborhood, but also in interpretations of rationality. The human mind and its historical development in culture, including the stage of modern science, bears the flaw of artificiality, while any natural life contains the inexhaustible advantage of *harmony* of unity and diversity, order and chaos, causality and spontaneity, selfishness and general expediency, reproducibility and uniqueness...

4.7 Assertion of the intrinsic value of life: science and bioethics

Meanwhile, these deadlocks of the strategy of optimizing the relationship between global civilization and nature, as a continuation of the well-known extremes of scientism and anti-scientism, are a natural result of efforts to solve *modern* environmental problems based on the *classical* understanding of science and nature. According to the outstanding philosopher and methodologist of science O.P. Ogurtsov, in current science the idea of choosing a single true theory from a variety of *descriptions* and *explanations* has been overcome, although the requirement of their transparency, consistency and argumentation in the constant critical dialogue with each other [173, p. 473].

The objective properties they represent today are so mobile and unstable that they merge with methodological design procedures. Moreover, the *post-classical* type of cognitive activity mediates subject knowledge about the object not only with technical or conceptual tools, but also with such mental structures of the scientist as goals and values. For the first time, non-classical thermodynamics came to this conclusion due to the development of the «complexity» of dissipative structures, fractals and vacuum fluctuations observed in open and non-equilibrium systems.

Since their energy was not dissipated, but went to the spontaneous emergence of new structures, they eventually showed an atypical for inanimate matter ability to *negentropic* self-organization. Therefore, in the correct description of these processes,

scientists began to combine analytical procedures inherent in mathematical physics, and individual-historical, more inherent in biology. ««...» Unlike small systems, such objects are characterized by level organization, the presence of relatively autonomous and variable subsystems, mass stochastic interaction of their elements, the existence of a management level and feedback to ensure the integrity of the system» [174, p. 360].

Thus, the methodology of studying inanimate matter of modern science began to produce tools previously detailed only on living matter with its *activity*, which dialectically combines the ability of arbitrariness («freedom»), which increases with the systematic scale of organisms, and the ability to be influenced (at the highest level – to have «feelings») together with the ability to accumulate experience of these influences (at the highest level – to have «memory»). On the other hand, complex phenomena represented by «nonlinear» mathematical theories have become a model for the study of living things, displacing the sentimental aspects of biology and the humanities pragmatic.

If for classical natural science nature appeared primarily as a geographical envelope of the Earth, which separately studied the atmosphere, lithosphere, hydrosphere and embodied in 2 million species of biosphere, today this «primordial nature» is understood from the extreme positions transformed by human practice forms of the *anthroposphere* and *biotechnosphere*. The facts about them are not considered relevant to the removal in the relevant theory: being «alive», they force the researcher to treat reality as a subject, not a passive object or means. «In classical science, nature acted as an „inverse object”, in non-classical – as an „irreversible subject”, as an extremely fragile totality of the organic species, which includes man himself «...»» [175, p. 344].

Along with the status of «quasi-subject» in nature as a whole and individual natural beings begins to recognize *inherent value*, which can not be reduced to a decisive role in natural ecosystems or economic, historical, aesthetic demand in social life [176]. The leading example of its implementation and problematization is medicine, in which the increased opportunities for life manipulation already exceed the status of purely rational means of reducing pain, prolonging life, recovering or reducing

the cost of care, so not fully achieving these goals, but requiring in each situation the value justification of intervention in the existing natural and social order.

Attempts to systematize such justifications have been made since the late 1960s under the auspices of bioethics as a supplement and deepening of special medical deontology, which fixed the rules of patient-physician relations, greater requirements for the relationship of scientists and subjects, consultants and clients, human and living organisms in the broader context of conservation, protection and progressive restructuring of life on the planet. At the same time, the professional value of human life, reaching the Hippocratic slogan «*primum non nocere*», is combined with a number of socio-moral values (to do good, to respect the personal, to seek justice, to adhere to the truth, to seek common consent) and receives philosophical interpretation through the category of self-value any life.

Life has long been considered one of the deepest mysteries: on the one hand, it is clearly and directly accessible to anyone, and on the other – ambiguously abstracted from other properties of being and not subject to direct artificial reproduction. Therefore, *metaphysical* possibilities of interpretation of life are an inexhaustible source of controversy in the spirit of preformism and epigenesis, creationism and evolutionism, vitalism and materialism.

Reflective methods of metaphysics, as shown by A. Schopenhauer and his critic A. Schweizer, allow a person to comprehend his own life and his intuitive value attachments as if from within and much clearer than is still available through scientific and theoretical means. Therefore, the value of human life, for example, as a *natural* being and as created in the image and likeness of the *Creator*, despite the same condemnation of different forms of violence often involves different assessments of such conscious encroachments on life as abortion, euthanasia, death penalty, suicide... [177] And when it comes to simpler forms of life or common with animals reflexes and instincts, the role of experimental generalizations of physiology, neurology, ethology, etc. is greatly enhanced.

Thus, the mysteries of life are somewhat diminished when viewed in a purely natural, *phenomenological* way. The classic list of distinctive qualities of living

organisms, which is traditionally given in academic and educational publications [178], is reduced to the following points:

- universal cell construction in the sense of living units with fractal properties;
- the integrity of the form, which is a functional set of mutual corrections of all cellular changes;
- provision of metabolism with its ability to use someone else's matter and include it in your own body;
- ability to develop through the absorption of external resources, growth and differentiation from simpler to more complex states;
- the ability to preserve itself as a differentiated whole against the background of external influences (in particular, damaging intrusions) and internal instability (in particular, molecular thermal motion);
- restrictions on the time of individual existence (from birth to death);
- the ability to transmit and selectively consolidate the specific features of their own constitution to their offspring (heredity and variability).

Recently, *environmental* feasibility has been added to this list: although natural life has unfolded in a huge variety of species with very different constitutions, all organisms and the factors of their existence are so closely intertwined in the network of adaptation and relationships with each other and with the environment that blurred dichotomies «living» / «inanimate», «expedient» / «caused», «individual» / «collective» [179].

Thus, there are grounds for a deeper understanding of the *safety* of life relevant to bioethics, which includes maintaining the stability of the genome of a particular species (against biotechnology, such as genetically modified organisms), viability of individuals (against chemical and radiation pollution) and qualitative diversity of species (against the background of excessive exploitation of «useful» and extermination of «non-useful» to humans species) etc. [180]. The threat to safety of life arose after centuries of human practice of reclamation of agricultural land, changes in water regime in places of residence, production or transport flows of mankind,

impact on the gas composition of the troposphere, extensive selection of varieties and breeds and so on.

The bioethical aspect of this problem involves elucidating the general spatial and historical relationships and indirect mutagenic factors (ionizing radiation, pesticides, antibiotics) of living things studied, as well as the population and ecological levels of their existence. Ultimately, the final assessment of genetic safety is based on a philosophical understanding of *health* as the achievement of freedom at different levels of existence based on the ability of natural or social organisms to adapt and develop, and *disease* as entering into life's oppression due to deviations and disturbances in homeostasis caused by both unnatural lifestyles and unfavorable environments, including social (economic crises, legal nihilism, political arbitrariness, etc.).

Thus, in bioethics, a connection is established between the actual treatment and the prerequisites for a normal life, the moral duty of the specialist and the socio-legal provision of his opportunities, which are reflected in the indicators of social health and environmental balance. Therefore, bioethical criticism means not only the *denial* of certain tools, methods and technologies (from vivisection of animals to human cloning), but also demands to improve these indicators and the work of various social institutions and involve civil society.

Well-known representative of environmental ethics B.G. Norton sees such conclusions as an opportunity to officially recognize in science the presence of *values* that guide the ever-existing freedom of action of the scientist, in order to further test and determine the most *effective* among them. And these effective values are not necessarily reduced to economic or political: among them are spatial-communicative, historical-symbolic, social identification, and so on [181]. The only question is how to systematize them into one or another type of ecological culture?

4.8 Regulation of the value of life and nature in humanistic and environmental ethics

If the traditional moral *discourse* usually appeals to the principles of *interhuman* relations, then the environmental – to the strategy of *ecological* relations between man

and nature. The first, despite all the latest changes, is perceived in the public consciousness mainly as a fundamental ethic, and the second – as its environmental application, along with legal codes of nature. A common example of such a position is Kant's call for the protection of animals, as their suffering leads to human rudeness [182]. In extreme expression, this anthropocentric *discourse* continues to hold opposition, such as «subject – object», «culture – nature», «person – environment», «human – inhuman», contrasting the higher value of man and the instrumental expediency of nature (as far as and can serve as raw materials, energy and healthy living space). However, he does not rule out historically balanced and humanistic views of nature.

Thus, V. Höhle demonstrates that the odious expansion of technological civilization into nature and the ecological crisis caused by it is a consequence of the educational reduction of the sphere of *subjectivity* to domination and exploitation [183, p. 180–212]. Therefore, the reconstruction of the dominant *relationship* of people with nature should be carried out through the revision of *intrapersonal* relations – from competition, domination and conflict resolution to the values of cooperation, dialogue and compromise with the opposite party in will, action and thinking.

One way or another, at least since the time of A. Schopenhauer, there has been a lack of such discourse and the need to directly incorporate the principles of living beings into general ethics, so that the protection of natural beings has the same moral value as defending human interests. «Ecological ethics presupposes ecological conscience and moral feelings of love, respect, camaraderie, generosity, admiration, gratitude, compassion and pity, guilt and shame that man *can* and *should* experience “in the name of natural beings themselves”, their “inner value” and “natural rights”, and not for themselves and their own goals, even if such a goal – the improvement of man» [184].

Thus, a number of Council of Europe conventions adopted since 1965 on the protection of animals – those transported, fed on farms, kept at home, used for scientific purposes – mention freedom from thirst, hunger and malnutrition, pain, wounds, disease and more. discomfort, such as fear and stress – in other words, the freedom of

their normal life. The 1982 UN World Charter of Nature already states that *all* forms of life must be able to live normally. Experts who contributed to the development of the provisions of these documents relied on a similar to the humanistic principle of self-worth (inherent value) of life of any living being: despite the fact that for someone it is, after all, a means of subsistence, for her, her life is one and the greatest *goal* of existence and motivation for behavior.

Today, man on the scale of his own influence and its adverse effects is part of a community much wider than humanity, and mobile digitalization erases the contours of the human home (οἶκος), which has traditionally served as an existential reference point, a watershed between internal controlled and external spontaneous space [185]. In this way, the usual bioethical issues related to the human body (transplantation, cloning, eugenics, euthanasia, artificial insemination or abortion...) are rethought in the broader context of the natural environment of this body and the spiritual ties between man and nature.

The subject field for distinguishing between moral and immoral are actions not only on the human community (*anthropocentrism*), but also on the community of flora, fauna, water, soil, etc. (*biocentrism, ecocentrism*) [186, p. 6-7, 141, 241-242]. Therefore, in the influential «deep ecology» of A. Naess, S. Kvaløy and N. Faarlund the importance of organisms is considered independently of man – in the context of the net of egalitarian biosphere relations – and extends to *inorganic* nature (*physiocentrism*) [187].

Human superiority over other beings, the new environmental ethics, in contrast to the traditional considers the occasion for *care* and *responsibility* for them: in the «ethics of the Earth» J.B. Callicot [188, p. 28-29] and the concept of «common world» (mitwelt) K.M. Meyer-Abich, they are explained by the ability of man to reveal the aesthetic potential of natural objects. Moreover, K.M. Meyer-Abich in the spirit of natural philosophical ideas considers human culture as a continuation of natural creativity [189, p. 129].

4.9 Conclusion

The current international level of measures to harmonize economic expansion into nature and the principles of ecological balance reveals the need for an appropriate worldview scale of *rethinking* the relationship between man and nature, beginning with the recognition of their *mutual* influence and ending with reformulation of fundamental definitions. From this point of view, they appear to be relatively long-lasting and reproducible connections over a certain historical period, in which objective *reality* is a prerequisite for the existence and spiritual development of mankind not only as an *external* environment but also as a potential for *internal* possibilities.

According to the historical and philosophical review, significant changes in the understanding of nature have always been accompanied by the development of its content: the successful development of nature changes the consciousness of people, which is enshrined in the forms of social experience. The content of natural-philosophical and socio-philosophical concepts throughout history has changed in the direction from the original social metaphor of the «organism», in which all organs are connected primarily by subject dependencies to the conventional coordination of essential individuals. Other coordinates of the joint development of these concepts were the distinction between naturalness and morality.

In antiquity, the category of *nature* generally denotes the sensory-material side of the world, which is responsible for the origin and appropriate movement of things, while the essential results of the movement of things are responsible for *being*, and the connection of things – *cosmos*. In early antiquity, the order of space was determined by *nature* by the criterion of viability of individual things and their relationship in the great organism of the world, in classical and late – by *being* by the criterion of logic. In addition, throughout antiquity, there are alternative meanings of nature as the driving and life-giving *principle* that gives rise to individual things («*individual* soul») or forms material bodies in general in accordance with the meaning of higher being («*World* Soul»).

With the establishment of Christian dogmas (about the creation of the world and man by God, kenosis, divine revelation, the historical goal of salvation) at the heart of

the medieval worldview, man's attitude to nature acquires a *dual* status. In the early Middle Ages, *nature* had both utilitarian and moral-symbolic significance for man (the embodiment of the relationship of righteousness, sinfulness, virtue and vice). In the age of *scholasticism*, it was objectified as the leader of a higher authority, the divine Mind or Will, accordingly *acquiring* a hierarchical order for a man prone to sinful disorder or *requiring* it from a man capable of moral and practical improvement. In both cases, the natural and human organization of life is subject to the organic principle – what is a goal for some, is a means for others.

The scholastic duality of understanding of nature continued in the Renaissance and the Reformation in the fields of art, philosophy, politics and religion. Thus, in art, mimetic and cathartic concepts provided for the adoption of human divine creativity through two strategies of dealing with created nature – imitation of the external pattern of creatures *and* overcoming their empirical imperfection. A similar opposite is inherent in spiritual life: in *natural philosophy*, the potential of divine authority transferred to Renaissance *man* led to the hypostasis of his mind in the form of its rational foundations (*ragione*) of nature itself; in the *reformist* picture of the world such grounds are not revealed, but are invented by man through the dismemberment and ordering of experience, just as more or less expedient conglomerates of bodies and structures are hypothetically combined from individual atoms.

