International Science Group
ISG-KONF.COM

RESEARCH OF DEVELOPMENT TENDENCIES OF MODERN UKRAINIAN SOCIETY (HISTORICAL - PHILOSOPHICAL AND EDUCATIONAL ASPECTS)

ISBN 979-8-88680-821-6
DOI 10.46299/979-8-88680-821-6

Bogatchuk S., Mazylo I., Pikovska T., Makarov Z., Bielkin I., Mangora V., Mangora T.

RESEARCH OF DEVELOPMENT TENDENCIES OF MODERN UKRAINIAN SOCIETY (HISTORICAL - PHILOSOPHICAL AND EDUCATIONAL ASPECTS)

Monograph

2022

UDC 93/94

Author's:

Bogatchuk S., Mazylo I., Pikovska T., Makarov Z., Bielkin I.,
Mangora V., Mangora T.

Editor:

Igor Bielkin, candidate of Pedagogical Sciences, Doctor of Philosophy, Senior Lecturer of the Department of History of Ukraine and Philosophy. Vinnytsia National Agrarian University, Vinnytsia, Ukraine.

Bogatchuk S., Mazylo I., Pikovska T., Makarov Z., Bielkin I., Mangora V., Mangora T. Research of development tendencies of modern Ukrainian society (historical - philosophical and educational aspects). Monograph. – Primedia eLaunch, Boston, USA, 2022. – 291 p.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

ISBN – 979-8-88680-821-6
DOI – 10.46299/979-8-88680-821-6

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.

UDC 93/94

ISBN – 979-8-88680-821-6

ANNOTATION

The collective monograph is devoted to the study of development trends of modern Ukrainian society. The study uses an interdisciplinary approach that allows you to analyze various aspects of the development of social processes in Ukraine and obtain socially significant scientific results.

Svitlana Bogatchuk analyzes the processes of formation of applied research centers and attempts to form an educational system to improve the functioning of Ukrainian railways in the late nineteenth century. The study notes that the development of advanced industrial technologies at the time was impossible without adequate technical, scientific and human resources. Igor Mazylo continues to study the history of railway transport. The researcher emphasizes that railway transport during the Soviet-German war played an exclusive role in transporting the needs of the front and the reconstruction process in the economy.

The section prepared by Tatiana Pikovskaya is devoted to the solution of the national question in the programs of political parties of national minorities. The history of the First Czechoslovak Republic is part of the political history of Ukraine, because as a result of international treaties concluded after the First World War, Transcarpathian Russia became part of Czechoslovakia under the name "Subcarpathian Russ". This was the impetus for the formation of a democratic multiparty system in the region. The section highlights the peculiarities of Transcarpathian political parties of this period. Among them are multipartyism, the presence of a large number of Hungarian, German, and Jewish parties in addition to the Ukrainian one.

In his section, Zorislav Makarov studies the historical-philosophical and methodological preconditions of the current sociological, post-positivist and postmodern critique of scientific rationality and deterministic ideas at the heart of its

ontology. The author clarifies the reasons and prospects of significant philosophical and methodological reflection of communicative aspects of scientific rationality on the material of advanced science development of quantum and "nonlinear" samples of ontology and the corresponding improvement of scientific description.

In the study of Igor Bielkin research reveals the methodological principles of effective use of the business game algorithm as a leading method of active training of future specialists in the field of management and business in modern institutions of higher education. Emphasis is placed on the modernization of the content of the educational process taking into account the current needs of professional training of modern managers using gaming technologies. Attention is paid to the implementation of communication comfort of students in vocational training in higher education institutions in the game environment, as well as the use of business games as a method of interactive learning of students in the real production process.

Volodymir Mangora researches the peculiarities of information and legal support of legal education in modern Ukraine. The analysis of the current legislation regulating information and legal support of legal education is carried out. The main problems of information and legal support of legal education in terms of distance learning are identified. Proposals have been developed to improve the training of future lawyers.

Tamila Mangora on the basis of studying the life of A. Yakovliv considered his formation as a lawyer and historian of law, analyzed the process of transformation of his political and legal views. As a result of studying the works of A. Yakovliv, his views on the sources of Ukrainian law, Ukrainian-Moscow treaties, ideas about the formation of the Ukrainian nation and the formation of the state are highlighted.

The content of the collective 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." In writing the monograph were used: historical and genetic method, statistical analysis, sociological and pedagogical research.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

10.46299/979-8-88680-821-6.1

1. Development of science and education in the railway industry of Ukraine in the late nineteenth century - in the early twentieth century

Abstract

According to scientific and archival sources, statistical data, the study analyzes the formation of scientific thought in the railway industry of Ukraine in the second half of the nineteenth century – in the early twentieth century.

This study examines the process of development of scientific views and education on the Ukrainian railways in the late nineteenth century at a time when European countries have formed their own railway network. It is noted that the first to build railways was England, which in the late eighteenth century – in the early nineteenth century began to lay iron rails and build the first locomotives.

It is proved that in the middle of the XIX century railways in Europe are becoming the main mode of transport. Becoming a general condition of the production process in the capitalist economy, the railways began to play an independent role as a powerful factor that stimulated the rapid growth of major branches of heavy industry. The unsatisfactory state of roads in the Russian Empire, in particular in Ukraine, hampered economic development in many sectors of the economy. The role of engineers O. Borodin, L. Leva, A. Raevsky, Y. Lomonosov, G. Dubelir in the formation of technical support of Ukrainian railways is analyzed.

An important role in the formation of the railway network and the development of scientific thought in technical support belongs to S.Yu. Witte, who after graduating from the institute began working on the railway, and as director of the Department of Railways and Minister of Railways, focused on improving the operation of railway transport, the rational use of the railway network.

The study notes that the development and expansion of the railway network is impossible without technical, scientific and staffing.

The importance of the study lies in the application of a systematic approach to studying the history of the formation of qualified personnel for the Ukrainian railways

of the second half of the nineteenth century. through the establishment of professional railway schools in Ukraine, the opening of mechanical and engineering and construction departments at the Kiev Polytechnic Institute.

Although at the beginning of the construction of railways came landless peasants to earn money to pay taxes to landlords. Later, the railway profession became a family one. The creation of a network of special technical educational institutions has become a necessity to improve their skills.

Nevertheless, the problem of technical, scientific and personnel support of the railway network in the second half of the XIX century. and today remains in need of further study.

Introduction

Characterizing the state of scientific development of the problem, we note that the topic of technical and personnel support of Ukrainian railways is considered by scientists in the late nineteenth century.

On the basis of scientific research, analysis of archival sources, statistical data of the research the analysis of formation of world and domestic technical thought, creation of conditions for formation of qualified personnel for railways is carried out.

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 fundamental study of the historical and economic nature was carried out by Andreev P., dedicating it to the 25th anniversary of the South-Western Railway (1909) [1].

A special role in covering the issues of technical support of the railway network was played by journalistic materials of the late XIX - early XX centuries. (magazines «Engineer», «Railway», «Bulletin of South-Western Railways»).

An important role in the scientific achievements of scientific and technical topics is the study of outstanding engineers of his time O. Borodin, Y. Lomonosov [2,3]. 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 [4].

Characterizing the state of scientific development of the issue of formation of qualified personnel of railwaymen, it should be noted that in historiography it is covered unevenly. The first researchers of Ukrainian history of the second half of the XIX century, who covered the socio-economic development of the Ukrainian lands after the abolition of serfdom, were Yu. Lavrov [5], O. Lugova [6], F. Los [7], E. Belinsky [8], as well as studied the development of railway construction and the need to improve training for this industry.

V. Shatayev's dissertation research presents an analysis of scientific, engineering, organizational, educational and public activities of the famous domestic railway engineer, railway scientist, specialist in railway engineering O. Borodin [9].

Historiographical review of the problem indicates the need for further uniform coverage of railway construction and its technical support.

In the 80-90's of the twentieth century interest in the history of training qualified specialists for the railway industry of Ukraine in the second half of the XIX century is restored. Development of education in Ukraine in the second half of the XIX century scientific works by E. Lutsenko, E. Stepanovych, M. Puzanova, G. Tereshchenko, V. Kizchenko are devoted to the issues of training qualified railway personnel [10, 11, 12, 13].

Peculiarities of training qualified personnel in technical railway schools, through the prism of railway development on Ukrainian lands, were considered in a number of scientific works by S. Bogatchuk [14, 15, 16].

M. Honchar's dissertation research considers the historical way of building the system of training skilled workers, in particular, the development of lower vocational education in the south of Ukraine in the second half of the XIX century - in the early twentieth century [17].

Setting objectives researchers' attention to the issues of railway construction in Ukraine in the second half of the XIX century, its active spread after the agrarian

reform of 1861, the formation of its scientific and technical point of view, personnel policy remains relevant.

The purpose of the research is an attempt to evenly cover the issues of railway construction, the formation of scientific and technical thought, the problems of training qualified personnel for the railways of Ukraine in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Thanks to the informational and analytical-synthetic methods of research on this topic, the development of scientific and technical views in connection with the development and expansion of the railway network is considered.

1.1 World experience in the formation of railway networks

The railways did not appear immediately. Their appearance was preceded by a long period of time, during which people's minds formed railway thinking. From time immemorial, people have been looking for the most efficient methods of moving and transporting goods.

In the fifteenth century in the mining of the Czech Republic, Saxony and some other countries, the wooden trunk was widely used. For a long time, coal was transported in sacks, baskets tied to the backs of horses [18, p. 46]. At the same time, cheap women's and children's labor was used in the mines.

The need for rapid movement of coal fuel from mines to manufactories led to the emergence in the second half of the eighteenth century iron track between coal mines and plants in Wales.

The first cast iron rails were laid in 1767 by Richard Reynolds, one of the owners of the Colebrook Metallurgical Plants. He replaced the wooden beds with cast-iron corner rails attached to wooden beams.

In 1789, engineer W. Jessop developed high mushroom-shaped rails. The use of angular, flat and other rails allowed the use of trucks with ordinary wheels. But under the weight of loaded carts, cast iron rails often collapsed. Due to this, the carts were replaced by trains of three or four cars with a capacity of 1-2 tons.

The English engineer Thomas Severi was the first to implement the idea of a steam engine by I. Newton [19, p. 11]. He used a steam engine to pump water out of the mines. Gradually, this idea was further developed, and in 1769 the French engineer Jean Cuño built the first steam locomotive that moved by steam. It was a wooden tricycle powered by a small steam engine. The present invention testified to progress in the development of engineering thought. However, the engine had a significant drawback – the cylinders passed a large amount of steam, which did not allow to actively implement it [20, p. 22].

But technical and engineering thought did not stop there.

One of the successors of the theoretical and practical search for the design of the steam engine was the Englishman D. Watt. In 1774 he built a steam engine at one of the factories, which he soon patented as an advanced double steam action steam engine [21, p. 88-103].

In parallel and independently of European inventors, the American engineer O. Evans in 1784 proposed the production of high-pressure steam engines (3.5 atm.). This gives rise to the development of the steam locomotive.

The first locomotive of truly practical importance was designed by the eminent engineer and inventor R. Trevithick of Cornwall.

In 1804, one of the world's first locomotives, the English mechanic Richard Trevithick, was tested and launched a series of experimental English locomotives. Thanks to the use of the flywheel, the locomotive rolled easily on smooth rails. However, during the tests, the locomotive began to break the cast iron rails because it was too heavy. [19, p. 842].

In 1814, D. Stephenson (1781-1848) built the steamer «Blucher», a year later – another. In parallel, he drew attention to the need to replace the rails. In order for the surface of the rails to be smooth and the rails themselves to lie in a horizontal plane, he established an embankment and excavations, with the help of which the horizontal level of the rail track was achieved [22, p. 118].

However, in the first two decades of the nineteenth century few were interested in Stephenson's innovations.

In 1823, D. Stephenson founded the world's first locomotive plant in Newcastle, England, which later became a large transport engineering company, exporting locomotives to almost all countries.

In 1825 he built the locomotive «Locomotive», which moved at a speed of 24 km per hour. The most famous of the locomotive models was the Rocket - a locomotive that won the «Rhinehill Test» between locomotives of different developers. His technical work met the requirements of: 1 / the use of smooth rails with such masonry wheels; 2 / exit of the spent steam in a flue; 3 / use of a tubular boiler [19, p. 843]. The car was able to reach a speed of 20 km per hour and weighed only 4.5 tons.

The opening of the Manchester-Liverpool Railway in England in 1830 gave rise to the widespread use of the steam-powered railway network and the establishment of railway enterprises. The increase in railway construction in this country soon became speculative. Private companies built their own without any agreement with the government, forcing fierce competition. Further development of the railway business significantly affected all sectors of the economy, especially metallurgy and engineering [15, p. 24].

In 1831 D. Stephenson proposed his new type of locomotive «Planet», which with a load of 76 tons gained 20 km per hour [20, p. 42].

Further development of locomotive building in the country took place by improving certain parts and types of locomotives.

Following England, other European countries became interested in building railways.

In 1834, the Belgian parliament approved a project for a single railway network. From 1835, the Brussels-Mechelen railway started operating. In the same year, the first Belgian locomotive plant began in Serena, whose products became very popular in Europe.

In France, Austria, Prussia and other Western European countries, railway construction is not as widespread as in England. The first French railway was opened to traffic in 1837, while the first 23 km long equestrian rail line (Saint-Andresier) was built in 1823 and used to transport coal [18, p. 107].

The first rail horse line in the United States was built in 1827. In the 1829s and 1830s, American engineers Miller, Cooper, and others tested their first steam locomotives, and their inventions were not used in the country in the first half of the 19th century.

It should be noted that almost all countries of the capitalist world until the mid-nineteenth century were covered with rail tracks, and from so on in domestic traffic begins to dominate rail transport.

Thus, the construction of the railway network is gradually unfolding in many countries around the world, namely: Great Britain – 1825; USA – 1830; France – 1832; Germany – 1835; Belgium – 1835; Canada, 1836; Russia – 1837; Austro – Hungarian Empire – 1838; Italy – 1839; The Netherlands – 1839; Switzerland – 1844; Denmark – 1847; Spain – 1848; Sweden – 1851; Norway, Portugal – 1854; Bulgaria, Turkey – 1860; Romania – 1870; Serbia – 1884; Greece – 1889 [23, p.145].

Widespread deployment of railway construction in the 40s of the XIX century in Western Europe contributed to the formation of railways as the main mode of transport.

During the industrial revolution in Western Europe, rail transport became one of the most important factors in the sudden and strong expansion of the world market and the formation of capitalism in the dominant world economic system. As a result, a new international division of labor was created, which turned one part of the globe mainly into a branch of agricultural production and the other into a branch of industrial production. Therefore, the backward countries were faced with the question: either to rebuild their outdated economy by accelerating the industrial revolution and the developed capitalist mode of production, or to perish as an independent state. In this situation, the priority was to create a railway network to connect the separate and unrelated branches of the economy.

Rail transport soon became all-encompassing, providing all the major economic connections of the various European countries. And the economic effect of the introduction of railways was primarily due to the acceleration of transportation, which

created a powerful impetus to further concentration of production and ensure the growth of productivity of social labor and the development of productive forces.

1.2 Scientific and technical support of the Ukrainian railway network

At the end of the XIX century Ukrainian territory was already one of the economically developed regions of the Russian Empire with a strong railway network, which needed to improve its technical support.

The Russian Empire, later than other countries, embarked on the path of capitalist development. The growth of industrial and agricultural production and export of bread after the reform of 1861 caused a sharp increase in traffic, for which there was a need for further development of the railway industry.

Prior to the reform, the main modes of transportation were postal, trade (milky ways) [24, p. 54].

Postal roads are not suitable for transporting goods in winter, especially in the southern regions, where snow does not always linger long. It is difficult to move on such roads [25, p. 81-82].

The need to build railways in Ukraine arose long ago. The geographical location of the region its natural resources were a prerequisite. Ukraine needed railways to export products, mainly from the fertile south-western region and industrial products from the Donbass and Kryvyi Rih regions. After the defeat in the Crimean War, the tsarist government realized the need to connect the center of the country with ports on the Black and Azov Seas, as well as the western borders, for strategic reasons. Accordingly, in Ukraine there were three main centers of railway construction: South-Western region, in the area of which gradually emerged a network of south-western railways; the industrial district of Donbass and Kryvyi Rih, in the area of which the Donetsk and Kateryna railways arose; and a network of Southern Railways was built to connect with the sea and the industrial regions of Ukraine. After the construction of the Kursk - Kharkiv - Azov line, they began to build railways specifically for the export of coal from Donbass.

The first such railway was the Konstantinovka-Yelenivka highway, which was put into operation in 1872. It was the beginning of the development of the network of future Donetsk railways. In 1884, the Catherine Railway was built, built for the export of industrial products of Kryvyi Rih. The first was the line Nizhnedneprovsk - Dolynska. In 1904-1906 the so-called Second Catherine Railway was built, which merged with the First in the direction of Dolgintsevo - Volnovakha. Since the railways of Ukraine were built in large industrial cities and agricultural areas, they became the largest in length and scope of work among the railways of the Russian Empire [26, p. 55].

Railway construction in the Russian Empire began to take shape in the mid-nineteenth century. Improving railway technology is one of its main tasks.

In 1837, for the first time in the Russian Empire, a railway was built between St. Petersburg and Tsarskoe Selo, which revealed the need for active use of domestic railway equipment [15, p. 32].

At the beginning of the development of railway transport, the locomotive fleet of railways consisted mostly of locomotives manufactured abroad, or in Russia, but on foreign projects. A characteristic feature of the locomotive fleet of Ukrainian railways was its multi-series nature. This was due to the fact that railway companies systematically bought locomotives from almost all European manufacturers.

In 1846, the Alexander Plant began producing the first Russian cars for the St. Petersburg-Moscow railway. Since 1851, cars were manufactured by the St. Petersburg plant, which ceased its activities during the Crimean War. The war revealed the need for accelerated expansion of the railway network and high quality equipment.

In 1882, a compound machine was first installed on one of the locomotives in the Kyiv workshops of the South-Western Railways. Studies have shown that this machine saves up to 20%. The study of its effectiveness continued until 1885 on the initiative and under the guidance of the founding engineer of the Russian school of railway traction O.P. Borodin on a passenger locomotive type 2-2-0 tandem compound system, the results of which were positive. Private railways became interested and began to order such machines [27, p. 12].

Railway workshops played an important role in improving technical support.

The beginning of car building in Ukraine was laid by the workshops of the South-Western Railways. Carriage construction was developed in the workshops of other railways, such as Kharkiv-Mykolayiv, but later it stopped completely. The first industrial enterprise in Ukraine to organize car-building was the Kyiv South-Russian Machine-Building Plant. Besides, car-building was organized at the Nikolaev plant, at the enterprises in the city of Gorlovka and in some others.

In 1884, at the 7th Congress of Engineers of the Traction and Rolling Stock Service of the Russian Railways, engineers of the South-Western Railways and the Kovrov Railway Workshops presented drawings and technical conditions for freight cars. The best project of covered wagons and platforms, presented by the South-Western Railways, was chosen, which was taken as a basis and began to be widely implemented in production.

In 1886, the workers of the Kyiv workshops of the South-Western Railways made the first eight-wheeled Pulmon cars of the II class. In parallel, they made eight-wheeled cars of II and III class. By 1903, the workshops produced only 65 such cars [15, p. 33].

Since 1891 began to use the first four-cylinder high-speed locomotive of the tandem-compound system, built according to the project of the technical department of the traction service of the South-Western Railways under the leadership of O.P. Borodin and the head of the technical department L.M. Lions called "№101" [28, p. 28].

In 1895, several more such locomotives were built: «№102», «№103», «№104», «№105», the first three were later named: «O.P. Borodin», «S.F. Stempikovsky», «L.M. Levi»[15, p. 34].

In 1896, this project was used by workers of the Odessa railway workshops in the construction of the locomotive «№107», which at the All-Russian Exhibition in Nizhny Novgorod attracted the attention of many engineers. At the same time, research was conducted on the operation of components and units of machines. Thus, in 1896 experiments were conducted on the device Ecohomie-Steah-Bok, which was used for

washing locomotives with Lefeld pumps, used steam heating from the locomotives themselves [29, p. 15-16].

Since the 1890s, locomotives have been built at two specialized locomotive plants in Ukraine: Kharkiv and Luhansk. Later, steam locomotives were built at the Nikolaev Shipbuilding and Kramatorsk Machine-Building Plants.

Engineers worked on scientific developments in this field. Thus, in 1906, according to the project of engineer A. Raevsky, Kharkiv Locomotive Plant began construction of a more powerful locomotive type 1-4-0 series Shch [15, p. 33].

Since 1913, all Russian railways have been using a freight locomotive with five paired axles of the 0-5-0 series E of even greater power, developed and built by workers of the Luhansk Locomotive Plant and the Vladikavkaz Railway.

At the same time, the ideas of O. Borodin and L. Leva on dynamometric tests of locomotives while moving were realized. In other countries there was no such well-established system of research [30, p. 103].

In 1913, the technician of the railway-driver depot station. Bobrynska South-Western Railway B.L. Karvatsky proposed the idea of redesigning the triple valve and crane driver of the Westinghouse system, which would make the braking system less exhausting. Unfortunately, this idea did not receive support [31, p. 209].

Engineers of the Kharkiv Locomotive Plant A. Raevsky, A. Lipko-Parafievsky, B. Korchevsky worked on the creation of a special internal combustion engine for operation on railways. In 1910 they developed a locomotive project. The first step in obtaining energy for motion was the invention of the internal combustion engine with diverging pistons and cylinders. The engine transferred its work to two jack shafts connected by a drawbar system with movable axes. The movement from the place and charging of the cylinder of the main engine was driven from the compressor by means of the additional engine [32, p. 132].

Engineer Yu. Lomonosov played an important role in the formation of the scientific school in the railway industry. After graduating from the St. Petersburg Institute of Railways in 1898, he was sent to the Kharkiv Locomotive Plant, where he worked for a short time, later leaving the job of his own volition.

On April 3, 1899, Yu. Lomonosov was confirmed as a full-time engineer of the 9th grade and assistant chief of the main depot of the traction service of the Kharkiv-Mykolayiv Railway. For some time he worked at the Warsaw Polytechnic Institute. In 1901, Yu. Lomonosov was offered to work at the Kyiv Polytechnic Institute as a full-time lecturer and acting extraordinary professor at the Department of Civil Engineering [33, p. 17-19].

Since 1905, after defending his dissertation, Yu.V. Lomonosov begins to study the problems of passenger traffic on the railways in terms of the locomotive service, emphasizing the need to increase the speed of locomotives.

In his monographs Traction Calculations and Scientific Fundamentals of Railway Operation (1912), Yu.

At the same time, the scientist is working on creating a new type of locomotive – an oil locomotive, which would work on the principle of internal combustion engines. In 1913, this project was approved by the Ministry of Railways.

A huge role in the development of the science of electric traction belonged to scientists A. Wolf, G. Graftio and G. Dubeliru [34, p. 49].

From 1905 to 1916 G. Dubelir worked at the Kiev Polytechnic Institute. In his article "Basic principles of designing the profile of railways with electric traction" (1904) from a scientific point of view notes the superiority of electric railways over steam. His work was highly appreciated by Yu. Lomonosov.

It is necessary to note the significant contribution of G. Dubelir in the creation of the first Kiev tram (the first in Russia). In 1910 he developed projects to rebuild the power grid of the Kiev tram [35, p. 129].

An outstanding scientist, G. Dubelir, has repeatedly delivered speeches during the Electrotechnical Congresses. His report "The current state of the issue of the use of electric traction on railways" at the II Electrotechnical Congress (December 1901-January 1902) aroused great interest among those present. He stressed the need to use electric traction on railways, its impact on increasing train speeds.

S. Witte played an important role in the formation of the railway network and the development of scientific thought in the technical support of railways. 44].

After graduating from Odessa University in 1870, S. Witte decided to work on the railways. In a short time, he acquired practical knowledge in the railway business, studying the responsibilities of assistant and chief of the station, controller, traffic auditor, acquainted with freight and passenger traffic, and more. In the management of the Odessa railway he acted as the chief of the movement [4, p.87]. One of his proposals was a recommendation to strengthen the role of the state in regulating private transportation and restricting free competition.

Emperor Alexander II thanked him for the excellent performance of transportation of troops and military cargo during the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878 by Odessa Railway [36, p. 297].

In 1878 S.Yu. Witte takes part in the formation of the Society of South-Western Railways (included Odesa, Kiev-Brest and Brest-Grayev) and is a member of the tariff commission [2, p. 126].

Since 1879, S.Yu. Witte is the head of the operational department on the board of the Society of South-Western Railways in St. Petersburg.

At the same time, he participates in the work of the commission on the study of railway affairs in Russia. On behalf of Count Baranov S. Witte wrote an essay "History and activities of the congresses of representatives of the Russian railways", which was part of the work of this commission [37, p. 579].

In 1880 S.Yu. Witte was appointed chief of operations, and in 1886 - manager of the South-Western Railways. He held this position until 1889. During the period of his leadership, the railways were brought to a high level, their shares increased significantly, the demand for them increased [3, p. 142].

In his book "Principles of railway tariffs for freight" (1883) S.Yu. Witte raises the issue of railway financing and government policy in the field of tariffs, draws attention to the participation of the treasury in private railway construction. Through his actions, he pushed the government to take practical action, to eliminate the deficit and increase the profitability of the railways. And on March 9, 1889, S.Yu. Witte was appointed Director of the Railway Department of the Ministry of Finance and Chairman of the Tariff Committee (15, p. 34).

From 1892 to 1903 S.Yu. Witte served as finance minister. He supports Emperor Alexander III in privatizing the state's private railways, which were bought back during his time at the Ministry of Railways.

He considered erroneous views on the predominance of strategic and political views over financial and economic in the organization of work, and stressed that the lack of necessary savings in the operation of railways and negative attitude to railway tariffs creates chaos in improving railways in Russia [38, p. 514-521]. Back in the 80's of the XIX century. Witte asserted that in the construction of railways, first of all, it is necessary to take into account its economic importance, not military [39, p. 1-4].

A prominent place in the development of the theory and practice of domestic steam locomotive belongs to the scientist – engineer Alexander Parfenovich Borodin.

After graduating from the Institute of Railway Engineers in 1872, O. Borodin began working on the construction of the Riga-Vyazemskaya Railway, after the commissioning of which he was appointed manager.

At the beginning of 1877, O.P. Borodin was offered to head the Kyiv-Brest railway. In 1878, with the formation of the South-Western Railways, O.P. Borodin was appointed chairman of the central board [40, p. 12].

O.P. Borodin was interested in all the affairs of the railway, worked from 7 am to 1 am [41, p. 1-6]. In his article "The purpose of railway workshops and the artificial revival of the railway industry" (1882), he noted the unsatisfactory condition of railway workshops, which must be provided for all for the repair of rolling stock, to be independent of private plants.

In 1879, O. Borodin first organized a mechanical and chemical laboratory on the South-Western Railways. A mechanical laboratory was opened at the Kyiv Railway Workshops, which conducted the necessary tests of the quality of metals and bandages. The chemical laboratory with the participation of Borodin was founded to analyze the quality of water, fuel, coal, was equipped with all necessary equipment [42, p. 77-78].

O. Borodin initiated the main works on the repair of rolling stock in two workshops - Kyiv and Odessa, which were equipped with the necessary mechanisms. This allowed to build not only cars but also steam locomotives in railway workshops.

During the management of the South-Western Railways O.P. Borodin raised workshops and laboratories to a high level among all Russian railways [43, p. 343].

The main idea was to build new rolling stock. In 1880 - 1882 he worked on the implementation of the idea of building a new freight car and platform.

In the 80's of the XIX century. a large number of locomotive series were used on the Russian railways. For example, on the South-Western Railways, their number reached 45, which created difficulties during their repair. That is why O. Borodin insisted on the need to build locomotives on the same projects for all [44, p. 81].

From 1881 on the South-Western Railways at the initiative of Borodin on all locomotives were installed automatic brakes Westinghaus [2, p. 56].

Thanks to O. Borodin in 1882 the world's first locomotive laboratory was opened in Kyiv [45, p. 171], whose workers created the first dynamometer car. Such a laboratory was established by Professor Goss at Pardew University in the United States only in 1891 [46, p. 110].

In 1881, O. Borodin conducted a detailed study of the application of the «Compound» system. The results showed that the use of the machine system «Compound» gives significant fuel savings [47, p. 154]. In 1885, a four-cylinder tandem-compound locomotive of the 2-2-OP type was built on the South-Western Railways under the leadership of Borodin. In America, such locomotives appeared only in 1889. Already in the 90s, a locomotive of this type was distributed on other railways in Russia.

O. Borodin took part in the congresses of engineers of Russian railway rolling stock. Almost all the conventions were chaired by him. He was highly respected for his objectivity, decency, high organization during the meetings themselves, for developing the most important issues. This gave an opportunity to unite people, to help understand the most important issues of railway organization, their material support [48, p. 303, 377].

In 1889, in connection with the transfer of S. Witte to the Ministry of Finance, O. Borodin was appointed manager of the South-Western Railways [49, p. 17-19]. Working in this position, O. Borodin dealt not only with organizational and technical

issues. On his initiative, libraries, schools, and canteens for workers were established on the South-Western Railways. All the time Alexander Parfenovich took care of their financial situation.

He was one of the initiators of the founding of the technical magazine «Engineer», published in Kiev by the Society of Engineers. In 1885, O. Borodin became the editor-in-chief of this magazine in connection with the departure of N. Demchynsky from Kyiv. Most of his articles were published in «Engineer», which was the only independent Russian technical journal.

O. Borodin's theoretical and practical activity was highly appreciated by progressive scientists. In 1902, a locomotive laboratory was established in St. Petersburg on the example of the South-Western Railway Laboratory, named after O. Borodin. In 1907, a gold medal in his name was approved for the most talented railway engineers.

O. Borodin, S. Witte, Y. Lomonosov, G. Dubelir and others, as qualified engineers, played an important role in the formation of railway transport in Ukraine. All of them made a lot of efforts to improve the work of railway transport and laid the foundations of the technical and economic potential that belongs to the Ukrainian state today. Their organizational talent, scientific and technical knowledge and dedication are a model for all subsequent generations of railroad workers and statesmen.

1.3 Training for Ukrainian railways

History of the development of railway transport in Ukraine in the late nineteenth - early twentieth century indicates the need for qualified training of its staff, which should become a national task.