Exit in Europe in the XVII century the values of *freedom* in the first place and the corresponding increase in the importance of the means to achieve it lead to the beginning of the formation of classical scientific *methodology*. The metric and experimental *idealization* of experience envisaged in it led to the fact that nature itself was denied immanent spontaneity and all «secondary qualities». The despiritualization of the picture of the world carried out in this way ensured the perception of nature as a «semi-finished product» and the possibility of its purposeful exploitation, and explanatory science is in common with technical practice.

In modern science, there are ontological grounds for weakening the classical subject-object dichotomy of man and nature. On the one hand, they rise to the status of universal means, previously detailed only on living matter, on the other hand, the

leading objects of physical chemistry and thermodynamics, represented by «nonlinear» mathematical theories, become a model for studying living things. Combined with the awareness of the threatening trend of destroying the conditions for scientifically and technically armed management and restructuring the system of guidelines for the development of human civilization, methodological changes in modern science contribute to combining the values of human and natural life.

The original bioethical model of such an association, based on a rethinking of the phenomenon of life and its security measures, helps to soften the «neutral» standard of scientific knowledge and at the same time highlights the *problem* of the leading authority for regulating the values of life and nature. Attempts to solve it by redrawing the structure of ethics are reflected in the methodological principles of anthropocentrism, biocentrism, ecocentrism, physiocentrism, as well as in categorical neologisms about nature (such as «biotechnosphere» or «mitwelt») or, at least, in reviewing the internal structure of classical categories.

5. Peculiarities of the human rights protection mechanism in Ukraine

5.1 The mechanism of human rights protection: the concept of features and types

Today in most countries of the world the issue of observance and protection of human and civil rights is very acute. The institution of human rights protection has been particularly active in the last century, when most countries have taken a course towards democratization and the development of civil society. In this regard, there are many regulations at the international level that enshrine human rights and the protection of human rights. Every modern state with a democratic form of government at the level of national constitutions and other regulations has enshrined the rights, freedoms and responsibilities of man and citizen, mechanisms for their implementation and protection. Of particular importance in the context of the protection of human rights is the constitutional right to protection. The realization of a person's right to protection can be carried out through various mechanisms for the protection of rights. Such domestic scientists as T. Zavorotchenko, V. Kavun, O. Ogorodnyk, V. Pohorilko, M. Rogozin, O. Skakun, G. Stadnyk, P. Rabinovych and others paid considerable attention to the study of mechanisms of protection of rights.

The study of any social phenomenon, including legal, must be comprehensive - this is one of the fundamental requirements of modern science, which involves consideration of the object of study as its historical development and its essence, structure, typology, mechanisms of development and functioning. Therefore, it is no coincidence that in the legal literature of recent years on human rights, there has been a steady interest in analyzing the mechanism of human rights protection [190 p. 49-50]. According to one of the leading experts in the field of human rights P. Rabinovych, "human rights are exercised through certain mechanisms for their implementation and provision" [191, p. 29].

There is no unambiguous approach to understanding the concept of "human rights protection mechanism" in the legal literature, although various legal concepts

have already attempted to define the essence of the human rights protection mechanism. Thus, the Russian jurist I. Rostovshchikov considers the mechanism of human rights protection through the activities of law enforcement agencies [192, p. 46]. According to M. Puchkova, the mechanism of human rights protection is primarily a set of concerted actions of individuals and entities to ensure the rights of the individual [193, p. 46]. T. Nurkaeva identifies the mechanism of human rights protection with the system of their guarantees [194, p. 7].

Thus, the Russian scientist E. Motvilavka reveals the concept of mechanism as a system of certain legal means aimed at protecting people [195]. According to O. Skakun, the legal mechanism is part of the so-called social and legal mechanism. Professor O. Skakun emphasizes that such a legal mechanism operates in unity and is designed to protect and defend human and civil rights [196, p. 206]. In addition, she noted that the mechanism of social and legal security of human rights and freedoms can be divided into three subsystems: mechanisms of implementation, protection and defense [196, p. 206]. Well-known Ukrainian constitutionalist V. Pohorilko, agreeing with E. Motvilavko, interpreted the mechanism as a system of legal means. These tools are needed to protect rights. In addition, V. Pogorilko, as well as M. Rogozin noted that the mechanism of human rights protection is a system of state power, the main function of which is the protection of human and civil rights [197, p. 34].

Thus, M. Rogozin defines that the "legal mechanism for the protection of human rights - is the ability of citizens to take certain actions to protect their rights and freedoms, as well as a system of bodies that protect and ensure these rights and freedoms. System of bodies that protect and guarantee human rights: The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine; President of Ukraine; Cabinet; central and local bodies of state executive power; local governments; police authorities; security Service; prosecutor's office; court "[198]. O. Ogorodnyk agrees with this opinion of M. Rogozin, but he also includes public organizations, legal and normative acts that are designed to protect human rights to the mechanism of protection of rights [199, p. 15].

Despite its unconditional relevance, the category of "human rights protection mechanism" in the legal literature has not been properly understood until recently, and

the research conducted has not been systemic. Quite often the problem of the mechanism of human and civil rights and freedoms was reduced to the analysis of functions, principles and activities of unrelated state and society, ie economic, political, ideological and legal components were identified and considered independently, not in relation to negatively affects the entire system of measures to ensure human rights and freedoms in society.

Many scientists who study the mechanism of protection of human rights and freedoms, reveal only its structure, ie the internal equipment of the system, without analyzing the process of such activities.

For example, researcher O. Snezhko believes that the constitutional mechanism of protection of rights and freedoms is a system of bodies, means enshrined in the state constitution, providing the most complete and effective protection of human and civil rights and freedoms. In his opinion, the constitutional mechanism consists of two elements: the system of state bodies through which everyone can protect their rights and freedoms, and means of protection (judicial, administrative, civil, criminal, etc.) [200, p. 5–6].

B. Zheleznov in the mechanism of state protection of human and civil rights and freedoms identifies:

1) relevant norms of constitutional, administrative, criminal, civil, labor, family, environmental and other branches of law. At the same time, the norms of other branches of law, first, follow from the norms of constitutional law; secondly, the very norms of constitutional law, which enshrine the status of man and citizen, are implemented through the norms of other branches of law;

2) regulated by law public relations in the field of state protection of rights and freedoms. These relations exist in almost all spheres of society. They are formed between the individual, public associations, national and other social structures, on the one hand, and the state - on the other;

3) guarantees of human and civil rights [201, p. 28].

According to V. Goiman, the mechanism of human rights is "a set of mutually consistent measures of material and technical, organizational and managerial,

ideological (socio-political) and special legal nature, carried out by the state, its bodies and officials, whose purpose is to ensure : the real validity of the law, ie to create conditions under which citizens, their associations and organizations coordinate their actions with the requirements of the law, as well as freely and effectively use their opportunities to meet various interests and needs "[202, p. 12–13].

One of the most successful approaches to revealing the essence and content of the mechanism of human rights protection is represented by researcher O. Yermeeva [203, p. 2–4]. In her opinion, the concept of the mechanism of protection of human and civil rights and freedoms should be considered in a broad and narrow sense.

In a broad sense, this mechanism should consist of legal norms that have established the rights and freedoms of man and citizen; legal facts that are the basis for the emergence, change or termination of legal relations; legal relations; activities of human rights entities, including public authorities, etc.

According to O. Yermeeva, the mechanism of protection of human and civil rights and freedoms in the narrow sense is a set of applied guarantees for protection of violated human and civil rights and freedoms.

O. Danilyan, considering the essence and content of the mechanism of human rights protection in modern society, draws attention to some points.

First, the legal norms that define the rights and freedoms of man and citizen in a particular society are not established by themselves. Their consolidation in the legal system requires the political will of the ruling elite, the persistence of political parties and public organizations, which in itself implies the presence of a subjective factor in this process.

Secondly, various social institutions play a leading role in the functioning of the human rights protection mechanism in modern society.

Third, one of the most important problems in the protection of human rights in transitional societies is the lack of effectiveness of these mechanisms. The effectiveness of the social system, including in the field of human rights protection, is determined by the presence of feedback channels. One of the main channels of feedback, which allows you to assess the effectiveness of the mechanism of human

rights protection in a given society and identify areas for improvement, should be social control by NGOs [190 p. 54].

The mechanism of protection of human rights and freedoms in modern society should be understood as a system of certain social institutions, legal norms, remedies (judicial, administrative, civil, criminal, etc.), providing the most complete and effective protection of human rights and freedoms and citizen.

Ensuring the implementation and protection of human rights is carried out primarily through appropriate mechanisms, which include judicial and extrajudicial means of protection and guaranteed by the state.

Within the framework of the mechanism of protection of rights, the functioning of which is entrusted to the state, judicial protection of human rights in Ukraine is carried out by relevant judicial institutions, extrajudicial - by state bodies and local governments. For example, extrajudicial remedies will include appeals to the VRU Commissioner for Human Rights, the Prosecutor's Office, local consumer protection bodies, and so on.

Problems of judicial and extrajudicial protection of human rights are based on the shortcomings of the justice system and the whole array of public authorities, and on the general shortcomings of the national legal system and social and state system [204, p. 227].

O. Yermeeva identifies four levels of protection of human rights and freedoms, and hence four types of guarantees, where the criterion of classification is the scope of their application. Among them: international guarantees; domestic (national) guarantees; regional guarantees of human and civil rights and freedoms, ensuring the realization of rights and freedoms in the territory of a particular region; local guarantees applied at the municipal level. Each type of guarantee corresponds to a certain mechanism of protection of rights and freedoms, namely: international, national, regional and local [203, p. 4].

Y. Sydoruk divides mechanisms into international and national. International mechanisms for the protection of rights are understood as a system of international (interstate) bodies and organizations that act to implement international standards of

human rights and freedoms or to restore them in case of violation. National protection mechanisms operate in a particular country. Also, the mechanisms of protection of rights in Ukrainian law are classified by branches of law, for example, the mechanism of protection of civil rights or the mechanism of protection of consumer rights, etc. [197, p. 34].

Mechanisms for international protection of human rights are a system of international (interstate) bodies and organizations directly involved in the protection of human rights.

Such (interstate) bodies differ in that they are created by mutual consent of several states, usually by an international agreement, operate within the framework of such an agreement, which defines their powers and special rules of procedure.

Accordingly, interstate human rights organizations differ in that:

- a) they do have an impact on governments;
- b) most often their decisions are binding, and in any case their opinion cannot be ignored;
- c) they force the international community to pay attention to human rights violations.

Schematically, all international human rights organizations can be divided into two groups: universal and regional.

Universal human rights mechanisms are bodies and organizations that extend their activities worldwide, regardless of national and regional borders (UN Human Rights Council, UN ECOSOC Human Rights Commission, Human Rights Committee, UN High Commissioner for Human Rights). human beings, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, etc.). In 1948, the UN General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Universal human rights bodies are divided into three types:

- 1) Permanent bodies - the UN Commission on Human Rights, the Commission on the Status of Women.
- 2) Bodies established in accordance with international agreements concluded under the auspices of the United Nations. To implement all these agreements, the UN

Human Rights Committee (not to be confused with the UN Commission), the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the Committee on Racial Discrimination, the Committee against Torture, etc. were established. Many international treaties human rights: the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the Convention for the Prevention of Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, others.

3) The specialized agencies of the United Nations are permanent international organizations operating on the basis of their own statutes and agreements with the United Nations. Today, there are 16 such human rights organizations. Such institutions include the International Labor Organization (ILO) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

A regional international organization is called if its members are states located within a particular region of the globe, such as Europe, Africa or South America.

Types of regional human rights protection systems:

1) The Inter-American operates within the Organization of American States and is represented by the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights and the Inter-American Court of Human Rights.

2) The African system consists of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, which is a body of the Organization of African Unity. It operates on the basis of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights. The Commission hears every two years reports from States on legislative and other measures to protect human rights.

3) The European system of human rights protection operates within the framework of the Council of Europe, of which Ukraine has been a member since 1995. The main European human rights body is the European Court of Human Rights. The decisions of this Court affect the formation of not only European but also global human rights standards.

There are very few human rights bodies in the world, a citizen of Ukraine can apply to only four: the Human Rights Committee, the Committee against Torture, the European Court of Human Rights and the ILO Committee on Freedom of Association.

In Ukraine, the mechanism of protection of rights is implemented through the activities of the Verkhovna Rada Committee on Human Rights, National Minorities and International Relations, other committees of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine in terms of activities to ensure and protect human rights; The Commissioner for Human Rights of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine; Prosecutor General's Office of Ukraine; Institute of Advocacy (Institute for Legal Aid); Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine (in terms of formation and development of interdepartmental control over human rights); Ministry of Justice of Ukraine; other central executive bodies (in terms of ensuring and protecting human rights); human rights organizations (national and international); research institutions; mass media [197, p. 34].

Thus, the mechanism of protection of rights is a system and a set of consistent actions aimed at protecting human and civil rights.

5.2 Human rights protection mechanism in Ukraine

The most important provisions on human rights include, first of all, those that reflect the system of rights, freedoms and responsibilities of citizens of Ukraine, as well as provisions that enshrine constitutional guarantees of protection and exercise of rights and freedoms, fix the basic powers and competence of public authorities. as well as non-governmental organizations for the protection of human rights.

The Constitution enshrines the system of human rights and freedoms in Ukraine.

The 1996 Constitution of Ukraine on Human Rights provides as follows:

- a) human rights and freedoms are recognized as inalienable, inviolable and belong to everyone from birth;
- b) constitutional rights and freedoms cannot be revoked.

The Constitution enshrines the widest possible range of human rights and freedoms, but their list is not exhaustive. In other words, the Constitution guarantees the protection and protection of other rights and freedoms proclaimed in international legal treaties of Ukraine. Thus, the Constitution of Ukraine is focused on the universally recognized standard of human rights and freedoms and does not give the

state a reason to deny or diminish these rights, despite the fact that they are not included in the constitutional "list" of rights and freedoms.

The Constitution of Ukraine assumes that the rights and freedoms of citizens are inviolable, ie they cannot be limited by any legislative acts, except in cases directly provided by the Constitution and laws, in order to protect the rights and freedoms of others, health and public safety .

In conditions of martial law or state of emergency, laws establish certain restrictions on rights and freedoms for a certain period of their validity. But the Constitution guarantees that certain rights are not restricted at all (the right to life; the right to humane treatment and respect for the inherent dignity of the human person; the right to privacy; the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; the right to housing, the right to equality marital rights of spouses, the right to appeal in court against decisions of public authorities, officials, the right to compensation for damage caused by public authorities and officials, the right to legal aid and other rights guaranteed by the Constitution of Ukraine) [205].

The Constitution establishes a legal mechanism for the protection of human rights and freedoms in Ukraine, ie it establishes certain opportunities in the field of protection of human rights and freedoms.

The legal mechanism for the protection of human rights that exists in Ukraine includes:

- enshrining in the Constitution and laws of Ukraine the ability to take certain actions to protect their rights and freedoms;
- enshrining in the Constitution and laws of Ukraine a system of bodies that directly perform the duties of protecting and ensuring human rights and freedoms in the country.

The possibilities of the first kind include the following provisions:

- all human rights and freedoms are protected by the court;
- everyone is guaranteed the right to appeal in court against decisions, actions or omissions of public authorities, local governments, officials and officials;

- everyone has the right to apply for protection of their rights to the Commissioner of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine for Human Rights;
- everyone has the right to protect their rights and freedoms from violations by any means not prohibited by law;
- everyone has the right to legal aid;
- everyone is presumed innocent of committing a crime and cannot be punished until his guilt is proved in a lawful manner and established by a court conviction;
- Everyone has the right to protection and the opportunity to use the assistance of a lawyer [205].

The system of state bodies and organizations, which in Ukraine have a constitutional obligation to exercise and protect, guarantee human rights and freedoms directly, includes: The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (Parliament); President of Ukraine (head of state); Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine (government); central and local bodies of state executive power; local governments; police, security services; court, prosecutor's office. The powers of each body of this system are enshrined in law, and the highest authorities - directly by the Constitution of Ukraine.

Consider the functions of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on human rights. In the system of public authorities operating in the field of human rights, the leading place is occupied by the parliament - the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. The Constitution of Ukraine enshrines the most important principles, which reflect, firstly, the binding nature of legislative and parliamentary regulation of human rights and freedoms and, secondly, the control functions of parliament in this area. According to the Constitution of Ukraine, the powers of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine include:

- amendments to the Constitution of Ukraine within the limits and in the manner prescribed by Section XIII of the Constitution;
- appointment of an all-Ukrainian referendum on the issues specified in Article 73 of this Constitution;
- adoption of laws;
- consideration and decision-making on approval of the Program of Activities of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine;

- appointment and dismissal of the Commissioner for Human Rights of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine; hearing his annual reports on the state of observance and protection of human rights and freedoms in Ukraine;

- exercising parliamentary control within the limits set by this Constitution. Only the laws of Ukraine determine:

- human and civil rights and freedoms, Guarantees of these rights and freedoms; basic responsibilities of a citizen;

- citizenship, legal personality of citizens. Status of foreigners and stateless persons;

- the rights of indigenous peoples and national minorities;

- the procedure for using languages;

- basics of social protection, forms and types of pension provision; principles of regulation of labor and employment, marriage, family, protection of childhood, motherhood, fatherhood; upbringing, education, culture and health; environmental safety;

- principles of formation and activity of political parties, other associations of citizens, mass media [205].

Thus, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine has broad powers and capabilities to exercise parliamentary control over the observance of the rights and freedoms of citizens and the necessary powers to respond promptly to any violations by other state bodies.

The proclamation of human rights and freedoms in Ukraine as the highest value obliges the state to perform the functions of the main guarantor of their observance and protection. That is why a wide range of rights and freedoms must, above all, be enshrined in the laws of Ukraine. Recognition and consolidation of human rights in the legislation of Ukraine makes them a reality. The state must not only proclaim and consolidate the system of citizens' rights, but also guarantee their exercise, otherwise these rights will remain only declared. Subjective legal right of a citizen (ie provided possible behavior of a person, his specific ability) can arise only if this right is enshrined in law. It is the legislative body of the state that first of all formulates the

content of fundamental rights and freedoms in normative legal acts - in the Constitution and laws. This order is not accidental. The executive, the police, the prosecutor's office, and the security service cannot enshrine fundamental human rights and freedoms and the system of guarantees for their exercise. This procedure is determined by the legal nature, place and meaning of the law.

Since the law is adopted by the highest representative body of state power - the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, which was elected as a result of national elections, it is the law that should enshrine the fundamental rights and freedoms of man and citizen. The law is the main tool for ensuring and protecting human rights because it has special properties that determine its highest legal force.

The Verkhovna Rada formulates the content of fundamental rights and freedoms. These same properties ensure the rule (rule) of law in the system of regulations of the state. The special properties of laws are reflected in the fact that they:

- a) adopted by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (Parliament) or by referendum;
- b) regulate the most important social relations;
- c) consolidate the system of fundamental rights and freedoms of citizens (primarily in the Constitution), the procedure for their implementation and protection in all spheres of public life;
- d) differ from other legal acts by a special constitutional procedure for their adoption and entry into force;
- e) do not require control or approval by any other body of the state (therefore, other bodies cannot influence the system of human rights and freedoms enshrined in law);
- e) have higher legal force (this means that all other legal acts of Ukraine must comply with the Constitution and laws of Ukraine and must not contradict them);
- g) they can be supplemented, changed or repealed only by the authority issuing the law (thus, other state bodies may not interfere in the content of the law and in the system of rights and freedoms that it enshrines) [205].

The Constitution of Ukraine of 1996 enshrines the provision that the rights and freedoms of man and citizen, guarantees of their implementation, the basic responsibilities of citizens are determined by the laws of Ukraine.

Ukraine has this obligation in accordance with the provisions of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Human Rights: each State ... undertakes to take, within the limits of available resources, , in particular, the adoption of legislative measures [206].

According to this Covenant, Ukraine must also provide any person whose rights and freedoms have been violated with an effective remedy, even if the violation has been committed by officials. The state should provide legal protection for any person in need of such protection, which should be established by the competent judicial, administrative or legislative bodies or any other competent body provided by the legal system of the state, as well as develop opportunities for judicial protection. Thus, international legal instruments not only affirm human rights and freedoms - they indicate the mechanism of their implementation by states. The subjective right of citizens presupposes admissibility for sure? behavior of the individual, as well as its security and guarantee, In other words, human rights should not be an abstraction, but an opportunity provided by the state.

Executive power must be exercised on the basis of and within the law. It is under the control of the legislature and has no right to appropriate legislative powers and require citizens to perform any duties not provided by law. The activities of the executive branch are based entirely on the implementation of laws, and to this end they have the right to issue regulations, which are called bylaws. That is why the Constitution and laws of Ukraine, which establish the rights, responsibilities and freedoms of citizens, are specified and detailed in regulations of executive bodies: resolutions of the Cabinet of Ministers, instructions of ministries, decisions of state executive bodies at the local level. That is why the requirement of full compliance of executive acts with the Constitution and laws of Ukraine is so important. It is for this purpose that parliamentary control over the activities of executive power structures is exercised, and the Constitutional Court of Ukraine is established.

The post of President of Ukraine was established on July 5, 1991. His powers are provided by the Constitution of Ukraine.

According to the Constitution of Ukraine of 1996, the President is the head of state, the Guarantor of state sovereignty, territorial integrity of Ukraine, observance of the Constitution of Ukraine, human and civil rights and freedoms. Various functions of the President are subordinated to these goals.

With regard to the protection of human rights, the President, above all, has the following most important powers:

Functions of the President of Ukraine on human rights:

- The President of Ukraine is the guarantor of state sovereignty, territorial integrity of Ukraine, observance of the Constitution of Ukraine, human and civil rights and freedoms;

- appoints an all-Ukrainian referendum on changes to the Constitution of Ukraine in accordance with Art. 156 of this Constitution, proclaims an all-Ukrainian referendum on the people's initiative;

- cancels acts of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine and acts of the Council of Ministers of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea in case of their inconsistency with the Constitution, laws of Ukraine and decrees of the President of Ukraine;

- signs laws adopted by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine;

- has the right to "defer" veto on laws passed by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine;

- appoints a third of the Constitutional Court of Ukraine, which should play a significant role in protecting the rights of citizens;

- decides on granting Ukrainian citizenship and withdrawing from it; on granting asylum in Ukraine to foreigners and stateless persons;

- pardons persons convicted by the courts of Ukraine;

- issues decrees on amnesty [205].

The President, within the limits of his powers and competence, on the basis of and in pursuance of the Constitution and laws of Ukraine, issues decrees and orders that are binding on the territory of Ukraine.

The Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine (Government of Ukraine) is the highest body of state executive power. He is accountable to the President of Ukraine and is under the control of and accountable to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. The work of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine is managed by the Prime Minister of Ukraine.

Cabinet:

- implements the Constitution and laws of Ukraine, Presidential decrees;
- ensures the state sovereignty and economic independence of Ukraine, implements domestic and foreign policy;
- ensures the implementation of financial, pricing, investment and tax policies, policies in the fields of labor and employment, social protection, education, science and culture, nature protection, environmental security and nature management;
- creates conditions and takes measures to ensure the rights and freedoms of man and citizen;
- takes measures to protect the interests of Ukraine, ensure the rule of law, rights and freedoms of citizens, protection of property and public order, the fight against crime;
- has the right to repeal acts of ministries and other bodies subordinate to it if they contradict the Constitution, laws of Ukraine, decrees of the President of Ukraine and resolutions of the Cabinet of Ministers;
- within the limits of the powers issues resolutions and orders. These acts of the government are binding throughout Ukraine. The Cabinet of Ministers unites, directs and coordinates the work of ministries of Ukraine and other subordinate bodies that manage various areas of government and are responsible for their development and performance before the President of Ukraine. Within the limits of their powers, ministries issue normative legal acts (orders, instructions) and exercise control over their observance.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs is the main body in the system of central executive bodies that ensures the formation and implementation of state policy in the field of protection of human and civil rights and freedoms, property, public and state interests from criminal and criminal encroachments, combating crime, detecting

criminal offenses, maintaining public safety and order (protection of public order, public safety, road safety), as well as ensures the formation of state policy in the field of state border protection and protection of sovereign rights of Ukraine in its exclusive (maritime) economic zone, in the field of civil protection , including prevention of emergencies, protection of the population and territories from emergencies and liquidation of emergencies, hydrometeorological activities, migration (immigration and emigration), including combating illegal (illegal) migration, citizenship, registration of individuals, refugees, etc. their statutory categories of migrants.

Executive power in oblasts and rayons, the cities of Kyiv and Sevastopol is exercised by local state administrations. Heads of local state administrations monitor the implementation of the Constitution and laws of Ukraine, acts of the President and executive authorities.

Local councils of people's deputies are bodies of local self-government in oblasts, rayons, cities, and settlements of Ukraine. Within the limits of their powers and competence, they resolve all issues at the local level, organize the implementation of laws and bylaws, and ensure compliance with law and order.

According to the Constitution of Ukraine of 1996 (Article 140), local self-government is the right of a territorial community - villagers or voluntary association of residents of several villages, towns and cities - to decide on local issues within the Constitution and laws of Ukraine.

Local self-government is carried out by the territorial community in the manner prescribed by law both directly and through local self-government bodies: village, settlement, city councils and their executive bodies.

District and regional councils are the bodies of local self-government that represent the common interests of territorial communities of villages, settlements and cities.

The meaning of local self-government lies in the state-guaranteed right of territorial communities of citizens and their bodies to decide, acting within the law and in the interests of the population, a significant part of local affairs. Local councils of people's deputies make decisions that are binding on all enterprises, organizations, institutions, officials and citizens located on the territory of the relevant council.

Among the powers of local councils are those delegated (ie transferred) to them by the state and directly affect the issues of ensuring and protecting the rights and freedoms of citizens. Such powers include, for example: assisting the judiciary, the prosecutor's office, the bar, the judiciary, the police, the interior and state security in their work; coordination of the work of various bodies that protect public order; resolving issues in accordance with the law on holding meetings of citizens, rallies, demonstrations; exercising control over the state of housing registration of citizens in the relevant territory; organization of employment service, etc.

In the system of executive bodies that perform functions to protect the rights and freedoms of citizens, a special place is occupied by law enforcement agencies of Ukraine and among them the police and security services.

According to Article 1 of the Law of Ukraine "On the National Police", the National Police of Ukraine is a central executive body that serves society by ensuring the protection of human rights and freedoms, combating crime, maintaining public safety and order [207].

According to the Law of Ukraine of March 25, 1992 "On the Security Service", this body must ensure the state security of Ukraine. It is directly subordinated to the President of Ukraine and is controlled by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine [207].

The main tasks of the security service: protection of state sovereignty, constitutional order, territorial unity, economic, scientific, technical and defense potential of the state, citizens' rights. The SBU's activities are directed against the intelligence and subversive activities of foreign special services, certain organizations, groups and individuals. The SBU warns and prevents crimes against the peace and security of mankind, acts of terrorism, corruption, and organized crime.

Thus, public authorities occupy a central place in the protection of constitutional rights and freedoms of citizens. The effectiveness of public administration in ensuring the implementation of constitutional rights and freedoms depends on the quality of legal support.

5.3 Other authorities in the implementation of the mechanism of human rights protection

An important condition for the establishment and development of Ukraine as a state governed by the rule of law, based on the rule of law, mutual responsibility between man and the state, is an independently functioning judiciary capable of ensuring fair and effective protection of human rights.

Judicial protection of human rights and freedoms is an independent function of the state, as evidenced by the scientific analysis of the Constitution of Ukraine, in particular in Part 2 of Art. 3 declares that human rights and freedoms and their guarantees determine the content and direction of the state, the establishment and protection of rights and freedoms is the main duty of the state; appeal to the court for the protection of constitutional rights and freedoms of man and citizen directly on the basis of the Constitution of Ukraine is guaranteed (Part 3 of Article 8 of the Constitution of Ukraine [205]).

The priority legal guarantee of protection of constitutional rights and freedoms of man and citizen is their judicial protection, which in Ukraine is enshrined at the constitutional level - in Part 1 of Art. 55 of the Basic Law: "Rights and freedoms of man and citizen are protected by the court." The jurisdiction of the courts extends to any legal dispute and any criminal charge (Part 3 of Article 124 of the Constitution of Ukraine) [205].

The above list of constitutional norms proves that the Ukrainian state not only declares and recognizes the fundamental rights and freedoms of man and citizen, but also considers the protection of human rights and freedoms as one of the main state functions entrusted to the judiciary. It logically follows that the role and importance of the judiciary depend on the extent to which its functioning can affect the legal status (status) of man in society, the relationship of the individual with the state [209, p. 186-187].