The development of industrial education in Russia in the late XIX - early XX century was caused, on the one hand, by the rapid growth of industrial production, which required specially trained personnel, on the other – increasing interest in vocational education of the general population and awareness of government educational level. Therefore, the creation of industrial education in Russia in the late

XIX - early XX century, despite a number of shortcomings, was the result of a set of scientifically sound, organizationally sound measures by state and public organizations and using private initiative on the ground.

It was during this period, under the influence of the "industrial revolution" that was gaining momentum in Europe, modernization of production, numerous reforms proclaimed by the tsarist government of the Russian Empire, and social challenges. It is important for today to study the regional features of the development of vocational education, the conditions in which the training of skilled workers in the second half of the nineteenth - early twentieth century [17, p. 243].

The reform of 1861 and the rapid development of capitalist relations in industry and agriculture contributed to the emergence of a large number of free labor in Ukraine. It consisted of the poorest part of the peasantry, who were forced to hire day laborers for the landlords or, in search of work, to leave the countryside, as can be seen from Table 1.

Excess of free hands in the Ukrainian provinces

Table 1

№ п/а	**Provinces**	**Surplus labor after the reform of 1861**
1	Volyn	111.312
2	Kyiv	281.065
3	Podilska	258.082
4	Kharkiv	122.715
5	Chernihiv	172.379
6	Ekaterinoslavskaya	167.695
7	Tavrian	268.445
8	Kherson	514.843

Sources: Yavorsky M. Ukraine in the era of capitalism [Electronic copy]. Vyp. 2. On the path of capitalist accumulation / M. Yavorsky. Poltava: State Publishing House of Ukraine, 1925. P. 48-49.

As we can see from the table, in fact in each province there is a large number of "free" workers. Although, according to scientists, the population of the Black Sea provinces found it easier to find work due to the small population of the region.

Only a part of the landless peasantry was able to find a job on the spot: go to hire a landlord or fellow villager, stay with local, non-agricultural, handicrafts, because they were common.

According to estimates by Lavrov Yu. in the 80's of the XIX century from Voronezh, Kursk, Orel, Kyiv, Volyn, Podolsk, Kharkiv and Chernihiv provinces 1423854 people went to work every year [5, p. 44]. In 1889, 34,380 people from the Kyiv province alone went to work, 17,730 of them (51.6%) were employed in field work, and 16,750 (48.4%) - in industry, railways and other industries [6, p. 25].

In 1891 alone, 191.5 thousand people came from the village to earn money: 191.5 thousand from the Kyiv province, 173 thousand from the Poltava province, 164.2 thousand from the Kharkiv province, and – 134.2 thousand from the Chernihiv province. , Podolsk – 108 thousand people. , and only – 771.2 thousand people. [7, p. 65]. A large mass of peasants who did not receive land began to work in factories, sugar industry, coal and metallurgical industries of Donbass.

Also, it should be noted that in the study period the number of plants and factories is growing, while concentrating a large number of workers. Thus, we can analyze the example of the Podolsk province in table 2. [51, p. 29].

Factories and plants of Podolsk province (1862-1886)

Table 2

Years	Number of factories and plants	Number of workers	The cost of annual products
1862	657	6.469	4.147.553
1863	576	7.002	3.338.662
1864	620	7.453	3.400.697
1865	1.297	12.818	3.777.970
1866	776	14.437	5.334.400
1882	2.279	2.3069	26.923.378
1883	3.437	25.274	31.513.172
1884	3.670	26.374	26.739.489
1885	3.604	26.333	27.003.260
1886	3.907	25.321	27.630.170

Sources: Guldman V. Report of the Podolsk Provincial Statistical Committee for 1886 / Compiled by V.K. Guldman. Kamenets-Podolsk, 1888. p. 29.

We can analyze that the growth of the factory industry was sharp in the late 1870s after the Russo-Turkish War.

Construction of the Ukrainian railways began after the 1861 reform to transport grain and coal to other regions and abroad to help landowners.

About 600 thousand workers who previously worked in agriculture, absorbed the construction of railways [8, p. 44]. They worked on the construction of the Kyiv-Baltic, Lozovo-Sevastopol railways and others, were hired individually, in groups, whole villages. On the Lozovo-Sevastopol railway, contractors hired up to 5,000 workers from the peasants under contracts for a period of one year, taking into account the seasonality of agricultural work [52, p. 416].

Railway construction in the Russian Empire required a large amount of labor, because most of its construction processes were performed manually. Railway transport with its deep division of labor, relatively high technical level gave rise to a significant professional separation of railway workers and the emergence of such specialties, which were on the border between workers and employees.

In the late XIX - early XX centuries to a large extent, the replenishment of railway workers was at the expense of their families. Also, the inhabitants of the surrounding villages were hired as switchmen, repairmen, coal miners, conductors, they were less demanding in terms of working conditions and their payment [53, p. 653].

Former servicemen were also employed on the railways. In 1890, 4.4 thousand people (out of a total of 15.6 thousand) worked on the South-Western, Kateryna, Kursk-Kharkiv-Mykolaiv, and Fastiv railways [54, p. 17].

More than a third of all railway staff were skilled workers in railway workshops and depots.

Intensive railway construction required skilled labor, which forced the government to pay attention to the training of specialists in this field. That is why there is a need for educational institutions that would train highly qualified railway personnel.

Until the 70's of the XIX century. the country did not have technical schools that would specifically train workers for the railways. In 1869, under the leadership of the Chief Inspector of Railways Delvig, a commission was set up to consider raising the technical and professional level of railway workers. She has developed a number of proposals, including the recruitment and training of qualified technicians and machinists from among experienced factory workers familiar with the technology.

To provide higher technical education on July 28, 1864, the Institute of Railway Engineers was founded in St. Petersburg, which trained engineers specializing in railway transport, which received mostly children of nobles. A large constellation of scientists-engineers who raised the railway business in Ukraine, such as Yu. Lomonosov, G. Dubelir, O. Borodin and others, emerged from the walls of this institute [35, p. 153-164].

At the same time, the question arises regarding the establishment and financing of technical railway schools. In 1870, the Ministry of Railways together with the Ministry of Finance adopted an agreement to deduct from the gross profit of railways 15 rubles from a mile of operated roads for the development of technical schools [55, p. 17-18].

Despite some financial difficulties, in the 70's of the XIX century in Russia technical railway schools begin to open. They only partially met the needs of the railways for skilled workers, initially preferring to train locomotive drivers, their assistants and track foremen.

In 1869, the training of lower technical personnel for the maintenance and construction of railways began with lower technical railway schools.

In 1870, the Kharkiv Technical School was the first in Ukraine to operate, admitting people aged 13 to 19. In addition to general education, mandatory technical disciplines were taught: locomotive construction and maintenance; general information on the construction of railways and telegraph services. The school trained specialists for traction and road repair services 100 students studied in it [16, p. 43].

In 1870, the Ministry of Railways decided to annually deduct from the profits of the railways for 15 rubles from each mile for the arrangement and maintenance of

railway schools. This decision had a positive effect on the development of schools throughout the country and at the beginning of 1917 there were 47 lower technical iron schools in the empire (nine of them in Ukraine), which trained drivers, conductors, rolling stock and track repairmen, and other support staff. [23, p. 146].

The creation of the first railway schools was an exceptional initiative of the railway owners. Until 1886, these institutions were maintained. Schools had a primitive appearance and were mostly based at depots or railway workshops. All schools differed from each other in terms of curricula and facilities. In addition, most of them did not look like technical schools.

In 1879, the Ministry of Railways approved a program of teaching in railway schools. It provided for a six-year training course. One year was devoted to the preparatory class, three years – training in technical classes, two years – acquaintance with the service on the railway or in workshops [56, p. 146].

Despite the stable development of the network of railway schools, the regulations governing the rules of their formation and operation were approved only in 1886. In the same year, most railway schools were subordinated to the Ministry of Railways [55, p. 37-38]. The following year, uniform curricula were approved for them. In 1894, the Ministry of Railways approved a new curriculum that divided railway schools into general and construction.

The 1886 regulations provided for a five-year training course. For three years, students studied in classrooms, and the next two – in railway workshops. However, not all graduates went to work in the specialty. Thus, of the 7,747 graduates of 1898, only 60.3% expressed a desire to work on the railroad. Most of the graduates held the positions of steam locomotive drivers, assistant drivers and road foremen [55, p. 52].

The activities of secondary railway schools of that time can be analyzed on the example of Catherine's Railway. The first schools on the road appeared in 1889–1890 at Katerynoslav and Hryshyno stations, initiated by employees themselves who were willing to voluntarily deduct part of their earnings from school maintenance (for example, an employee who received 20 rubles a month donated 10 kopecks).

Such a low fee was set to make schooling available to employees of all categories. These reimbursements accounted for half of the cost of maintaining the schools, the other half was allocated annually by the treasury in the form of financial aid, premises for schools with heating and lighting. Employees' cash benefits were a significant addition to the Treasury's cash aid, which enabled the Road Administration to: a) increase the number of schools on the lines each year; b) better pay for teaching work, respectively invite more qualified and experienced teachers; c) to introduce into the course of study such practical classes as needlework and cooking for girls and carpentry and metalwork for boys [23, p. 144].

At the same time, the development of railway networks required an increasing number of skilled railway builders and support staff. To solve this problem, the Ministry of Railways initiated the creation of two railway schools in the south of Ukraine with intensive teaching of construction – Mykolaiv and Sevastopol. It should be noted that at the end of the XIX century in the Russian Empire only these two schools trained railway builders.

Mykolayiv Technical Railway School began its work in 1894. One group (up to 30 students) was admitted to the school every year. It was quite popular among the population, as evidenced by the fact that in the 1899-1900 academic year, 82 applications were submitted for 36 places. The tuition fee was symbolic – 10 rubles. per year [17, p. 30].

The average age of students was 16-18 years. In the first year of the school, only 3 of 29 students were children of railway workers, others – from the families of the clergy, farmers, artisans, merchants, etc. [57, p. 10].

The reason for this disparity was the poverty of railway workers, who did not have the financial means to send their children to school. To support low-income students, in 1897 a guardianship was opened at the school, which the following year opened a dormitory, where 40 students lived in the 1899-1900 school year. The monthly fee for living in a dormitory was 11-12 rubles. [17, p. 30].

The educational process in technical railway schools lasted 5 years and was divided into two stages: the first stage – training at the school, the second stage – two

years of internship. During the course, students studied general, special disciplines and mastered crafts.

The school was in full state support. For example, in the 1897-1898 academic year, 1,489 rubles were spent on his needs. 93 kopecks, most of which are for the payment of full-time employees (11,109 rubles 65 kopecks). Own income was meager, and mainly consisted of tuition fees (675 rubles.) [17, p. 31].

Another way of training workers for the needs of the railway was apprenticeships in railway workshops and depots, where young people acquired practical skills in rolling stock maintenance and mastered the locksmith, carpenter, turner or painter.

For example, boys aged 15-17 (mostly from railway families) were admitted to the workshops of the Kursk-Kharkiv-Sevastopol Railway for a five-year term. To enter, they provided a certificate of completion of primary school or passed the appropriate exam. Illiterate children were not accepted. At the initial stage, the training was carried out by students practicing practical exercises under the supervision of a master mentor, and therefore they had to work daily at the level of workers (10 hours or more). Lack of theoretical training made such training ineffective [17, p. 32].

The unsatisfactory financial situation of the vast majority of railway workers made it impossible for them to try to provide their children with a decent secondary education so that they could continue their education at the Technical Railway School. Therefore, only 28% of all children of railway employees studied in the relevant schools. To solve this problem, the Ministry of Railways has introduced preparatory classes and student dormitories at schools [55, p. 44, 48, 50].

In 1909, new curricula were adopted, which provided for the creation of three departments in schools: mechanical, electrical and construction. The mechanical department trained machinists, masters of locomotive repair, the electrical department – alarm technicians, telegraphs, electrical machines, lighting [58, p. 112].

In 1912, the Regulations on Railway Schools of the Traffic Service were approved, which were to train secondary agents for the traffic service: commercial clerks, weightlifters, cashiers, telegraphists, technical traffic clerks, station chiefs and their assistants, taxi drivers, and transmission agents.

In order to increase the education of employees of railway depots and workshops, directly next to them, the owners established free courses, where workers could gain working skills without leaving work.

Railway schools can also be attributed to lower technical schools, as these institutions have similar curricula, terms of study and qualification levels of graduates [17, p. 85]. Among other lower vocational schools, railway schools have made significant progress in organizing educational work and the quality of student learning. In addition, they were very popular among young people. However, they also had shortcomings, in particular the low level of general education of students.

With the construction of the Kiev-Odessa railway (1870-1871) similar technical schools were opened in Kiev, Odessa. The training program provided for the training of skilled workers of various specialties to service the railway [10, p. 12].

In 1871 a railway school was opened in Odessa for the training of machinists, road builders, car inspectors, telegraphists and draftsmen.

When entering the school, preference was given to the children of railway workers who graduated from the city school. Both residents of Odessa and people from line stations were received. A dormitory for 70 people was provided for non-locals. The school had two groups of students – mechanical and telegraphic, each of which had 30 people. The training lasted for three years, and after graduation about 25 specialists graduated. The curriculum was expanded.

Students were provided with basic knowledge about the construction of the railway, the organization of train traffic, commercial activities, as well as taught special subjects. For mechanics – algebra, geometry, drawings, basics of mechanics and heat engineering, water supply equipment, steam locomotive and car. Telegraphists studied the basics of electrical engineering, office work, information transmission equipment, mechanics, station equipment. All three years the obligatory subjects were the Law of God, Russian literature. A well-equipped locksmith's workshop and foundry were set up to acquire skills at the school. In the last year of study, a six-month internship on the railway or in workshops was envisaged. There was no summer vacation. Discipline among students was maintained. For example, for a misdemeanor a student could get

a ruler on his hands or was forced to kneel in a corner with textbooks in his outstretched hands. The graduates of the school first became locksmiths in the depot, and later could apply for the positions of drivers, depot duty officers, car masters and senior car inspectors.

At the same time, railway companies were looking for simpler and cheaper ways to provide themselves with skilled workers. For example, in the early 70s of the XIX century at the workshop of the Odessa Railway organized training of young people in metalwork, copper, blacksmithing, foundry, turning, carpentry, wallpaper, painting and the ability to service boilers.

Boys aged 14-18 were recruited, mostly from the children of workshop and railway workers. The term of study was 4 years. The seriousness of the process of selecting future students can be evidenced by two points: 1) a list of documents that had to be submitted to the administration, a certificate of completion (if any); 2) the entrant had to study all four years. In case of early termination of education, his parents had to reimburse the workshop for 25 rubles. for each year of study, about which they wrote a receipt [17, p.17].

In 1873 at Art Olviopil Kherson province opened a railway school for the training of railway masters [59, p. 13]. In 1874, a technical railway school began to operate on its basis, the graduates of which after a three-year theoretical course had to work on the railway for two years and only then received a certificate of education [60, p. 213].

Children from different social strata and groups studied in schools. Thus, in 1877 in Kharkiv, Odessa and Olviopil technical railway schools 238 students were divided by social status: 103 – from the nobility, clergy and merchants, from the burghers – 97 students, from the peasants – 14, from former soldiers – 8. Other 16 students – children of foreigners [61, p. 108].

In 1878, the Ministry of Railways convened a congress of representatives of railway companies and teachers, which considered the most important issues and problems of educational institutions and approved standards for the number of teaching

hours, the distribution of subjects. In August 1879, these programs were approved by the Minister and introduced in all railway schools in Russia [62, p. 9].

New railway schools continued to open in Ukraine, as the demand for skilled workers was not met by existing facilities. Thus, in 1878 such a school began to operate in Kremenchug, Poltava province [63, pp.12-16]. In 1881 began training and retraining of technical staff for railways Donetsk Technical Railway School in Lugansk, Ekaterinoslav province [64, p. 130].

The Ministry of Railways continued to work on further improving technical education. From 1881 to 1886, the Ministry considered the draft "Regulations on Technical Railway Schools", which was later approved by the State Council. In 1887, all Russian schools began to operate in accordance with the new regulations, which allocated 13,200 rubles annually for the maintenance of each technical institution in Ukraine. According to this provision, only citizens of the Russian Empire aged 14 to 17 were admitted to technical railway schools.

The obligatory condition for enrollment in an educational institution was graduation from a city school or gymnasium. Entrants took exams in mathematics and Russian. The term of study in such schools lasted five years. After completing a three-year course, students of the Technical Railway School received certificates and went on a two-year internship, during which they acquired the appropriate specialization. Yes, in 1901. out of 179 trainees of railway schools on four railways of Ukraine (South-West, Kursk-Kharkiv-Sevastopol, Kateryna and Kharkiv-Mykolaiv) 124 people specialized in traction service (70%), 23 (12%) in track and construction repair service and 32 people (18%) - on other railway services [13, p. 52].

In 1890, a technical school was opened in Konotop, Kursk-Kyiv Railway, where the level of teaching was quite high. Only specialists with higher technical education had the right to teach special technical subjects. This is evidenced by the success rate of up to 95%, in contrast to other schools, where it remained at 30-50% [65, p. 355].

In 1896, at the request of the board of the Lozovo-Sevastopol Railway Company, a railway school was opened in Sevastopol to improve the skills of personnel. Its graduates received the specialty of railway construction technicians [55, p. 19].

Thus, for the period from 1870 to 1896 in Ukraine were opened 9 technical railway schools, while in Russia there were 33 [10, p. 15]. The number of students was constantly increasing. If in 1888 1443 students studied in all schools of Ukraine, then in 1898 - 2825 students [66, p. 35].

To increase the number of students in the late 90's of the XIX century dormitories were opened in technical schools, as most parents could not keep their children in private apartments due to financial difficulties. In this case, the railway companies went to meet those wishing to learn.

Nevertheless, the opening of technical railway schools did not make it possible to provide the railways with highly qualified personnel.

Higher engineering education, as already mentioned, was provided by the St. Petersburg Institute of Railway Engineers. One of its graduates O.E. Betulinsky worked in the management of the Kyiv district of railways. Since 1877, initially holding the position of chief engineer and deputy manager of the Kyiv-Kharkiv-Azov Railway, he has improved the condition of railway lines and reduced operating costs. A graduate of the Kursk-Kharkiv-Azov (1866-1870) and Lozovo-Sevastopol (1872-1874) railways worked on the construction of this university. Stempinsky, making every effort to improve the situation on this railway network [13, p. 108].

High rates of industrial development in southern Russia in the second half of the XIX century and the spread of railway construction revealed the need to establish higher technical educational institutions in Ukraine. On March 14, 1897, the tsar issued an order to open a polytechnic institute in Kyiv. Those who had a certificate of completion of gymnasiums and other secondary schools were admitted to the entrance exams.

From the first years of its existence, the engineering and construction and mechanical departments of the institute were staffed by a prominent specialist in the field of locomotive engineering, Professor Yu. Lomonosov and G. Dubelir – a prominent specialist in the field of road construction and electric transport theory.

The term of study at the Kyiv Polytechnic Institute was 4 years. The work of scientific and technical circles and a large library on the construction and operation of

railway networks played an important role in the training of highly qualified engineers, where students expanded their knowledge and got acquainted with the achievements in industry at that time. The first to form an engineering circle (January 1902), in which professors G.D. Dubelir, E.O. Paton and others. Under the guidance of Professor O.O. Radziga started a mechanical circle.

At the meetings of these groups listened to and discussed the reports of professors and students on the achievements of science and technology [10, p. 16-25]. During the year, excursions to the railway were organized for students. In 1902, under the leadership of Professor Yu.V. Lomonosov, organized an internship for students onthe East China Railway.

Students were heterogeneous in their social background. According to estimates Stepanovich EP most students were from the nobility, as in other higher educational institutions (in 1898 – 47.7% of the total number of students, in 1913 – 36.2%). In 1898, 34.6% of burghers studied, and in 1913 – 27.0%. The lowest number of students camefrom Cossack families – 1.2% and 2.8%, respectively [11, p. 59].

For the poorest students, whose living conditions were difficult (high tuition fees -100 rubles per year, exorbitant fees for apartments, meals), a member of the commission on higher technical institutions D.I. Mendeleev introduced a clause on the right of the institute's council to exempt from tuition fees about half of the students who needed it. This provision was used by the first rector of Kyiv Polytechnic Institute V.L. Kirpychev in 1903, who formed a society to help students at the institute. Teachers and professors helped low-income students with money every year. For example, in 1903 this assistance amounted to 5,112 rubles, in 1911 – already 6,245 rubles. [11, p. 62].

At the beginning of the XX century Kyiv Polytechnic Institute was the only higher education institution in Ukraine that trained specialists for roads. During the period from 1903 to 1912 the institute graduated 549 mechanical engineers [67, p. 13]. Despite the increase in the number of specialists trained by this institute, there was a shortage of them in transport, which had a negative impact on the activities and further development of this sector of the economy.

1.4 Schools for children of railway workers

With the development of the railway network, the number of employees and their families increased, and many social issues arose, one of which was the upbringing and education of children. Many children could not even get a secondary education due to the small number of schools in cities and towns, at railway stations. Only the children of senior employees who received higher salaries could hire a private tutor. Therefore, at many stations, employees and workers themselves tried to create small schools without sparing the last funds for their maintenance. Thus, in the early 70's of the XIX century at the Zdolbunove station of the Kyiv-Brest railway a private school for the education of children of lower employees was opened, in which not only children of this station studied [68, p. 2].

In 1875 it was decided to open such schools in Kiev, Kozyatyn, Zdolbuniv. The Rules for the Establishment of Such Schools stated that tuition should be free, with only 25 kopecks for library services per month. Accordingly, the curriculum in this school taught the Law of God, Russian language, arithmetic, Russian history, geography, art, drawings, spiritual and secular singing [68, p. 5].

According to the report on the educational activities of schools and colleges on the South-Western Railways at the end of 1907 their number was 30 (17 two-class 13 one-class), the total number of students was 5,125 people (3,395 boys and 1,730 girls) [68, p. 32].

Thus, in 1903, 78,590 rubles were allocated from the South-Western Railway for the maintenance of schools and dormitories, in 1904 – 81,050 rubles, in 1905 – 83,135 rubles. [69, p. 3].

As of January 1, 1909, there were 8,777 students in 35 schools of the South-Western Railways, which can be traced from Table 3 and table. 4.

Number of schools as of January 1, 1909

Table 3

№ n/a	Name schools	Discharge	Year of opening	Province
1	Kyiv	Two-class city	1876-1890-1899	Kyiv
2	Zdolbunivske	-//-	1877-1884-1905	Volyn
3	Kovel	-//-	1897-1904	-//-
4	Bender	Two-class rural	1899-1901	Bessarabian
5	Birzulske	-//-	1882-1883	Kherson
6	Bobrynske	-//-	1897-1899	Kyiv
7	Limestone	-//-	1897-1899	Podilska
8	Goltyanske	-//-	1893-1897	Kherson
9	Zhmerynske	-//-	1890	Podilska
10	Kazatinske	-//-	1878-1895	Kyiv
11	Korsunske	-//-	1899-1906	-//-
12	Kryzhopilske	-//-	1898	Podilska
13	Odessa	-//-	1893-1896	Kherson
14	Oknytske	-//-	1897	Bessarabian
15	Separate	-//-	1885-1901	Kherson
16	Rovno	-//-	1906-1908	Volyn
17	Sarpenske	-//-	1903-1907	-//-
18	Smilyanske	-//-	1907	Kyiv
19	Fastiv	-//-	1898-1900	-//-
20	Khrystynivske	-//-	1896-1905	-//-
21	Baltic	classmate	1898	Kherson
22	Biletske	-//-	1906	Bessarabian
23	Vinnytsia	-//-	1906	Podilska
24	Volochyske	-//-	1893	Volyn
25	Kiveretske	-//-	1899	-//-
26	Mogilev	-//-	1898	Podilska
27	Nemishayevske	-//-	1907	Kyiv
28	Novoselytske	-//-	1908	Bessarabian
29	Pechanivske	-//-	1907	Volyn
30	Radziwill	-//-	1906	-//-
31	Rybninske	-//-	1906	Podilska
32	Slobidske	-//-	1900	-//-
33	Troyanivske	-//-	1906	Bessarabian
34	Ungheni	-//-	1899	-//-
35	Florest	-//-	1898	-//-

Sources: Educational Institutions on the South-Western Railways [Electronic copy]: (1878–1903). Department 1. Kyiv: Ed. ed. "Herald of the South-West. railways "(Tour. T-va IN Kushnerev and Co.), 1904. p. 30-31; Report on the state of educational institutions for 1908 / South-Western Railways. Kyiv: Type. S.V. Kulzhenko, 1909. 134, p. 98-99.

As we see from table 3, schools are divided into categories:

a / two-class city: Kyiv, Zdolbuniv, Kovel

b/ second-class rural: Bender, Birzul, Bobryn, Vapnyar, Goltyan, Zhmeryn, Kazatin, Korsun, Kryzhopil, Odessa, Oknytsia, Rozdilne Rivne, Sarpen, Smilyan, Fastiv, Khrysty

c / single-class rural: Biletsk, Vinnytsia, Volochysk, Kiveretsk, Mohyliv, Nemishayev, Novoselytsia, Pechaniv, Radziwill, Rybn, Slobid, Troyaniv, Ungen, Florest.

What is the difference between a one-grade and a two-grade school? The difference is in the duration of training. In one-class schools - three years of study, all students are divided into 3 groups, and after graduation receive a privilege of the 3rd category for military service. In two-grade schools, students study for 5 years, all children are divided into 5 groups, and after graduation receive a 2nd category privilege for military service.

Almost all schools in the South-Western Railways belong to the type of mixed educational institutions, ie boys and girls study there at the same time, and there is a significant advantage in the number of boys on the side. In two-grade schools with a large number of students, girls are taught separately from boys, and in one-grade schools, they study together.

At the beginning of his activity, the girls studied at the Odessa school together with the boys, but six months later they were transferred to the premises of the parish school [70, p. 35].

Schools were divided according to educational districts and provinces, respectively:

1. In the Kyiv educational district – 23 schools (in the Kiev province – 8, Volyn – 8, Podolsk – 7).

2. In the Odessa educational district 12 schools (in the Bessarabian province –7, Kherson – 5). [70, p. 10].

The number of children enrolled in schools as of January 1, 1909

Table 4

№ п/а	Name schools	Number of students	Number of students per teacher	Number of groups in the school	How many students are engaged in the first shift
1	Zdolbunivske	1025	45	22	716
2	Kovel	835	42	19	532
3	Bender	441	37	11	441
4	Birzulske	443	40	10	276
5	Bobrynske	552	43	13	3987
6	Limestone	342	38	8	300
7	Goltyanske	231	46	6	231
8	Zhmerynske	259	37	7	162
9	Kazatinske	638	38	15	365
10	Korsunske	732	46	16	367
11	Kryzhopilske	214	31	7	139
12	Odessa	180	44	6	180
13	Oknytske	366	37	9	214
14	Separate	291	49	6	233
15	Rovno	222	37	6	181
16	Sarpenske	180	36	5	180
17	Smilyanske	249	41	6	141
18	Fastiv	280	35	7	280
19	Khrystynivske	272	45	6	272
20	Baltic	234	40	6	146
21	Biletske	46	46	3	46
22	Vinnytsia	38	38	3	38
23	Volochyske	84	42	4	83
24	Kiveretske	56	56	3	56
25	Mogilev	58	58	3	58
26	Nemishayevske	55	55	3	55
27	Novoselytske	35	35	3	35
28	Pechanivske	45	46	3	45
29	Radziwill	53	27	3	53
30	Rybninske	61	31	4	61
31	Slobidske	45	45	3	45
32	Troyanivske	71	35	4	71
33	Ungheni	35	35	3	35
34	Florest	70	35	4	70
35	Zdolbunivske	36	36	3	36
	Total	**8777**	**40** (In average)	**238**	**6546**

Sources: Educational Institutions on the South-Western Railways [Electronic copy]: (1878–1903). Department 1. Kyiv: Ed. ed. "Herald of the South-West. railways "(Tour. T-va IN Kushnerev and Co.), 1904. p. 30-31; Report on the state of educational institutions for 1908 / South-Western Railways. Kyiv: Type. S.V. Kulzhenko, 1909. 134, p. 100-103.p.

In addition, it should be noted that out of 8,777 students - boys 5,701 (65%), girls - 3,076 (35%).

By classes of children are distributed:

a) in the first grade of two-grade schools and in single-grade schools 6,667 students, including boys - 4,126 people. (62%), girls - 2,541 people. (38%).

b) 2,110 students study in the second grade of two-grade schools, including 1,575 boys (75%) and 535 girls (25%).

According to religion, students are divided into:

a) Orthodox - 7,753 people. (5,049 hl .; 2,704 d.).

b) Catholics - 932 people. (585 hl .; 347 d.).

c) other religions - 92 people. (57 hl .; 25 d.).

The average cost of education in 1908 per student, respectively - 10 rubles. 66 kop. for six months. In two-grade schools, the lowest cost is 8 rubles. 95 k. (Sarni), the highest - 11 rubles. 68 k. (Golta); in classmates - 8 rubles. 92 k. (Vinnytsia) and 19 rubles. 83 k. (Balti) [69, p. 37].

The average cost of tuition in 1909 per student at the school - 21 rubles. 92 kop. [70, p. 11].

There were dormitories at 15 schools: Baltic, Bender, Birzul, Bobryn, Vapnyar, Goltyan, Zhmeryn, Zdolbuniv, Kozyatyn, Kovel, Korsun, Kryzhopil, Oknytsia, Troyaniv and Khrystyniv.

Dormitories were part of the railway schools because many employees did not have their own housing and were forced to live in small stations and races.

Kyiv Two-Class City School was opened the first of all schools on the South-Western Railways (1876), is one of the largest in number of students. In the first year, 60 children were admitted. In 1884, 108 people were already enrolled in the school. According to paragraph 4 of the Charter, schools began to accept girls. Training was free.

As of January 1, 1909, there were 1,025 students: 678 boys and 347 girls. Compared to the previous year, the number of students decreased significantly by 32. 153 children were admitted to the preparatory group.

Kyiv school was in great demand. Only children of railway workers were admitted. Children of other categories of the population are prohibited from entering the Kyiv School. In 1908 - 1909 Due to the lack of vacancies, 124 children who dreamed of joining the preparatory group were denied admission. Up to 60% of those wishing to study are denied admission to the school almost every year.

Classes at the school are held in two shifts due to the lack of free classes. Evening change is problematic. And the premises are not suitable for normal classes: low ceilings, poor lighting.

The maintenance of the school costs on January 1, 1909 in the amount of 23,256 rubles. per year. Expenditures per student per year reach an average of 22 rubles. 09 kop. [70, p. 25].

For the reporting year 1909, the school was divided into men's and women's, with preparatory classes and parallel departments. The school itself was located in 4 rooms, one of which can be called exemplary, the other had to meet sanitary standards.

Zdolbuniv City Two-Class School was opened on September 15, 1877 on the initiative of the Kyiv-Brest Railway Department in accordance with the program of single-class parish schools of the 4th category. In the first year, 60 children were enrolled: 42 boys and 18 girls. As of January 1, 1909, their number was 835 students (528 boys, 307 girls). In terms of the number of students, it ranked second among other similar educational institutions. Compared with 1908, the number of students increased by 60 people.

190 people were admitted to the preparatory group. The number of groups was increased to 19. The number of teachers was increased accordingly. One of the teachers received a salary from the local budget. The school was located in two rooms (8th and 5th grades), which were specially built. The total number of classes is 13, and groups of 19. Therefore, children study in two shifts: in the first - 13 groups (532 students), in the second (afternoon) - 6 groups (303 students) [68, p. 32].

The high demand for admission to this school is shown in Table 5.

Number of students of Zdolbuniv School (1878-1895)

Table 5

Year	Number of students	boys	girls
1878	71	53	18
1879	87	63	24
1880	95	66	29
1881	98	62	36
1882	100	66	34
1883	100	65	35
1885	150	101	49
1886	163	108	55
1887	184	117	67
1888	243	150	93
1889	272	170	102
1890	281	190	91
1892	263	187	76
1893	268	187	81
1894	267	181	86
1895	273	189	84

Sources: Educational Institutions on the South-Western Railways [Electronic copy]: (1878–1903). Department 1. Kyiv: Ed. ed. "Herald of the South-West. railways "(Tour. T-va IN Kushnerev and Co.), 1904. p. 10-13.

In 1884 there was a big event for the school – its transfer from one-class to two-class type. And as we see from the table of those wishing to enter this school is growing every year. Therefore, the question arose to increase the space for classrooms, which was done in 1886.

In 1895, a student orchestra was organized at the school, which enrolled everyone.

From 1897 to 1908, additional subjects were taught at the school: weaving skills, needlework, singing, gymnastics, and accounting.

In 1899, a dormitory was opened at the school, and premises were rented in a residential building owned by the South-Western Railways.

There are many Catholic students in the school (77 people). Therefore, the teaching of the Law of God was led by a priest. In 1908, additional subjects were taught needlework, singing, German, and hygiene.

Students whose parents live far from the station were provided with a dormitory, paid 550 rubles per year [70, p. 42].

Two-class city school at st. **Kovel** in two specially built stone buildings. The two-storey building, which consists of 10 rooms, houses a boys 'school, classes of the girls' school, two rooms for teachers and libraries. The preparatory class of the women's school was located in a one-story building. Classrooms are spacious and bright. Unfortunately, there was no assembly hall where children could spend their free time and hold literary evenings.

As of January 1, 1909, the school had 441 students (266 boys and 176 girls). In 1908, 27 people graduated from the school, 66 people were admitted to the preparatory group. 63 children were denied admission to the school [70, p. 28].

Kozyatyn two-class village school was opened in 1878, although it was planned to open in 1876. At first it was just a one-class parish school, located in one of the premises of the railway station. The building was two-story: on the first floor lived teachers, on the second - two classrooms, a library, a room for teachers. The first group accepted 63 students: 35 boys and 28 girls. In 1888, the number of those wishing to attend school increased to 93, although many had to be denied admission due to lack of space.

Only in 1898, when the school received an excellent room for study, although it was not enough to teach anyone. Therefore, classes were held in two shifts.

In 1902-1903, 313 boys and 225 girls studied at the school [68, p. 14-16].

Bender two-class village school. As of January 1, 1909, there were 443 students (322 boys and 121 girls). Compared with 1907, their number increased by 35 people.

Zhmerynka Two-Class Rural School Zhmerynka Station is located 3-4 miles from the villages of Velyka and Mala Zhmerynka. Such a school had to be opened for the children of the lower classes. The first private one-class school appeared in Zhmerynka in the early 1980s. It was maintained at the expense of tuition fees and a subsidy issued by the South-Western Railway Company in the amount of 600 rubles.

On August 30, 1890, the Society of South-Western Railways opened the Zhmerynka two-class school as a two-class rural school. A stone house with 3 classrooms, a teacher's room and two apartments was specially built for this purpose.

Unfortunately, there was no space for a library, and the rooms were not very comfortable to study.

If in the first year of opening the school received 162 students, in 1895 the number of students increased to 321, which led to the invitation of another teacher.

In 1898, craft carpentry and weaving classes were opened at the school, and a telegraph school was opened.

A wonderful orchestra was created in the school, the shareholders of the local railway shop donate 400-600 rubles a year, and 1,800 rubles were collected for musical instruments.

In addition, it should be noted that the school has a wonderful, beautiful library, equipped with textbooks. The poorest children receive free textbooks. In 1902-1903, 387 boys and 159 girls studied at the Zhmerynka School [68, p. 24].

Odessa two-class rural school. The school was opened on March 5, 1893 on the initiative of the former head of the school department of the South-Western Railways A. Krause. This school was located at the Odesa-Tovarnaya station, that is, in the area where only railway workers lived. At that time there were only two schools in Odessa itself, so it was difficult for railway children to enter and study there. In the first year, 2 groups of 98 students (83 boys and 15 girls) were opened.

In 1896 the number of students increased to 290, so we had to open a parallel department and hire another teacher. There were not enough classrooms, so the students had to study in the second shift, in the afternoon. Classes ended at 5 pm, it was difficult for both students and teachers.

Some students used the dormitory of the technical railway school, but there were not many of them (22 out of 290 students) [68, p. 24-25].

The Goltyansk two-class village school was opened in 1892 at private expense and withheld tuition fees. When the number of students increased to 25, the Road Administration decided to issue a subsidy of 450 rubles. per year.

In 1897 this school existed as a one-class school, but in 1898 it was reorganized into a two-class village school. For 1902-1903 n.r. 82 boys and 53 girls studied in it [70, p. 41-42].

Volochysk single-class folk school began operating in 1893. It was funded by tuition fees and voluntary donations from local officials. In 1902-1903, 16 boys and 19 girls studied there.

Khrystynivka One-Class Folk School was founded at Khrystynivka Station in 1896. The road board gave him a small classroom, and officials agreed to keep it at their own expense. In 1902-1903, 16 boys and 39 girls studied there [68, p. 27].

Bobryn two-class village school began to work and teach children as a primary school, which was funded by the board of Fastiv Railway. In 1897 it became known as the South-Western Railways. From the second half of 1899 this school was reorganized as a two-class village.

In 1902-1903, 168 boys and 97 girls studied there.

It should be noted that students who complete a full course of study are not always satisfied with the knowledge gained. Therefore, they enter technical railway schools or other educational institutions.

According to statistics, the main contingent of students in schools are children and relatives of railway employees. Other children are admitted to schools only if there are vacancies with the permission of the railway chief.

Unfortunately, not all children of employees and workers have the opportunity to attend these schools due to overcrowding. As early as 1887, rules were adopted according to which the children of railway workers who were injured in the service were admitted to schools in the first place.

As we can see from the analysis of the activities of railway schools and colleges, the program of teaching basic subjects includes ancillary ones, such as: metalwork, carpentry, turning, knowledge of which will help graduates to enter the technical railway school. The boys of the senior groups with great pleasure are engaged in mastering various kinds of crafts. However, handicrafts are taught only in 7 schools: Kyiv, Birzul, Bobryn, Zhmeryn, Zdolbuniv, Starosel, Kryzhopil [68, p. 38].

Sewing, needlework, embroidery and knitting items have been specially introduced for girls in schools, which will be most useful for their future family life. Therefore, experienced seamstresses were specially invited to teach these subjects in

schools. Girls study with great pleasure. At the end of the school year, products made by their hands are sold. So, they already have their own earnings.

No less important in schools are the subjects related to aesthetic education: teaching music and singing, which students enjoy doing. Many schools have their own student orchestras: Kozyatyn, Zdolbuniv, Zhmeryn and others. In schools, children are engaged in choral singing, having great fun. Often student choirs perform in nearby churches on holidays and Sundays [68, p. 40].

All schools have libraries, which are replenished annually with new books that help to gain additional knowledge and broaden the horizons of students.

In 1906, the "Rules on Committees and Local Trustees for the Management of Educational Institutions on State Railways" were published, approved by the Minister of Railways on January 13, 1906 on the South-Western Railways. N. Anichkiv was appointed head of the school department [69, p. 1-2].

An important measure to support parents whose children study in secondary schools was the issuance of assistance to employees in the amount of 780 rubles. from the Committee [70, p. 6].

It should be noted that the following educational and charitable organizations operated on the South-Western Railways:

1. 35 schools and 15 dormitories at them
2. Dormitories at technical schools: Kyiv, Odessa, Bender
3. Boarding house for children of employees studying in secondary schools of Kyiv.
4. Orphanage for employees in Kyiv and preparatory school.
5. Organization of mutual assistance to needy children and relatives of employees on the South-Western Railways
6. Class of evening classes with workers at the Kyiv Railway School
7. Sunday readings in Kyiv, Odessa and other major stations
8. Evening special courses for employees of the Office
9. Technical library for employees of the Office
10. Joint library for employees of the Office

11. Libraries at large stations.

The above institutions acted independently [70, p. 9].

It is also necessary to note the difficulties faced by schools. Particularly unsatisfactory conditions in schools that are open at the following stations:

1. Kozyatin. The school is designed for 300 people and has 6 classrooms. During the reporting period, 732 people study there, so 2 additional private premises were rented, 6 groups were forced to practice in the afternoon.

2. Zhmerinka. The school has 9 classrooms for 400 people, 703 students, 6 groups are forced to study in the afternoon.

3. Korsun. The school has 3 classrooms. 4 groups are forced to practice in the summer rotunda, in the auditorium, on the stage [69, p. 22-23].

4. Be brave. The school is located in a private house (payment 1100 rubles), 7 study rooms, 302 students in the school. Although many want to enter this school, the management had to refuse due to lack of educational facilities.

5. Odessa. The school is located in the dormitory of the technical school, 5 classrooms should accommodate 9 groups, so 4 groups are engaged in the afternoon.

6. Golta. The school is located in the premises of the technical school, there are only 4 rooms, and groups - 6, that is, 2 groups are forced to study in the afternoon. It is necessary to build a new school building.

7. Khrystynivka. The house where the school is located is not suitable for children. It has 231 children, there are only 4 classrooms, so 2 are forced to study in the afternoon. Also, it is not possible to provide teachers with accommodation.

8. Separate. The school has only 4 classrooms, groups - 6, ie, 2 more, one group is engaged before lunch in the hallway, the second - in the afternoon.

Many students have a desire to continue their education after graduation, but due to lack of wealth do not have such an opportunity, among them many talented, intelligent children.

Simultaneously with technical schools and higher educational institutions, special schools were opened for the training of lower railway service personnel. On August 12, 1876, by order of the manager of the Kyiv-Baltic Railway, a decision was

made to open schools for the children of lower-ranking officials in Kyiv and Kozyatyn. Education in these schools was free, only for books students paid 25 kopecks. A two-class city school was opened in Kyiv. If in 1884 it had 108 students, then in 1902-1903. - 398 boys and girls who received special primary education. A school of the same type was opened in Zdolbuniv, where the number of children increased from 60 to 190 in 1877-1890 [71, p. 10].

In 1890 in Zhmerynka, and in 1898 in Fastiv the Society of South-Western Railways opened a two-class railway school. According to the program of these educational institutions, students studied the Law of God, mathematics, literature as in elementary school. Similar schools were opened at Art. Kivertsi (1899), at Art. Korsun (1898), at st. Limestone of the South-Western Railways. These schools were formed especially for the children of employees at the expense of the railway [72, p. 2-7].

By 1900, 31 schools had been opened on the South-Western Railways, where the children of employees were educated. Minors were taught the basics of literacy, arithmetic, and young people were prepared to work on rail transport. Similar schools were founded in Katerynoslav, Poltava, Kremenchug, Popasna and other cities [73, p. 10].

Until 1902, the South-Western Railways also practiced enrollment in evening courses without exams. For two years, students studied history, Russian literature, business, geography, accounting in the railway, railway law, mathematics, statistics, mechanics and other subjects, of which at the end of the exams [74, p. 14].

At the same time, drivers and their assistants were trained at railway workshops. To become a locomotive driver or his assistant, workers passed special exams. At the same time, technical libraries were established on the railways, which enabled workers to follow the new technical achievements in the railway business. The use of such a library for railway employees was free [75, p. 108].

Conclusions

Summing up, it should be noted that in the late nineteenth century – at the beginning of the XX century. A large number of educational institutions were formed, starting from the Kyiv Polytechnic Institute, technical railway schools and schools, as well as evening courses, training at railway workshops, classes in libraries, for training and retraining of the railway network in Ukraine.

We give a special role to scientists and railway workers. All of them made a lot of efforts to improve the work of railway transport and laid the foundations of the technical and economic potential that belongs to the Ukrainian state today. Their organizational talent, scientific and technical knowledge and dedication are a model for all subsequent generations of railroad workers and statesmen.

It should be noted that with the rapid development of industrial production in the second half of the nineteenth century the government was faced with the need to raise the educational level of the general population, its interest in receiving vocational education, specially trained personnel.

Therefore, the creation of a system of vocational education in the Russian Empire, in particular in Ukraine in the late XIX – early XX century, was the result of a set of scientifically sound, organizationally sound measures by state and public organizations and using private initiative on the ground railways in improving the professionalism of their staff).

Since the 70s of the XIX century began to open the first technical schools at the initiative of the Railway Board.

Simultaneously with technical schools and higher educational institutions (Kyiv Polytechnic Institute, which provided a large constellation of engineering professionals working on the railways), special schools were opened to train lower-level railway staff.

Analyzing the statistics, we conclude that many children could not even get a secondary education due to the small number of schools in cities and towns, at railway stations, and to hire a private teacher. Only senior employees, who received higher

salaries and hired teachers for their children, could afford it. Therefore, many stations tried to create small schools at the expense of employees and workers. In the early 70's of the XIX century. A private school for the education of children of lower-ranking officials was opened at the Zdolbunove station of the Kyiv-Brest Railway, where not only the children of this station studied.

In the mid-1970s, it was decided to open such schools in Kyiv, Kozyatyn, and Zhmerynka. The Rules for the Establishment of Such Schools stated that education should be free. Accordingly, the curriculum studied the Law of God, Russian language, arithmetic, Russian history, geography, art, singing, gymnastics.

Analyzing the curricula, we find that in addition to the main subjects in schools and colleges taught and auxiliary: for boys - locksmith, carpentry, turning, the knowledge of which contributed to further entry into the technical railway school; sewing, needlework, embroidery and knitting items have been introduced for girls, which may be most useful for their future family life.

Subjects related to aesthetic education play an important role in schools: music, singing.

It should be noted that the following educational and charitable organizations functioned on the South-Western Railways: 35 schools and 15 dormitories at them; boarding house for children of employees studying in secondary schools of Kyiv; orphanage for employees in Kyiv and preparatory school; organization of mutual assistance to needy children and relatives of employees on the South-Western Railways; class of evening classes with workers at the Kyiv Railway School; Sunday readings in

Kyiv, Odessa and other large stations; evening special courses for employees of the Office; technical library for employees of the Office; libraries at large stations.

All schools have libraries, which are replenished annually with new books that help to gain additional knowledge and broaden the horizons of students.

It should be noted that in all schools accepted only children of railwaymen. Up to 60% of those wishing to study were denied admission to the school almost every year.

It is also necessary to note unsatisfactory conditions in schools: the premises are not adapted for normal classes: low ceilings, poor lighting; classes were held in two shifts.

Dormitories were part of the railway schools because many employees did not have their own housing and were forced to live in small stations and races.

But in general it is necessary to note the high level of professionalism of staff on the Ukrainian railways.

10.46299/979-8-88680-821-6.2

2. Reconstruction of railway transport in Ukraine (1943-1948)

From the second half of 1941 to the autumn of 1944, the regions of Ukraine were under foreign occupation. The enemy turned into ruins 16,150 industrial enterprises, which before the war employed 2.6 million workers, 882 mines in the Donetsk coal basin, hundreds of enterprises in other industries. Ukraine has lost energy, metallurgy, coal, chemical, shipbuilding, machine tool, aircraft and transport industries [76, p. 13]. The damage caused by the occupiers to the economy of the republic amounted to 285 billion rubles, rail transport more than 10 billion rubles.

In the pre-war period, rail transport provided 95 percent of transportation in Ukraine. The length of roads here reached 20102 kilometers from 137 thousand km. operational length of the USSR railways. There were nine railways in the USSR - Vinnytsia, Kovel, Lviv, Odesa, South, South-West, North-Donetsk, South-Donetsk and Stalin's (now Dnipro) highways. They employed 348 thousand employees who served the railway networks of Ukraine out of 2 million 821 thousand all working in the system of the People's Commissariat of Railways [77, p. 661]. Their efforts ensured the movement of military, ambulance trains, participated in the evacuation of fixed assets of enterprises and the population in the rear areas of the USSR.

In the winter of 1942, in the spring, summer and autumn of 1943, as a result of the offensive battles of the Red Army, the Donetsk region was liberated. In the Donetsk region, the occupiers inflicted heavy damage on the railways. On the territory of Donetsk and Southern railways 8 thousand kilometers of track, 1.5 thousand bridges, 27 locomotive depots, 8 car depots, 400 stations and station buildings were destroyed, more than 250 thousand square meters of living space were destroyed [78, p. 41]. More than half of the station and main tracks on the Odessa railway were destroyed. In the South-West, all cargo platforms, warehouses, and ancillary facilities were destroyed. On the left bank of Ukraine, highway routes were completely destroyed. The Nazis destroyed bridges across the Dnipro. Up to 25% of the main tracks of 30% of stations, 57% of railway stations, 90% of water supply were destroyed on Lviv Railway, 75% of bridges and all tunnels were blown up [78, p. 41].

In the autumn of 1943, the left bank along the Dnipro was cleared of Nazis. In the spring of 1944, the territories of Dnipropetrovsk, Zaporizhia, Kherson oblasts, and the Crimea, where the Stalinist (now Dnipro) highway ran, were liberated. The Nazis destroyed the railway. They blew up 3,500 switches, 38 large and 602 small bridges, 4 tunnels, communications facilities, destroyed all warehouses, 83 water towers, 83 water pumps, 33 power plants, completely or partially destroyed 19 railway stations, 344 housing, 25 clubs, 75 schools , 26 hospitals, 18 nurseries and sanatoriums, destroyed 70% of locomotive depots, 83% of man-made structures, 65% of water supply facilities, 87% of car depots and car repair points, 62% of main roads and 65 station tracks [79, p. 157]. In Dniprodzerzhynsk, the Nazis inflicted material damage on the local car-building plant for 26 million rubles [80, p. 23]. The occupiers in Zaporozhye destroyed 27 enterprises, including a locomotive repair plant. Only the old tender, mechanical shops and the procurement department of the blacksmith shop were suitable for work [81, p. 82-83].

The destruction of Lviv's railway facilities was impressive: both locomotive depots were destroyed, and the main station building was half-destroyed. Its underpasses are overwhelmed, railway tracks are covered with stones, metal structures, sleepers. Machines and locomotives were taken from the depot to Stryi. The water supply system and viaducts were destroyed. The section of the railway between Ternopil and Pidvolochysk was severely damaged. Practically the whole Ternopil railway junction was destroyed [82, p. 182]. During the occupation, the production facilities of the Vinnytsia Railway were located in different occupation zones. The city of Koziatyn and the local railway junction were managed by the German administration, a similar junction in Zhmerynka - the Romanian zone. Before retreating, the Nazis mined Kozyatyn railway station. Members of the local underground organization Zaliznychnyk did not allow its destruction. He was injured in airstrikes. At the Zhmerynka railway junction, the enemy completely destroyed the railway industry [83, p. 224]. The occupiers blew up 487 km of main roads, 211 bridges, 5 locomotive and car depots, and 20 power plants on the Vinnytsia Railway. Losses amounted to 340 million rubles [84, p. 60].

Rail transport played a significant role in that war. He played the role of the backbone in the transport needs of the front and the economy of both the former Soviet Union and Ukraine. The large scale of hostilities, the remoteness of the front from the rear in the absence of a developed network of highways put rail transport in the category of important factors in the offensive of the Red Army. During all the years of the war, the volume of military transportation alone exceeded 19 million wagons on average, which allowed to transport more than 300 million tons of cargo [85, p. 305]. At the final stage of the war, the technical equipment and energy supply of the Red Army units increased. The need for military transportation increased by 12%. If in 1942 the troops were delivered 1.5 million tons of ammunition and 2662 thousand tons of fuel, then in 1943 these figures increased to 3 million tons and 3261 thousand tons, respectively. Its average daily shipment for the entire period of the German-Soviet war reached an average of 987 tanks, including in 1944. - 1484, in April 1945 - 1693 tanks. Ukraine in the Second World [77, p. 669]. To provide Soviet troops involved all modes of transport, but primarily - rail. Offensive operations of the Ukrainian fronts during the liberation of Ukraine could not be prepared and carried out without railways and railways. In 1943-1944, almost half of the Soviet troops were concentrated within the territory of the republic - 30 all-military, 10 tank and 7 air armies, and 1 defense, 11 strategic and 23 front-line operations were conducted. Troops of six fronts were involved - the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th Ukrainian and the 1st and 2nd Belarusian fronts. According to the former People's Commissar for Railways of the USSR (1944-1948), only 1, 2, 3 and 4 Ukrainian fronts consisted of up to five or six or more armies. Relocation of each required from 60 to 200 echelons of 50 cars in each "[86, p.261]. Troops were advancing from east to west and south of the territory of the republic, which needed a large amount of weapons, ammunition, fuel and lubricants, food, human contingent. It was necessary to provide troops with the power of the railways.

The Soviet political and military leadership was aware of the importance of transporting troops in the reconstruction of industry. Therefore, according to the resolution of the State Defense Committee (SDC) "On the reconstruction of railways" of January 3, 1942, the restoration of railways was to take place in three stages: first -

the reconstruction of main tracks, bridges and the minimum number of tracks at stations and junctions; restoration of temporary communication and energy saving; secondly - the restoration of the necessary railway and energy facilities to ensure the passage of at least 8-12 pairs of trains per day; thirdly - the complete restoration of railways and to bring their capacity to the initial [76, p. 102].

Immediately after the liberation of the territory of Ukraine by the Red Army, railway troops and railway engineers began reconstruction work on the railways. Employees of the North Donetsk Highway in Artemivsk started working on September 15, 1943, and on September 20, employees of the South Donetsk Highway in Yasynuvata [87, p. 72]. The scale of the destruction of the Donbass transport network was large. The first reconstruction works of the first half of 1943 were carried out within the Voroshilovograd (now Luhansk) region, in the second half of the year - in the Donetsk (before 1961 Stalin) and other regions of the Left Bank.

In December and January 1943, Soviet troops entered the administrative boundaries of the Luhansk region, in the north of which is a large railway junction - Svatovo. The Nazi invaders caused him great material damage by destroying the railway depot, main production facilities, and railway equipment. Reconstruction began with the restoration of the locomotive depot, mechanical, washing. electric welding shops, boiler rooms, acetylene-generator, anti-scale and production facilities, other services to start the rolling stock [88, p. 714]. In February 1943, Soviet troops approached Lysychansk and on September 2 liberated the city, a railway junction, from Nazi invaders. Reconstruction of transport and mines was started. At the end of the month, employees of the trust "Lysychansk Coal" extracted 430 thousand tons of fuel and began to ship to consumers [88, p. 465]. On February 17, 1943, the troops of the South-Western Front liberated the city and the Rovenka railway junction in the south-west of the region, which the occupiers destroyed. The premises of the railway station and the transport hub used by the miners of the Frunzevugol trust were blown up [88, p. 677].

By early March 1943, almost the entire territory of the Voroshilovgrad (now Luhansk) region had been liberated from the enemy and part of the railway tracks of

the North Donetsk Railway, which was located near the 112-kilometer checkpoint on the Voroshilovgrad-Millerovo line, had been cleared. The leadership of the Voroshilovgrad branch was located in Kindrashivska-Nova, the leadership of the Debaltseve branch in Dovzhanska, Chervonolimansky in Kupyansk, Popasnyansky in Svatovo. All efforts were aimed at rebuilding the highway. The first works on the revival of the highway were started by railway soldiers of the 5th Department of Military Reconstruction Works [89, p. 257-258]. At the Voroshilovgrad railway junction, reconstruction work began with the reconstruction of station tracks and the restoration of the bridge. It was planned to complete the work in a month. Invested in two weeks. Workers of the bridge train of the Luhansk steam locomotive company named after October Revolution and soldiers of the railway military unit led by Lieutenant Colonel G. Bocharnikov. By joint efforts, the cities across the Severskiy Donets River were built in 20 days [89, p. 258]. Works on the Kupyansk-Rubizhne section were performed by the 13th and 27th railway brigades of the UVVR-5 under the command of Colonel V.S. Petrov and Colonel Tsvetkov N.S. Railwaymen repaired six small bridges and 60 kilometers of roads [89, p.258]. Railway workers, the military, and the local population have made considerable efforts to repair the large bridge on the Svatovo-Goncharivka section. Worked around the clock. Work should be carried out in cold water. In 12 days the cities were restored [89, p. 259]. As a result, it became possible to pass trains in the direction of Lysychansk. In 50 days, the railways together with the local population on the North Donetsk highway restored 700 kilometers of main roads, bridges, communication lines [89, p. 259]. From the beginning of the expulsion of German troops until September 1943 within the Voroshilovgrad region was put into operation 1140.1 kilometers of railway tracks, 6 large, 21 medium, 68 small bridges, 800 switches [77, p. 677].

On September 1, Soviet troops liberated the city of Chervonyi Promin, Shterivka station, and on September 2, the cities of Lysychansk, Chistyakovo, and Slavyanoserbsk. On September 3, 1943, the Debaltseve station in the Donetsk region was liberated, where on the fifth day after the expulsion of the occupiers, a local railway

junction began operating, through which trains went to the front line with equipment and ammunition [90, p.307].

On September 6, 1943, units of the 297th and 61st Guards Divisions liberated Slovyansk from Nazi invaders, who destroyed 25 industrial facilities, railway junctions (there were as many as 5) and a railway technical school. Military railroad workers, with the help of local residents, began rebuilding the railroad. Ten days later, echelons of weapons, ammunition and food marched through the railway station into the active army. Subsequently, all 40 tracks of the railway station were repaired. This made it possible to deliver coal, metal, oil, and wood to the city for the revival of industry [90, p. 717].

On September 8, 1943, the city of Donetsk was cleared of Soviet troops by Nazi invaders, and the reconstruction of the local railway junction began immediately. On October 3, the first passenger train from Moscow arrived at the railway station [90, p. 106-107]. On September 10, 1943, Soviet troops of the 28th Army of the Southern Front liberated the town and station of Volnovakha in the south of the Donetsk region. Local authorities mobilized the local population to rebuild the railway station. Through great efforts, on the third day after the release, trains were allowed to pass through the station. At the end of the calendar year, the railwaymen set up auxiliary station shops, two sections of the locomotive depot, and put the power plant into operation. Communication, water supply, dormitory premises, several living quarters, shops and a canteen were rebuilt. In November-December 1943, the Locomotive Depot and the Volnovakha Railway Department took the leading positions in establishing work on the South Donetsk Railway. Moreover, in 1944 the railwaymen of the junction provided technical assistance to the local peasants of the collective farms - "Cultural Revolution", "Red Guerrilla" and employees of the state farm "Transporter". In the latter, with their help, workers fully master the pre-war number of sown areas [90, p. 232-233]. On September 14, 1943, Soviet troops completely cleared the Donetsk land of the enemy. Already on the third day after the liberation of some sections of the South Donetsk railway, trains began to run. In three days, the Yasynuvata-Volnovakha section was restored. 52 hours earlier than scheduled, trains were launched on the

Volnovakha-Mariupol section. By October 20, 1943, almost 2,000 kilometers of railways had been rebuilt on the South Donetsk Railway. Subsequently, the main shops of the locomotive depot at Yasynuvata station were put into operation [89, p. 262]. The lack of wooden bridge piers hampered the reconstruction of bridges and the operation of restored roads. This problem needed an urgent solution. Employees of the Voroshilovgrad Locomotive Company helped the railwaymen, established the production of supports from metal structures [89, p.263]. Another problem was solved with the help of the People's Commissariat of Railways (NKSHS) - the replacement of powerful locomotives of the FD series with less powerful ones. The restored track could not withstand the load, which made the movement of trains impossible [89, p. 264].

Reconstruction of transport depended on the availability of personnel. The work of the first turn was performed by the railway troops and special formations of the NKShS, the second turn was performed by the railway teams. After the military units of the Red Army immediately began to rebuild the railway troops, engineers and specialists, mobilized residents of different regions. Assistance was provided by enterprises of various People's Commissariats - metal, wood, fuel and lubricants, other necessary materials and equipment. In the first stage, station tracks, highways, communications, water supply, locomotive and car depots were restored. Special construction and restoration departments were established at the railway administrations. This approach allowed to quickly carry out the necessary work and restore train traffic. Already on the third day after the liberation of the South Donetsk highway, the movement of trains was resumed on the sections Martsevo-Ilovaisk, Yasynuvata-Volnovakha [89, p.263].

In August 1943, the reconstruction of the Southern Railway began. This process intensified after August 29, when the highway was completely cleared of Nazi invaders, who destroyed 80 percent of railways and 75 percent of bridges. Locomotive and car depots, signaling and communication facilities, water and energy supply systems, and other technical facilities were completely destroyed [91, p. 25]. The military were followed by miners and military railroad workers. The first demined

roads and bridges, in particular across the Uda River, near the Nova Bovariya station, the Lopan River near the Kharkiv-Sortuvalna station and the Honcharivsky overpass on the Kharkiv-Pasazhyrskyi-Novoselivka section. The local population provided reconstruction assistance. By joint efforts we managed to establish the movement of trains. On August 29, 1943, the first echelon arrived at the Kharkiv station. On August 31, a train from Kupyansk arrived at Kharkiv-Balashivskyi station. On September 7, a train departed from Kharkiv-Pasazhyrskyi station at Nova Bovariya and Lyubotyn stations, and on September 8, a train was sent to Osnova station. [91, p. 25]. With the help of military railways, the local population on October 1 managed to restore 1945 kilometers of economic roads, 560 kilometers of stations, 1085 units of turnouts. Of the 313 destroyed bridges, 215 were restored [92, p. 347]. They tried to optimize the movement of trains on the restored sections of the Southern Highway. Direct routes of echelons to destinations began to be promoted without their processing at other nodes. This made it possible to speed up the delivery of the required front to the location of defense enterprises 12-15 hours ahead of schedule [91, p. 25].