The activity of the judiciary is one of the most effective means of protecting human and civil rights from violations. Its task is to restore violated human and civil

rights and freedoms. We should agree with scholars A. Kolodiy and A. Oliynyk: “During the years of Soviet rule, the judicial mechanism for the protection of human rights was declarative and ineffective, and the court itself was not a branch of government and depended on party structures. Currently, the state is making every effort to make this type of protection of human rights the most effective form of protection, as it is implemented in countries with stable democracies “[210, p. 249]. This statement is especially relevant today, when the constitutional and legal principles of impartial justice are being improved, the judicial system is undergoing reformatinal changes to achieve material, financial and personnel independence of the court, which will contribute to the effective administration of justice.

According to M. Gavriltsiv, the human right to go to court is “one of the fundamental human rights guaranteed at the constitutional level. Enshrined in the constitutions of most developed democracies, it occupies a prominent place in the structure of the constitutional and legal status of man and is a necessary condition for the existence of the rule of law.

Judicial protection is higher than other non-judicial means of protection of subjective rights, freedoms and legitimate interests, which provides all interested parties with maximum procedural guarantees. Therefore, the right to judicial protection is a means of ensuring the ability of a person to apply to the judiciary for protection of his rights and legitimate interests “[211, p. 162].

According to A. Luzhansky, the specifics of judicial protection is that its effectiveness is much higher compared to other non-judicial means, because:

1) protection out of court is in fact a request or proposal to voluntarily or administratively eliminate the violation and eliminate its negative consequences and is based on the presumption of proper and conscientious conduct of the offender;

2) court proceedings are the only final legal means of resolving a legal conflict;

3) during the consideration of a particular case, the court has the right to preventive influence in the form of binding individual decisions (resolutions) to prevent further occurrence of the causes and conditions that led to the violation of rights;

4) court decisions that have entered into force, as a rule, are final; execution of a court decision on issues of fact or law is ensured by state coercion [212, p. 45].

Judicial justice is the most reliable and civilized way to protect human and civil rights and freedoms, and the judicial form of protection of human rights and freedoms is the most democratic and best suited to fully, comprehensively and objectively identify the facts and causes of various disputes, committed offenses and establishing the truth in cases pending before the courts. The courts are endowed with all the necessary powers to exercise the function of protecting human rights and freedoms in the event of their violation or unjustified restriction.

The functioning of Ukrainian society in a qualitatively new state takes place under constant economic and socio-political changes, which implies the need to ensure public order, personal safety of citizens, all forms of ownership and vital interests of society and the state. That is why the place of law enforcement agencies in Ukraine is determined by their functional focus, namely: the protection of human and civil rights and freedoms proclaimed by the Constitution of Ukraine, laws of Ukraine and international treaties of Ukraine; to prevent violations of human and civil rights and freedoms and to promote their restoration; to carry out operational and service activities in accordance with the Constitution of Ukraine, legislation, international standards in this area; to improve and further develop international cooperation in the field of protection of human and civil rights and freedoms; to ensure the equality of all before the law and to prevent all forms of discrimination in the exercise of human rights and freedoms; to promote legal awareness of the population and protection of confidential personal information [213, p. 45].

In fact, all internal and external functions of the state are directly or indirectly aimed at ensuring, implementing and improving social guarantees of citizens' rights. Therefore, certain state bodies and other government entities in the process of carrying out their activities are obliged to more specifically and objectively implement the provisions contained in the Constitution of Ukraine.

A special place in the system of ensuring, implementing, protecting and defending the rights and freedoms of citizens is occupied by law enforcement agencies.

Law enforcement agencies are a system of state and state-authorized civic groups, the main function of which is to combat crime and other offenses. Law enforcement agencies include the prosecutor's office, courts, bodies of the Ministry of Justice of Ukraine, bodies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine, the Security Service of Ukraine, the bar, notaries, and various state bodies engaged in law enforcement or law enforcement activities.

The sphere of activity of law enforcement agencies has a complex and multifaceted structure. It includes certain groups of public relations, which are related to the protection of the individual and the state from criminal and other illegal encroachments, ensuring public order and public safety, protection of objects regardless of ownership, detection and investigation of crimes, ensuring compliance in Ukraine foreigners and stateless persons, etc. Although these types of social relations are interrelated, they are not identical and are characterized by specific features and characteristics. This in turn determines the differences in the main activities of law enforcement agencies (administrative, operational and investigative, criminal procedure, execution of sentences) and in the variety of components of the law enforcement system. Human rights orientation of most functions of law enforcement agencies is determined by the priority of security tasks [214, p. 5].

At the same time, law enforcement agencies also exercise certain rights and freedoms of citizens that are not related to security activities, and provide for the provision of appropriate services. This is natural, because the basis of human rights and freedoms are important for the individual benefits in economic, political, social, spiritual and personal life, and most of the offenses fought by law enforcement agencies, directly or indirectly encroach on these benefits. The effectiveness of the fight against such manifestations determines a person's ability to use these achievements, as well as the reality of his rights and freedoms, ie what affects the level of democracy, prosperity and stability in the state, law and order.

The level of development of freedom and democracy in society is determined not only by the formal recognition by the government of the rights and freedoms of citizens, including official accession to international legal instruments governing them,

but also by many other factors. One of the most important among them is the existence of an effective, effective socio-legal mechanism for the realization of rights and freedoms, which includes guarantees for their provision and protection. In this mechanism, according to the specifics of the activity, an important place is occupied by law enforcement agencies, in particular law enforcement agencies. Moreover, it should be noted that the police is a special, very specific social institution, the purpose of which almost always remains the same - to protect human rights and freedoms, ensure property security, be accepted by society and the support of power in the state [215, p. 45].

The prosecutor's office should play a responsible role in the human rights protection system.

This is due to the tasks assigned to it by the Constitution of Ukraine. It is, first of all, about representation of interests of the citizen in court in the cases provided by the law, about supervision over observance of laws by bodies which carry out operatively-search activity, inquiry, pre-judicial investigation, about supervision over observance of laws at execution of court decisions in criminal cases, as well as in the application of coercive measures related to the restriction of personal freedom of citizens.

The prosecutor has the right to file a cassation appeal against the court's verdict, regardless of his participation in the case. A cassation petition is a petition for revocation or change of a sentence that has not entered into force.

In civil cases, the prosecutor has the right to sue to protect the rights of citizens. Advocacy in the defense mechanism is an entity that directs its activities for the benefit of society and the protection of proclaimed human rights, freedoms and responsibilities. Through the institution of the bar as an institution of civil society, the rule of law provides its citizens with the opportunity to exercise their rights and freedoms, using the state-guaranteed right to legal aid [205], which is mostly realized by the bar. However, the latter in this paradigm is seen not as an instrument of the state, but as a social institution through which the state ensures the implementation of this right. In this way, the institute of advocacy balances the relationship between the state

and its citizens, as the rule of law must ensure the priority of human and civil rights and freedoms, and the bar is obliged to promote their implementation and protection.

Undoubtedly, the bar is a special body that harmonizes the interests of civil society with the needs and capabilities of the state. Of course, although it is not a fully structured institution in Ukraine, it is part of its civil society as an institution with special powers. The modern Ukrainian bar is an organized community of Ukrainian lawyers, the main purpose of which is to protect the rights and freedoms of members of civil society, all its subjects, providing them with legal assistance in all spheres of life. The mission of the Bar is law enforcement, protection of the rights and legitimate interests of citizens and organizations. The rule of law must be interested in the institution of the bar being highly professional, so it must: guarantee the independence of the bar and the availability of legal aid; to promote the implementation of measures to improve the skills of lawyers; take appropriate measures to protect lawyers from unjustified restrictions in their professional activities, various persecutions.

It is because of the public law nature of his professional activity that a lawyer is a defender not only of the private interests of an individual, but also of the interests of society as a whole. A lawyer can act in the judicial system not only as a representative of the party, but also as a representative of the public interest, as a representative of society, which protects the rights of the individual as a member of society.

Article 59 of the Constitution of Ukraine protected the right of every person and citizen to legal aid, including free [205]. The institute of advocacy functions in Ukraine to ensure the right to protection from prosecution and the provision of legal assistance in resolving cases in courts and other state bodies in Ukraine. This constitutional norm applies not only to citizens of Ukraine, but also to foreigners, stateless persons, which testifies to the humanistic orientation of the norms of the Constitution.

In general, all subjects of realization and protection of human and civil rights and freedoms in Ukraine can be divided into two groups: subjects endowed with the function of protection on behalf of the state, and subjects who implement this function as civil society institutions. Thus, a significant place in the human rights system together with the competent state bodies is occupied by civil society institutions, in

particular: civil society organizations, political parties, human rights organizations, local governments, and, of course, human rights institutions. is obliged to provide legal assistance to the population.

Mechanisms for implementing the constitutional provision on legal aid are determined by the Law of Ukraine “On Advocacy and Advocacy” [216] and other legislative acts of Ukraine and the statutes of bar associations. These documents declare that the Institute of Ukrainian Advocacy is a voluntary professional public association, designed, in accordance with the Constitution of Ukraine, to promote the protection of rights, freedoms and represent the legitimate interests of Ukrainian citizens, foreign citizens, stateless persons, legal entities, provide them with other appropriate legal assistance. In general, the prestige of a lawyer and the effectiveness of his professional activity directly depend on the position of man in society and the state, on the attitude to the fundamental principles of democracy and the rule of law. The level of development of the bar is one of the defining indicators of democratic society, one of the constitutive features of the state of human rights protection. In the context of the development of market relations and the democratization of Ukrainian society, the services of a lawyer are becoming increasingly necessary.

Advocacy in the defense mechanism is an entity that directs its activities for the benefit of society and the protection of proclaimed human rights, freedoms and responsibilities. Through the institution of advocacy as an institution of civil society, the rule of law provides its citizens with the opportunity to exercise their rights and freedoms, using the state-guaranteed right to legal aid, which is implemented mostly by the bar [217, p. 16].

One of the ways to fight for their rights is a citizen's appeal in accordance with Article 55 of the Constitution of Ukraine to the Commissioner for Human Rights of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine [205].

The Ukrainian model of the Commissioner for Human Rights took into account national legal and cultural traditions, peculiarities of the system of state power in Ukraine, as well as the experience of the ombudsman institution in other countries, including Scandinavia and Poland, Hungary, Russia.

The Constitution of Ukraine, adopted on its basis on December 23, 1997. The Law of Ukraine "On the Commissioner for Human Rights" [218] provides for the creation of a "strong" model of ombudsman, characterized by the following features: high constitutional status of the Commissioner for Human Rights. in Art. 55, 85, 101 of the Constitution of Ukraine; independence of the Commissioner from any body of state power or local self-government, their officials; introduction of a single model of ombudsman at the national level; broad jurisdiction of the Commissioner, which extends to both public authorities, including courts, and local governments and their officials; significant powers to conduct proceedings and inspections, including on its own initiative to identify cases of human rights violations and to carry out constant monitoring of the observance of human rights and freedoms; the right to initiate mandatory for consideration submissions with recommendations setting out the elimination of identified violations of human rights and freedoms by public authorities, local governments, associations of citizens, enterprises, institutions of organizations regardless of ownership, their officials and officials; the possibility of direct appeal to the Commissioner of the general public; flexibility and informality of the procedure, freedom of action to initiate proceedings in a case, etc.

The institution of the Ombudsman in Ukraine is a specific legal phenomenon, a constitutional mechanism for the protection of constitutional rights and freedoms of man and citizen, which has not yet fully revealed its potential, although it is gaining due recognition in Ukrainian society.

The Verkhovna Rada Commissioner for Human Rights can be defined as: an independent constitutional single state body that mediates parliamentary control over the observance of constitutional rights and freedoms of man and citizen and protects the rights of everyone in Ukraine and within its jurisdiction.

The constitutional introduction of the institution of ombudsman in Ukraine was an important step in the development of democratic processes aimed at further strengthening the status of the individual, guarantees the realization of constitutional rights and freedoms of man and citizen.

The activities of the ombudsman are more democratic than other human rights institutions and are based on the principle of free provision of services. The methods of his work are informal and available to the general public to apply to the ombudsman directly, without intermediaries. The difference between this institution and other law enforcement agencies is that its purpose is to solve only the problems of protection and defense of human and civil rights and freedoms.

The ombudsman's work has a wide public resonance, as he summarizes the results of his work in his annual report to parliament, thus bringing to the attention of the legislature and the general public information about gross human rights violations and the fault of which bodies. In addition, it analyzes the state of affairs regarding the implementation of constitutional requirements for guaranteeing human and civil rights and freedoms in general, while proposing appropriate legislative measures to eliminate the most common causes of their violation and to create an effective basis for ensuring these rights.

The forms of activity of the ombudsman are external, basic, homogeneous, independent actions, which are carried out by him within the legal and non-legal framework and aimed at the realization of his rights and responsibilities.

The functions of the ombudsman are the main activities of the ombudsman, which follow from his tasks and determine the nature and social purpose of this supervisory, human rights institution and are implemented in the forms and methods prescribed by applicable law.

The constitutional and legal status of the ombudsman institution consists of its general legal capacity, rights and responsibilities, guarantees, forms and principles of activity, and responsibility. Among these elements are the main ones - those that have legal expression and give the opportunity to conclude on the legal registration and departure of the ombudsman as a full subject of law - rights and responsibilities, guarantees - and non-core, which are usually not have a direct legislative enshrinement, and are derived from the content and logic of the powers of the ombudsman.

The practical activities of the Commissioner, as an independent state institution, should be based on certain generally accepted principles, such as legality, humanity, justice and others.

The grounds for conducting cases and appointing inspections are information on violations of human and civil rights and freedoms, which the Commissioner receives: at the request of citizens of Ukraine, foreign citizens, persons without citizenship or their representatives; at the request of people's deputies of Ukraine; on its own initiative.

According to Article 17 of the Law, the Commissioner accepts and considers appeals of citizens of Ukraine, foreigners, stateless persons or persons acting in their interests, in accordance with the Law of Ukraine "On Citizens' Appeals" [218].

Appeals shall be submitted to the Commissioner in writing within one year after the violation of human and civil rights and freedoms is detected. In exceptional circumstances, this period may be extended by the Commissioner, but not more than two years.

When considering the application, the Commissioner may:

- 1) to open proceedings in the case of violation of human and civil rights and freedoms;
- 2) explain the measures to be taken by the person who submitted the appeal to the Commissioner;
- 3) send the application for affiliation to the body within whose competence the case is considered, and control the consideration of this application;
- 4) refuse to consider the appeal.