During the Chernihiv-Pripyat offensive in 1943, the troops of the three fronts - Central, Voronezh and Steppe - launched an offensive to liberate the northeastern regions of Ukraine. On the left wing of the Central Front, the 60th Army under the command of Lieutenant-General I.D. Chernyakhivsky fought. The towns of Krolevets, Putivl, and the large Vorozhba junction station of the South-Western Railway were liberated. This made it possible to cut off the enemy's railway connection in the direction of Bryansk-Kyiv. Soviet troops advanced along the Konotop-Bakhmach-Nizhyn railway. On September 5, troops of the 60th Army approached the city and the Konotop railway hub, and on September 6, they cleared them of the occupiers and cut off their rail service in the direction of Kyiv-Bryansk and Kyiv-Kursk. On September 9, Soviet troops liberated the city and the Bakhmach hub, where five railroads connecting German troops to the rear diverted in different directions. Then Soviet troops advanced in the direction of Nizhyn. September 15 over the city of majors red flag of victory. As a result of the liberation of the city, the enemy lost the last railway line on the left bank of the Dnipro River [93, p. 116]. Thus, in the first half of

September 1943, the troops of the 60th Army under the command of I.D. Chernyakhivsky liberated the Konotop region of the South-Western Railway from the Nazi invaders. The destruction was significant. Of the 36 tracks at the Konotop railway junction, only two remain intact. The station, depot and its main shops, the central telephone exchange were destroyed. In total, 30 stations, 21 warehouses, 27 landing platforms, 3 locomotive depots, 2 car depots, and 3 power plants were destroyed in the department. 176 objects were blown up by the traffic service alone, 295 km of main roads and 129 km of stations were destroyed. In the Konotop depot were destroyed: wheel shop, car control, oil storage, pantry car, electric welding, office. The amount of losses was 7374,445 rubles [94, p. 29, 106].

Reconstruction was carried out quickly. On the third day, train traffic was resumed at the Konotop-Bakhmach section. They began to rebuild the main shops of the locomotive depot, the turning circle, the equipment farm, the steam boiler room, and the warehouses. Konotop Communication Distance resumed operation. The telegraph, SCB devices and communications started working. A month later, 28 railway tracks and 98 switches were restored in the Sumy region. At the same time, the Konotop Locomotive Repair Enterprise began to be rebuilt. Engineers and workers, with the help of the local population, raised the plant from the ruins. This made it possible at the end of November 1943 to involve 1,276 workers in the process of reconstruction and production. Resumed work locomotive, boiler, tender, blacksmith, wheeled, foundry, mechanical [94, p. 31, 107]. Successful reconstruction at the Konotop branch became possible not only due to the dedicated work of railway workers, but also due to the presence of a housing and repair office and a construction and reconstruction site. The team of the first in an adapted, wooden room, from the available materials, organized the production of acutely deficient bricks, the latter. It was used to rebuild various facilities. Cooperation has paid off. From 1943 to 1945 it was possible to restore the stations at intermediate stations, residential buildings, educational institutions, hospitals. Rebuilt 40 houses with an area of 8875 square meters [94, p. 34].

The joint efforts of military railwaymen, workers of the unit and local residents of the Vorozhba station managed to restore the passage of military echelons towards the front. Already in September, 739 echelons were sent from the station. Most of the work was done by hand. Enemy aircraft bombed and disrupted some of the site's facilities, which were reopened. Railway workers had to work 12 hours and master related professions to repair the damage. The orders of the leadership were unquestioningly carried out. The productivity of subordinates was influenced by the authority of the leader. Such an iconic figure was O.E. Kartenev, chief of the Vorozhba station track distance. When the destroyed bridge at the 303 rd kilometer of the Vorozhba-Lgov section had to be repaired, he managed to ensure that construction materials and mechanisms were delivered quickly. It was difficult to solve the problem. Only thanks to the willful actions of the leader it was possible to accomplish in a short time. The bridge was repaired five days earlier than planned [94, p. 31, 107].

On September 29, 1943, Red Army troops occupied an important railway junction in Kyiv, the Darnytsia station, which was completely destroyed by the occupiers. It had to be rebuilt under frequent bombing by enemy aircraft. Therefore, some railway tracks had to be rebuilt once, and the locomotive depot twice. Echelons arrived from the rear roads through Konotop, Vorozhba, Nizhyn [93, p. 118]. Further offensive was possible only with the construction of bridges across the Dnipro River, near Kiev. One of the first to be rebuilt was Darnytsia low-water. This task was performed by military builders under the leadership of General Kabanov P.A., and the chief engineer - Zingorenko G.I. After 13 days, the first echelon passed over the bridge [95, p. 128].

Until December 1943, there were battles for the Dnipro River. The cities of Kremenchuk, Dnipropetrovsk (now Dnipro), Cherkasy were liberated, and enemy groups in the districts of Zaporizhia and Melitopol were liquidated. There was a problem of restoring bridges, especially in the area of Kiev, Dnipropetrovsk, Kaniv, Cherkasy, Kremenchug, Zaporozhye. Given the importance of rebuilding such structures, on October 7, 1943, the State Defense Committee issued a special resolution "On preparation for the restoration of bridges across the Dnipro " [89, p. 265].

Reconstruction of the Darnytskyi Bridge in Kyiv began and the construction of a temporary, downstream, low-water bridge, 1,059.5 m long and 5.5 m high. 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. This made it possible to deliver 65 tons of various cargoes across the bridge in November-December 1943 [77, p. 660]. During the reconstruction works, the railway workers faced a big problem - the reconstruction of bridges. During the retreat, the occupiers destroyed two bridges in Dnipro (Dnipropetrovsk) with a length of 1524 and 1383 meters and in Zaporizhia bridges across the old Dnipro r - 370 m and the new Dnipro - 738.1 m. [21, Arc. 4].

In the area of Dnipro (Dnipropetrovsk) from October 25, 1943 UBVR 3rd Ukrainian Front for 7.5 days, built a railway pontoon crossing, which played an important role in providing troops who expanded the bridgehead on the right bank of the Dnipro. From November 14 to December 11, 1943, 247 trains (12,266 cars) with cargo for troops passed through the bridge [97, p. 212].

In Dnipropetrovsk (now Dnipro) the bridges were renovated in two stages. First they built a floating, then high-water temporary bridges on the bypass. A special pontoon-bridge regiment, whose personnel were brought from the rear areas, performed the work. 156-meter-long overpasses were built together with the railways. The transition itself was built for 8 days, laying 105 meters per day [97, p. 211].

At the same time, the construction of a high-water bridge began. For this purpose, 1,088 piles were hammered, 192 span structures weighing four tons each were installed, 33 intermediate structures of 20-32 tons each were installed, and two overpasses over 200 meters long were erected. The work was carried out from November 1 to December 10, 1943 [97, p. 211].

It was important to rebuild the bridge crossings in the area of Zaporozhye, 1.5 km long. across the new and old Dnipro. The bridge over the Dnipro dam was destroyed. They began to build a bridge over the new Dnipro, the island of Khortytsia and the southern part of the old Dnipro. The difficulty of reconstruction was that in January 1944 the thaw began. The snow began to melt, rains fell. Off-road was

formed. The pace of work was affected by snow and rain. However, the first stage of the bridge was put into operation on February 22, 1944, when the troops of the 3rd Ukrainian Front fought with the Nazi invaders on the Right Bank of Ukraine [77, p. 678].

On October 25, 1943, Soviet troops liberated the city of Dnipropetrovsk (now Dnipro) from the occupiers, and on October 26, Melitopol. In February 1944, the occupiers were expelled from all right-bank stations. As of March 15, stations and railways on the right bank of the Dnipro River had been cleared of Nazi occupiers. Reconstruction of the Stalinist highway (now Prydniprovska) began in September 1943 with the arrival at the Chaplino station of an operational group led by Deputy Chief of Railways A.I. Kukhtenko. . Served major industrial centers of Ukraine: Dnepropetrovsk (now the Dnipro), Zaporozhye, the Kherson region and the Autonomous Republic of Crimea [98, p. 157].

Before the war, the railway department was located in Dnipro (Dnipropetrovsk), there were: locomotive repair, car repair, switch, traffic light and electrode plants. In Zaporozhye - locomotive repair company. Personnel of highly qualified railway workers were trained at the Dnipropetrovsk Institute of Railway Engineers. The commissioning of the above-mentioned enterprises and institutions created more favorable conditions for the reconstruction of the transport network of the region and Ukraine [24. Arc. 28].

Troops of the South-Western (from October 20, 1943, 3rd Ukrainian) Front under the command of Malinovsky R. Ya., From 10 to 14 October 1943 liberated the left bank of Zaporozhye from Nazi invaders. The battles for the island of Khortytsia lasted until December 29, 1943 [100, p. 242]. Soviet troops completed the liberation of the left bank of the Dnipro (Dnipropetrovsk) on September 20, 1943 and from there struck at enemy positions on the right bank. Almost a month later, on October 25, the city was finally liberated from the Nazis [101, p. 93,171]. The invaders retreated, tore down 3,500 turnouts and 4 tunnels, destroyed 38 large, 35 medium and 602 small bridges, disabled communication equipment, electrified the Zaporizhia-Dolgintsevo section of the road, 33 power plants, 19 railway stations, 344 dwellings, 75 schools,

26 hospitals, 18 kindergartens, causing losses of 1, 4 billion rubles [98, p. 157]. The highway had to be rebuilt in difficult conditions. Enemy planes often bombed stations: once a bomb hit a tank of gasoline and a pillar of fire rose. The flames engulfed the train. But the station chief Moisey Panteleimonovich Tereshchenko, who ordered the removal of trains from the affected area, was not confused, and the fire attracted the attention of the enemy, who continued to bomb the station. The railroad workers did not leave their jobs and continued to perform their duties as dispatcher Deiko, train builder Reva, hitchhiker Babenko, and switchman Tereshchenko. They continued to dismantle the wagons and put them in a safe place without fear of the flames that continued to erupt. They did this manually without using a locomotive due to a damaged track. They managed to save 220 tons of food. Two tanks of gasoline remained in the fire. One was punctured and fuel leaked. They manually eliminated the hole, extinguished the fire and immediately started repairing the track. No one left the workplace until the station's capacity was restored, and then the echelons began to pass to the front line. Communication was attentive to the well-established work of the railway. It is possible to have locomotives, tracks, cars, and without communication the movement of echelons will not happen. Liaison specialists resumed telephone and telegraph communications between the various stations. Thanks to great efforts it was possible to restore it across the Dnipro [98, p. 159].

It is worth noting that the scale and pace of restoration work on the highway depended on personnel, production capacity and material resources. The source of filling vacancies in transport were railway workers who were engaged in the maintenance of the railway in the occupied territories and who were not subject to mobilization into the active army. Thus, by the Resolution of the GKO of November 22, 1943 and the decision of the SNC of the USSR and the Central Committee of the CP (b) U of November 30, 1943, railroad workers who remained in the temporarily occupied territory were subject to mobilization for reconstruction work. Soviet and party bodies of Dnipropetrovsk, Zaporizhia regions and Crimea registered in 1944 6985 people and 615 workers of other roads [28, Arc. 11]. Also, in agreement with local party and Soviet authorities, local workers were involved in transport work. This

lasted until July 1944. This practice had a positive effect on the reconstruction of transport, but since the second half of 1944 the replenishment of the highway with local labor has deteriorated significantly. This was due to the fact that in parallel with its restoration, work began on the reconstruction of enterprises and institutions of other industries Kryvbas, Donbass, Dnipro, where local authorities directed the flow of labor, a total of 18,970 locals on the highway. 1135 workers were sent to other highways of the former USSR [28, Ark.11].

In October 1943, on the third day after the liberation, the reconstruction of the Dniprodzerzhynsk (now Kamyanka, Dnipropetrovsk region) car-building enterprise began, the occupiers of which destroyed 26 million rubles. We started with demining. The importance of its reconstruction is evidenced by a specially adopted by the USSR State Defense Committee resolution of February 6, 1944 "On the restoration of the Dneprodzerzhinsk car-building enterprise" whose workers were to master the production of cars for narrow-gauge railways. Since January 1944, a group of specialists has been providing assistance in rebuilding and adjusting production, as the company had a shortage of qualified personnel and energy resources. Solved this problem administratively. By order, engineering and technical workers from other plants in the Dnipropetrovsk region were sent to the enterprise. On November 23, 1943, the enterprise began production, and cars began to be assembled for narrow-gauge railways in May 1944. The staff of the enterprise simultaneously fulfilled military orders [104, p. 23, 99, 100].

On the territory of Podillya there are large railway and strategically important nodes-stations: Kozyatyn, Zhmerynka, Vinnytsia, Vapnyarka, Mohyliv-Podilskyi, Proskuriv, Shepetivka, Grechany, and others. The Vinnytsia Railway was separated from the South-Western Road in 1940 as a separate entity and lasted until 1953.

On December 28, 1943, infantry and tank units of the 1st Ukrainian Front captured the railway junction and the town of Kozyatyn [83, p. 304]. On March 18, 1944, soldiers of the 38th Army and the 1st Ukrainian Front liberated the city and the large railway junction, Zhmerynka. On March 16, 1944, the military units of the 2nd Ukrainian Front captured the railway junction and the town of Vapnyarko.

Vinnytsia inherited a difficult state of transport. The Nazis blew up 487 km of main roads, 211 bridges, 5 locomotive and car depots, and 20 power plants on the Vinnytsia Railway. Losses amounted to 340 million rubles [105, p. 105]. Significant damage was caused to the narrow-gauge railway network.

The first steps to restore the Vinnytsia railway were made in early 1944. Workers of the highway restored the broken rolling stock and rolling stock. In March 1944, to ensure the offensive of Soviet troops, train traffic was opened on the Shepetivka-Ternopil section [106, p. 125].

In December 1943, the troops of the 3rd Ukrainian Front liberated the Znamyanka station, where, together with the advanced units of the Red Army, the operative group of the Odessa Railway entered. The railwaymen spent a lot of effort to restore this station and the Separate Station. In April 1944, the reconstruction of the Odessa railway junction began. In August 1944, the reconstruction of stations and railways of Belgorod-Dniester, Reni, Izmail began. During 1944, thanks to the efforts of railway workers and residents of the region, it was possible to restore the work of the railways of Mykolayiv region [107, p. 607].

In the summer and autumn of 1944, work was carried out to rebuild the railways in the western regions. At the end of July 1944, 552 km were put into operation on the Lviv highway. tracks [108, p. 550]. At the end of 1944, the GKO adopted a resolution "On the restoration of railways through the Carpathian Pass" which planned to restore the railway connection between Lviv-Stryi-Mukacheve-Chop-Shatoralaceychel, Lviv-Przemysl-Zaguzh-Lupekuv-Bonovtse-Mikhalyany and rebuild the bridge across the yew. in the direction of Chop-Debrecen [82, p. 183].

On October 8, 1944, the territory of Ukraine within the pre-war borders was completely cleared of occupation troops. This made it possible to intensify the restoration of railway connections with many stations. By the end of October 1945, 2,312 kilometers of main tracks, 686 kilometers of station tracks and 2,613 turnouts had been restored and "altered" (1,520 cm) on the Lviv Railway. Also, a significant amount of work was performed on the restoration of engineering structures and office - technical premises [82, p. 184].

At the end of 1944 on the railways of the republic was restored and altered on the domestic track 20292 km [77, p. 677].

In Transcarpathia, which was liberated as a result of the Carpathian-Uzhhorod offensive of Soviet troops in September-October 1944, the Transcarpathian railway network was 653 kilometers long, of which 168 wide collision (1520 cm), 345 kilometers Western European (1435 cm) and 140 kilometers of narrow tracks (760 cm). The railway network consisted of 4 railway lines, three of which crossed the territory of Transcarpathia from northeast to southwest in the direction of Uzhgorod - Chop, Skotarske - Batevo, Zymir - Vyshiv and one from east to west in the direction of Chop - Vyshiv [109, p. 122]. According to the investigation of the emergency commission for accounting of damage caused by the German-Hungarian occupiers, it was established that 90 locomotives, 16 motor locomotives, 320 passenger and 2,800 freight cars were removed, 194 kilometers of railway line were destroyed, 97 bridges with 5872 running meters and 84 stations were destroyed. 13 tunnels with a length of 1140 running meters, 14 narrow-gauge locomotives, 16 kilometers of forest railways [110, p. 619]. Transcarpathian transport at the end of 1944 was practically disabled [111, p.108]. The first steps towards its revival were taken in late 1944 and in 1945. Military units of the Red Army came to the rescue. Dozens of trophy locomotives were received through them in 1945 [111, p. 108].

In the postwar period, work on the reconstruction and reconstruction of railways, bridges, and railway transport enterprises in Ukraine continued. Stations were rebuilt. On the South-Western Highway, they appeared in Chernihiv, Fastiv, Myronivka [93, p. 131]. At the Konotop branch of this line, the railway connection was completely restored, the shops of the Konotop locomotive depot were expanded, which were replenished with new tools and electric jacks with the help of which the locomotives were lifted in 15-20 minutes. The technical equipment at the Konotop Locomotive Repair Plant has improved. By the summer of 1947, all communications had been restored. Five years after the liberation of Sumy and Chernihiv at the Konotop branch of the road were restored roads along with man-made structures, power plants in

Vorozhba, Bakhmach, clinic and sauna at Bakhmach station, the house of locomotive crews in Khutor Mikhailovsky, others [94, p. 33.34].

In 1948, the construction of second roads on important routes on the Southern Highway was completed, all bridges were rebuilt, and new ones appeared - metal and reinforced concrete. In 1949 the Kryukivsky Bridge across the Dnipro (Kremenchuk) was put into operation. Locomotive and car depots, 32 large railway stations were overhauled [91, p.25].

In the postwar years there was an increase in industrial production in Ukraine, respectively, increased the flow of finished products, which put on the agenda - the completion of mainly reconstruction work on the railways of Ukraine. Therefore, during the first three years of the post-war Five-Year Plan period, the reconstruction of the railway facilities of the South-Western Road was mainly completed [93, p. 132]. Although this process continued until the end of the Five-Year Plan, it lasted on the Lviv Railway throughout the postwar period.

10.46299/979-8-88680-821-6.3

3. Political programs of Ukrainian, Hungarian, Polish and Jewish parties in the first Czechoslovak Republic (1918-1938)

3.1 Political system of the First Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (1918-1938)

Political parties in the First Czechoslovak Republic have held a special place since its inception. No wonder contemporaries often called this state a republic of parties.It should be noted that the role of political parties in the First Czechoslovak Republic differed somewhat from the generally accepted understanding of the place of political parties in society in modern times. If at the present stage a political party, as a rule, performs the functions of a voluntary association of citizens, supporters of a certain national program of social development, which should contribute to the formation and expression of political will of citizens. Political parties influenced the daily lives of Czechoslovak citizens not only through their participation in government activities, but also through hundreds of professional, cooperative, youth, women's, sports, cultural, educational, and other organizations. In addition, the parties had a network of publishing houses and periodicals [112, p. 18]. As the Czech researcher D. Garn noted in this regard: "Parties accompanied human life from cradle to coffin" [115, p. 536].

In Czechoslovakia as of 1938. there were 60 parties. Only a quarter of them succeeded in the elections. The interaction of political parties with the state, as well as other elements of the political system and citizens is characterized by the institution of the party system. The party system is determined, firstly, by the number, nature and relationships of existing parties in the country, secondly, the special conditions of these parties, and thirdly, their actual role in the management of public affairs, especially in government [114, p. 20]

The party system of the First Czechoslovak Republic was characterized by multipartyism - the tendency to form a large number of parties [116, p. 39]. Its causes are the influence of several factors, the first of which is the diverse ethnic composition of the population.

The vast majority of the republic's nationalities even before the proclamation of its independence formed their own party-political spectrum, which was nationally isolated.

The exceptions were Marxist parties, which were built on an international basis. Within the national community, the parties were divided according to the interests of the social groups they represented (workers, peasants, entrepreneurs, intellectuals), which also contributed to the increase in the number of parties. At the same time, each of the national political camps had its own characteristics and was at different stages of development of the party-political structure at the time of joining the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic [117, p. 102].

The proportional electoral system was a factor in the growth of the number of parties. According to the French political scientist M. Duverger, the proportional electoral system is the main key to creating a multiparty system, because under its conditions the party's independent performance in the elections causes minimal damage, which does not contribute to the merger of ideologically similar parties. An example of such a phenomenon, the scientist calls the interwar Czechoslovakia [125, p.310].

The nature of the electoral system was not a determining factor in the formation of the party-political system of the Czechoslovak Republic. In addition, some political parties have shown a desire to unite, precisely in order to gain additional votes in the election. A striking example is the Polish and Hungarian political parties, whose unifying aspirations, however, were largely dictated from abroad. However, the proportional electoral system has become an additional factor that has strengthened the formation of multiparty politics in the Czechoslovak Republic [123, p. 41].

The multiparty system of the First Czechoslovak Socialist Republic was often criticized by supporters of liberal democracy, who believed that the number of parties in the state should be much smaller. This point of view was shared by T.G. Masaryk and his successor E. Benesh. They called for an end to conflicts between the parties, concerned about the unity of the people, in order to cooperate with all nationalities and

groups. Politicians believed that the most optimal option for a party system is a two- or three-party [123, p. 37].

In the first year of the Czechoslovak Republic there were about 20 parties, in the last - more than 60 [115, p. 64]. The leading role in the initial stage of the republic's existence was, of course, played by the Czech political camp, which underwent some modifications after the First World War. Thus, the youth camp in the new state was represented by the Czechoslovak National Democratic Party (CNDP). The National Socialist Party merged with some realists, progressives and anarcho-communists and emerged as the Czech Socialist Party, and from December 1919 as the Czechoslovak Socialist Party (CSP). The leading role in its activities was played by the National Socialist wing.

The unification process took place in a rather unconsolidated camp of political Catholicism, which resulted in the formation of the Czechoslovak People's Party (CPP). The Agrarian Party began its activities in the First Czechoslovak Republic as a strong and consolidated political party. In order to popularize the party among the population, it was renamed the Republican Party of the Czechoslovak Village (RPČS), after its unification with Slovak agrarians in 1922 [123, p. 43].

The Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party (CSDP) gained the most popularity in the first parliamentary elections (1920). turned into a nationwide party. After some time, the contradictions between the socialist-reformist and revolutionary wings intensified within the party. In 1921 there was a split in the middle of the party, supporters of the revolutionary wing founded the International Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPC) [123, p. 24].

The CPC is not the only example of the opposition wing leaving the party, but it is the only successful one. The rest of the opposition's attempts to establish its own powerful political force after leaving the party failed. Over time, such parties either disintegrated or became part of more influential political forces.

After the proclamation of Czechoslovakia's independence, a phase of differentiation and formation of Slovak political parties began in the Slovak political camp. The Slovak National Party (SNP) was going through a difficult stage of

separating from it certain political directions that were formed during the First World War. In particular, the Catholic camp, which formed the Slovak People's Party (SLP), as well as the agrarians, who became part of the ROCS, separated from the SNP [119, p.82].

At this time, attempts are being made to integrate Czech political parties into the Slovak party structure. They had two forms. The first is the unification of ideologically similar Czech and Slovak parties. Examples of such integration are Czechoslovak agrarians and the Social Democrats.

It should be noted that in neither of these cases the integration was complete, in both political parties there was a Slovak wing, which often disagreed with the decisions of the party leadership [123, p. 546].

An attempt to unite the Catholic parties was made by the pre-election alliance of the CHNP and the SLP in 1920, but immediately after the election, each party followed its own political path. The CHNP participated in government coalitions for a long time, while the SLP, after a short participation in the lordly coalition, finally switched to opposition positions [123, p. 546].

The second form of integration was the attempt of Czech political parties to build their own party structure in Slovakia. Czech parties without a Slovak component have received support only from Czech officials, teachers and workers who have been in the region to solve the staffing problem. The Slovak party structure was fragmentary and asymmetric, which significantly complicated the task of its full integration into the Czechoslovak state [120, p. 90].

After the proclamation of the independence of the Czechoslovak Republic, the situation of German political parties in the German territories that were part of it became much more complicated. If before 1918 in these territories there were large German parties organized throughout the state, then after the proclamation of new borders, the parties were forced to rebuild the party structure within the new state.

The most difficult test for German parties in the Czechoslovak Republic was their new status in the state: from privileged parties that took an active part in public

administration, they became a party of a national minority that categorically did not recognize the new state [120, p. 85].

Hungarian political parties, like German ones, disagreed with their new position in the state. Former privileged parties were forced to rebuild the party structure in the Czechoslovak Republic. The most influential Hungarian party in Czechoslovakia was the Zemsky Christian Socialist Party (ZHSP), which gained popularity not only among the Hungarian population of the republic, but also among Germans living in Slovakia. The second most popular was the Hungarian Zemsky Party of Farmers and Landless, which in 1925. was renamed the Hungarian National Party (UNP). The party was most popular among the peasantry, however, over time it managed to gain popularity among artisans and merchants [123, p. 49].

The socialist camp was represented by the Hungarian-German Social Democratic Party, which worked closely with the CSDP. Despite lengthy negotiations between the two political forces, their merger did not take place. Unification efforts in the Hungarian nationalist camp were successful only in 1936, when the Christian Socialists and Nationalists formed the Joint United Hungarian Party (UUP). Given the relatively low percentage of the Hungarian population in the republic (5.6%) in the proportional system, it could claim only a small representation in government [115, p. 31].

Polish political parties operating in the territory of Teszyn Silesia had little influence on the party-political structure of the republic. Due to the small size of the Polish minority, Polish parties did not have a high degree of differentiation. After resolving the dispute over the border between Czechoslovakia and Poland, the Polish Socialist Workers' Party (PWPP) began its political activities. Also quite popular among the Polish minority were the Union of Silesian Catholics (SSK) and the Polish People's Party (PNP) [115, p. 55].

One of the evidences of the democratic political system of the Czechoslovak Republic was the development of Jewish parties. The situation of the Jewish minority in Czechoslovakia was much better than in other Central European countries, and the government officially recognized Jews as a separate nationality. Among the Jewish

parties there were complex processes of division of spheres of influence, associated with the differentiation of Jewish parties not only by ideological but also by religious, national and cultural affiliation.

The greatest influence among the Jewish population of the republic was the Jewish Party (EP), which adhered to the Zionist orientation and actively cooperated with the Jewish international organization Poale Zion [126, p. 7].

The development of Ruthenian parties was complicated by the activities of a large number of parties of other nationalities in Subcarpathian Russia. In fact, Ruthenian parties were differentiated not only ideologically but also nationally and culturally.

The two most influential areas were: Ukrainophile and Russophile. Among the most popular Russophile parties were: the Autonomous Agricultural Union (AAU), the Carpatho-Russian Labor Party (KTLP), the Russian People's Party (RPP). Ukrainophile positions were lacking in the Russian Farmers '(Zemledilska) Party (RFP) and the Ukrainian Peasants' Party (UPP). It should be noted that the vast majority of Ruthenian political parties based their political program on the slogan of autonomy of Subcarpathian Russia. The demands of Ruthenian political parties, as well as parties of other minorities, became more radical after the aggravation of the economic crisis [128, p. 152].

An exception in the party-political structure of the first Czechoslovak Republic was the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPC), which was the only international party of the Czechoslovak Republic, which included representatives of all nationalities of the republic. It should be noted that the Communist International played a leading role in the leadership of the party [129].

There was a constant struggle between political parties, which eventually led to the establishment of new parties, which led to a significant increase in their number. It is difficult to establish the exact number of political parties of the First Czechoslovak Republic, because a significant part of political entities that called themselves political parties, in essence, did not correspond to this concept, but were other types of formations (political movement, political club). This question often criticizes the

political system of the First Czechoslovak Republic and casts doubt on the political maturity of Czechoslovak society, but a deeper analysis of the problem suggests that the political camp in Czechoslovakia was not as deep as it may seem. Among the political parties, there were five or six parties that were influential enough to claim to be part of the political system.

The degree of influence of a political party on the political system of the state is determined by two main indicators: the number of party members and those who sympathize with it and the role in governing the state [130]. The most objective indicator of the number of supporters of a political party is the election results, because the parties themselves, seeking to impress an influential political entity, often overestimated the data on their number.

Political parties, which are one of the most important parts of the electoral process, have not been regulated by any law in the Czechoslovak legal system. This phenomenon was not unique to interwar Czechoslovakia. Here are reflected two political traditions that dominated the European party-political systems during the nineteenth century. The first was the secondary role of the political party - the envoy was accountable first to his constituents and only then to the party to which he belonged. The second reason for the lack of legal regulation of political parties was the reluctance of political parties themselves to be regulated by law. The ruling parties did not need legislative support, the opposition parties did not want to pass such a law for fear of possible oppression by the authorities [135, p. 255].

The interaction of political parties with the state was to some extent determined by the constitution of 1920. in which it was about the proportional electoral system. However, the concept of "political party" was not mentioned in the basic law of the Czechoslovak Republic. The activities of the parties were indirectly regulated by the election legislation and the election councils, which operated with the concept of "election party". At the same time, the peculiarities of the party's functioning were not subject to control by law, so the parties had complete freedom in choosing candidates to participate in the election process. The concept of "electoral party" was defined as a temporary entity formed to participate in elections, which did not correspond to the

real nature of political parties of the republic, the vast majority of which were permanent political entities [136, p. 36].

3.2 The national question in the programs of Ruthenian political parties in the first Czechoslovakia

One of the main features of the political life of Transcarpathia (Subcarpathian Russia) in the First Czechoslovakia was the presence of a significant number of different political parties and political organizations. In 1922 there were 18 political parties in the region, two years later their number reached 30 [137, p. 127]. Some of these parties were temporary political entities that either quickly ceased to exist or merged with more influential political parties. There were about 12-13 of them in the region. The democratic political system of the First Czechoslovak Socialist Republic contributed to the involvement of broad sections of the population in political life and, accordingly, contributed to the emergence of a large number of political parties. The socio-economic situation of the region had a significant impact on the nature of the political parties of Subcarpathian Russia. From the socio-economic point of view, Transcarpathia at the time of joining the Czechoslovak Republic was a backward agrarian region with a small number of intellectuals. The composition of the population, both national and religious, was extremely diverse. Accordingly, the ideological concepts of political parties were extremely diverse. Some of them were brought from the West through immigration.

The nature of political parties in Subcarpathian Russia had a number of differences compared to the nature of political parties in other regions of the republic. The first feature of the region's political parties was that almost all of them emerged after 1918, while the process of creating the vast majority of Czech and Slovak parties took place in the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. That is, these were new political parties that initially did not have a clear organizational structure. The population of the region, in the past apolitical, only gradually became accustomed to the role of parties in society. [123, p. 85].

The second characteristic feature of the political life of Transcarpathia was the presence of an extremely large number of different political trends and ideologies. It was caused primarily by the extraordinary ethnic and religious diversity of the population. According to the 1930 census. out of the total population of Subcarpathian Russia (709,129,000 people), 446,916 (63%) citizens belonged to the Ukrainian, Russian and Ruthenian nationalities. There were 109,472 Hungarians (15.4%), 91,255 Jews (12.8%) Jews, 33,961 Czechs and Slovaks (4.8%), 13,246 Germans (1.9%), and Romanians. 12,691 (1.8%). The religious composition of the population also differed significantly in heterogeneity: 359,167 (50%) Greek Catholics, 112,034 (15%) Orthodox, 102,542 (14.1%) Jews, 69,260 (9.4%) Roman Catholics [131]. Of course, the national and religious factor played a significant role in the political life of other regions of the country, but in Transcarpathia its effect was intensified by the residence of a large number of representatives of different nationalities in a small area [123, p. 86].

The Ruthenian population, which accounted for 63% of the population of Subcarpathian Russia, was not the only one in terms of nationality. In the Ruthenian environment there were three cultural and national trends: Russian, Ruthenian and Ukrainian. Belonging to one of these areas was a determining factor in the ideological orientation of the political parties of Subcarpathian Russia. The process of party formation took place in two ways: the spread of the activities of national parties in the region and the emergence of regional parties on national, religious, class and other principles.

A common feature of all local political parties was the presence in their political programs of the requirement to grant autonomy to Subcarpathian Russia, the settlement of the border with Slovakia, the convening of a local parliament. Since two thirds of the population of Transcarpathia were peasants, the vast majority of political parties had the character of peasants [138 p.42]. One such party was the Carpatho-Russian Labor Party (KTP), which was founded on July 12, 1920. under the leadership of A. Gagatko, I. Tsurkanovich, Y. Gadzhega. [125, p. 33].

The political program adopted on the day of the party's founding pointed to its bright Russophile orientation. It consisted of three sections. In the first chapter, entitled "Political Program", the party demanded the granting of autonomy to Subcarpathian Russia, the opening of the Diet, the introduction of Russian as the government language, the establishment of borders between Subcarpathian Russia and Slovakia on ethnic grounds. Also for other nationalities living in the territory of Subcarpathian Russia, the party demanded respect for the rights to free cultural and national development. In the second chapter, entitled "National Cultural" program, the party proclaimed its goal of achieving unity Russian people and the introduction of the Russian language in schools. This program remained unchanged during the existence of the party [127, p. 3-7].

From the content of the program it is clear that the inhabitants of Subcarpathian Russia were considered by the party's ideologues to be part of the "Great Russian people". This is confirmed by the repeated political statements of the leaders of the KTP, in which they spoke in favor of the inclusion of Transcarpathia in Russia, referring to Russia in the pre-October era [121, p. 30].

The party, which demanded the urgent introduction of autonomy, protested against the government's economic policies, remained generally loyal to the Czechoslovak government, and advocated the territorial integrity of the state.

A prominent position in the region was occupied by the pro-Ukrainian party - the Ruska Khliborobska (Zemledilska) Party (RH (Z) P) [130]. The idea of creating an autonomous political party arose among the Ukrainian political forces united around the society "Education" [130]. The direct initiators of its creation were A. Voloshin, M. Brashchaiko, Y. Brashchaiko, A. Stefan. A. Tovt was elected chairman of the party [119, p. 123].

The party was officially founded on July 15, 1920. The party program was adopted on the same day. It consisted of seven main sections. In the first chapter, entitled "In State and Legal Affairs", the party demanded "Unite all Ruthenians from Poprad to the Tisza", "give broad autonomy to Subcarpathian Russia" and "ensure peaceful coexistence of national minorities in Subcarpathian Russia" [128, p. 8]. The

party's position on the national question is also expressed in the third section "On Education". In it RH (Z) P demanded to introduce the local Ruthenian language in schools and state institutions by legislative means [129].

The remaining sections of the program focused on socio-economic and religious issues.

In general, the national issue in the program was presented quite moderately, the party leaders did not make any radical demands, limiting themselves to asking for the promised autonomy to Subcarpathian Russia. It should be noted that throughout its activities the party supported the policy of the Czechoslovak authorities. An influential political party in the region was the Subcarpathian Agricultural Union (PZS), which was founded on June 10, 1920. under the leadership of V. Ryzhak. The Constituent Congress of the party adopted a political program authored by J. Kaminsky [137, p. 306].

The national question was considered in the second section of the program, entitled "Political Requirements", which stated: "We demand the establishment of borders from Poprad to the White Tisza to unite all Ruthenians of the republic and immediate confirmation of autonomy with their Russian language" [138, p. 15]. In addition, the party demanded "full protection of the rights of national minorities provided by peace treaties" [130].

The party actively criticized the centralist policy of the Prague government. It was on her initiative on March 22, 1922. a joint statement of twelve political parties of Subcarpathian Russia was published, which disagreed with the policy of the authorities in the region. The statement stressed that the authorities are taking steps to improve the situation in Subcarpathian Russia in the economic, social and cultural spheres. However, it does not contribute to resolving the political crisis in the region, the essence of which is its under-representation in both the executive and the legislature. The statement called for autonomy, the convening of a local parliament, as well as resolving the issue of establishing borders between Subcarpathian Russia and Slovakia.

This statement was signed not only by representatives of Ruthenian political parties, but also by representatives of Hungarian and Jewish political parties operating

in the region, as well as two national parties - the HRC and a branch of the Agrarian Party in Subcarpathian Russia. Unfortunately, such a broad unification of all political forces in the region was short-lived. In fact, it was limited to the joint signing of this statement [125, p. 86].

As the authorities did not take any active steps to implement autonomy, four Ruthenian opposition parties PZS, KTP, RH (Z) P and the Agricultural Autonomous Party (ZAP) decided to begin organizational work to implement the party union. Created in early 1922. the united political party was renamed the Russian Agricultural Autonomous Party (RZAP). In February 1923. it announced a memorandum to the authorities, in which it set demands that it agree to withdraw from opposition policies and cooperate with the authorities. These were the traditional demands for elections to the Sejm of Subcarpathian Russia, the introduction of the promised autonomy, and the settlement of borders with Slovakia. Later, they were supplemented by requirements for the introduction of the local language in schools, assistance to the cultural and educational society "Education" [137, p. 87].

The RAZAP statement was supported by the Republican Agricultural Party (RAP), which was a branch of the Czechoslovak Republican Party (CRP). This was due to the fact that the Prime Minister A. Schwegl, who headed the CRP, saw the RAP as a basis for possible cooperation in the region. RZP agreed to cooperate in "all cultural, economic and political issues" with RZAP.

June 22, 1922 at the congress in Mukachevo, the RZP merged with the RZAP to form a new political party called the Carpatho-Russian Agricultural Republican Party (KARP). At the congress of party delegates on August 19, 1923. In his speech, the leader of the Slovak agrarians M. Hoxha called on the KZRP to join the ranks of Czechoslovak agrarians and support the government's policy. It was this proposal to join the CRP, as well as issues related to the appointment of the governor of Subcarpathian Russia, that caused a split within the party. At the end of 1923. CCD and ZAP left the association. Thus, the attempt to create a large united Ruthenian party, as well as the attempt of the pro-government CRP to gain political advantage in the region by attracting this party to its membership.

CCD and ZAP January 10, 1924. formed a new party, called the Autonomous Union of Zelerobsky (gas station). [120, p.74]. The party was headed by I. Kurtyak, who was replaced by A. Brody a few years later.

On January 26, 1924, a congress was held in Khust, at which the program of the party was approved, which consisted of three sections. The national question was covered in the third section of the program "Political Requirements". Its main provisions were as follows: convening the Seimas and holding parliamentary elections as soon as possible, as well as granting full power in matters to the governor of the region; freedom of thought and assembly; ensuring the rights of national minorities guaranteed by the peace treaty and promoting peaceful coexistence of peoples living in Subcarpathian Russia [122, p. 118].

It is worth noting that the party secretly cooperated with Hungarian political forces and regularly received financial support from Budapest. I. Kurtyak, who received a deputy mandate, actively called for the introduction of the autonomy of Subcarpathian Russia not only at the national but also at the international level. He was the author of several memoranda submitted to the League of Nations, in which he demanded the assistance of the international community in resolving the issue of autonomy of Subcarpathian Russia. In 1929 The gas station, together with the KTP and the Russian National Autonomous Party (RNAP), formed the Russian National Bloc. According to the results of the 1929 elections. The Russian National Bloc won 18.2% of the vote and was among the strongest Transcarpathian parties [116, p. 41]. However, immediately after the election, the union disintegrated due to internal conflicts.

The ideological differences between the parties, as well as the political ambitions of their leaders, were so great that they made it impossible to unite and cooperate. Particularly great misunderstandings existed between pro-Ukrainian and pro-Russian parties. The most pressing issues for the parties in these areas were the language and nationality of the local population. The development of relations between the parties was influenced by political events in neighboring countries, as well as the activities of Russian and Ukrainian emigrants in Czechoslovakia.

Not only Ruthenian parties were divided into Ukrainophile and Russophile, but also national parties sympathized with one direction or another. Pro-Ukrainian parties supported the CSDRP and the CHNP. The HRC in Subcarpathian Russia initially leaned towards a pro-Russian orientation [116, p. 41]. It should be noted that the Communists invariably enjoyed considerable popularity among the population of Subcarpathian Russia, as evidenced by the election results. Factors that contributed to the popularization of communist ideas among the population included: low level of political culture of the region, democracy and multiparty system of the state system, the urgency of social requirements in the newly revived society [117, p. 185].

In the mid-1920's, the Communists' views on the national question in Subcarpathian Russia changed. In 1924, the V Congress of the Comintern took place, which set the Communist Party the task of Bolshevism. The resolution of the V Congress of the Comintern on the national question contained a separate section on the Ukrainian question in Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia [119, p. 192].

Influenced by the adopted resolution, the VI Regional Conference of the Human Rights Committee took place in Mukachevo on September 6, 1925, at which special attention was paid to the cultural and national aspect, emphasizing the ethnic unity of the Ukrainian people.

Over the next two years, the issue of Transcarpathians' national affiliation with the Ukrainian people, their linguistic and cultural community became a priority in the HRC's regional committee: "We are part of the Ukrainian people, we speak the same language as the entire 40 million Ukrainian people." Thus, the Communists in Subcarpathian Russia joined the ranks of pro-Ukrainian political forces. However, as M. Barnovsky noted, unlike all other Ukrainophiles, the Communists were Soviet Ukrainophiles. They unequivocally stated that "only the Soviet social order" could finally resolve the national question [121, p. 194].

Pro-Russian parties were supported by the Czechoslovak National Socialists and some agrarians.The Czechoslovak authorities initially supported the Ukrainian political camp, distrusting pro-Russian parties. The Ruthenian political parties perceived the government most negatively. According to the Prague authorities, parties

in this direction were supporters of Hungarian irredentism. Pro-government parties have tried to expand their influence in the region by attracting pro-Russian parties. A clear example of this is the Republican Party's attempt to include a failed pro-Russian CPR.

In the late 1920's, the influence of pro-Ukrainian political parties in Subcarpathian Russia increased significantly. This was due to the growth of national self-consciousness of the local population in a democratic state, the activities of Ukrainian emigrants both abroad and in the Czechoslovak Republic, the transition to pro-Ukrainian positions of the HRC.It was during this period that the attitude of the Czechoslovak authorities towards the Ukrainian movement in Subcarpathian Russia changed. First of all, this was due to the formation of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) in 1929. The OUN established its branches in neighboring countries, which significantly increased the activity of Ukrainian emigrants.

The Czechoslovak authorities were concerned about the popularity of the HRC's regional committee, which was in constant opposition to the government, while taking a pro-Ukrainian stance. These factors contributed to the cooling of relations between the Prague authorities and pro-Ukrainian parties .It should be noted that the fears of the Czechoslovak authorities about the possible irredentism of pro-Ukrainian parties in the region were generally unfounded. In this regard, the Canadian historian P.R. Magochiy noted: “Still, it was wrong to characterize the Ukrainian movement in Subcarpathian Russia as irredentist and hostile to state unity.

With the exception of a few immigrant groups and the frivolous statements of a few leaders, most Ukrainophiles (eventually even communists) were in favor of Czechoslovakia's continued existence. If Russophile autonomists sought allegiance in Warsaw and Budapest, Ukrainophiles were mostly concerned with independence and autonomy - but within the Czechoslovak Republic "[123, p. 41]. Gradually, with the escalation of conflicts between pro-Ukrainian and pro-Russian parties, the authorities began to consider finding support in the region in political Rusynism. Unlike other areas, the Ruthenian had neither a clearly defined national ideology nor its own political party.

The main demand of the supporters of this trend was the introduction of the local Ruthenian language in the region. Political Rusynism did not have the support of the vast majority of the intelligentsia, but was popular among the peasantry, who made up the vast majority of the region's population. In addition, he was supported by a large part of the Greek Catholic clergy.

Since the early 1930's, the political situation in the region has gradually worsened. One of the main reasons for this aggravation was the lack of promised autonomy of Subcarpathian Russia. The Prague authorities attributed the delay in granting autonomy to the Ruthenians' unwillingness to govern themselves in both economic and political contexts.

In the mid-1930s, a new political party emerged that began to actively claim leadership among Russophile parties. This party was founded on March 3, 1935. in Khust under the name of the Russian National Autonomous Party (RNAP). S. Fentsyk was elected the leader of the party [131].The party program was adopted on March 31, 1935. The first and third sections of the program contained the position of the RNAP on the national question.

In the first section, The Political and Legal Part, the party demanded broad autonomy for Subcarpathian Russia and the establishment of borders with Slovakia. At the same time, the section contained the vision of the party's ideologues of the future autonomous system of the region. In particular, the party demanded that all power in the region be handed over to the governor, that local elections be held to the Sejm of Subcarpathian Russia, and that local residents be appointed to official positions. The item "Establishing the correct borders with Slovakia" required establishing the western border of the region on the basis of historical, ethnographic and "statistical" data. [130]

The language issue was to be resolved by expanding the use of the Russian language in all spheres of public life. In particular, the need to keep records in public authorities, courts, schools and military units of Subcarpathian Russia in Russian, as well as the publication in Russian of laws for Subcarpathian Russia. In the third chapter, entitled "National and Cultural Part", the party demanded the expansion of

cultural rights of the region's population, the opening of theaters, libraries, its own Subcarpathian University and a radio station.

The section also contained a sharp protest against Czechization and denationalization and called on the local population to "strengthen their nationalism." At the same time, a friendly attitude to other nationalities was proclaimed [125, p. 35]. In general, the position of the RNAP on the national question did not differ significantly from other Russophile political parties. The only difference was the sharper, more radical nationalist expression of their views.

It should be noted that this position of the party was largely due to strong financial support from Hungarian and Polish political parties, which sought to use the RNAP to increase political instability in the region. A new political party also emerged in the pro-Ukrainian political camp in the mid-1930s, claiming to be the leader. It was the Ukrainian Peasant Party (USP), which was established on the initiative of the famous cultural and national figure of Presov I. Nevytska on April 7, 1935. in Uzhgorod [117, p. 962].

It was declared at the Constituent Assembly that the main reason for creating the party was the lack of a single national Ukrainian organization that would unite all Ukrainophile parties. It is this union that the party has declared its goal. Despite the courage of political statements, the party has failed to develop a coherent political program. The party described its political goals in several programmatic articles published in the weekly Narodna Sila. The party considered the solution of the national question possible by providing "true, full autonomy and elections to the Seimas, so that the people could elect their representatives" [128, p. 211].

In addition, the USP demanded that "all positions in Podkarpackie be held by true representatives, ie sons of the Ukrainian people." At the same time, officials of other nationalities working in local authorities had to pass an exam in the Ukrainian language. These program provisions did not differ significantly from the national requirements of other pro-Ukrainian parties in the region. It should be noted that the main tasks of the party changed in accordance with changes in the political situation in the region, which did not increase its popularity.

The unifying role of the USP has been widely criticized by both the region's population and pro-Ukrainian political organizations. First of all, the party's program provisions were criticized, which lacked the party's position on several important issues of socio-political life. In particular, it concerned the problems of the peasantry, which formed the basis of the population of the region [115, p. 139].

In the mid-1930's, changes took place in the political program of one of the most popular parties in Subcarpathian Russia, the HRC. At this time, the Communists were faced with strategically important issues of the time - the question of finding allies and the feasibility of demanding autonomy. One of the important factors that influenced the further actions of the HRC in Transcarpathia was the prospect of fascism in Europe. The members of the HRC Regional Committee hoped to lead the movement and, under its democratic slogans, to continue to pursue its programmatic goals and far-reaching goals, putting forward a generally accepted thesis about the threat of fascism and joining forces to combat it. Such a policy was the result of VII The Congress of the Comintern (1935) in its resolution explicitly emphasized that the union of political forces is possible if it is used for the effective implementation of the socialist coup [119, p. 248].

At the same time, the Communists changed the traditional program for all autonomous parties regarding the autonomy of the region. In the 1935 election campaign, they declared that "the slogan of autonomy is only a tool to deceive the workers, to separate them from the revolutionary struggle for bread, work and freedom". These slogans can be seen as a pre-election trick, an attempt to distance oneself from the rest of the autonomous parties in the context of the mobilization of pro-Hungarian autonomous political forces. The Communists later demanded that the government fulfill its commitments in matters of autonomy. In general, although the Communists were in opposition to the Czechoslovak government, they advocated the inviolability of borders and the democratic structure of the state. This was stated at a meeting with Prime Minister M. Godzha by the leader of the Transcarpathian Communists O. Borkanyuk [121, p. 256].

The Communists took a concrete and unchanging position on the issue of uniting all pro-Ukrainian political forces in the region. They were not going to form a bloc or an alliance with pro-Ukrainian forces, as they considered them bourgeois-landlord and clerical parties [121, p. 208].

The aggravation of the political situation in Transcarpathia forced the Prague authorities to pay attention to the problem of autonomy of Subcarpathian Russia. In November 1935. the constitutional committee of the parliament initiated the start of negotiations, but Prime Minister M. Godzha after negotiations with representatives of political parties in Slovakia and Subcarpathian Russia, seeing the incompatibility of their positions on the border, postponed negotiations for a year [128, p. 263].

However, this delay did not suit the party in Subcarpathian Russia. In August 1936. pro-Russian and pro-Ukrainian political parties were able to reach an agreement. In order to create a joint project of autonomy of Subcarpathian Russia, they resumed cooperation on the basis of the Central Russian People's Council (CRRC). The project created by CRNR was submitted on November 28, 1936. The main principle of the autonomy project was proclaimed the unity and indivisibility of the territory of the Czechoslovak Republic. In general, the autonomy project was based on the Treaty of Saint-Germain. The first step towards establishing autonomy was to convene the Sejm of Subcarpathian Russia. According to the draft, the Sejm had the right to exercise power in all spheres of socio-political and economic life of the region. At the same time, the Sejm had no right to withdraw Subcarpathian Russia from the Czechoslovak Republic.

An important issue, according to the authors of the project, was the formation of the boundaries of autonomy. The issue of borders with Romania, Poland and Hungary was generally clear: "The borders of Subcarpathian Russia with Poland, Romania and Hungary are identical to the borders of Czechoslovakia." The issue of the border with Slovakia was much more complicated. The border has been defined by the demarcation line since 1919, which did not have a definite official character, and therefore the question still remains open.

The border issue was to be resolved in the draft autonomy as follows: In determining the border line, the CRNR proposed to take into account "historical, ethnographic and statistical facts" [134, p. 145]

The project of autonomy became the basis for the negotiations of the CRNR with M. Godzha, which began on December 10, 1936. A. Voloshin and Y. Revai played a leading role in the negotiations on the part of Transcarpathian political parties. They disagreed with the fact that in Subcarpathian Russia the vast majority of administrative positions are held by Czechs, and the governor only symbolically represents Subcarpathian Russia, without having real powers. In addition, A. Voloshin demanded the annexation of part of the East Slavic territories from Poprad to Uzhhorod to Subcarpathian Russia. The latter demand caused a particularly sharp disagreement on the part of the Prime Minister, therefore, the negotiations were unsuccessful, the CRNR project, like previous projects of autonomy of Subcarpathian Russia, was rejected by the authorities [134, p. 147].

Negotiations on the autonomy of Subcarpathian Russia were resumed in February 1937. However, the draft law on the autonomy of the CRNR was no longer discussed. As a result of negotiations, the so-called "Provisional Law №172" was issued, which came into force in October 1937. This law was defined by the government as "the first stage of establishing autonomy." However, he was not granted autonomy again. The powers of the governor were partially increased, who became authorized to appoint some government officials, to have a voice in matters of denominations and languages, headed by the Zemsky government. But instead of an elected Diet, a council of 24 members was created, appointed by the governor [118, p. 106].

Thus, the Ruthenian national question in the Czechoslovak Republic was represented in the programs of numerous political parties operating in Subcarpathian Russia. The two most powerful ideological directions were Ukrainophilism and Russophilism. In addition, parties of other nationalities were very popular among the local population, due to the colorful ethnic map of the region. The leading role in the political life of the region was played by the problem of autonomy of Subcarpathian

Russia. Unresolved this issue has led to an aggravation of the political situation in the region, the radicalization of political programs of individual parties.

Land reform in Transcarpathia had a difficult and painful background. The concept of private ownership of land was underdeveloped in this area. The vast majority of land was owned by the nobility. Ruthenians (self-name of the local population) Transcarpathia to the XIV - XV centuries. engaged in nomadic pastoralism. Only in the middle of the fifteenth century. they settled on the lands of the Hungarian nobility and gradually became serfs. After the abolition of serfdom in 1848, a land reform was to be carried out, which provided for:

1. Separation of property of rural communities from the lord's land ownership.
2. Partial allocation of communal forests and pastures to private ownership.
3. Consolidation of fragmented areas [112, p. 108].

The issue of settlement of communal land tenure in Subcarpathian Russia, except for rare cases when landowners voluntarily provided land to the community for use, remained unresolved. In 1867, active Magyarization began, which was accompanied by the suppression of the rights and freedoms of national minorities in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The aggressive national policy of the Hungarian government caused poverty and ignorance of the local population.

Almost 3/4 of arable land was in the hands of large landowners. For example, the Earl of Schönborn owned 230,000 acres of land. Large land holdings were cultivated mainly for a part of the harvest in the amount of 1/3 or 1/2. A large number of peasants had their plots in mountainous areas where it was possible to grow only barley and potatoes, and in adverse weather conditions it was not possible to grow crops at all. It should be noted that on the eve of the First World War in Transcarpathia there were a number of overcrowded villages numbering from 5,000 to 10,000 people. This was due to the fact that some villages did not have drainage systems during floods, which so often affected the region. Peasants were forced to leave their small rural settlements and move to safer areas. Remote living from their land plots significantly complicated agriculture [124, p. 46].

The difficult situation of the peasantry in Transcarpathia eventually attracted the attention of the Hungarian government. On the eve of the First World War, the authorities sent a special commissioner from D. Egan to Transcarpathia in order to improve the productivity of agriculture in Transcarpathia. However, he could not significantly influence the situation of the peasantry. The first real steps were taken during the First Czechoslovak Republic.

At the time of the entry of Subcarpathian Russia into the republic, about half of the total land area (about 634 thousand hectares) belonged to small landowners, numbering 410,000 people who worked on 63,000 independent plots of land. If you subtract from this number of communal land holdings, according to the data census of 1921 per small landowner accounted for about 0, 67 hectares [117, p.54].

On April 16, 1919, the first so-called "confiscation law №215" on land reform was adopted in the Czechoslovak Republic. According to him, the calculation of the volume of large land holdings was carried out in order to streamline land ownership. The law also stipulated that all land suitable for agricultural cultivation with an area of more than 150 hectares or possession of a total area of more than 250 hectares are subject to alienation [119, p. 47].

The next law on land reform of June 11, 1919 № 330 created a special authorized body throughout the Czechoslovak Republic - the State Land Government (hereinafter - the Law) with headquarters in Prague. ZU was accountable to the Council of Ministers. The law is obliged to regulate all land issues except those referred to the courts or other authorities. According to the law, the law had to:

1. To keep records and enter in the register of all confiscated lands, to determine which objects are not subject to confiscation in accordance with the law.

2. Follow the procedure for managing confiscated but not yet registered property.

3. Give consent to the alienation, lease and division of confiscated property.

4. Establish the procedure for the transfer of seized property.

5. Determine the degree of suitability of agricultural equipment on confiscated land.

6. Notify persons whose property is subject to seizure.

7. Determine the amount of compensation for confiscated property, ensure compliance with the right to appeal.

8. Allocation of land ownership and transfer to persons in accordance with the law.

9. Ensure accessibility for use of residential and commercial premises on allocated lands.

10. Provide long-term loans to owners of land shares.

11. Supervise the property whose right to use is limited.

12. Facilitate the establishment and supervision of agricultural cooperatives.

13. Create district administrations or commissions [118, p. 109].

Later, in 1920, three more laws on land reform were passed. In particular, the Law "On Allocation" № 81 of 1920 defined those to whom allotments from withdrawn lands could be provided: these were, first of all, private individuals and partly cooperatives [122, p. 84].

The actual implementation of land reform began in early 1921. The Regional Chancellery of the State Land Government (hereinafter - DZU) in Uzhhorod was organized for the whole of Subcarpathian Russia. During the period of its work from 1921 to 1923, 7 mobile commissariats worked in the chancellery in Uzhhorod, Mukachevo, Beregovo, Svalyava and Sevlyush [112, p. 49].

The total area of land subject to confiscation was about 239,000 hectares. These lands belonged to large landowners, who owned 36,000 hectares in accordance with the law on land reform. Thus, land with an area of about 203,000 hectares was to be actually distributed. Territorially, these lands covered 230 districts of Subcarpathian Russia, ie were located in almost half of the villages of the region. As of June 1, 1930, 20,691 hectares of arable land were divided, 15,733 people bought small plots with an area of 13,635 hectares, 15 people - estates with an area of 1,680 hectares, 63 people - plots up to 68 hectares [122, p.49]. 15,000 hectares of pastures were transferred to state ownership. Some of them were handed over to farmers (pastures are located in the Borzhavska meadow). Also, the population of Subcarpathian Russia was able to get land for housing. Most of these sites were: Mukachevo (694) and Svalyava (110). By

nationality, the owners of building plots were distributed as follows: Ukrainians 86%, Hungarians 10%, Czechs and Slovaks 1.5%, Jews 1.4%, other nationalities 0.1% [122, p.50].

It should be noted that the implementation of land reform was carried out with significant difficulties, including: lack of understanding of land reform by the population, resistance of large landowners, inaccurate census data, insufficient financial support from the state.

Livestock also experienced bad times. The number of horses, cows, oxen and even pigs has been declining every year. And while the demand for meat and dairy products has been growing steadily, the supply of this industry has been bondage. The decline of the traditional industry in Transcarpathia was directly related to the decline of the peasant economy. Monopolies have managed to maintain in the region low prices not only for raw materials, but also for agricultural products, including livestock. Dealers bought cattle from peasants at very low prices, especially during the crisis, which led to further deterioration of food. In mountainous areas, the main foods were potatoes and cornmeal. In response to the manifestations of hunger, food actions were raised [119, p.110].

Such a difficult situation did not mean that the Czechoslovak authorities did not pay attention to Transcarpathian agriculture. Thus, 27 100 425, 95 kroons were spent on reclamation works.

In order to accelerate land reform, the Zemsky Economic Government and the National Grain Union were established. The main task of the newly created district office of the state land service was to establish land as an object of purchase and sale, and this led society to a market economy. One of the main tasks of agrarian reform was to overcome local land hunger. But the reform covered only 24 percent of the land fund, and therefore the conditions of land use were extremely unfavorable [119, p.99].

The state structures of Transcarpathia supported the development of cooperation, which was one of the means of penetrating financial capital into the small economy of Transcarpathia. Beginning in 1920, a variety of agricultural societies began to appear, uniting and assisting farmers, as well as developing various branches of agriculture.

With the permission of the Ministry of Agriculture and the National Civil Administration in Uzhgorod in 1920, a congress of delegates from various peasant unions. They formed the constituent assembly of the so-called "Peasant Master", which became the first central agricultural cooperative built on the basis of mutual assistance.

Organizational work has been going on for a long time, but unfortunately it has been slowed down due to bureaucratic reasons. Only in 1930, after the approval of the statute by the Ministry of Agriculture, a powerful agricultural cooperative emerged, supported by state and local budgets, called the "National Union of Professional Agricultural Societies" based in Mukachevo. The regional union has become a center for all CSOs. In order to properly perform the functions of CSOs, the National Union sent to each district a special commissioner - a consultant who took care not only of improving tillage techniques, but also engaged in cultural and educational work among the peasantry.

In the autumn of 1933, by order of the Ministry of Agriculture, the National Union was renamed the Agricultural Chamber of Subcarpathian Russia, which has since been an autonomous agricultural organization. The Chamber of Agriculture formed its program, which consisted of the following basic provisions:

1. Development of all branches of agriculture through the intensification of agriculture.

2. Expanding the sown area, increasing yields, improving the cultivation of fodder crops.

3. Organizing the economy on communal peasant lands.

4. Accelerate land reform.

5. Relocation of peasants from the Verkhovyna districts to more civilized villages.

6. Improving the social situation of the peasantry.

7. Cultural and educational work among the peasantry [118, p. 109].

The Agricultural Chamber has been active in Subcarpathian Russia. In 1936, the Agricultural Chamber owned 12 CSOs and 29 other peasant associations (for example, the pastoralists 'association, the district gardeners' association, etc.). In total,

the organization had 30,000 members. Despite the active work and support of the government, the work carried out by the Agricultural Chamber was not enough to address the land issue in Transcarpathia [116, p. 39].