The Commissioner does not consider the appeals that are being considered courts, suspends the already initiated proceedings, if the person concerned filed a lawsuit, application or complaint to the court.

Notice of acceptance of the application for consideration or refusal to accept the application for consideration shall be sent in writing to the person who submitted it. Refusal to accept the appeal to consideration must be motivated.

Based on the results of generalization of existing scientific approaches to defining the ombudsman as a subject of public administration relations, based on the experience of foreign countries it is possible to develop and justify ways to reform the Verkhovna Rada Commissioner for Human Rights, the main ones being: the duty of the ombudsman to control the harmonization of Ukrainian legislation with international human rights instruments to which the Ukrainian state is a party and their effective implementation; the duty of the ombudsman to make his decisions widely public, to raise concerns about certain issues; the duty of close cooperation of the ombudsman with non-governmental public and human rights organizations; creation of the Public Council under the Secretariat of the Commissioner; the obligation of the authorities to provide, within a reasonable time, full responses to requests describing how the Ombudsman's decisions, conclusions, proposals and recommendations are being implemented, or explaining why they cannot be implemented; responsibility of officials for non-response to the ombudsman's request and submission; the obligation to conduct informational and educational activities aimed at specific target groups of the population; the obligation to participate in the development of programs related to the teaching and research of human rights and to participate in their implementation in schools, universities and professional circles; the decision on the election and dismissal of the ombudsman is decided by a qualifying majority in parliament; to clarify the norm of the law on the prohibition of political activity of the Commissioner; remove from the legislation the right of the ombudsman to act as a party in cases against the authorities or individual employees in both criminal and administrative courts.

Thus, the peculiarities of the legal status of the ombudsman in Ukraine are that he:

- is appointed and dismissed by the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine;
- exercises parliamentary control over the observance of constitutional rights and freedoms of man and citizen;
- is not a member of any state body;

- has no right to change the decisions of state bodies and officials concerning the rights of citizens (the ombudsman only addresses the relevant bodies with a proposal to consider cases in accordance with the law and thus protects the rights of citizens);

- must have a higher legal education and high professional qualification.

In every modern democracy, non-governmental human rights NGOs are important among human rights actors: advocacy, the media, NGOs, political parties, trade unions, religious organizations, and charitable foundations. , most of whom carry out human rights activities on a permanent or non-permanent basis, including the practical protection of certain human rights. In order to build an effective mechanism for the protection of human rights in democracies and rule of law, it is important that non-governmental human rights organizations also be part of it, as they are independent of government institutions and municipalities and identify objective problems and shortcomings. people in a state.

The basis of non-governmental human rights organizations in Ukraine is the Constitution of Ukraine, the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and relevant laws of Ukraine, including the Law of Ukraine "Of March 22, 2012 and the Law of Ukraine" On Advocacy and Advocacy "of July 5, 2012.

In the context of the research, the opinion of the well-known Ukrainian human rights activist E. Zakharov is relevant: "Human rights organizations are a typical product of a developed civil society, their main function is to control the actions (or fight against inaction) of the state apparatus. According to E. Zakharov, they should protect human freedom, his right "to freely control his own destiny", regardless of the state, which constantly violates this right. A human rights activist cannot but be a statesman to some extent: he always appeals to state bodies and their officials in order to eliminate human rights violations or, if this is not possible, to minimize the consequences of the violation and seek compensation for damages. Thus, the mission of human rights organizations is to protect human rights from the state and at the same time assist the state in ensuring and protecting human rights [219].

Thus, non-governmental human rights organizations are an integral part of civil society, the key to the development of each state as a democratic and legal, is an element of public control of the people as the sole source of power in the republics over state power.

In many countries, people take considerable risks by defending the rights of individuals, promoting human rights, or setting up organizations to protect certain rights or groups. Doctors, journalists, lawyers, judges, academics, trade unionists or members of human rights organizations have a wide range. They often interfere in political discussions and defend human rights arguments in cases where others argue only from the standpoint of government policy or their own interests [220, p.14].

In non-democracies, public authorities often restrict and impede the activities of non-governmental human rights organizations, create "pro-government" organizations that are loyal to the undemocratic regime and often "fail to notice" significant human rights violations in such states. However, the international community pays considerable attention to protecting the rights of human rights defenders and preventing unlawful pressure on individual human rights defenders and non-governmental human rights organizations in their legitimate human rights work. Even some international documents are devoted to this.

Within the UN, the General Assembly on December 9, 1998 adopted the Declaration on the Right and Duty of Individuals, Groups and Bodies of Society to Promote and Protect Universally Recognized Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms [221].

In the context of the protection of human rights by non-governmental human rights organizations, their cooperation with the state, international organizations and local self-government bodies in the field of realization and protection of human rights is important.

Cooperation of non-governmental human rights organizations with the state is through dialogue. Its theme is the state's real respect for human rights, and its character is determined by the principle of "honest cooperation of like-minded people": we help public authorities to ensure human rights where our positions coincide, and counteract

human rights violations by all available legal means. This dialogue will be effective if its participants respect each other and are equal. Equality is possible only when participants are equally informed, and therefore access to information available to public authorities and related to human rights is extremely important.

Human rights NGOs often investigate, collect, and disseminate human rights violations. They can, for example, use lobbying strategies to draw public attention to the attention of the public and leading politicians, judges and law enforcement officials, to get the results of investigations (such as journalistic investigations) and to address human rights abuses reviewed. Some human rights organizations periodically publish reports with their findings.

Most human rights NGOs work at the local or national level to ensure respect for human rights in their communities and countries. In this case, they deal mainly with local authorities responsible for ensuring respect for human rights within a particular region or country as a whole [220, p.16].

In the practice of human rights NGOs, they often focus on the protection of individual rights or groups of human rights. For example, there are organizations that primarily protect the rights of voters, women's rights, children's rights, the rights of persons with disabilities, the rights of national minorities, the rights of indigenous peoples, the rights of journalists, religious rights, prisoners, refugees, internally displaced persons and others. In particular, in the last year after the Revolution of Dignity and the beginning of the conflict in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Sevastopol and Donbass, many non-governmental human rights organizations have been established in Ukraine to protect the human rights of internally displaced persons from Crimea and Donbass. In this context, a number of volunteer initiatives have been launched, mostly by non-governmental human rights organizations, which have significantly helped to increase Ukraine's defense capabilities, improve military equipment, promote positive defense and military reforms, and address many human rights issues. in connection with the anti-terrorist operation in the Donbass. These volunteer initiatives testify to the further development of civil society in Ukraine, which shows that non-governmental human rights organizations are an integral part of

a modern democratic state and can significantly help the state even in the most critical moments.

Some non-governmental human rights organizations attach importance to gender issues, the protection of women's rights and the prevention of gender discrimination. Achieving equality between women and men requires a clear definition of ways to achieve gender equality and prevent discrimination against women in order to develop a strategy to combat gender discrimination. The UN has significant experience in promoting women's rights, and in the last decade significant progress has been made in the field of protection of women's rights in different countries [220, p. 17].

Non-governmental human rights organizations also address the protection of religious human rights. Yes, there are many problems in Ukraine today due to the restitution of property of religious communities. In particular, the issue of restitution of property illegally seized from religious communities of national minorities during the years of Soviet rule in Ukraine remains open.

Thus, non-governmental human rights organizations carry out important activities to protect human rights. Non-governmental human rights organizations are an integral part of civil society, which is the key to the successful development of a democratic and legal state. Non-governmental human rights organizations cannot solve all human rights problems, but in close cooperation with public authorities, local governments and international organizations, they can solve most human rights problems.

As a legal phenomenon, the mechanism of protection of human rights is a system, because, as mentioned above, it consists of certain parts, such as the right to protection; form and method of protection of rights; the process and procedure for applying to the relevant bodies, institutions and organizations. The mechanism of protection of rights as a system is characterized by the dialectical interdependence of the whole and the part, each element of which occupies a certain place and performs certain functions in it. Undoubtedly, the protection mechanism must be an organically coherent and logically consistent process. The essence of any mechanism for the protection of rights is the sequence of human actions and the achievement of a certain

result. Human activity in this case is to restore the situation that existed before the violation of a particular right of the person.

A significant problem in Ukraine is the effectiveness of the protection mechanism, which depends on the stability of society, where the observance of the letter and spiritual laws is the rule, not the exception. It should be emphasized that in modern legal science there is no single point of view on what should be the mechanism of protection of rights and the mechanism of human exercise of their right to protection, ie they are not universal. And this is one of the main problems of the modern process of protection of rights, which must be regulated, ie clearly defined and spelled out. Undoubtedly, it is not enough by law to determine that a person has the right to go to court to protect their rights - it is only a declaration of law, which without specifying specific procedures is not effective, will remain a declaration [197, p. 35].

To date, the problems related to the mechanism of protection of rights and the mechanism of human exercise of the right to protection both in Ukraine and in the world remain extremely many. These problems are present on both theoretical and practical levels. In addition to the already mentioned problem of improving the effectiveness of existing mechanisms, the problem is also insufficient legislative consolidation of the main stages of application of most mechanisms, the lack of their interpretation.

The existing system of law and the existing mechanisms of protection of rights are fully a reflection and manifestation of the spirit, development, character and real conditions of existence of the people. In the countries belonging to the continental system of law one mechanism of protection of the rights functions, and in the countries belonging to the system of common law another. Within the same legal system, the mechanisms of protection of rights differ from each other and have their own characteristics. It is known that in countries belonging to the continental system of law to the forefront of law. In countries belonging to the common law system, legal practice, ie judicial precedent, is of fundamental importance. Therefore, the mechanisms of protection of rights in countries belonging to different legal systems

differ. It can be argued that the development and functioning of protection mechanisms depends not only on the legislator, but also on the people, their history and culture.

Thus, the essence of the protection mechanism we see in achieving justice in public relations in violation of human rights. The main purpose of such mechanisms is the protection of rights, the full realization of human rights to protection. Obviously, the mechanism of protection of rights and the mechanism of human exercise of the right to protection must be universal.

The mechanism of protection of human rights and freedoms in modern society should be understood as a system of certain social institutions, legal norms, remedies (judicial, administrative, civil, criminal, etc.), providing the most complete and effective protection of human rights and freedoms and citizen.

Within the framework of the mechanism of protection of rights, the functioning of which is entrusted to the state, judicial protection of human rights in Ukraine is carried out by relevant judicial institutions, extrajudicial - by state bodies and local governments.

The realization of human rights requires not only an internationally recognized and enshrined in the Constitution of the country's legal norm. Appropriate international mechanisms and procedures for the protection of human and civil rights, even without state mediation, in a truly independent tribunal or in an independent international body, are also essential. We also need energetic courageous activity of the citizen in restoring his violated rights, as well as support of his demands by society.

International protection of human rights is becoming especially important. To implement the norms and principles of international human rights law, many special bodies have been established - the International Mechanism for the Protection of Human Rights.

The International Universal Organization is the United Nations, which consists of specialized human rights bodies: the UN Economic and Social Council, the UN Commission on Human Rights, the Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minority Rights, and the Commission on Women, the UN Committee on Human Rights. : human rights, economic, social and cultural rights, elimination of

racial discrimination against women, children's rights, important role in the field of human rights is played by permanent UN executive bodies: Secretariat, UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, UN High Commissioner for Refugees, ILO, UNESCO , WHO and others.

Along with the universal mechanisms of human rights protection mentioned above, systems of bodies and organizations with their legal acts have been formed and operate, including rules of procedure that perform the noble function of protecting human rights in different regions of the globe in Europe, Africa, Latin America.

He has gained particularly interesting experience in the protection of human rights on the European continent. There are several influential organizations that differ in their functions, tasks, circle of participants, level and degree of integration. Most of these organizations pay serious attention to human rights, such as the European Union, the Council of Europe, the OSCE, and the European Court of Human Rights.

Ensuring human rights at the national level is through judicial and extrajudicial protection.

The system of mechanisms for ensuring human rights is not constant, it is constantly changing, improving, as evidenced by changes in the mechanisms of human rights protection by UN bodies, European mechanisms in accordance with changes in the world, international law and international law.

To increase the effectiveness of protection mechanisms, it is necessary to change the legal culture and legal awareness of the people, to form them through upbringing and education. This mechanism must be implemented by the people and society that actually form the law.

6. The track that lead to victory in German-Soviet war of 1941-1945

Ukraine was an important geostrategic factor in the last German-Soviet war of 1941-1945. It is with Ukraine, and even more broadly, that the decisive events on the entire Soviet-German front are connected with the entire southern direction as its geographical extension. The fate of the whole war was decided on the Ukrainian and in general the southern part of the Soviet-German front [222]. In 1941-1945, from 56 to 76 percent of the total number of Wehrmacht divisions were concentrated here, and 607 of them were defeated on this front, while on other fronts 176 enemy divisions were defeated [223].

It was impossible to resist the enemy without the use of transport. Historian Y. Dyakov claims that "...any war, especially the past, was based on transport with all its weight" [224, p. 3] This was due to the fact that the War Plan is tied to the roads. This was the case in the time of Xerxes and Batu, as it remained in the twentieth century. Moreover, the dependence of the armies of the twentieth century. from logistics to further increase the importance of transport communications in the planning and conduct of operations "[225, p. 60]. The special role of railway transport in the war is evidenced by the unprecedented scale and pace of evacuation of material resources and people from Ukraine in 1941-1942. To perform this task was possible only to the railways for a number of reasons. The main transport arteries of Ukraine in 1941 were a dense network of railways, which ran more or less evenly throughout the country, except for the network of roads in the western regions of Ukraine. The economic crisis of the 30s of the twentieth century. affected the state of the Galician and Volyn railways, which were deprived of subsidies from the Polish state for development. From 1929 to 1937, 22 kilometers of tracks were laid in Poland. In Galicia - none, and from a number of sections of the Lviv road the second tracks were removed and taken out. The Polish Ministry of Communications carried out a complete purge of Ukrainian railways. Almost all Ukrainians from both the directorate and the traffic service were fired or retired at the Lviv Railway Directorate. Traveling by train through the territory of Galicia, it was possible to see station signs in French, German, Romanian, but not

Ukrainian. In contrast to this situation in Czechoslovakia on Hungarian territory there are inscriptions in Hungarian, on German-German, on Ukrainian territory - Transcarpathia there are inscriptions in Ukrainian, and in Poland, where Ukrainians live, there are no inscriptions in Ukrainian on the railway [226, p. 161, 383].

In the pre-war years in the USSR was poorly developed road transport and count on its use for evacuation was not necessary, especially since a significant number of it was transferred to the Red Army. The first months of the war showed a weak readiness of river transport for military and evacuation transport. The main waterways flowed through the territory of the republic mainly in the north to south. The ports lacked the necessary capacity. There was a noticeable shortage of workers. Therefore, all the burden of military, mobilization transportation fell on the workers of railway transport.

In the pre-war period, 95 percent of all transportation in Ukraine was provided by rail. The length of roads reached 20102 kilometers, from 137 thousand kilometers of operational length of railways of the former USSR. There were nine railways in the USSR - Vinnytsia, Kovel, Lviv, Odesa, South, South-West, South Donetsk, North Donetsk and Stalin (now Prydniprovsk) highways. They were served by 348 thousand employees [227, p. 661].

In 1939-1940, the lands and railways of Eastern Galicia and Northern Bukovina were added to the transport system of the USSR when these territories passed to the USSR. The new Soviet leadership, among other things, began the reorganization of the railway industry in the western regions. At the beginning of November 1939, the Lviv and Kovel railways were formed on the basis of the former Lviv and Radom directorates of Polish railways. At the beginning, the leaders of the first were M. Y. Donchenko, then P. K. Shakhrai. From 1941 to 1949 he headed the Lviv Railway [226, p. 172]. After the Soviet troops entered Lviv, the specialists of the highway began to rebuild the Lviv railway station and tracks, because as soon as German troops attacked Poland, on the first day at 11.45 am air bombs fell on the main station of Lviv, Sknyliv and the surrounding area. The station was practically destroyed: 150 km of railways on 270 hectares of the area occupied by the station was destroyed [226, p. 162]. Reconstruction of the highway has also begun. We started with the conversion of a

narrow track (1435 cm) to a wide one (1520 mm). In May 1940, the state program for the transfer of industry, agriculture and transport was approved in a new way. Railway transport and the whole sphere of its service was declared state property. The Government of the Ukrainian SSR has allocated 50 million rubles for a significant reconstruction of the Lviv highway. In the directions Pidvolochysk-Ternopil-Krasne, Ternopil-Chortkiv-Zalishchyky, others, the station tracks continued. The second track was built on the Pidvolochysk-Ternopil-Zolochiv section. It was planned to restore the tracks on the sections Lanivtsi-Ternopil-Sambir, Husiatyn-Chortkiv-Khryplyn. By the spring of 1941, 2,631 km of main and 892 km of station tracks and 552 turnouts had been put into operation. The government did not spare funds for development. Much has been done to connect the railways of the highway with all the tracks of other regions of Ukraine. This allowed at the end of 1939 to establish passenger traffic between Lviv and Kiev. Training of skilled workers and specialists has begun. The training covered 16,000 young people. A railway technical school has started operating in Lviv. [226, p. 173, 395].

In the Chernivtsi region in 1940, 426 kilometers of railway track, 5 locomotive and car depots, and 46 railway stations were declared state property. 2100 km of telegraph and telephone lines.

Heavy defensive battles took place on the territory of Ukraine in 1941-1942. Railway transport at that time became the main chain that carried out operational and evacuation transportation. The railway had many tasks, both military and economic. Thus, operational traffic on June 23 and 24, 1941 reached 29.4% of the total load of railways. Military traffic in the republic for the first month and a half accounted for 72.5% of total freight traffic [227, p. 662].

In order to carry out such a volume of traffic, the work of transport had to be rebuilt on a military basis. From 6 pm on June 24, the Federal People's Commissariat of Railways introduced the use of the military parallel schedule, which was in effect until May 1942. It was called "parallel" because all freight and passenger echelons moving at the same speed had the same weight. which greatly simplified the formation, movement and downtime at stations). In addition, the railways were transferred to a

special military schedule - the letter "A", which provided for the rapid advancement of primarily military echelons and cargo associated with mobilization. A state of siege was imposed on Lviv, Vinnytsia, South-West and other highways.

The transportation of military units, equipment and civilian cargo, the population to the rear regions, first in Ukraine and then in the USSR, took place in extremely difficult conditions. Thus, by June 28, 1941, a large number of echelons had accumulated on the Vinnytsia highway, which greatly complicated the work. Therefore, a movement was launched on the railway to speed up the passage of echelons to the front line.

A characteristic feature of Ukraine's railway transport during this period was that the transport system and workers were attacked by German aircraft, first during the Nazi occupation and the Soviet occupation, which bombed stations and rolling stock. In total, during the war, enemy aircraft carried out 1,863 attacks, of which 11,326 caused various injuries, of which 3,949 led to traffic jams. The Kalynivka station of the Vinnytsia highway was bombed 12 times in June-July 1941 [228, p. 104].

Simultaneously with the strikes of enemy aircraft, numerous saboteurs tried to disrupt the work of transport. The Railway Administration went on to increase the number of paramilitary guards. At the beginning of August 1941, 2,200 people entered the security units on the South-Western Highway. On Stalin (now Dnieper) there were 19 (44 people each). In extremely difficult conditions, the railroad workers of the front lines had to escort the trains to the front line, to deliver the wounded. On June 25, 1941, the first echelons of the wounded began to arrive in Kyiv. To the wounded who arrived in Kyiv or traveled further east, women delivered hot food, cigarettes, helped to write letters [229, p. 36].

During the defensive battles in Ukraine, the advancing enemy units were restrained by railway armored trains. Workers of the Kyiv Locomotive Repair Plant developed technological documentation and built it at their own expense. 100 employees of the South-Western Highway joined the crew. The commander of the armored train was appointed A.S. Tykhokhod, deputy - former head of the Kyiv-1 passenger department, Vasylevsky L. The crew of the letter-armored train "Letter-A"

received the first baptism of fire in the Novograd-Volynskyi district on July 11, 1941, in the Zhytomyr region. The next battle with the enemy the crew spent behind the station Korosten, where the Nazis landed in order to capture the road Korosten-Novogovgrad-Volynsky. The crew managed to destroy the enemy.

The second armored train was built by the joint efforts of the Kyiv Locomotive Repair Company and the Bolshevik Plant. On July 20, 1941, the team of the armored train "Letter-B" set out on its first combat flight. Zhulyany-Boyarka section. Armored trains - "Letter-A" under the command of A. Tykhokhod, "Letter-B" under the command of L. Vasilevsky, as well as army armored trains under the command of Major Pankov, senior lieutenant Ananiev and armored train No. 56 under the command of Senior Lieutenant Ishchenko. Only the armored train "Letter A" on July 9, together with units of the 5th Army repulsed eight enemy attacks [229, p. 35].

On July 24, 1941, the workers of the KPRZ and the Darnytsia Car Repair Plant began construction of the third armored train. The situation at the enterprises was difficult. Most of the workers had been evacuated by then. There were not enough tools. I had to do most of the work by hand. By August 10, 1941, the third armored train was built. Bogdanov M, P., chief engineer of the company led his team.

Arranged the construction of armored trains on the highways of Donbass and Dnieper, in more economically developed regions. Thus, the railways of Donbass and Kharkiv built 15 armored trains [227, p. 664, 886].

During the defensive battles for Odessa, the military teams of three armored trains built at the enterprise of hoisting and tractor facilities of the city named after January Uprising. Odesa was besieged by 18 enemy divisions from land and for 73 days the city was defended by soldiers and citizens. The invaders planned to take the city first on August 10, then on August 23, 25, 27, and then on September 10. Odesa lasted until October 16. However, on August 10, the enemy broke into the sea and blocked Odessa from land. The people of Odessa did everything for the front. Repaired guns and tanks. Moreover, they organized the production of their own tanks. Tractor tractors were covered with armor, the tower was repaired. Such "tanks" were built at the plant. October Revolution and other enterprises of the city [229, p. 45]. Only

because of the deteriorating situation of Soviet troops in the Crimea, the Supreme Command decided to evacuate the Odessa defensive area in order to strengthen the defense of the Crimean peninsula. In August-September 1941, the railroad workers of the Odessa highway managed to build two more armored trains - "Chernomorets" and "For the Motherland". When the first armored train prepared by the staff of the plant went to the front. The January Uprising, the majority of its crew were volunteer workers. These people may have taken up arms for the first time in their lives.

The crews of armored trains fought with the enemy teams of fighter battalions, manned by railways of the South-Western Highway. Thus, at the end of August 1941, when enemy units were gaining ground in one of the villages near the Vorzel station, they were knocked out by the crew of the armored train "Letter-A" together with the militia. Another enemy landing party captured the Zhulyany station, where retreating Soviet units left a car with aviation equipment. The crew of the armored train did everything to save him. They rebuilt part of the destroyed railway line during the night, which made it possible to knock the enemy out of the station and take out the equipment [227, p. 664].

Railways of Donbass and Dnieper equipped 15 armored trains [227, p. 665].

Railway workers evacuated industrial equipment, workers, specialists and civilians to the rear areas of the former USSR. As the sea is modeled in a drop of water, so the importance of the railway illustrates the fact of evacuation of one of the 53 sugar companies in Vinnytsia, which worked in the region before the German-Soviet war. During the retreat of Soviet troops from Vinnytsia in 1941, the singer, chief engineer of the Kapustyansky Sugar Enterprise in the Trostyanets district, successfully used the existing 18-kilometer narrow-gauge railway in the direction of Vapnyarka station. After the liberation of the large railway stations of Zhmerynka and Vapnyarka in March 1944 and the resumption of train traffic, the above-mentioned chief engineer, in cooperation with the railways, returned the sugar plant's equipment to Kapustyany, where it was installed on old production sites. Employees of the enterprise already in the autumn of 1944 accepted beet raw materials for processing into sugar [230, p. 60-61]. The statement of Kononenko, Doctor of History, Vinnytsia State Pedagogical

University, corresponds to the realities of the time. republics evacuation had its own specifics. Thus, in Vinnytsia region it was focused on the evacuation of equipment of factories and factories, agricultural machinery and livestock of collective farms, skilled workers, engineers and employees, but was poorly organized due to the rapid offensive of the occupying forces [231, p. 91, 315].

The Vinnytsia Railway Railways took on the main burden of evacuating material resources and the population from Vinnytsia, Kamyanets-Podilsky and Zhytomyr oblasts. The evacuation processes carried out by them affected mainly the teams of the largest industrial enterprises and some categories of the population. A large number of people gathered on the road. As of July 2, 1941, there were 29 echelons of evacuees on the Vinnytsia Railway.

Evacuation processes in the western Ukrainian regions were complicated by the fact that on June 22, 1941, German aircraft brutally bombed railway facilities, stations - Kovel, Lutsk, Volodymyr-Volynsky, Sambir, Stryi, Stanislav, Krasny. On the night of June 23, German aircraft attacked all railway facilities on the Lviv highway. The Lviv station and depot were attacked seven times. The highways connecting Lviv with other important cities were damaged. Moreover, on June 29, all the main communications in Lviv and in the surrounding cities were destroyed, and on June 30, German troops occupied the city. Under such conditions, the evacuation could not be carried out [226, p. 177, 399]. On June 25, Lutsk was occupied, on June 29, Kovel was a major railway junction, and on July 2, Ternopil. On June 22, Hungarian troops occupied Stanislav (now Ivano-Frankivsk). It was not possible to carry out evacuation processes under such conditions.

The bulk of evacuation traffic was carried out by road workers, the tracks of which crossed the main industrial areas: South-West, Stalin (now Dnieper), South, South-Donetsk and North-Donetsk highways. More than 550 large enterprises (190 - union and 360 - republican subordination) were evacuated from Voroshchilovgrad (now Luhansk) Dnipropetrovsk, Zaporizhia, Kharkiv and Chernihiv oblasts alone. The scale of the evacuation can be judged from the following data: only from the ferrous metallurgy enterprises of the Left Bank of Ukraine, 5,017 wagons were sent to the

Urals and Siberia, including 4,017 wagons with equipment and 1,001 wagons with key workers and their families. 99,000 cars of various equipment were evacuated from Dnipropetrovsk region. From Zaporizhstal and Dniprospeksstal enterprises, 10,486 wagons were loaded, 12,500 equipment items from 34 major enterprises in the Kharkiv region, 7,840 wagons with equipment and materials from the Voroshilovgrad region, and 4,060 wagons from the Stalin region.

The railwaymen made a lot of efforts to evacuate the equipment of industrial enterprises of the city of Kyiv and the region. From the beginning of the war until September 5, the railways loaded 85,295 cars, including 61,994 cars with operational cargo. According to reports from the road authorities, from the beginning of the war to September 5, the railways loaded 85,895 cars, including 61,994 cars with operational cargo. Employees of the South-Western Railway removed equipment from 50 different industrial enterprises and 17,000 skilled workers from the Podilskyi district of the capital alone. The difficulty of evacuation work in the capital was that the enemy tried to break the city's defenses by resorting to air attacks. And even under such difficult conditions, 325,000 people and 197 industrial enterprises were evacuated.

Professionalism was demonstrated by railway workers who evacuated the Odessa industrial area. They managed to export 150 industrial enterprises, 190,069 tons of various equipment. First of all, the most important cargo was exported, which was sent by 85,000 cars. However, the railroad failed to complete the evacuation process because the occupiers seized the most important railways in late July 1941, connecting Odessa with the rear. 4,500 wagons with cargo remained unloaded at the stations. It was decided to transfer them to Nikolaev by sea. There was no such experience. It was only known that transport ships were used abroad for this purpose. Trying to follow this path did not give the desired result. The engineering and technical staff of the port found a way out - proposing to use three floating docks for this purpose. The first dock with 26 locomotives left Odessa on August 7, 1941. On August 8 he arrived to Nikolaev and in the evening these steam locomotives took guys to the rear. On August 11, the second dock arrived with 35 locomotives. In total 110 locomotives were delivered to Nikolaev in this way. In August, when the threat of enemy troops entering the lower

reaches of the Dnieper became apparent, the evacuation of such industrial centers as Dnipropetrovsk, Zaporizhia, and Kryvyi Rih began. For these purposes, the People's Commissariat of Railways has allocated the required number of cars, 5080 units per day. Workers of the Southern and Dnieper Roads carried out the main evacuation during the 15 days of August 1941. On the Dnieper road alone, 14,000 wagons of industrial equipment were shipped. The most difficult was the evacuation of equipment of metallurgical enterprises in Zaporozhye. Their deportation lasted more than a month, from August 19 to October 3, 1941. Thus, all equipment and even metal structures were removed from the Zaporizhstal plant. In total, the railwaymen shipped 16,000 cars with a total weight of 320 tons [227, p. 665, 887].