An important element of land reform was the so-called colonization - a state-organized settlement for national and political purposes of the dominant nation in the territory where minorities live, in this case - the Hungarians. In Czechoslovakia, colonization began in the summer of 1921. Military aspects also played a significant role in resettlement policy. The colonists were divided into three groups: volunteers - Czechs, Slovaks, Moravians, Ruthenian-Ukrainians living in the country; repatriates returning from abroad are Slovaks, Czechs and legionnaires. Legionnaires - soldiers who served in the Czech-Slovak troops and in the First World War fought on the side of the Entente [115, p. 114].

Such units were formed in France, Italy, and Russia. After returning home, Italian and French legionnaires played a significant role in the military occupation of Hungary's northern and northeastern counties; in January 1919, troops in Italian uniforms were brought to Uzhhorod. Legionnaires returning home could also become colonists.

Legionnaires' settlements were established near more or less important railway junctions along the borders of Trianon: they provided rail connections to the countries of the Lesser Entente and the protection of colonial settlements. Such legionary settlements in Transcarpathia were Tisasholomon (formerly Solomonovo) near Chop, Svoboda - near the railway junction in Batevo. The last settlement was the largest colony of legionnaires of the Czechoslovak state. To create it, 1,600 hectares of fertile land of the Lonyai family estate were confiscated. The first settlers arrived in September 1923, and construction began in December. According to 1931, 909 people lived in the village, including 405 Czechs, 7 Slovaks, and in the hamlets attached to the village - 184 Ruthenian-Ukrainians, 281 Hungarians and 1 Pole [116, p. 40].

3.3 The national question in the programs of Hungarian political parties in the First Czechoslovakia

Citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic who belonged to the Hungarian nationality lived mainly in Slovakia and Subcarpathian Russia. According to the 1921 census. 744,622 Hungarians lived in the Czechoslovak Republic, making them a fairly large national minority.

Like the Germans, the Hungarians held a privileged position in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy before the creation of the Czechoslovak Republic. It is therefore not surprising that the Hungarian population reacted negatively to their new status as a national minority and did not seek cooperation with the Czechoslovak authorities. Hungarian politicians saw the way out of the situation in support of the idea of "Greater Hungary", ie the restoration of the unity of the Hungarian state within the former borders [117, p. 925].

Signing of the Treaty of Trianon on June 4, 1920. finally buried this idea. She was replaced by the idea of revising the Versailles system of peace treaties, the first step towards which, according to Hungarian politicians, was to expand the rights of the Hungarian minority in the state. It is an indisputable fact that the influence of the majority of Hungarian parties in the Czechoslovak Republic of Budapest, which used them to bring back to power Hungary's former territories [117, p.925].

The party-political system of the Hungarian minority was finally formed after the emergence of the republic. Hungarian political parties expressed their position on the new state at the first session of the parliament elected in 1920. On behalf of the Hungarian population, they protested against the entry of former Hungarian lands into the Czechoslovak Republic. This position became the basis of the national question in the political programs of Hungarian parties throughout the interwar period [123, p. 113].

The largest Hungarian party in the Czechoslovak Republic was the Zemsky Socialist Christian Party (ZSHP). It officially took place on November 23, 1919. in Kosice. Lawyer J. Leyele was elected chairman of the party. The party's program was

officially approved at a congress in Bratislava in 1920. According to the authors of the program, the solution of the national question is possible only with the granting of autonomy to Slovakia and the establishment of linguistic equality of citizens.

It should be noted that the national question has always played a leading role in the party's program, as the party has built its political line on all other issues of socio-political and economic nature. In the early 1920s, the Budapest-led party actively promoted the idea of revising the Versailles system, particularly on the southern borders with Slovakia and Hungary. From the second half of the 20's. focused on the protection of the rights of the Hungarian minority in Czechoslovakia [115, p. 926].

The demands of autonomy in the party program were combined with a negative attitude towards the Czechoslovak Republic and the rejection of any cooperation with the government of this state. This position became the basis for the conclusion in 1921 bloc of opposition parties together with the Hungarian National Party and the Spiš German Party. It should be noted that for this association autonomy was not a goal, but a means of eliminating the Czechoslovak Republic [120, p. 85]. Nevertheless, the party had a small group of supporters of activist policy, led by party leader J. Leyle, who on the eve of the 1925 election. left the party.

The idea of cooperating with the Slovak GSLP was much more popular among the party, as both parties were united by the idea of autonomy. However, at this stage of its development, the GSLP demanded autonomy within the Czechoslovak state, which was inconsistent with the sharply negativist position of the ZSHP. In addition, negotiations between the two political forces were complicated by ethnic differences between Hungarians and Slovaks, as well as sharp statements by the ZSHP leadership in which Hungarians argued that Slovaks could not achieve autonomy without their support [120, p. 86].

On the eve of the election, a new program was adopted in connection with the crisis in the party due to the withdrawal of Leille's group. The program was based on the idea of Slovak autonomy, which was proclaimed the main goal of the party. ZSHP demanded the right to self-determination in the economic and cultural spheres for all

peoples of the Czechoslovak Republic, the creation of its own, Hungarian, Zemstvo and school councils [117, p. 927].

In the elections of 1925. the party won 98,000 votes (1.4%). Since the second half of the 1920s, the party has been intensifying Hungarian nationalism, which has contributed to the party's further rapprochement with the Hungarian National Party. In the next elections of 1929 and 1935, the party participated in a coalition with the UNP and the Spiš German Party [122, p. 254].

In the first half of the 1930's, there was a struggle within the party between two currents - supporters of irredentism and young party members who had already been educated in the new Czechoslovak state and believed that it was necessary to establish cooperation with the government. This crisis in the party, as well as the desire to create a common platform for the representation of the interests of the Hungarian minority, prompted it to unite with the UNP, which was officially formalized on June 23, 1936. resulting in the formation of the United Hungarian Party [137, p. 233].

The Hungarian National Party, which formed an alliance with the ZSHP, was the second most popular Hungarian party. It was formed on January 17, 1920. in the town of Komarno under the name of the Hungarian Zemstvo Party of Farmers and Landless. In 1925 after joining several small party formations, the party was renamed the Hungarian National Party. The party's program was divided into national and economic parts. In the national part, the party first of all sharply criticized the Czechoslovak authorities and pointed to discrimination against the Hungarian population. The main national demand of the party was the exercise of the right to self-determination by granting autonomy to Slovakia and Subcarpathian Russia [136, p. 39].

In terms of autonomy, the party was quite moderate, due to the influence of the opposition parties in Slovakia and Subcarpathian Russia. The program proclaimed the idea of self-government in the economic sphere (own chamber of commerce, financial institutions) and cultural (autonomy of school education), which would improve the situation of Hungarians within the Czechoslovak Republic.

It should be noted that until almost the end of the 1920s, the party did not reject the possibility of cooperation with the government, which, according to its leaders, could rebuild the Czechoslovak Republic on the Swiss model, which would ensure maximum development of the Hungarian people. Since the 30's. under the influence of Budapest, the party changed its political line towards sharp criticism of the Czechoslovak government and irredentism [117, p. 939].

Like the ZSHP, the UNP sought to cooperate with other political parties in order to represent the interests of the Hungarian people in the state. Finally, as noted above, in 1936. together with the Christian Socialists it formed the United Hungarian Party (UHP) [113, p. 235]. Determining the nature of this new political entity, it should first be noted that the party was completely under the control of the Hungarian revisionists. The PMO program was adopted in 1936. It was based on a compromise between the political programs of the ZSHP and UNP [126, p. 12].

The main national demand of the party was the proclamation of the autonomy of Slovakia and Subcarpathian Russia and the achievement of Hungarian national self-government within its framework. Self-government had to be enshrined in law. Any attempt to violate it or denationalize the Hungarian population was severely punished. Important steps to achieve self-government were to be economic self-government and self-government of school education [123, p. 82].

Although the program proclaimed allegiance to the ideals of democracy, the party's activities abroad were aimed at destroying the Czechoslovak state. The party adhered to this political line until its dissolution on November 28, 1938. Later, part of the party became part of the Budapest Parliament, where it formed a separate faction [114, p. 938]. In addition to the two leading parties in the Czechoslovak Republic, there were several dozen less popular parties. The Hungarian Social Democrats and Communists were not very popular among the Hungarian population of the republic.

The Hungarian-German Social Democratic Party emerged in 1918. The peculiarity of its political program, compared to other Hungarian parties, was the lack of autonomy. The Social Democrats limited themselves to the requirements of

Hungarian cultural self-government, which were to be enshrined in the state constitution. In 1927 the party became part of the CSDRP and formed its own section.

The Hungarian Communists joined the HRC almost immediately after its formation. In the Hungarian national question, the Communists opposed the idea of autonomy and, adhering to the party's political line, argued that the Hungarian national problem could be solved only by the introduction of a socialist system. Thus, the vast majority of Hungarian political parties considered it possible to resolve the Hungarian national question by gaining autonomy. For almost the entire period of the First Czechoslovak Republic, Hungarian parties were in a negativist position, and autonomy for them was only a means of destroying the state and returning to Hungarian rule.

3.4 National programs of Polish political parties in the First Czechoslovak Republic

One of the few national minorities in the Czechoslovak Republic was the Polish minority. According to the 1921 census, there were 17,835,000 (0.56%) Poles in the country. The vast majority of the Polish minority considered the decision to transfer part of Teszyn Silesia to Czechoslovakia unfair. Therefore, any cooperation with the Czechoslovak government was considered by Polish political parties as a temporary phenomenon aimed at protecting the rights of the Polish population, until the possibility of unification with the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth [134, p. 84].

The Polish national question in the Czechoslovak Republic was complicated by the unresolved Polish-Czechoslovak border. Apparently, this is why Warsaw did not ratify the agreement signed on November 29, 1920 with the Czechoslovak Republic, which addressed the issue of protection of national minorities. Warsaw carried out propaganda campaigns against the Czechoslovak Republic, supported Hungarian anti-Czechoslovak revisionism, and sought to prove to world public opinion the desire of the local population to unite with the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. This

led to political instability in Teszyn Silesia and the restriction by the Czechoslovak government of some of the constitutional rights of Polish citizens of Czechoslovakia.

It should be noted that the example of the Polish minority clearly illustrates the dependence of the national question in the Czechoslovak Republic on foreign policy factors. April 23, 1925 E. Benes and A. Skszynski signed three agreements in Warsaw aimed at overcoming the Polish-Czechoslovak disputes. These were liquidation agreements, arbitration and trade agreements. The most important provisions of the liquidation agreement concerned ensuring full equality of the Polish minority in the Czechoslovak Republic and the Czech minority in Poland.

Since then, all Polish political parties have embarked on an activist political course, which they followed until 1933. Evidence of the strengthening of cooperation between Polish and Czech politicians was the fact that after the election a delegate from the Union of Silesian Catholics L. Wolf joined the Parliamentary Club of Czechoslovak Agrarians, and in 1929 Polish politicians J. Buzek and E. Hobot joined the Parliamentary Club of Czechoslovak Socialists. Democrats. During this period, even the most radical Polish political force, the Polish Communists, took part in cooperation with the government [115, p. 944].

The activist course of Polish parties declined with the onset of the economic crisis. The Polish parties finally refused to cooperate with the Czechoslovak government after signing it on January 26, 1934. non-aggression pact between Germany and Poland. Since then, Poland has taken an anti-Czechoslovak position in international politics, in which the Teszyn issue has played a leading role.

Four parties had the greatest support among the Polish minority: the HRC, the Union of Silesian Catholics (SSK) led by lawyer L. Wolf, the Polish People's Party (PNP), led by J. Berger and J. Buzek, and the Polish Socialist Party (PSP), headed by E. Hobot.

In the 1920s, the most popular among the Polish population of the republic was the International Human Rights Committee, which sharply criticized both the Prague authorities and Warsaw politicians. This popularity was due to both the international political tradition of the labor movement in the region and the active propaganda work

of local communists led by K. Slyvka. The party based its political conception on the Polish question on the need for political transformation in both countries. The vast majority of its voters were the proletarian population of the region.

One of the most popular Polish parties of the Polish minority was the Union of Silesian Catholics in Czechoslovakia (SSK (Č)). The party was founded on September 30, 1920. In its political program, the party demanded autonomy for Teszyn Silesia, protested against the closure of Polish schools and the transfer of Polish churches to the jurisdiction of the Czechoslovak Church. The main goal of the party was proclaimed - protection of national and religious interests of Polish Catholics [117, p. 945].

In 1925, the SSK (C) formed a pre-election union with the Polish National Workers' Union. According to the results of the election, L. Wolf received a deputy mandate.In the run-up to the 1928 local elections, the SSK (H) party formed a coalition with the Jewish Party, but as the union failed to win a single seat, the coalition quickly disintegrate.

Despite active protests against the national policy of the state and discrimination against the Polish population, which were repeatedly voiced by L. Wolf from the parliamentary rostrum, until 1933 the party continued to pursue an activist course. In 1937, the SSK (C) together with the rest of the Polish political parties joined a joint coalition. The program of the Polish People's Party (PNP) was more liberal on the national question. The party was founded in December 1922. It was headed by J. Buzek and J. Berger. In its program, the party advocated peaceful coexistence and cooperation of all nationalities in the country, as well as religious tolerance.

PNP September 10, 1937 merged with the Polish Social Democratic Party. After the unification of the PNP, it ceased to exist as an independent political party [133, p. 131]. The Social Democrats were quite popular among the Polish population of the republic. The final unification of Polish social democratic organizations into a single political party in the Czechoslovak Republic took place in January 1921. in Ostrava. The party was named the Polish Socialist Workers' Party in Czechoslovakia (PSPR (C)). A few months later, the party split. The party's left, led by party leader E. Hobot,

applied for membership, which was approved. It should be noted that E. Hobot returned to the Socialist Party a few years later and became its leader again [135, p. 220].

After the split, the party changed its name to the Polish Socialist Party (PSP). Unlike the vast majority of Polish political parties, the Socialists in their political program did not demand autonomy for Teszyn Silesia, but focused on criticism of Prague's national policy and the need to introduce a socialist system. Polish socialists called for cooperation with the Czechoslovak Social Democrats and promoted activism as an alternative to nationalism, for which the party was repeatedly sharply criticized by Polish nationalist organizations. [132, p. 246].

Since December 1934, under the influence of pressure from abroad, criticism of the PSP by non-socialist Polish parties has intensified. As a result, some of the party members separated from the Socialists, creating a new party called the Polish Social Democratic Party in Czechoslovakia (PSDP (C)). In September 1937, as noted above, this party merged with the PNP [123, p. 53].

After the 1935 elections, in which the party did not win a single seat, the PSP began active cooperation with the rest of the Polish non-socialist parties and became one of the initiators of a joint coalition of all Polish parties. Polish parties in the Czechoslovak Republic often joined pre-election alliances with each other, forming various coordinating committees to enter parliament. Thus, in September 1923. the National Bloc was created as a part of the Union of Silesian Catholics, the Polish People's Party and the Polish section of the Silesian People's Party. In the 1925 parliamentary elections, the union took part in the so-called Polish National Workers'

Union. However, all these attempts to consolidate Polish political forces were ineffective. The Polish minority was virtually unrepresented in parliament. [123, p. 55].

The Polish consulate in Moravian Ostrava actively interfered in the political activities of Polish parties. At the end of 1934, the Polish consulate started publishing the Polish Diary newspaper, which sharply criticized the Czechoslovak national policy towards the Polish minority, and expressed the desire of Poles to unite with the Second Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth [115, p. 403].

It was on the initiative of the Polish consulate on March 28, 1938. in Český Těšín, a coalition of all the leading Polish parties called the Union of Poles in the Czechoslovak Republic was formed. Its focal point was the Main Council of Poles in Czechoslovakia, established in September 1935 in Cesky Tesin under the leadership of Polish Consul A. Klotz. The agitation activity carried out by the new political formation indicated its pronounced anti-Czechoslovak character.

After Munich, Polish political parties merged into the political structures of the Second Commonwealth. Thus, the Polish minority belonged to the small minorities of interwar Czechoslovakia and was hardly represented in the Czechoslovak parliament. The vast majority of the Polish population of the republic considered the decision of the Entente countries to join their region to the Czechoslovak Republic unfair. Therefore, most Polish political parties saw the solution of the Polish question in granting autonomy to Teszyn Silesia, which was later to promote the separation of the region from the Czechoslovak Republic and accession to the Second Commonwealth.

3.5 The national question in the programs of the Jewish political parties of interwar Czechoslovakia

According to the 1921 census. the Jewish minority in Czechoslovakia numbered 350,000. At the same time, the Jewish population was unevenly distributed. In the Czech Republic, Moravia and Silesia, Jews accounted for 1.5% of the population, in Slovakia - 4.5%, and in Subcarpathian Russia about 15%. The differences between the Jewish population were not only in the density of the population, but also in social, mental and ideological differentiation, which directly influenced the participation of Jews in the political life of the Czechoslovak Republic. According to the Czech researcher M. Crgova, in terms of determining the nationality of the Jewish population in Czechoslovakia was divided into three groups: German Jews, Czechoslovak Jews and Zionists [117, p. 966].

Unlike other national minorities in the Czechoslovak Republic, belonging to the Jewish minority was not determined primarily by language. Jewish self-identification

had two options - national and religious, which influenced the commitment of the Jewish population to certain political forces [123, p. 68].

It is worth noting that there was a fairly loyal relationship between the government of the republic and the Jewish political forces. Anti-Semitic sentiments were much less prevalent in Czechoslovakia than in neighboring countries. In addition, the position of President T.G. Masaryk, who characterized Zionism as a "national liberation movement of great moral significance" [125, p. 72].

The largest Jewish Jewish political party in the Czechoslovak Republic was the United Jewish Party. The roots of this party go back to the Zionist movement. At the beginning of their activities in the Czechoslovak Republic, the Zionists began to establish their own political organizations to represent the Jewish minority in the state. October 31, 1918 in Prague, the Jewish National Council was established, representing "all nationally oriented Jews" in Czechoslovakia. The council was renamed the Czech Zionist Political Union. It was headed by L. Singer.

Representatives of the Czech and Moravian Jewish national and Zionist unions, trade unions and the Zionist Socialist Party were represented in the council [117, p. 980].

In November 1918. The Jewish National Council adopts a political program. First of all, it declared its commitment to the Czechoslovak state and stressed the need to unite the entire Jewish population on a national basis. Also, the main requirements of the program were: recognition of Jews as a separate nationality, granting the Jewish minority broad rights and cultural autonomy, equality of all citizens, democratization of society [125, p. 72].

It is worth noting that the requirement to recognize Jews as a separate nationality was met by the Czechoslovak government. In January 1919. The Jewish National Council convened a national congress of "national Jews in the Czechoslovak Republic." The main further task of the council was to create a single national organization on a national basis, which would represent Czechoslovak Jews [125, p. 91].

In March 1919. The People's Union of Jews of Slovakia was established in Bratislava, which was essentially the Slovak representation of the Prague Jewish National Council. On the eve of the 1920 election. these two organizations, as well as several other small Jewish political parties, form the United Jewish Party (UES) and adopt a joint political program [123, p. 78].

The SES program focused exclusively on the rights and interests of the Jewish minority and emphasized the party's intention to pursue an independent political line. First of all, the program emphasized the desire of Jews to cooperate with the government in the further democratic development of the state. The next items of the program included requirements for the equality of Jews in the socio-political and economic spheres, the free religion of Judaism and state support for all cultural and charitable Jewish organizations. In the following years there were no significant changes in the party's program, the focus was on the equality of the Jewish population, its social and cultural development, as well as the maintenance and development of peace within the Czechoslovak state [115, p. 981].

In the 1930s, the political activity of the SES, like that of other Jewish parties, declined significantly due to the rise of Nazi and anti-Semitic sentiment in the country.

The left wing of the political camp was represented by the Jewish Zionist Party (ESP). It was formed in the early 1920s. based on numerous small Zionist organizations. The chairman of the party was A. Spiegel. In its program, the ECP preached the ideas of Zionism, but its program provisions were close to the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Workers' Party and repeatedly cooperated with it [126, p. 14].

Like most Jewish parties, the ESP was loyal to the Czechoslovak government and did not make radical political demands. She focused on improving the socio-economic situation and free cultural development of the Jewish minority.

In the 1930s, the ECP was not active in politics, focusing on the internal problems of the Jewish minority. The party rejected a proposal by Hungarian political forces to co-operate, continuing to pursue a pro-government orientation. In 1935 the party decided not to run in the election on its own, but nominated its candidate on the

joint list of the CSDP. As a result, the ECJ for the first time won a seat in parliament, whose deputy was H. Kugel.Quite popular among the Jewish population was the Jewish Democratic Party, which emerged in 1922 under the leadership of K. Weiss and G. Reisman. In 1925 it was renamed the Jewish Orthodox Party (JEP) [115, p. 979].

The party's program testified to its orthodox and religious character. The main goal was proclaimed observance of the laws of Judaism in all spheres of life. The EOP expressed its support for the Czechoslovak Republic and its desire to cooperate with the government for the sake of further state-building. The party closely cooperated with Czechoslovak agrarians, thanks to which in the second half of the 1930s it began to grow in number [115, p. 980].

The Jewish Civic Party (EGP), led by G. Gutman and K. Shalam, acted on the principles of conservative clericalism. In its program, the party advocated economic and political consolidation of all Jews of the republic, proclaimed the need to create a single Jewish political party [135, p. 128].

The EGP did not show much activity in the political life of the Jewish minority. She did not run in the parliamentary elections, although she supported pro-government parties, including the agrarian party. The party did not try to compete with other Jewish parties, but on the contrary focused on the consolidation of the Jewish minority [135, p. 129].

In the late 1930's, there was a partial downturn in Jewish parties due to growing anti-Semitic sentiment in the country. The participation of Jews in the country's political life decreased significantly, although they remained loyal to the Czechoslovak authorities. Increasingly, Jewish political parties, and the Jewish population in general, have been criticized by Hungarian and German parties. That is why Jewish political parties tried to avoid participating in heated debates on controversial issues in Czechoslovak politics.

Thus, the national question in the programs of Jewish political parties in the Czechoslovak Republic was built on the principles of political tolerance and approval of the Czechoslovak Republic. Their political programs focused mainly on improving the socio-economic situation of the minority.

Conclusions

Undoubtedly, the national question in the state of nationalities, which was the interwar Czechoslovak Republic, was one of the most important political issues. Therefore, it is not surprising that in the programs of the parties of national minorities of the Czechoslovak Republic it is presented more extensively than in the programs of the Czech parties. The national question in the programs of each of the political parties of national minorities had its own peculiarities. The most difficult, of course, were the issues of the former ruling nations - German and Hungarian. It is worth noting that although in some periods of the history of the First Czechoslovak Republic German and Hungarian political parties proclaimed in their programs loyalty to the state and the desire to cooperate, in fact, they saw activism as a way to gain power and pursue their own political goals. No wonder contemporaries called activism "marriage of convenience."

To a large extent, relations between the Czechs, Germans and Hungarians were complicated by the change in their political position in the new state. Formerly dominant nations have now acquired only the status of a national minority. In addition, Czech politicians have not always sought to establish sincere relations with Sudeten Germans and Hungarians, remembering centuries of oppression and discrimination.

Another important factor influencing the adoption of a political line on the national question was the influence of neighboring states. Hitler's Germany, Hungary, Poland, and the Soviet Union used political parties to achieve their own goals.

Significant radicalization of the national question in the programs of political parties is observed in periods of deteriorating economic situation, especially the economic crisis of 1930-1933. All these factors together contributed to the aggravation of the political crisis in the First Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in the late 1930s, which was largely due to unresolved national issues.

10.46299/979-8-88680-821-6.4

4. Scientific rationality and determinism: overcoming the classics

4.1 Introduction

Recently, academic communication has invariably revealed the relevance and polemical nature of actually used and conceptually explicated *rationality*. Actually, the problem of rationality is fed by interdisciplinary relativization: «it is known that the essence of the problem of rationality largely lies in the fact that we judge the mind by cognition (and activity). And the tools (rationality) of this cognition are often «fragmented» both by types of cognition, and within these types» [139, p. 194].

However, for all the «immensity» of its principles, concepts and criteria (classifications by P.P. Gaidenko, E.Yu. Leontieva, V.S. Shvyrev, G. Lenk, H. Putnam, K. Huebner, M. Lindgren), which are methodological, axiological, historical and scientific, and other discussions, this category ultimately refers to the divergence of possible types of relationship between a human (from personal to generic) and the world (from transcendent to technospheric). From this point of view, philosophical reflection in science is caused both by the discovery of the most complex objects (like stochastic phenomena) that discredit the classical paradigm in mainstream science, and by the general cultural tendency to revise the *traditional* forms of intellectual worldview (like Eurocentrism) – «the crisis of the foundations of reason».

Many historical and scientific studies show that classical rationality was generated by the secularization of the doctrine of natural revelation as a method and problem of mutual mediation of the structure of the transcendental subject (Intention) *and* the order of its creations (Nature) (works by N.S. Avtonomova, P.P. Gaidenko, V.N. Porus, V.S. Shvyrev and others). Attempts to close the hermeneutic circle between these levels of reflection have given rise to a number of reductionist strategies, the most popular of which, under the auspices of P.S. Laplace formed the attitude of «mind» and its projections on «natural determination». The subsequent overcoming of the hegemony of Laplacian determinism exposed a discouraging multitude of these strategies with their meanings of rationality («closed» and «open», «logical», «empirical»,

«normative», «content-scientific»…). «‹…› Formative substratum of rationality, whether it be mind, a special scientific method, or an activity that fully meets its purpose and context, turns out to be an inadequate abstraction, and when you try to make it more concrete and meaningful, the opposition between rational and irrational disappears» [140, p. 128].

Among such abstractions of rationality, the *non-positivist* one does not lose its influence, which reduces the entire range of problems under consideration to the logical-linguistic criteria for organizing the theoretical and empirical, taken as the well-known relation of means and ends by M. Weber [141]. Despite the fact that in the course of the evolution of neopositivism, the simple purification of the empirical basis from non-scientific factors has long grown into the development of the explanatory function of the theory and non-empirical methods of hypothesizing («discovery context»), the derivatives of this strategy remain within a purely epistemological framework. For example, H. Putnam presents rationality as an effective axiomatic of the instrumental representation of reality in terms of simplicity, completeness, coherence [142, p. 103-126], ignoring non-discursive regulatives of empirical meanings as causally unreliable. On the other hand, in the modern paradigm of political emancipation and methodological proliferation, postmodernists tend to deprive explicit apodictic criteria of rationality of empirical significance, assigning them, at best, a probabilistic meaning-orienting role in the spirit of the transcendental ideas of Kant's «practical mind».

Thus, the analysis of the rationality of post-Laplacian determinism reflects the relevance of the reflexive-worldview testing of the particular formal-logical ideal of the scientific mind by the *integrity* of the conditions of its existence, in which the limits of demarcation are steadily expanding, including today, in addition to subject-representative socio-cultural and humanitarian functions of science. In particular, complex self-organizing systems studied in the framework of the theory of dynamic systems, catastrophe theory, synergetics, etc., become exemplary at the post-nonclassical stage of development, raising to the status of a scientific paradigm ideas about levels of complexity, emergent development, non-linear effect, ordered chaos,

ambiguity of regulation, human-dimensional interpretation – everything that problematizes the «natural determination» and the normative rationality of its representation (works by V.V. Afanasyeva, T.I. Bugrova, B.Yu. Dmitriev, E.V. Koveshnikov, I.K. Kudryavtsev, S.A. Lebedev).

In the philosophical and methodological retrospective of historical contexts and logical levels, ideas about classical scientific rationality are subject to several *leitmotifs*, the denial of which determines the content of the current sociological, postpositivist and postmodern criticism of science (the works of T.V. Adorno and M. Horkheimer, Z. Bauman, P. Feyerabend, M. Foucault, P. Kozlowski). Most often, the classical scientific tradition is exposed in the administrative influence of the «*Enlightenment project*», reinforced in equal measure by the order of political structures and the scientific monopoly on truth.

In it, the correct methodical organization of thinking itself seemed to be the highest form of power, in which a person would not only go over the creative abilities of the Absolute to satisfy and develop his needs, but would also gain guarantees of their freedom. «"The death of God" was accompanied by the emergence of a "new" population of people who had lost the ability of mystical union with God, had contempt for everything spontaneously direct, were afraid of hoaxes from the spiritual side, and were enthusiastic about any rational construction» [143, p. 175].

An example of rational tricks for an enlightened civilization was mathematics, which was the first to provide meaningful *theories*, from the elements of which, as from «atoms», any complex knowledge can be formally (uniquely) derived. One or another of their concepts used in a reflexive act is traditionally referred to as «prerequisite knowledge» (principium ratio).

Thus, in the Enlightenment project, the cognitive potential of higher religious forms is directed to the practical channel of human freedom – mastering the environment of one's own existence through the elimination of those elements of the social sphere and material nature that cannot be fully articulated, do not fit into the linear functional nomology of dependent and independent variables and in a scientistic perspective, they are qualified as irrational. «The consequence of this was an excessive

trust in any rationality, its deification and, ultimately, doubt that this deification is legitimate, awareness of the limitations of rationality and, as a result, the search for ways to overcome this limitation» [144, p. 198].

The analysis of the specific mechanisms of such *problematization* of the mind, initiated by the New European limitation of its universality within the framework of individual human consciousness with a finite set of cognitive tools, closes on the concepts of the *subject* and *representation,* the conditions for the possibility of which were provided by the enlightening ideal of self-determination, embodied in Laplacian determinism. At the same time, the educational course towards the scientization of rationality has planted a virus of innovation among its criteria, which requires expansive actions from the mind. Hence the permanent *problem* of the contradiction between theory and method, form and content, goal and means, which was reduced by classical idealizations of reality, non-classical instrumentalization of the irrational, and, more recently, by the hypostasis of the stochastic and evolutionary moment of post-Laplace (in) determinism. Today, we often even talk about the «negation of the negation», that is, the abolition of the following classical reductions:

- of the separation of words and things in the representation of reality, which made it possible to conserve the relationship of sign and meaning (cultural value and moral purpose) in deductive conclusions;

- of the transcendence of a heterogeneous individual who followed contextual prescriptions into a cognitive Subject who obeys a priori norms;

- of the pressing of the potential structure of being in the actual scales of the quantified law.

A well-known compromise between the inclinations of scientists to this or that methodological reduction was the rejection of the philosophical introspection of the universal mental structure of the *subject* in favor of analyzing the results of his cognitive activity in the field of real object-practical, social-communicative, sign-symbolic, psychogenetic relations in order to objectify him relevant standards («discourses»). However, the proclamation of a certain probabilist methodology of the communicative scientific community, which masters some complex stochastic reality,

at the modern «turn of development» of scientific self-consciousness, is not always constructive.

In our opinion, this *problem* requires some semblance of empirical justification in the historical reconstruction of the conditions for differentiation of discursive practices and methodological syncretism, especially since the modern idea of the subject of scientific knowledge and its cognitive capabilities in the face of representation is a stage in the long-term emancipation of European thought through the «taming» of the divine *infinity* in pantheism, humanism, enlightenment progressivism and science.

At the same time, it seems justified to focus on the ways of scientific representation of reality (as an operational hypostasis of thinking styles) that are transparent to scientific rationality and determinism, solving the *problems* of methodological development and rational assessment of the demarcation project of non-classics and post-non-classical disciplinary interaction of natural science and socio-humanitarian phenomena and regulatives. The initial dualism of rational reflection, which, in the pursuit of an «intentional» result, discovered its substantive palliative – the actual process of cognitive activity, here receives the ultimate revelation in the dilemma of normative analytical goal-rationality and prescriptive humanistic goal-setting.

An analysis of the methodological «puzzles» of modern science demonstrates that their solution is based on a rational *revision* of the levels of chance and determinism dictated by the probabilistic revolution in natural science. The projection of this historical-scientific genealogy of levels onto the periodization of scientific rationality, often used to comprehend scientific revolutions, opens up the prospect of positively establishing the problematic status of post-non-classical science rationality and outlining the range of its (in)deterministic modifications.

4.2 Establishing a connection between classical rationality and determinism

The main leitmotif of European rationality, laid down in antiquity, was the appeal of human to the eternity of logos in an effort to overcome the transient random features

of chaotic non-existence inherent in natural elements or subjective arbitrariness. We can find the first evidence in the victorious speech of Pericles, when he, proud of the traditions of the fathers, asserts: «‹…› by the fact that they raised our state to its present greatness, they owe more to their wisdom than to blind happiness, and more to their moral stamina than to material strength» [145, p. 64]. And after 4 centuries, Virgil will already complain: «‹…› nothing can ever be adequately expressed, reproduced in its anonymous being, no one will ever be able to convey the babble of the moment being born, that is, we, who were born from chaos, will never be able to come into contact with it, as soon as we look, and order is born under our gaze and form…» [146, p. 441].

As F. Nietzsche summed up about European science, «‹…› it arose from the aversion of the intellect to chaos» [147, p. 283]. The manifestation of this attitude in various contexts can be traced from the ancient Greek «Noos» and «Logos», which brought order to the original «set», to modern criticism of postmodernity as a mosaic and irrational worldview.

Even during the development of the first picture of the cosmogonic process, designed to naturalize ideas about world harmony, the classical concept of *atomism* was also repelled from the ancient mythology of «necessity» (*causality*) to demonstrate the qualitative certainties of the cosmos, and randomness as pre-cosmic disorder or post-cosmic deviation from order. On one level, she opposed the mythological expediency of personalized interventions, proclaiming internal self-sufficient laws, which were supposed to be objectively learned through the «immediate causes» of mechanical shocks. However, on the other hand, it was concretized in physical accidents to ..., beyond ..., or between ... laws, if you try to reduce these «causes» to the «ultimate foundations» of the hidden nature of things, in which the causal schemes of the qualitative formation of things converge and the speculative explanation of the «first causes» [148].

The search for the Modern era, together with atomism, somewhat repeats the path «from myth to logos», however, they connect the newly liberated determinism with *subjective rationality*. The latter seems to be a cognitive reflection of the quasi-creator,

restoring the original Intention through the methodical questioning of creations based on the law originally established by him [149, p. 303; 150, p. 85-86].

In the deistic desire to close this reflection, its teleological intention was eliminated and the continuity of its cogital space was affirmed, which, in relation to «creations», contributed to the absolutization of the first Democritanian level in the face of simple dynamic patterns: all studied properties and connections were considered as «proximate» causes – regardless of their nature, without logical gradation as equally necessary and differing only in intensity. Being consonant with the mechanical task of «completeness of description», it opened up the prospect of direct coordination of the causal relationships of individual atoms with the dynamics of the «great natural laws» of an isolated system as a whole. «It is enough to integrate the system of differential equations that describe the movement of all bodies and particles without exception that make up the Universe in order to obtain an exhaustive knowledge of what is, what was and what will be. Any accident, according to this program, is only the result of our ignorance» [151, p. 254].

Thus, the original thesis «mind thinks being» became a «Procrustean bed» for both sides of the subject-object questioning: the mechanical rationalization of physical theory *and* experimental control of its referent became the tools of the notorious double Laplacian elimination – the «hypothesis» about the divine Creator of the world system as an inexhaustible source external interventions and «chance» as evidence of the internal freedom of Nature. «In fact, we are talking about the rational «transubstantiation» of the core of mythical reality, about rationalization, in the process of which the authentic mythical content of the main provisions of the Christian dogma is leveled. At the same time, the ensemble of ontological axioms itself, which acts as the metaphysical foundation of a new reality (Modern), outside the myth remains a completely arbitrary set of «faith», which could neither be formed randomly, nor be «opened» as a result of purposeful actions» [152, p. 143].

In its ultimate expression, which eliminates the distinction between individual consciousness and reality as a common denominator of means of self-preservation, such a strategy is often viewed as a scheme for hypostasizing power. According to the

authors of the «Dialectic of Enlightenment», its basis is the procedure of mutual generalization of both sides of the questioning, turning off the need for reflection – the individual in the general, the sensual in the abstract-theoretical. Perceiving a thing as a case of one kind or another, «objectifying thinking, just like sick thinking, contains in itself the arbitrariness of the thing itself, completely alien to the subjective goal, it gives oblivion to the thing itself and precisely in this way inflicts on it the violence that is done on her in practice» [153, p. 240].

4.3 Testing Rationality by Freedom: Determinism in the Subject-Object Position

The revival of atomism and its adaptation to the needs of the analytical methodology of the new natural science contributed to the truncation of the heterogeneous structure of determination and relations between the nature of God and man of the traditional worldview. After the *merger* along this path of the causal schemes of atomism and Aristotelianism, which led to the abolition of the qualitative limitations of nature, experimental Newtonianism could be combined with the idea of a «complete analysis» of rationalism.

Using the theological lineage of «natural revelation», the successes of the new scientific methodology launched the moral reflex of its ultimate extrapolation to the status of «metaphysical philosophy». «In the metaphysical state, which in fact is only a general modification of the theological, supernatural factors are replaced by abstract forces, real entities (personified abstractions), inextricably linked with various things, and capable of themselves producing all observable phenomena, the explanation of which then consists only in search of an appropriate entity» [154, p. 58].

Being legal heirs of the ideas of the divine mind, entities have the properties of substantiality and mutual consistency: on the one hand, they are self-sufficient (they necessarily contain an infinite number of predicates in the concept of the corresponding subject and do not serve as anyone’s predicate), and on the other hand, their implementation is actually limited by the expedient structure of universal laws of a general order (Intention).

Thus, in the classics, the Christian mystical *model* of consciousness was continued as a transparent point of pure subjectivity, striving to embrace the Universe in a single formula of all movements and thereby acquire self-identity. Thanks to this model, the liberation of nature from spatio-temporal circumstances, coinciding with the depersonalization of the ability to cognize it, closed the scientific forms to an explanatory procedure relatively independent of empiricism, which, following the model of universal gravitation, is completely reduced to the logic of the *implementation* of the objective essence [155, p. 79].

In the ontological aspect («horizontally»), such a realization occurs in accordance with the principle of causality, and in the epistemological aspect («vertically»), in accordance with the analytical method, the principles of deductive proof and linguistic tautology. At one time, such a simple symmetry of cause-and-effect and send-and-inference relations gave the Thomist doctrine of the Ordo the coordinates for a clear comparison of the «free» initiatives of the human subject and their moral assessment by the divine Subject. Since this variant of theodicy excluded theistic occasionalist guardianship, a human was encouraged or punished indirectly – through an instructive (non)violation of the Ordo. The mastery of the latter, as the mutual distancing of morality and reason, becomes an end in itself, so that justification could be replaced by explanation. ‹‹…› In Holy Scripture, things are sometimes said in our interests that are literally different from absolute truth, while nature, on the contrary, is inexorable and unchanging and never goes beyond the boundaries of its laws, as if taking care that the springs and methods of its actions are understandable to people‹…›» [156, p. 217]. Thus, «science brought the identification of the two concepts Ratio and Ordo – «reason» and «order» in the time of Newton and Leibniz were considered as synonyms» [157, p. 152].

In this vein, the logical foundations of thinking and the objective laws of nature are identified, which has found its expression in the principle of *mentalism* (the true order of natural events must initially fit into formal logical schemes), and with it in the figure of the «almighty mind» P.S. Laplace. «A mind that knew for any given moment all the forces that animate nature, and the relative position of all its component parts,

if in addition it turned out to be extensive enough to subject these data to analysis, would embrace in one formula the movements of the greatest bodies of the Universe on a par with movements of the lightest atoms: there would be nothing left that would not be certain, and the future, as well as the past, would appear before his eyes» [158, p. 8-9].

In addition, based on the identity (symmetry) of logical and ontological determinations, the principle of mentalism was balanced by *metaphysical realism*, which represented an object as a more or less isolated bunch of interacting *forces* expressing its inner essence and expressed in logically correct concepts, and therefore subjected to unambiguous analysis, measurement, and combination. As a result, a classical subject-object *opposition* was formed, according to which the active transforming ability of the subject, which was provided by the presence of an internal moral and spiritual plan, singled out and opposed it to the object and, in general, to the rest of nature. But the main thing is that the self-reflection of this internal plan revealed to the subject the infinite transcendent beginning *adequato ad intellectum divinum* with its guarantees of objective and reliable cognition, which were expressed in the fundamental foundations of the knowledge system, constituted the universal structure of their application and set the vector of constructive expedient transformation of the object.

It is characteristic that the scientific disciplines that claim to have a universal coverage of possible experience – «natural philosophy», «natural history», «general grammar» – justify it with a universal structure, as a rule, in the form of a linear order: *natura non facit saltus*. Thus legitimized experience acquires its rationality as a measure of truth in *certainty*, while faith, through the supramental truths of revelation, brings harmonic *integrity* to rational knowledge.

Thus, despite the apparent triumph of the self-sufficiency of the human mind, ‹‹…› the scientific worldview at the time of its formation opposed itself not to a religious view of the world, but to ideas about the world as chaos, a set of random events that are completely incomprehensible to humans. The scientific view of the world not only did not deny the religious one, but, on the contrary, it was based on the

position that the world exists and develops only thanks to Divine control» [159, p. 79]. In confirmation of such a genealogy is the opinion of the emblemator of hard determinism that the human spirit will always remain infinitely far from the ideal of the «almighty mind», in connection with which the development of an analytical *theory of probability* is required.

At the same time, the subsequent methodology of rationality unfolds precisely in this space between the «almighty mind» and the human spirit, where the former legitimizes a particular cognitive goal as *universal* and therefore value-neutral, and the latter represents the means of achieving it based on the dogmatic symmetry of the natural order and subjective-cognitive operations. Due to this, the initially ethical concept of reasonableness [145, p. 180] is extrapolated by M. Weber to goal rationality (Zweckrationalitaet) as a rational version of the reformation of faith [160, p. 192-193], and the particular scientific version of determinism turns into «*Laplacian determinism*». The linear-functional dependence of the latter becomes a rational model of both truthful comprehension of reality and social progress. «Starting from the Enlightenment, the concepts of rationality and scientificity were almost identified, since there was no doubt that the rational beginning is most fully realized in science, primarily in natural science. In a crystallized form, this position manifested itself in logical positivism, which identified the unscientific and meaningless» [161, p. 24].

Enlightenment ideology justified its intuition of naturalization and universalization with the help of a *total*, «encyclopedic» rational faculty. In the historical retrospective or perspective, this criterion of systemic rationalization meant that the previously privileged methodology would hierarchically structure the human life world, so that all certainties were opposed, and opposites (one / many, good / arbitrariness, necessary / accidental, rational / irrational, etc.) were positioned as positive and negative values. During this period of popularization of the program of mathematical natural science and the epistemology of rationalism, their meaningful opposition to the empirical (sensual) is affirmed, which ultimately leads to the disciplinary specialization of sciences (the program of J. Buffon).

In addition, in contrast to the sensual, the rational for the enlighteners acquires the

meaning of metaphysical freedom – from the final bodily, experimental, traditional-cultural nature. «In the metaphysically natural and therefore unique world, the historicity of human existence turns out to be something, in principle, secondary. History is thrown to the periphery and then comprehended from a certain metaphysical center that removes it, the certainty of culture is weathered and turns into a random, circumstance-conditioned limited form of a common and unified human "nature"» [162, p. 181].

In this regard, a rational being, being abstracted from the sequence of external causes reflected in sensory perception, is able to itself begin causal series, to set intelligible goals: «‹…› reason creates for itself the idea of spontaneity, capable of spontaneously starting to act without another preceding cause, which in turn would determine it to act according to the law of causation» [163, p. 478].

At the same time, his reason, oriented towards the «second nature», is doomed to carry the features of this environment of existence, and they will definitely reveal an experienced admixture of knowledge of the «first nature», expressing someone's will. M. Montaigne noted the first part of this expansive policy of cognitive rationality: «divine truth is revealed to us more with the help of our ignorance than our knowledge. There is nothing surprising in the fact that we are not able to comprehend this supernatural and heavenly knowledge with ours earthly and natural means; therefore, let us treat it with humility and submission, for it is said in Scripture: "I will destroy the wisdom of the wise and I will reject the understanding of the reasonable"» [164, p. 198].

Now we are not talking about the absolute Will, with which the subjective hermeneutics of the Middle Ages conformed: the absolute Will is replaced by a transcendent ontology, while this-worldly ontology is reduced to a mechanical object. Therefore, the issue of freedom is resolved in the epistemological plane: the private-volitional component of the reason can be prevented by the mathematical standardization of any random individual knowledge into a universal necessary theory. Such a theory protects the reason, freed from spontaneous necessities, and from the randomness of particular arbitrariness, incompatible with the idea of cumulative

progress. Thus the individual reason and will become for the German idealists subordinate and extreme expressions of something more general – culture.

4.4 Differentiation of classical rationality in German idealism

In the light of the analytical reductions of mechanistic natural science, the «free will» of theology symbolized the violation of the prevailing methodological principle «hypotheses non fingo» and called into question the scientific viability of the humanities. «In the Book of Nature, written, according to Galileo, in the language of mathematics, the corresponding chapters on man were to be read in the same language. But the language of mathematical natural science turned out to be powerless when it was resorted to in order to express human spirituality, the ability to think and learn «with mind and heart». Human «existentiality» fell out of the scientific picture of the world"» [165, p. 19].

Thanks to I. Kant at the end of the XVIII century. this defect was transformed into the dignity of «practical reason» to orient the subject to go beyond the limits of natural determination and objective being in general, in order to *comprehend the diversity of goals* and requirements for scientific will from the infinite height of divine values. «The highest task of science is "to penetrate into the very depths of nature in accordance with all possible principles of unity, of which the main thing is the unity of goals" ‹…› the mind builds up to the highest unity – the unity of goals – that which the reason is able to bring only under the unity of the cause – the natural regularity, as it is seen by the mathematical natural science of modern times ‹…› those regularity that the reason establishes, revealing the causal connection of phenomena, turn out to be a *system of means* for the realization of goals – not the subjective goals of a human or humanity, but objective expediency ‹…›» [166, p. 22-23].

The recognition of Kant's apriorism contributed to the distancing of the order of reason and the order of being, the diversification of «philosophical» and «scientific» rationality and the subordination of philosophy and science. Proclaiming this relationship at different levels (mind – reason, totality – predicate, noumenon –

phenomenon, etc.), I. Kant, however, uses it only in the most topical areas – where the scientific will by itself comes so far to not enough general and necessary knowledge. Thus, we are talking about reflection on scientific theories – their definition, purpose, construction, structure and epistemological status. In the *perspective* of overcoming accidental in them, a characteristic Kantian apodicticity of knowledge should arise on the basis of «attributing to things only what is necessary follows from what is stated in a priori forms», which for the time being were specified by scientists only in Euclidean mathematics and Newtonian mechanics, which for I. Kant are the paradigm of scientific rationality. There, constitutive scientific reason and regulative philosophical mind practically coincide, compensating for the bodily sinfulness of natural determinism and «vague» forms of its cognition not with semi-transcendental «values», but with refined conventions and idealizations.

«For Kant, everything a priori is necessarily "pure," that is, it is not characterized by any sensory and material data, by anything random, psychological or physiological, and even more so by nothing social, always containing, according to Kant, this or that element of chance. "Mind" in Kant is necessarily "pure", be it practical, theoretical or aesthetic» [167, p. 98].

Despite all the extremes of the projects of systematization of the Kantian heritage, the German classics as a whole implement the declaration of the hegemony of philosophy in those aspects of cognition that go beyond the limits of intrascientific goal-oriented rationalization. Now we are talking about internal / external sources of genesis, subjective / objective causes of change, inexperienced interpretation of theoretical concepts, etc. Thus, under the influence of the interdisciplinary achievements of phenomenological natural science («animal» electricity, electrolysis, electromagnetism, oxygen combustion, cellular theory), quality speculative generalizations and extrapolations of «Wissenschaftslehre», «speculative physics», «natural philosophy», «the doctrine of principles» were formed, which actualized the *metaphysics* of telos as a divine Intention, immanent in Nature itself.

Its justification of objective *expediencies*, taken not as Newtonian «hypotheses»» or Kantian «values», but as natural philosophical «principles», transferred the hitherto

epistemologically immature «organic» description of «natural history» to the status of a universal dialectic. It consists in the enrichment and relative subordination of natural mechanical *causality* (causa efficiens) to the infinite fullness of the spiritual noumenal (causa finalis), which, in contrast to the mathematical form of «beginnings», preserves the negative epistemological characteristics of the transcendent (subjective, free) already for itself. «"Speculative physics" should not investigate individual natural objects or subject areas, it deals with the principles according to which nature creates all its forms. Since the forms of nature originate in the Absolute, whose systematic knowledge of itself precedes nature, human knowledge of these forms (or, what is the same, of this knowledge of the Absolute) must precede that knowledge that can be obtained in experience. This speculative, a priori construction of nature precedes empirical science and determines it» [165, p. 31]. Hence the reunion of reason with intuition, the rehabilitation of chance as an objective imbalance in the course of the *actual* (meaningful) realization of the goal, as well as the reduction of the mechanical and mathematical model of determination to the role of an empirical, final, external one.

For example, I.V. Goethe in this strategy, reproduces the Galilean way of mastering randomness by compiling a «continuous» (bounding on conditions, causes and consequences) generic nomenclature of «cases», with the difference that idealization procedures are directed in the spirit of «practical mind» at the synthetic unity of the phenomenon, and their results have a qualitative moral and aesthetic dimension. Obviously, due to such a combination of positive science with the spiritual intuition of the goal-idea-ideal of «primordial phenomena» (substances, forms), the *full* coverage of their «metamorphic individuals» in a universal objective law will remain fraught with chance, and mathematics will only perform the a posteriori function of demonstrative proof locally established sequences of «cases» [168].

G. Hegel also correlates the individual and the genus, but gives this a procedural (historical) form of the joint dynamics of conceptual and categorical structures as the logic of the development of culture. According to V.S. Shvyrev, «‹…› if Kant limits the sphere of constructive mental activity to "closed" rationality, then Hegel tried to

make the “open” rationality of developing thought, expanding and deepening its initial premises, its cognitive capabilities and prospects, the subject of his consideration» [169, p. 145.]. Its desired *necessity* («idea») surpasses the general forms and laws of enlightenment thought in that it dialectically combines the rational orientation towards metatheoretical principles (abstract identity, universality, etc.) and «real» accidental.

In the summary gradation of Hegelian categorology, this is *not* the objective accidental that is already known to rationalism and empiricism when they elevate *one* of the areas of actualization of an idea in nature (content) or the human spirit (form) to the category of the necessity of the idea itself. No, we are talking about the *interaction* of content and form, cause and effect, law and phenomenon, in which the magnitude of effective causes of one genus (law) (re-)determines the qualitative measure of effective causes of another genus and vice versa (scientific determinism), submitting on a larger scale to the general teleology of the Absolute Idea (philosophical determinism).

In rational-cognitive terms, the distinction between two determinisms is caused by the *stratification* of the theoretical representation of the systematic and historical moments of the reality under study by formalized reason and «open» mind, respectively. At the same time, in G. Hegel this stratification acquires a «dialectical» character of the brought to the limit of differences between the negatively reasonable scientific and positively reasonable philosophical *stages* within the universality of the self-developing Absolute Spirit of culture [170, p. 86].

4.5 Philosophical premises of the probabilistic style of thinking: levels of determination

Among the critics of Hegelian determinism, of particular interest are the authors of the philosophical systems of irrationalism, who saw in the strategy of «linearization» individuals (accidents) a relapse of the Aristotelian identification of *being* and thinking that leads him to need.

The fact is that Aristotle was one of the first to consider the category of chance as a logical form of thinking and denoted its objective, although secondary in the «movement» of nature, meaning. It would be more accurate to say «derivative» meaning, since the thesis of the identity of being and thinking assumed the complete exhaustion of being, including random, in logical forms. The latter was presented in the conceptual apparatus of hyleomorphism – along with «matter», «form», «potency», «reality», «causality» – in connection with the desire of Stagirite to give a logically exhaustive explanation of various forms of *change* in essences.

The gap between the material and formal aspects (cause) of a single sensuously perceived entity, causing the movement of its opposite possibilities, is the source of ontological irrationality. However, its recognition in opposites as an accidental «incoming» predicate is already carried out by certifying *logical* procedures, as if it were a whole class of events, a «secondary» entity. «In our sensations, acting as reflections of things that exist independently of consciousness, the world is given to us. However, true knowledge about the reality of sensations cannot be given to us, because in sensations the general, which in reality exists, is not given. That is why the need arises not only for sensual, but also for rational cognition. It is this general that opens the mind in reality. The discovery of the general in the individual is the discovery of the law, the discovery of the connection between essences. It is in the discovery of the law that the rationality of cognition finds its manifestation» [170, p. 69].

The irrationalists of the first wave believe that whatever the merits of the a priori system of thought or, conversely, the flaws of the natural element, reality will be created by spontaneous metaphysical *Will*. However, for all its irrationality, firstly, it negatively mirrors the universal subject of German idealism, and secondly, the image of its objectification is devoid of the category of becoming, and this static character reveals the subordination of the irrational motive to Schopenhauer's philosophy of the general *rational* schema. According to T.N. Dyshkant, the irrationality of A. Schopenhauer is postulative-speculative and is projected onto ontology after the epistemological distinction of disinterested contemplation and interested science [171].

Despite the fact that scientifically organized knowledge is only one of the types of

rational [172, p. 208], the dominant meaning of the term «rationality» covers the articulating and ordering (ratio, mens) abilities of the mind and is associated with the mathematization of Modern science: «here the infinite world is made up of the world of ideal objects as such, and not of isolated, imperfect and randomly given to our cognition, any object is comprehended in its being by itself by a rational, systemic, unified method in the endless process of cognition ‹…› nature becomes a mathematical variety» [153, p. 41].

Along with a clear demarcation of the field of research and the disontologization of science, the new method ensured the success of the sciences in the XVII-XVIII centuries. «In view of the unsurpassed cognitive effectiveness of science, and also in view of the strict impersonal accuracy of its constructions, religion and philosophy were forced to determine their own position, exclusively in accordance with science, just as in the Middle Ages science and philosophy were forced to conform their positions with religious ideas, which had an immeasurably greater weight in the culture» [173, p. 300].

With the secularization of science and the demarcation of its subject area, the methodological means of formal reflection of cognition acquire a self-sufficient character: the metaposition of the creator as a guarantor of truth is replaced by intrascientific criteria, that is, *goal-setting* rationality is replaced by *expedient* rationality. In theoretically developed disciplines, priority is given not to the description of reality (truth), but to the reflection of the unity of corporate consciousness (scientific character). Any content in it remains only a part, correlated with something larger. «For there are no more separate, independent realities that would exist on their own, and only then enter into relations with other realities; rather, all being as a whole is a relation» [174, p. 102].

Hence the classical understanding of the *ir*rational as containing erroneous logical (or scientific conventional) *foundations* or devoid of reflection on them and, as a result, not allowing self-verification. The conscious adherence to the «groundless» position then looks like a capitulation to the scientistic unlimitedness of mathematical expediency: «it was already impossible to stop this “colossus”, which grinds everything

in front of it; one had to flee from it into the shadows of "nature" à la Rousseau, the murky mysticism of sensations, the sugary cloyingness of "irrationalism" cast by it; irrationalism – let us emphasize this – was not an opposition to rationalism, but the desired effect of a purely rationalistic stupefaction, rationalism inside out ‹…›» [175, p. 50-51].

Although *contemplation* and *attraction* became the subject of the new «shadow» criterion, they did not leave the universal semantic space of reasonable grounds, and their desired «naturalness» was assessed by the ability to call a *generally* valid mind to action. Therefore, within the framework of the opposition to classical rationality, anti-rationalism opposes the absolutist idea of the complete removal of experience by actual theoretical means. There is no place in them for the unique conditions of existence and goal-setting [will], characteristic of a social and humanitarian object. «The consequence of this is the tendency of almost all rationality theorists to be content with a rudimentary understanding of rationality as the capacity for justification, as if the animal rationale could do nothing but justify: for example, think, act, ponder, meditate, solve problems, play, etc.» [176, p. 214]. And vice versa, the addition of special socio-cultural functions to the original features of anti-rationalism and the explication of specific principles of cognition give rise to alternative *types of rationality*. This leads to an extremely broad interpretation of rationality as a form of assimilation of reality, concretized in generalized standards (ideals, norms) of the corresponding activity and its results.

At the same time, the enlightenment cleansing of epistemology from religious-mythological causal schemes turned into ups and downs of the *ontological* registration of the overmind, which by the XX century, along with the rejection of universality and reflexivity, will outgrow the theme of rationality. So the irrationalists continue to distinguish between philosophical and scientific determinisms, considering the first as direct and irrational, and the second as artificial, mediated by the «metaphysical» reduction of chaotic being to identity with necessary thinking. In retrospect, this looks like a combination of Kant's constitutive activity of the mind with Hegel's

epistemological progressivism, when the mind *blindly* masters the creative function of the mind.

A similar synthesis of German idealism is carried out by Ch.S. Pierce, however, his indeterminism is less subjective, since the «practical» dignity of artificial determinism is translated by him into «scientific». On the one hand, chance («tyche») is justified on a philosophical level: «‹…› although, like the rest of the physicists of his time, he believed that our world is a clock that works according to Newtonian laws ‹…› Peirce concluded that we are right to assume that there is a certain *imperfection or looseness* in all clocks, and that this opens up the possibility of an *element of chance* in their work [177, p. 503-504].

At the same time, the guarantees of the self-correcting scientific method pragmatically limit its «tychism» to the rational-normative and material conditions of the scientific community into descriptive «laws of probability». In this *reduction* of discouraging contingencies, one can see the *theoretical maturation* of non-mechanistic science, which W. James and D. Dewey still insure with Kant's random *belief* (Unternehmung) and, in general, the classical isolation of the subject of knowledge. Qualifying transcendental grounds as *bringing* certainty into proper scientific empirical laws, they will prepare a revolution in Kant's division of rationalities, which, in combination with Comte's meaninglessness of «primary causes», will constitute (neo)positivist «dogmas» about the dichotomy of analytical and synthetic judgments and about the reducibility of the first to the second [178].

At the same time, the neo-Kantian scheme of scientific determination for idiographic disciplines rehabilitated the *transcendent*, combining at the point of the «first cause» the divine mind and world *connection*, thereby introducing epistemological opacity into the latter: as evidenced by the evolution of the disciplinary *criterion* of demarcation at the end of the XIX it was possible to give it an unconditionally positive meaning only at the cost of probabilistic *addition* of determination levels. In the general scientific perspective, this meant the *equation* of the logical status of «empirical» and «theoretical», the contexts of observation and interpretation, discovery and justification, fraught with a crisis of procedures relating

them as the basis of scientific rationality – the problem of the sufficiency of fundamental axioms, continuity in the rules of inference, independent empiricism, «theoretical load of facts», etc. [179, p. 78].

On the other hand, the neo-Kantian and phenomenological interpretation of the subject-object opposition as sensual «horizons» of subjectivity and the hermeneutic communication of these ontological levels as intersubjective weakened the association of the probabilistic style of thinking with the crisis of scientific rationality, perceived in terms of the subject-object relationship.

4.6 Non-classical subject, object and language of scientific description

A certain initiative of non-classical norms of scientific rationality at the instrumental level of the *style of thinking* was laid by the probabilistic-statistical means of scientific description of the XVIII-XIX centuries. The probabilistic revolution, which gradually took place in the scientific consciousness, first from criminal and commercial statistics (W. Petty, D. Grount, A. Quetelet), and later from statistical biology and physics, caused a crisis in the basic worldview of mechanism regarding the external-spatial concentration of objective *essence* physical body. The Cartesian principle of cogito placed it in the visual space of the subject, integrating spatial and temporal loci into a rigorous mathematical description.

Now, however, to bring order and meaning to scientific observations, it was necessary to touch on the very nature of the observed object. «The concept of substance was dissolved in assumptions about probabilities and about the “urge to exist”. The connection of particles with each other, which was not of a local nature, ran counter to mechanistic causality. Solid discrete bodies have given way to formal relations and dynamic processes» [173, p. 301].

Therefore, the discovery of these not visual properties-relationships and the statistical structure of objects introduced the problematic nature of their fixation by traditional logical-discursive means into the universal and necessary result of cognition, and with it the problematic idea of the subject as an external

(«Archimedean») observer [142].

Discredited also by the theory of relativity, the privileged frame of reference is replaced by a «surrogate» of instrumentalist, verificationist, metric methods, structural transformation rules, etc. There is no talk yet about the deconstruction of the ideal of an absolutely transcendental subject in the methodological consciousness, but now, through the cognitive tools used, it serves rather as a link (interpreter) between the micro- and macrolevels, the discrete temporary states of the existence of an object.