Extremely short deadlines were set for the evacuation of the Donbass industrial base. It took 4-5 days to relocate the Makeyevka and Stalin Metallurgical Plants, the Mushketovsky, Rutchenkivsky and Stalin Coke-Chemical Enterprises, the Khartsyzsk Pipe and Makeyevka Pipe-Welding Plants, and the Mariupol Metallurgical Plant and related facilities to relocate 3 days. Procrastination with the beginning of the evacuation, due to the rapid onset of the Nazis, caused significant losses. At the enterprises of Donbass there were a lot of usable mechanisms, equipment, production lines. To destroy them, the army command created subversive sabotage groups. A total of 4,060 wagons with equipment, materials and people were removed from the Stalin region (now Donetsk). In the Voroshilovgrad region (now Luhansk) the evacuation took place more systematically, which made it possible to remove by December 1941 7810 cars with industrial equipment and relocate 11 trusts of the coal industry. In total, equipment from 40 ferrous metallurgy facilities was exported from the territory of the Ukrainian SSR.

However, the evacuation of industrial enterprises in full was not possible only in part because the enemy posed a threat of capture of the region. "The evacuation of important metallurgical and coke-chemical plants in the Stalin (now Donetsk) region was effectively thwarted," said IF Tevosyan, a former People's Commissar for Ferrous Metallurgy. Some enterprises were completely captured by the enemy. Thus, the Mariupol plant named after Ilyich was seized by him on October 8, 1941. Even under

such difficult conditions, employees of the South Donetsk and North Donetsk highways managed to remove a certain amount of equipment from enterprises. Also, enemy aircraft were constantly hit by transport hubs and highways, large industrial centers, ports, crossings. The priority of military transportation has led to an acute shortage of rolling stock for evacuation measures. Different departments and people's commissariats did not always act in concert. By requiring the production of military products even on the front line, the Soviet leadership minimized the possibility of timely dismantling, loading and transportation of equipment and raw materials from many giants of the military industry [232]. Under those difficult military conditions, the dismantling of enterprise equipment and its export to the rear regions by Ukrainian railway workers in some way answers the question posed at the time by Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor M.V. Koval, a famous researcher of Ukrainian history during the last war: , and it is not very clear: how could it be that, having been left without the western, located in Ukraine, military-industrial and raw material-food base and having almost twice less than Germany, production capacity, the Soviet Union in just one and a half years of war not only to restore the pre-war military power, but also to significantly increase it [233, p. 274]. If in the spring of 1942 the industrial capacity of the Soviet Union was 1/3 of pre-war capacity, then at the end of 1942 at the cost of incredible efforts given the loss of territory before the war lived more than 40 percent of the population and housed half of industrial, including military enterprises. were brought to 2/3. Soviet troops received twice as many tanks and planes as Nazi troops.

Railwaymen carrying out military and evacuation transportation solved another difficult task - the preservation of rolling stock. His evacuation was to replenish the part of him that was failing. The peculiarity of this stage of evacuation was that it took place in difficult conditions of the front zone, because the army command tried to use the railway until the last minute before the retreat. In the context of the defensive battles that took place in the Ukrainian theater of war, the work of the rolling stock was planned so that the part of the rolling stock that was necessary for transportation remained on the frontline railways. Others were to be evacuated. Thus, on October 10, 1941, 204 locomotives were evacuated from the locomotive fleet of the Southern Road,

leaving 361. All rolling stock was removed from the Odessa highway, except for 70 locomotives and 3,400 wagons carrying military cargo until the last moment of the city's defense. The management of the highways coordinated the evacuation of vehicles with the military leadership. Thus, on June 24, 1941, the Lviv Railway Administration appealed to the commander of the 6th Army with a request to evacuate the equipment of the Rava-Ruska station. They received permission to do so. During July 26-27, the railways managed to remove 437 locomotives and 16,081 cars. Part of the rolling stock could not be removed. 917 carriages, 2 armored trains, and 347 steam locomotives adapted to the Western European track remained in the territory occupied by the German invaders. At the same time, the management of the Lviv highway, in accordance with the orders, dismantled the railway line and infrastructure facilities so that the enemy would not use them. As early as June 29, all major railways in Lviv and surrounding cities were destroyed. The operational group of the railway management was the last to leave the city [226, p. 178].

During the retreat, the railroad workers removed not only rolling stock but also tracks. On November 10, 1941, they dismantled the main tracks: on the Stalin (now Dnieper) highway - 318, 1 kilometer, South - 145 kilometers, South Donetsk - 123 kilometers, on the North Donetsk - 368.2 kilometers, a total of 824, 3 kilometers of the upper structure of the tracks. From this number it was possible to take out: on Stalin (now Dnieper) - 304.5 kilometers, South - 13 kilometers, South Donetsk - 51 kilometers, North Donetsk - 194.8 kilometers. Only 565 kilometers. Station tracks were also dismantled: on Stalin (now Prydniprovsk) - 108.7 kilometers, South Donetsk - 0.8 kilometers, North Donetsk - 10, 5 kilometers, only 120 kilometers. We managed to take out of this number: on Stalin (now Prydniprovsk) - 87.4 kilometers, South Donetsk - 0.6 kilometers, North Donetsk - 4.5 kilometers. Only 92.7 kilometers [227, p. 667]. By October 1, 1941 alone, 75,590 transport workers had been evacuated from Ukraine.

After the defeats of 1941, not all of Ukraine was occupied by the enemy. On July 22, 1942, Soviet troops were forced to withdraw from Ukraine, near Sverdlovsk, Voroshilovgrad (now Lugansk) region, and on December 16 of that year, troops of the

Voronezh and Southwestern Fronts went on the offensive and began the battle for its liberation from Nazi occupation. and their allies in the Milovsky district of the Voroshilovgrad region. During January 1943-October 1944, Soviet troops conducted 11 strategic and 28 frontline operations. Troops of six fronts were involved in the liberation of the territory of the republic - the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th Ukrainian and 1st and 2nd Belarusian, the Black Sea Fleet, three military flotillas, several air armies. The scale of the action required the relocation of a large number of leaders. According to the former People's Commissar of Railways IV Kovaleva, "there were up to five or six armies in the four Ukrainian fronts. Relocation of each required from 60 to 200 echelons of 50 cars in each [234, p. 502].

The Nazi occupiers inflicted heavy losses on Ukraine's railways. During the retreat, Hitler's leadership set a task for its subordinates: "It is necessary to ensure that during the retreat from the regions of Ukraine there is not a single rail left." During the years of occupation, the Nazis destroyed 10 main railways, 5.6 thousand railway bridges, 1916 stations (Mazylo Railway Transport...: problems of reconstruction and provision of military transport [235, p. 172]. In Donetsk region, 8 thousand kilometers of roads were destroyed, 1,500 bridges, 27 locomotive depots, 38 car depots, 400 stations and station buildings, more than 250,000 square meters of living space. to Pavlograd with a length of 113 km Calculations showed that the damage caused by the occupiers exceeded 70% of the value of fixed assets of the Donbass railways.

The social sphere of the North Donetsk railway was completely destroyed, where before the war there were 138 stations with 315.6 thousand seats for passenger service. There were 110 medical and sanatoriums, including 8 polyclinics, 60 health centers, 7 hospitals, 13 maternity hospitals, and 22 nurseries. There were 124 schools and children's institutions.

On the North Donetsk, South Donetsk, South, Stalin (now Dnieper) and South-Western roads, which operated the main roads 10844, 9,203 km were destroyed, which amounted to 80.3 percent. Of the total number of railway bridges, 2,087, or 80 percent, were destroyed. Of the 52 major locomotive depots, 36 or 70 percent were destroyed [236, p. 352].

On the Southern Highway, the Nazi invaders destroyed 80 percent of the railroad tracks on the Southern Highway, 75 percent of the bridges. The latter were an important component of the railway industry, without which the railway could not function properly. Its tracks only in the Kharkiv region crossed the rivers: Seversky Donets, Mzha, Oskol, Udil, Kharkiv, Berestova, Orel on which there were railway bridges. Up to 8,000 meters were destroyed. Locomotive and wagon depots, energy and water supply systems, communications and signaling facilities, and residential and medical facilities were shut down. Thus, the Kharkiv-Tovarna station before the occupation had 30,000 square meters of covered warehouses, intended exclusively for servicing the city's industry. The Nazi occupiers destroyed them in retreat. Railway workers were forced to unload all incoming cargo directly on the ground, which led to massive damage. The amount of losses amounted to 1029 million rubles [237, p. 347].

On the South-Western highway, the damage caused by the occupiers exceeded one billion rubles [238.p.660].

The occupiers destroyed 1,088 bridges and 176 railway stations on the Odessa highway. 34 locomotive depots, other production facilities. Losses amounted to more than one billion rubles. (Mazylo . Railways of the southern regions [239, p. 607].

On the Vinnytsia highway, the Nazi invaders destroyed 487 kilometers of main roads, 211 bridges, 5 locomotive and car depots, and 20 power plants. Losses amounted to more than 340 million rubles [240, p. 403].

The railways of the western regions of Ukraine suffered significant losses. In Lviv, the destruction of railway facilities was great. The entire railway junction needed to be restored. Both locomotive depots were destroyed, and the main station building was half-destroyed. Its underpasses were completely overwhelmed, the landing stage farms were damaged, and the railway tracks were covered with fragments of stone, metal structures and sleepers. The Germans took machines, locomotives and all equipment from the depot to Stryi. Destroyed the water supply system. Retreating destroyed local railway connections, in particular in the sections Lviv-Pidhaytsi, Halych-Pidvysoke, Stanislaviv-Buchach [226, p. 182, 404]. In some places the situation on the railway was somewhat different. M. Khrushchev, as the Prime Minister

of Ukraine, in July 1944, while in the region, reported to J. Stalin, the then leader of the USSR on the situation in Western Ukraine and on the railway. "The Sokal, Rava-Ruska and Chervona railway stations, where I was, are in a satisfactory condition. Rava-Ruska station is not affected at all. Sokal station is well preserved. Even railway and road bridges are not broken. It takes a lot of effort to put these stations in order and organize the movement of trains. Greater destruction of railways and stations is observed in places where the front edge of the defense was close. Here the enemy dismantled the tracks in advance and destroyed the station buildings [241, p. 549].

The destruction of transport was to some extent affected by the subversive activities of underground fighters and guerrillas in the fascist rear of 1941-1944. The Directorate of Oriental Railways has been organized on the highways of the former Lviv Railway since its occupation in Krakow, and in February 1943 the railway traffic on the former highway was directly subordinated to the German Ministry of Communications. Presidents of the directorates of the movement, sent from Berlin, were in Warsaw, Krakow and Lviv. AF Fedorov's partisans operated in Volhynia in March 1943-April 1944. Their main blow was also aimed at the Kovel railway junction. The guerrillas led by him damaged many echelons of ammunition, equipment, and enemy food. Local avengers were active. Partisans of the Yaremchuk detachment, who blew up 48 enemy echelons on the Sarny-Olevsk railway section during the summer of 1943, distinguished themselves by sabotage on the railway [226, p. 179,403].

In the Proskuriv underground the most active was the group of railwaymen of Grechany station which was united by AA Pirkovsky. He managed to establish contacts with the partisans of Shepetivka and Slavutych forests, which allowed for sabotage. The underground managed to bring down nine German echelons and destroyed 18 locomotives [228, p. 105].

There were not enough workers in the destroyed national economy at the beginning of the reconstruction. In the territories liberated from the Nazis, they remained only 17 percent of the prewar population. Therefore, during the reconstruction period there was a significant need for staff of mass professions,

qualified specialists. The organizers of railway transport, SV Kutafin and NT Zakorko, who had worked before the war as the first chief of the Southern and the second of Stalin's highways, returned to work. Krivonis PF returned to the leadership of the North Donetsk highway. In September 1943, 337 railroad workers returned to work on the Southern Highway. In March 1944, 1,275 people were re-evacuated to the Vinnytsia highway. In September, 1,466 more people. One of the sources of replenishment of the active army was the postponement of transport workers from conscription into the Red Army. farms of stations: Kozyatyn, Vinnytsia, Zhmerynka, Rakhny, Nemerchi, Sukhovate, Victoria, Starokostiantyniv [228, p. 107] Women were involved in work on transport. the figure reached 30-40% The weaker sex performed work on an equal footing with men.

There was a lack of staff in the reconstruction of steel highways in western Ukraine. A partisan from the K.A. Kovpak unit was appointed to administrative and economic positions on the Kovel highway. Working and living conditions were difficult. One third of the workers were provided with clothes and shoes. Food was also not organized in the best way. The menu consisted mostly of millet, and only occasionally of potatoes and meat. Living conditions were not the best: the workers lived in unrepaired, dirty dormitories. Plaster in the rooms collapsed, the windows were without glass. In general, the general situation in the area of the Kovel highway was uneasy. On April 11, 1945, an engineer of the Kadygrov project organization arrived at the 3rd section of the Department of Construction and Reconstruction Works to inspect the Kovel-Kamin-Kashirsky line to determine the scope of work. Before starting work, the latter demanded that he be guarded by armed guerrillas. Workers had to be armed and given enough ammunition [227, p. 673]. The religiosity of local residents influenced the consolidation of railway workers, especially in the western Ukrainian regions. On May 24, 1945, during the celebration of Easter, most of the local workers left their jobs and went home. 99 employees did not return to work after the holidays [227, p. 674].

Local authorities involved civilians in the reconstruction work. To ensure a broad front of work, in May 1944, 6,000 workers were mobilized to rebuild the

Vinnitsia highway, followed by another 16,906 civilians from the Vinnitsia region. In May-July 1944, 8 mass Sundays were held for the reconstruction of roads, which were attended by 60 thousand inhabitants of the region [228, p. 106].

The situation with personnel in the postwar period was different. Of the total number of 2 million demobilized in 1945-1948 in the industry of the USSR sent to work 350 thousand people, about 100 thousand for transport [242, p. 341].

In the first half of 1943, reconstruction work began in the Voroshilovgrad (now Luhansk) region, in the second half of the year - in other regions of the Left Bank. By the beginning of March 1943, the Red Army liberated the territory of the Voroshilovgrad (now Luhansk) region and about 40 cities and railway stations of the Stalin (now Donetsk) region from the enemy. By the beginning of March 1943, part of the North Donetsk road was liberated. Management of this highway is managed by Krivonos PF were in the area of the checkpoint 122 kilometers of the Voroshilovgrad-Millirovo road. The railway workers' efforts were aimed at rebuilding the highway. The military railway formations of the 5th Department of Military Reconstruction Works were the first to begin reconstruction work. The occupiers destroyed the Voroshilovgrad railway junction. A headquarters was set up to rebuild it, headed by the head of the movement's department, Kovalevsky IL First of all, it was necessary to restore the bridge over the station tracks. Specialists took a month for this. Assistance was provided by local businesses and rebuilt in two weeks. To restore the bridges across the rivers Lugan and Seversky Donets at the enterprise. A special bridge was equipped with the October Revolution. The local population helped. The bridge across the Seversky Donets was built in 20 days.

By October 1, 1943, 6 large bridges, 14 pipes, and one tunnel were built on the North Donetsk highway. The total length of the rebuilt artificial structures was 5,886 running meters. As of December 1, 1943, there were 793 bridges on the North Donetsk road, of which 35 were medium and 352 were bridges. 25 large, 13 medium bridges [243, p. 210]

28 bridges on the South Donetsk railway were destroyed. Of which. As of October 1, 1943, 10 were rebuilt with a total length of 454.9 running meters [243, p.

210]. Reconstruction works of the first stage at the Kupyansk-Rubizhne section were started by the 13th and 27th UVVR-5 railway brigades under the command of Colonels Petrov V.S. and Tsvitkov N.S. Svatovo-Rubizhne, repairing six small bridges and 60 kilometers of road. The movement of trains was restrained by the unbuilt bridge on the Svatovo-Goncharivka section. The railroad workers worked around the clock. Twelve days later the trains began to move in the direction of the front. In 50 days, the railwaymen, together with the local population, restored 700 km of main roads, bridges and communication lines on the North Donetsk highway. From the beginning of the expulsion of German troops until September 1943 in the Voroshilovograd region was restored 1140, 1 km of main roads, 6 large bridges, 21 medium bridges, 68 small bridges. 800 turnouts [227, p. 677]. Until May 10, 1943, Donbas was connected by rail to other regions.

In September 1943, the paths of the Southern Master were cleared of Nazi occupiers. The invaders destroyed 80% of the roads and 75% of the bridges. The latter were an important component of the railway industry, especially in the Kharkiv region where the rivers flowed: Seversky Donets, Mzha, Oskol, Orel and others. Locomotive and wagon depots, energy and water supply systems, communications and signaling facilities, living quarters, and medical facilities were destroyed.

The destroyed railway facilities had to be rebuilt on their own with minimal financial security. Military railroad workers helped. On October 1, 1943, 1945 km of roads and 560 km of station tracks and 1,085 turnouts were restored on the Southern Highway. Of the 313 destroyed bridges, 215 were rebuilt. The Kharkiv industrial enterprises provided assistance to the transporters, handing over 109 machines, 70 engines, 5 mobile power plants and other equipment to the Southern Railway Railways.

Reconstruction of the Southern Railway was of great importance for the further support of the offensive operations of the Red Army. So. On September 14, 1943, the railroad workers joined the revival of the Dnieper military flotilla, which was restored by boats of the Volga. By rail, to Sumy region. Echelons with boats arrived in the area of Pirogivka station. An 800-meter railway branch was built from it to the bank of the

Desna River and boats were launched directly from the platforms (Mazylo. From the History of Reconstruction of Railway Transport of Kharkiv Region [237, p. 348].

During the battles for the Dnieper River, special military formations and railwaymen put at the service of the front 11 thousand kilometers of railways [227, p. 677].

Reconstruction of the railway network of Kyiv and the region began after the liberation of the city from the Nazi occupiers in the autumn of 1943. Of great importance was the reconstruction of the low-water bridge near the station Darnytsia with a length of 1059.5 meters and a height of 5.5 meters. The Military Council of the 1st Ukrainian Front set the date of its construction - 20 days. At the beginning of its reconstruction, the railway and military harvested 5,000 cubic meters of timber, more than 1,000 piles, more than 150 tons of forgings. On November 20, 1943, the first military echelon crossed the bridge. The pace of construction of the bridge, as at that time, was a record - 81.5 running meters per day. The operation of the bridge made it possible to deliver 65,000 wagons of various cargoes to the front in November-December 1943.

At the same time, the railwaymen, with the help of the local population, were building a 1,195-meter-long Podolsk high-water bridge. The work began on December 15, 1943 and ended on February 20, 1944, which cost 48,000 man-days, or 45.4 man-days per running meter of its construction. It was necessary to drive 2146 supports, to install intermediate structures weighing more than 200 tons, to dump about 100 thousand cubic meters of soil. By January 15, 1944, 37 large and small bridges had been built at the Kyiv branch of the South-Western Railway with the help of special formations of the NKShS. Given these facts, the statement is fair. that "in the hands of the bridge builders were the keys to the successful completion of the Kiev offensive." [Mazylo. Reconstruction of the railway network of Kyiv [17.p.660].

The growth of railways and military transportation depended on the commissioning of damaged bridges and overpasses across Ukraine's large and small rivers. This was especially important in the areas of action of the fronts and the Dnieper River, other large and small rivers of Ukraine. On February 26, 1944, the USSR State

Committee for Defense ordered the People's Commissariat of Railways to begin priority work on the reconstruction of (37) large bridges across the Seversky Donets (5 bridges), Dnieper (12 bridges), Desna (4 bridges), Sozh (3most) rivers.), Pripyat (2 bridges), Berezina (2 bridges).

Bridges on the Stalin (now Prydniprovsk) railway near Kindrashivska (227 m), across the New Dnieper (738.4 m), the Old Dnieper (370 m) near Zaporizhia, and bridges across the Dnieper near Dnipropetrovsk were to be rebuilt quickly. Dnieper) (1524.0 m), Kremenchuk (1003 m), Cherkasy (1175 m), Darnytskyi Bridge (1095 m). On the South-Western Railway, bridges across the Dnieper near Kaniv (780 m) and on the Desna near Chernihiv (556 m) needed repair.

In the area of Dnipropetrovsk (now Dnipro) bridges were restored in two stages. First built a floating and then high-water temporary bridges. A special lord ton-bridge regiment arrived to carry out the work. together with the railways they built a 156-meter-long overpass. The transition itself was built for 8 days, laying 105 meters per day.

At the same time, a high water bridge was built, for which 1,088 piles were driven, 192 span structures weighing four tons each were installed, 33 intermediate structures of 20-35 tons each were installed, and two overpasses over 200 meters long were erected. The works were carried out from November 1 to December 10, 1943.

The bridge in the Kremenchuk area was built by the railway troops of the 2nd Ukrainian Front. The low-water bridge crossing was temporarily adapted for transportation. 17 days after its introduction on the right bank of the Dnieper, two thousand wagons with ammunition and military equipment passed, which allowed Soviet troops to hold the right bank bridgehead near Znamyanka and Korystovka, and later went on the offensive and liberated Kirovograd (now Kropyvnytskyi). A temporary 900-meter railway bridge was built on the bypass of the old, ruined one. The average daily rate of reconstruction was 30 running meters per day. Soldiers of the bridge detachment №1, bridge train №10 were built. They dumped 20,000 cubic meters of soil, hammered over 700 piles, and erected 38 span structures with a total weight of

1,250 tons. 52,000 man-hours were spent on the work instead of 68.7 thousand. According to current regulations, the bridge was built in 37 days [243, p. 212].

In the spring of 1944, bridges were rebuilt in the liberated territories of the Right Bank of Ukraine. The complexity of the situation was that the delivery of materials was complicated by spring weather, and the front needed urgent transportation. Even with this in mind, on the Aquarius-Kolosivka railway line, the bridge over the Ingul River was built in three weeks and on May 4 the trains moved in the direction of the front [243, p. 213].

During the liberation of the territory of the Right Bank of Ukraine, the norms of road rehabilitation were to be 8 kilometers per day, in practice, such norms were close to 11-12 kilometers.

Reconstruction of the Vinnytsia highway began in March 1944. Its rapid revival was dictated by military and economic needs. Thus, to ensure the offensive operations of the Red Army in March-April 1944 in Vinnytsia. South-Western and Kovel roads received more than 200 thousand cars [240, p. 403].

Kozyatyn, a large hub station of the Vinnytsia highway, was rebuilt by the railways immediately after the liberation of the Nazi occupiers by the troops of the 1st Ukrainian Front on December 28, 1943. The work was interrupted due to enemy bombing of the railway junction. Under such difficult conditions, the railways carried out reconstruction and provided timely departure of echelons, restoring the destroyed sections of railway tracks. They created the G1 bridge-train company, which rebuilt the tracks on the right-bank Ukraine for several years. Its workers restored 25 bridges and many railway structures.

On March 18, 1944, the troops of the 1st Ukrainian Front liberated a large railway junction - Zhmerynka on the Vinnytsia highway. Railway workers began its reconstruction. Residents of the town of the same name provided all possible assistance. Ten days after the start of reconstruction, the railways began transporting trains to the front line.

Back in March 1944, to ensure the offensive of Soviet troops, train traffic was opened on the Shepetivka-Ternopil section [244, p. 98].

In December 1943, the troops of the 3rd Ukrainian Front liberated Znamyanka station, where the task force of the Odessa Railway was located. The occupiers destroyed 1,088 bridges, 176 railway stations and 34 locomotive depots on the railway. A lot of effort has been made by highway workers to restore train traffic. In May 1944, 20 days after the liberation of Odessa, the first passenger train Kyiv-Odesa arrived. In August 1944, the reconstruction of stations and railways of Belgorod-Dniester, Reni Izmail began. With great efforts of the railways in September managed to transport the first echelon with cargo [239, p. 607,829].

In May 1944, the railway tracks of the Lviv highway were restored in the Ternopil region. The railroad workers returned to Lviv in July 1944. Reconstruction of the destroyed railway junction began immediately. Six thousand workers were involved in the work. By the end of July 1944, 552 kilometers of tracks were put into operation on the Lviv highway. Train traffic was resumed. On August 4, 1944, the first echelon arrived at Pidzamche station.

The situation at the Stryi railway junction was difficult. The occupiers destroyed equipment and water supply system. Completely destroyed workshops. The premises had to be restored. The locomotives were temporarily repairing the open air.

It was possible to restore the movement of trains on the routes Kolomyia-Stefanesti, Kolomyia-Chernivtsi, Kolomyia-Delyatyn. Together more than 200 kilometers. This helped to deliver ammunition and equipment to the front line in the Carpathians in time.

As of March 25, 1944, the movement of trains was resumed at the Olevsk-Sarny, Sarny-Rivne, Rivne-Kivertsi, Rivne-Zdolbuniv sections of the Kovel highway. Reconstruction of the Kovel junction began after its liberation by Soviet troops on July 6, 1944, and the Vladimir-Volyn and Rava-Rus railway junctions on July 20.

The fronts were secured through the rebuilt roads of the Lviv and Kovel highways. In June-August, more than 140,000 wagons arrived in specially designated unloading areas [226, p. 183].

On October 8, 1944, the territory of Ukraine within the pre-war borders was liberated from the German occupiers. The situation on the mountainous sections of the

highway between Stryi and Zakarpattia remained difficult. Bridges, tunnels, and viaducts were destroyed.

At the end of the summer of 1944, the Red Army stopped in the foothills of the Carpathians. The troops of the 4th Ukrainian Front were to carry out the East Carpathian Operation, which included the Carpathian-Duklen 39th Army for the Liberation of Eastern Slovakia and the Carpathian-Uzhhorod Army for the Liberation of Transcarpathian Ukraine. Railways through the Carpathian Pass passed through mountainous and forested areas. All 8 viaducts (total length 1180 meters, height 30-48 meters, on curves with a radius of 250-400 meters and slopes 22-25 degrees, two of 4 tunnels (length 490-1800 meters), 17 medium and large bridges length 727 The 45th Railway Brigade worked on the Carpathian mountain section of the Lavochna station, working without the necessary equipment in the rain for 16 hours a day. 18 medium, 24 small bridges, 6 viaducts, 2 tunnels As a result, military echelons went along the Carpathian tracks to the southwest [241, p. 551].

The roads in Northern Bukovina were also rebuilt. In the pre-war years, 426 kilometers of railway tracks were in operation in the region. 5 locomotive and car depots, 46 railway stations, 2100 kilometers of telegraph and telephone communication. In 1941-1944 the region was under German-Romanian occupation. The enemy inflicted heavy damage on vehicles during the retreat. At the end of May 1944, the main directions - Oknitsa, Mosha, Chernivtsi, Fences were rebuilt and rebuilt on the Russian track (1520 cm). In June 1944, a locomotive and car depot began operating. This allowed the delivery of military cargo for the troops of the 2nd and 3rd Ukrainian fronts during the Yasko-Chisinau offensive operation [245, p. 68].

The restored railways of the western Ukrainian regions, in addition to military-strategic and economic importance, have become an important factor in uniting these territories with other regions of Ukraine. The eloquent fact of the unification process through the railways is the territory of Transcarpathia in 1944-1945. The local railway network was 653 kilometers long. Of which 168 wide tracks (1520 cm), 345 kilometers of Western European (1435 cm) and 140 kilometers of narrow tracks (760 cm), and consisted of four railway lines, three of which crossed the territory from northeast to

southwest in the direction of Uzhgorod. Chop, Skotarske-Bateva, Zymir-Vyshiv, and one from east to west in the direction of Chop-Vyshiv. Transcarpathian transport was destroyed by the invaders until October 1944, a turning point in the history of the region, when "As a result of the victory over fascism Transcarpathian land was liberated from foreign oppression and due to historical circumstances and the will of the majority joined the Ukrainian SSR [246. P.225]. When representatives of the Lviv Railway arrived in Transcarpathia, a picture of terrible destruction opened before them. The technical condition of the railway tracks did not meet any requirements, the rolling stock was a set of old used locomotives and wagons. We had to rebuild the region's railway in the shortest possible time [226, p. 185]. The first steps towards its revival were made in late 1944 and 1945. A memorandum and a draft resolution of the USSR State Committee for Defense were prepared in Stalin's name, which determined the boundaries of the railway and the list of necessary preparatory work. However, this project failed to materialize. On December 10, 1945, by the decision of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR, the Transcarpathian railway became part of the Lviv Railway [226, p. 185]. Subsequently, there was a further resumption of train traffic. This is important both for the development of Transcarpathia and the unification of the territory of the republic was completed in March 1948 [246, p. 108].

According to the author, the railways of Ukraine have carried out huge volumes of various types of transportation, which certainly had a significant impact on military operations both in the country and abroad. They also withstood the burden of evacuation and reconstruction work, which made it possible to connect different regions.

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