The self-reflection of the cognizing subject on the subject of possible alternatives endows him with ontological freedom. In other words, in addition to the new European idea of the activity of the subject of cognition in the sense of his methodological enterprise, here are made dependent on the strictly articulated structures of the subject («mind») and the *results* of cognition. So Kant's apology for freedom, which legitimized a certain irrationality of the structure of the human soul, began to spread to the structure of the physical world. This found expression in the fact that mathematical means no longer describe so much events in real space and time as the possible results of *measurements* of the subject, which he can carry out over the system. Being heterogeneous, this integral statistical indicator is divided into probabilistic distributions of possible measurements of a mass, dynamic, complex, and most importantly, ambiguous object. Alternative representations that explain the same phenomena as different objects, and possibly consistent with the principle of complementarity, do not necessarily have to be rejected and linearly replace each other as it was supposed in the classical methodology of cumulativeism and the philosophy of «metaphysical realism».

Thus, the property of objectivity of classical epistemology – in the form of an impersonal cast of an object in knowledge – acquires in non-classical rationality the characteristics of *activity* with an *object*, due to which the latter must either be dispersed in its random properties (accidence), or act in various modes (modes of being) – is the dilemma constituting the crisis of «objectness».

In particular, the corpuscular-wave dualism of quantum theory is caused by the intersection of the Aristotelian (essentialist, substantialist) and instrumentalist

(relationalist, functionalist) methodological approaches regarding the probability of particles to occupy some states. In a certain sense, these approaches revive the ancient philosophical distinction eisei / fusei instead of the classical distinction of objective / subjective, which is in crisis.

The context of the finding out of entities was the most relevant for the analytical principle of classical science in connection with the development of predominantly small stationary systems and trust in the transcendental characteristics of the natural mind, or, in a secularized sense, trust in the human dimension of nature. Therefore, essentialism denies the extensiveness of the physical situation (experimental device) any determining [probability] properties, entirely attributing them to the intensity of a fragment of matter – a particle. Even G. Galileo considered it impossible to identify entities both in relation to close elemental substances and distant celestial ones: «it seems to me that I can equally not comprehend the essence of the Earth, like the Moon, elementary clouds and spots on the Sun» [180, p. 77].

Relationalism (from the Latin «relatio» – «communications») gives an ontological status to relations that determine the predispositions of the entire physical situation, the usual ignoring of which leads, from this point of view, to interconnected incompleteness of mathematical formalism and incomplete prediction of experimental results [181]. This statement, in fact, is one of the applications of a more general than quantum mechanics, non-classical worldview, which received the first methodological expression, according to K. Popper, in «recent» Anglo-Saxon thought. «Everything we know about the external world can be expressed in terms of the interaction of events that mutually determine the nature of each object. The whole environment is involved in the nature of each event occurring in it. Therefore, the primary form of each event follows from the nature of its natural environment. The laws by which the environment itself is conditioned simply generalize the nature of the objects of which it is composed» [182, p. 432].

Just as the language of Newtonian mechanics ignores «dissipative processes» (relationships of thermal motion, viscosity, friction, diffusion), the essentialist experimental language of quantum theory arbitrarily or forcedly ignores the system-

structural micro-relations that mediate the external influence and response of the object, so that his «behavior» no longer corresponds to the idealizations of analyticism and superposition. As a result, the same initial conditions fixed in the language correspond to a certain set of real initial conditions. However, the corresponding spread of results cannot be calculated in the norm of errors, since the unstable equilibrium of the physical situation leads to a significant increase in deviations, which is fixed in the language as the ambiguity of outcomes or the «free will» of the micro-object. Then fair objections arise about the belonging of the charge, mass, spin and other characteristics, and compromise projects are proposed for preserving the essential principle with another – virtual, transcendental – mode of being [183]. «In the history of science and directly in the history of theoretical physics, an analogue of this situation can be mutual complementarity, equivalence and a kind of constructiveness of the algebraic (group) and geometric approaches» [184, p. 152].

In addition to K. Popper, there are several more editions of relationism concerning quantum mechanical objects, and even more refined ones [185]. «In essence, everything that we know in nature is *relations*, and all our knowledge is ultimately reduced to knowledge of relations. All sorts of “elements” = “objects” that we introduce into the picture of nature, in the end also turn out to be just some “nodes” in relationships and on a network of relationships» [186, p. 452].

However, constructivist experiments with scientific language fix it in the status of a purely instrumental – an autonomous system of signs. And this also means the rejection of the classical idea of the neutrality and transparency of the language of scientific formulations: now it *participates* in the display of the world. linguistic forms of their expression (the language of observation and the language of theory). «For us, this means that we can never simultaneously determine a thing – for example, life – and its price. From now on, we will not be able to fix the real and its sign at the same time, and we will never again dominate both at once» [187, p. 52]. In scientific discourse, this finds expression in irreducible uncertainty, like W. Heisenberg’s «uncertainty relation», some universal constants, provoking the relativism of intrascientific methodological reflection.

One of the founders of the new rationalism, G. Bachelard, commenting on the methodological shifts made by the assimilation of the principle of W. Heisenberg in science, speaks of the existence «‹…› of only secondary qualities, since any quality is inextricably linked with the relation». As applied to non-classical statistical physics, this means that «the properties of the whole must be sought at the level of the class», the belonging of an element to which, in contrast to mechanical laws, constitutes its essence [188, p. 117]. Accordingly, in non-classical (non-Lavoisian) chemistry, the definition of substances also includes the conditions for their recognition (isolation operations), so that «some substance becomes in some way a function of its position in a number of other substances» and «its definition is more functional than realistic» [189, p. 216].

A similar situation can be observed in the logic of the early XX century, in attempts to develop a modal intensional logic in addition to the formal extensional one (C.I. Lewis). Further, Einstein's theory of relativity assumes a space-time world with a curvature that is beyond the scope of three-dimensional perception and «from there» constituting all observable relationships [190]. The same can be said about the unconscious in psychology, ideological in social psychology or nomogenesis in evolutionary theory (L.S. Berg) [191, c. 54]. There is a need for special functions – like «entropy», «wave function», «ideal types», which would indirectly translate contradictory and irregular events of the micro-level of description into terms of nomological structures. Together with them, fideistic and quasi-scientific practices (magic, astrology, alchemy, etc.) based on the *reproductive* combination of qualitative sign-symbolic knowledge and quantitative measurement procedures received methodological justification.

Thus, a feature of non-classical science is the heterogeneity of the sign system representing the corresponding non-classical objects in different epistemological modes or ontological levels. In addition, it combines different (in particular, mechanistic and probabilistic-statistical) methodological approaches to the model representation of the structure of matter: as point-by-element («in the form of an object») and as changes or interactions of the simplest measurable acts of manifestation

of the properties of elementary objects («in the form of events») [193].

Determining the cognitive and worldview status of these connecting «language of observation» and «language of theory» and, most importantly, their assessment as a set of formal algorithms (abbreviated schemes for describing complex relationships between empirical data) constitutes the problem of rationality in positivism: ‹‹…› if we assert things that are neither analytic statements true by virtue of the rules for symbols, nor empirical statements true by virtue of their referential content, then we are irrational» [194, p. 290]. In order to homogenize sign systems in this regard, following the model of the language of inductive sciences, special logical means were developed to reformulate theoretical terms into terms of the language of observation (methods of F. Ramsey, W. Craig).

In the broader context of the «scientific worldview» of logical positivism, this *way* of realizing L. Wittgenstein's «ideal language» by its adherence to atomic propositions also ignored the problematization of classical *essentialism*. In this essentialism, the Galilean impulse of objectifying idealizations, described in detail by E. Husserl, which identifies rationality with scientific character and epistemology with *mathematical logic*, has not yet had time to dry up, because in this logic really ‹‹…› ideas about the formal structure of knowledge act directly as specific *substantive* prerequisites for its meaningfulness» [179, p. 17]. Therefore, the formal systems taken by logical positivists as an active transdisciplinary model of the relationship between the theoretical and empirical did not lead to the final demarcation of scientific knowledge expected by O. Neurath and the «encyclopedic integration of scientific knowledge», but to the historical relativism of this significative theory of rationality among postpositivists.

4.7 Non-classical crisis of the criteria approach to scientific rationality

Meanwhile, the methodological analysis of the «context of discovery» and the development of knowledge, which is marginal for logical positivists [195], demonstrates not only the problem of uncertainty and ambiguity in the construction of

objectivities (modes), but also their non-empirical, transcendental source.

Known for his methodological intuition, A. Einstein, back in the heyday of neopositivism, assumed «‹…› that the human mind must freely build forms before their actual existence is confirmed. The remarkable work of Kepler's whole life shows especially clearly that knowledge cannot blossom from bare empiricism. Such flourishing is possible only from a comparison of what is invented with what is observed» [196, p. 124]. The main source of such inventions is a set of subjective ideals, which become obvious, internally reliable if they coincide with supra-individual (cultural and professional) ideals and allow the formulation of generalized (more empirically inclusive) *mathematical* laws. The last circumstance is not singled out by A. Einstein, obviously because the pace of mathematization of scientific knowledge at that time already implies the mathematical form of «inventions of the intellect».

As in the tendency to increase the role of the subject when representing the connection of components or states of an object, the non-classical problem of the «context of discovery», apparently, reaches the level of fundamental *philosophical* understanding of the new facets of subject-object relations that are found in science. With the recognition of subjective meanings and meanings as a source of scientific *knowledge*, the latter acquires an uncharacteristic openness until now, fraught with the loss of a direct connection with reality.

Hence, following the example of the traditional metaphysical method, there is a need for *speculative* reflection of the constructed theory on the subject of compliance (*deducibility*) with its foundations and value preferences over other alternative theories [197, p. 135], otherwise, there is a danger of speculation around the «inventions of the intellect» with the subsequent loss of the «species specificity» of science, blurring its boundaries. Here, non-classical epistemology experiences the loss of classical landmarks of rational cognition for a long time and in various ways. The subject of exposure is the apriority of conditions of truth (substantial characteristics, the corresponding structures of thought and research methods), the attainability and singularity of truth in a progressive linear process, the expressibility of «internal mechanisms» («hypotheses of entities») in qualitative visual images, the reducibility

of discrete truths into fundamental laws and complete picture of the world.

According to the neopositivist program for the analysis of science, the cause of such a crisis is seen in the dominance of unscientific and pseudoscientific propositions that should be eliminated by universal logical and mathematical means («analytical rules»). Since this means an extension of the original criterion of «positivity» (for example, through accuracy, consistency, predictive and explanatory scales, simplicity and productivity in the formulation of research problems regarding the foundations of (non)acceptance of the theory) [198], non-classical epistemology focuses on the *criterion function*, which, however, will require no less metaphysical *complexity*, so that the insufficiency in one of the criteria can be compensated for by a more complete compliance with other criteria [199].

The beginning of the current trend of «philosophization» of science can be seen in the Renaissance *autonomization* of the cognitive aesthetic-experimental field of human spiritual life (Pulchrum) in the face of humanistic artistry from moral and value (Bonum) in the face of the depressing theological doctrine of Ordo, the regulatory and criteria support of which was entrusted to science [200, c. 63].

At this time, according to M. Heidegger, the *existent* is established as an object of «re-presentation», which deprives it of its own being in favor of alternative pictures endowed with different values. It is known that their dialectical transition to the reverse stage of «reality» becomes possible only as a result of «historically» organized activity to objectify goals. But then, having become «cultural values», they constantly threaten the consciousness correlating alternative pictures of the world to turn it into an *a priori* subject, whose goal-setting is not the result of a conflict of internal and external motives [202].

At first glance, in an attempt to correctly understand the «value of coins minted by God», only cognitive activity arises in relation to the «picture» of the world, and only in this is the humanistic guarantee of its success. Thus, the value of Mirandolla's man, since he is envied «not only by animals, but also by stars and otherworldly souls» obviously lies precisely in this ability to *compare*. But this is until the orientation to the transcensum becomes a priori, meaning for the time being only ontological

guarantees of this ability, provided by the absolute Subject, giving and participating at the same time. «Such a position in the subject-object paradigm of science exists only mentally, according to the principle "as if..." – as if a man were outside the bracket of the world. In it, the world appears as subject to knowledge, and not to practical transformation. However, it is quite clear that the next step is implied» [203, p. 204].

By the time of J. Bruno, who had cooled to the fideism of the Florentine Academy, the ability to compare was noticeably ahead of the «values» already accumulated by it, forming the opposition of worldly piety («enthusiasm»): to feel the impulse of the divine in oneself *or* consciously direct the human to the divine [204, p. 52-53]. The first option, characteristic of an undisciplined *spirit*, is more prone to random discrepancies between the values passively reflected by it and the «laws of nature and justice». The second option is looking for *guarantees* for enthusiastic transcensum: «when, oh fate, oh divine unchanging providence, when will I ascend the mountain, that is, I will reach such a height of thought that, having transferred me there, would allow me to touch the high entrances and hiding places, making for me obvious and, as it were, embraced and counted there values, that is, rare beauties?» [204, p. 84].

In the last example, one can guess the future *ideal* of a subject that is universal in its categories, concluding the «value neutrality» of classical science – you just need to reduce the whole variety of moral goals, including transcendental interventions, to the restrictive invariants of their implementation in nature, and those, in turn, lead to a mathematical model, which, according to G. Galileo, is identical in man and God. «This means that the cognitive task is not so much to reproduce the finite randomness of the natural world around him [man], but to penetrate with the help of it into the universal methods of natural creativity» [162, p. 48].

In methodological terms, this transition is one of the aspects of the general duality of the entire Renaissance: when the Holy Book begins to be perceived not so much from the point of view of divine goals, but rather from the point of view of divine *means,* that is, «grammar», it becomes the Book of Nature. Focusing on the methodical *self-control* of the subject over mental operations, which ensures the independent production of new reliable knowledge, science self-sufficiently implements the new

ethical ideal of freedom, pursued by Renaissance thought in place (or in order of down-to-earth specification) of the old ideal of perfection: G. Galileo gave Mirandolla's «movement» as the freedom of self-creation the form of the «law of motion» as a guarantee of this freedom. And if earlier the contradiction to moral axioms and precedents removed any obligation from logically impeccable reasoning, now science is empowered to evaluate conclusions without regard to [moral] content – according to the rational form («correctness») alone [205, p. 42, 341].

Already Leonardo da Vinci, in his manuscripts, reproaches natural philosophers (vagabundi ingegni) for adherence to high goals, the foundations of nature and the significance of the *object* of their science, to the detriment of the *validity* of his knowledge [206, p. 13]. And Cornelius Agrippa, correlating magic and mathematics in the same context, sees the advantage of their union in doing various mechanical miracles, like the flying dove of Archytas, «without natural endowments». Analyzing the general fate of the Hermetic tradition in the Renaissance period, F.A. Yeats concludes: «it can be said that a person's dignity has decreased, but power has increased. He has become an intelligent ape of nature, has understood the ways in which she acts, and, having reproduced them, masters her powers» [207, p. 138].

Later, this essentially pragmatic position, provided with the advantage of semi-sacred possession of the «laws» of nature, will for a long time receive justification as *freedom* from ideological prescriptions only due to the explication of the criteria of «internal justification» (of consistency, independence and completeness of axiomatics). It is in this context that the Galilean isomorphization of nature and mind is affirmed, according to which the theoretical certification of an idea meant an increase in its empirical probability up to the famous assertion of Hertz: «the main thing in Maxwell's theory is Maxwell's equations» [208, p. 286].

The search for *truth* is mediated by abstract mathematical hypotheses (idealizations), which reorient it from a semantic reflection of reality to a syntactic self-description: various «forces» (gravity, acceleration, chemical affinity), «fields», «fluids», «elementary currents», «atoms», «electrons» or «ether» are postulated and analyzed as hypotheses at the theoretical level, while empirical studies establish

rational virtues of the *manifestation* of properties, a visual image of these theoretical objects. And since their advancement is associated with a certain alternativeness, competition and improvement, the reflexive arsenal of scientific rationality turned out to be concentrated around the logicist (epistemic) criteria requirements for mathematical elements and operators [209].With the perspective of their similarity, symmetry and systematic laws, the project of the unity of the human mind is connected – the universal scientific methodology of the pioneers of the philosophy of science (O. Comte, J.S. Mill, W. Whewell). Although it turned out to be impossible to implement it into the desired normative structure, fully explicable in logical-mathematical terms, as K. Gödel proved, the old esoteric image of science here received a new life. As R. Bart showed, in full accordance with the provisions of Gnosticism, non-classical science selects an «equalizing» cipher to the secret unity of nature, which is the opposite of a sign like a safe or a lock to a master key [210].

Thus, the Renaissance epistemologicalization of reality, posited by the humanistic simulation of the absolute Subject, found its full expression only in the XX century, when metaphysics moved on to interpreting being already from the point of view of *finite* human consciousness (E. Husserl, M. Heidegger, J.-P. Sartre), but without abandoning the function of holisticizing reality. In the context of fragmentation of the picture of the world into special languages, and languages into goals («discourses»), this «philosophical» function balances the neopositivist strategy of eliminating disontologized metaphysics, giving rise to L. Wittgenstein’s image of an eye that combines the ontological and epistemological aspects of cognition, perception and reflection in an open contradictions [211, p. 183-184].

Developing Wittgenstein's eye metaphor, N.N. Moiseev sees the main consequence of the crisis of axiomatic substantiation in the refutation of the core idea of classical rationalism – the absolute Subject in the role of an External Observer, pulled out in due time by Copernicanism as a mental distraction of an empirical individual from his random point of view in favor of a free position. Occupied with «rational behavior», that is, a permanent search for basic attitudes that determine the choice and dynamics of the rules of cognition, the External Observer now becomes inseparable from the

object of study. This is how the effect of an internal observer arises, consisting in a spontaneous (in natural science) or volitional (in the humanities) change in the boundary and basic parameters of an object. The main way to eliminate this inseparability of objective and subjective determinations (or, more narrowly, micro- and macro-descriptions) is their mathematical averaging, so that stochastics becomes the norm of nomological description [212].

In other words, non-classical stochastics serves as an alternative to classical reductionism in the conditions of complex interference of laws, conditions for their implementation and conceptual and semantic forms, allowing, in relation to non-classical objects, to the same extent to move to a hidden noumenal meaning, to fixing by logical-discursive means of extra-rational reality into a universal and the necessary result of knowledge. «In the context of abstract (nomologically acceptable) worlds, real forms reveal a new perspective on their incompleteness. It is overcome by constructing virtual particles, probabilistic approaches to constructing the image of the Universe, the logic of possible worlds, and so on. This is, first of all, the essence of probabilistic thinking, characteristic of modern science‹…›» [213, p. 46].

On the other hand, K. Popper's criticism of the criterion of empirical verification completed the impossibility of closed scientific rationality. Moreover, it turned out that if verifications have a lack of inexhaustibility due to the fact that any theory produces an infinite number of consequences, then falsification has a flaw of relativity in relation to the multitude of its parameters (the ratio of the breadth of the explained and the excluded, experience and logic, the way of generalizing empirical data, the syntactic perfection of postulates, etc.). In the complex and historically changeable body of science, particular concepts and criteria of rationality reveal various degrees of explicitness, completeness, and rigor. This is expressed in the tendency to relativize the category of «rationality», limiting it to «regional» traditions, especially in connection with the revision of the status of quasi-scientific practices.

4.8 Tests of Scientific Rationality by Probabilistic Tendencies of Post-Laplace Determinism

With the attraction of *qualitative* areas and parameters of being to the atomistic paradigm, many classical idealizations regarding the causes and effects that are taken into account, and with them the *guarantees* of rationality, have sharply weakened. The fact is that objects that can only be described qualitatively turned out to be outside the rational description. From the moment when their properties were no longer reduced by the then means of formalization, the philosophical prerequisites opposite (to the classics) – phenomenology, personalism, modernism, pragmatism, voluntarism – were actualized in the scientific consciousness.

Moreover, this is not so much about providing science with new tools, as it might seem from the textbook study of Kierkegaard's motives for the complementarity principle of N. Bohr [214, c.77]. By analogy with apophatic irrationalism, which denies theology the essential attributes of God, there is a noticeable shift both at the anthropological level of Consciousness and at the epistemological level of Truth–Scientific–Rationality: ‹‹…› different perspectives of the system vision are not reduced to one single perspective; irremovable plurality, a polylogue of views on one and the same reality means the impossibility of a divine view of all reality» [216, p. 736]. In other words, non-classical philosophy came to the conclusion that the desired metaconsciousness is qualitatively delimited for individual consciousness from scientific, linearly reproducible forms of reality representation. In this vein, Bergson’s critique of the intellect sounds, which can be reduced to the fact that thinking reproduces «not reality, but only an imitation of a real, or rather, a symbolic image; the essence of things eludes us and will always elude us; we move among relations, the absolute is inaccessible to us, we must stop before the Unknowable» [217, p. 146].

At the same time, in the philosophy of Marxism and Freudism, attempts were made to justify the non-self-sufficiency of consciousness: being an element of a dynamic world totality, consciousness is determined, in particular, by the class structure and history of society or the ontogeny of sexuality, it does not include the conditions of its

possibility in mental experience. This takes away from the subject the possibility of rationally controlled (continuous and endless) reproduction of the object, the ability to identify consciousness and being [218].

Thus, contrary to the results and achievements of the history of philosophy in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. there is a gradual extinction of philosophical rationalism: «its place is taken by a pluralistic (worse version of dualism) empiricism of two main types: 1) sensualistic, which nourished and nourishes both the Marxist «diamat» and various schools of positivism, and 2) intuitionistic, based on irrationalism» [219, p. 23]. Increasing the accuracy of measurements in electrodynamics, thermodynamics, biology did not provide analyticity, integrativity, combinatoriality of empirical quantities in order to move from them to mathematically articulated *nomology*. Since that, despite all the influence of Newtonianism, was perceived in a certain transcendental relation to unified bodies, the first interpretation of the crisis was metaphysical *in*determinism consonant with philosophical *ir*rationalism. And, accordingly, the first reaction to it was the “positive” inductive methodology (J.St. Mill, W. Wavell, W. James, and others).

Ignoring the empirical-analytical gap of phenomena, positivism, following the methodological model of D. Hume, distinguished them only by the magnitude of the «immediate» causes, therefore, irregular and contradictory consequences produced in visual mechanical schemes were justified in a skeptical «narrative manner» [220, p. 207] and were subject to addition and mass evaluation in alternative nomological descriptions. The freedom to manipulate their variables, based on a multitude of atomic propositions, in the classical view of the progress of science, must mature into a scientific explanation that promised mastery of the subject.

However, the search for a unified theory of fundamental interactions, on the one hand, and “hidden closest parameters” of a self-identical ontology, on the other hand, undertaken to falsify theoretical alternatives, only gave rise to the non-classical problem of redundancy of rationality criteria. If this forced philosophical rationality to look for the norms of cognition at a more general level of non-logical analysis, then scientific-positivist rationality focused on the intersubjective potential of instrumental

methods of representation («synthetic forms», «mathematical hypotheses», «propositional statements»). «As is known, the emphasis on "description" in comparison with "explanation" in science seems to have been first made by Kirchhoff, who discovered (together with Bunsen) spectral analysis; this opinion, as is known, was supported and developed by E. Mach, Poincaré, Duhem and other scientists who made the greatest contribution to the philosophical understanding of the exact sciences ‹…› we are talking about the most complete and most concise description, i.e. usually expressed in mathematical form» [221, p. 266].

Realizing the anti-metaphysical program of positivism, these «descriptions» transferred cognitive priorities from the object to the method, from the explanatory function of the theory to the predictive one, from cause-and-effect determinism to the probabilistic ersatz of causality - an integral area of possible values. « Absolute precision, completely rigorous, unambiguous definiteness of the consequences of any assumption exists in natural science (as in geometry) not in sensory reality, but only in theory. The development of science aims to better and better adapt theory to reality» [222, p. 431]. Thus, external force «causal» determination began to be opposed to «*non-causal*» internal connection of states (L. Boltzmann), logical relation – functional correlation (J. Cuvier), study of adaptations – the law of growth correlation (C. Darwin), monism of theoretical explanation – pluralism of empirical descriptions (W. Wavell), speculative consistency of categories – the reliability of predictions (E. Mach).

According to W. Heisenberg, who, using the example of physics, identified scientific revolutions with changes in the structure of thinking, their general condition is the desire to «raise other questions and use visual images other than before» [223, p. 195]. Thus, in contrast to Laplace's extrapolation of deterministic epistemology to ontology, the instrumental-pragmatic approach to the objects of non-mechanistic natural science transferred a qualitatively new determination from physical representation to mathematical formalism. Thus, natural-science methods of representation, in particular, the probabilistic language of science, received general methodological recognition: «I am sure, – W. Pauli stated, – that the statistical nature

of the ψ-function (and thus the laws of nature) ‹…› will determine the style of laws for at least several centuries» [224, p. 266].

For a figurative understanding of probability, natural science assimilated the image of the levels of heterogeneous factors of determination from philosophical irrationalism and neo-Kantianism, reflected by N. Bohr as model *ersatz* for the analytical *explanation* of scientific theory. «Today, clarity is created not by simplifications that reduce all phenomena to a single visual model, but by an exhaustive overlap of various descriptions, including concepts that clearly contradict each other» [215, p. 103]. In the ontological aspect, this meant referring the non-causal factor to the internal *spontaneous* properties of objects-atoms, now really independent, but coordinated in the actualization of their capabilities by the general conditions of the system («dispositional field»).

At first, this *tendency*, described by K. Popper as «the transformation of all clocks into clouds», manifested itself in the extrapolation of the spiritual or vitalistic layers of being (forms of the movement of matter) with their characteristic «expediency of the irrational» on the problematic characteristics of non-classical objects (L. Oken, A. Bergson, W. Ostwald, etc.). Then, thanks to cosmology and quantum mechanics, it was transferred to the category of methodological principles that regulate the non-classical relationship between the theoretical and the empirical as ontologically heterogeneous. «For the interpretation of quantum theory, it is very important that its concepts are basically divided into two classes: the first (initial, primary) class consists of the so-called «directly observable» quantities considered in theory as typically random; the second class is formed by quantum numbers (proper quantum concepts, such as spin) ‹…› The former express more external characteristics of micro-objects, the latter express deeper, internal characteristics. The former allow one to individualize quantum processes, the latter are of a generalized nature. The former are constantly and chaotically changing, the latter are more stable. Naturally, the completeness of the theoretical expression of quantum processes is achieved by using the concepts of both classes related to different logical levels» [225, p. 162]. Non-classical rationality here acts as an arbiter of the descriptive and explanatory functions of scientific models

through the expansion of the initial criterion of «positivity», which is now forced to take into account the *indirect* correspondence of the language levels of the theoretical and empirical, when the specific meanings of one act as an exponent of the structure of possible *changes* in the other.

If the crisis of the classics caused a weakening of the cognitive norm of scientific explanation, then in the vicissitudes of non-classics, behind the criteria of metatheoretical choice from model alternatives, the value instance of the paradigm is visible, which, due to its fundamental nature, does not simply mediate the content of models with sociocultural samples and linguistic norms, as is typical of the «ultimate foundations» of classical and non-classical values, respectively [226]. Comparing models as expedient means in terms of the set and specific weight of «side» results that are subject to theoretical idealization and experimental elimination, it selectively qualifies the same «immediate» causes as necessary essential *or* accidental introduced ones. Thus, the normative function of *scientific* rationality reveals the half-heartedness of its cognitions in the general hermeneutic circle of *philosophical* rationality, which in fact also performs a prescriptive function, invisible to the former.

4.9 Formation of post-nonclassical rationality: synthesis of natural science and humanities

Since the awareness of values in many respects requires going beyond the framework of cognitive experience and is not subject to such logical verification as their goal rational *implementation* with the help of a certain configuration of means, enlightening connotations most often elevate them to a universal homogeneous subject, justified by the perspective of the «almighty mind» P.S. Laplace. After the Kantian establishment of «collective unity for the purpose of rational actions», it coincides with the ultimate goals of human existence and the universal rational grounds on which any *scientific argument* is closed: «instead of the personal interests of an individual, it makes values that have universal and necessary value» [227, p. 43]. Thus, the rational-philosophical principles of the subject-subject relationship and onto-teleological

determinism are identified with cognitive values, the manifestation of which in science turns out to be only a generalization of their means – a transition from subject idealizations to methodological norms.

For example, the (counter-)reformist revision of the mystery of transubstantiation, eventually reflected by philosophers as «the rupture of the thing and the symbol», pulled the ground out from under the «sympathetic canons» of magic and left it to the «theoretical assumptions» of natural science. The latter laid the meaning of relative truth as a progress in the correspondence of knowledge to *nature*, when the metrical and experimental refinement of experience removes from its spontaneity the limitations united by the common name causa formalis. Thus, the formation of classical science took place under the auspices of the new European value of freedom (causa sui), the combination of which with the ancient value of perfection (έπιστήμη) allowed G. Galileo to introduce mathematical idealizations of motion into the corpus of mechanics, and R. Descartes to introduce the logical foundations of experience.

With the loss of socio-cultural monopoly by the church institution and the emancipation of scientific rationality from the philosophical rationality Aesopian language of «theoretical assumptions» natural scientists began to perceive «positively», taking instrumental and mathematical idealizations for nature itself. «In fact, before them is not even an illusion of reality, but only an instrumental concept, technically useful techniques that allow establishing a correspondence between the logical apparatus and the facts of experience, and this concept is constantly improving, evolving (namely, an instrumental concept, and not “types of rationality”). Experience by its very nature presupposes sensory practice. This is what ultimately was designated by rationalism, i.e. what is historical was originally opposed to it» [219, p. 23]. Later attempts to return to it a sociocultural dimension, for example, in the context of humanitarization or in the strategic role of understanding that sets the conditions for possible meanings for scientific explanation [228, p. 331], turn out to be that the latter are also taken out of axiology and ascertain in the impersonal operational discourse of scientific representation as a context of discovery or application.

The incorporeal type of the object of non-classical natural science, abstracted

from phenomenal accidents only in «additional languages of instrument readings», strengthens the value-based mediation of reality, aggravates the reflexive part of the methodology and makes «questioning nature» not only a symbolic, but also ontologically active activity. ««…› If, nevertheless, we try to determine the appearance of the reality that has become the object of our scientific knowledge, it turns out that its main properties are constituted by the most general principles of scientific rationality and are obtained as a result of hypostasizing those methodological principles that are considered rationally legitimate. What could be called the "metaphysics of science" is the doctrine of a regularly arranged space-time universe in which the "lower" (elementary) hierarchical levels are "responsible" for the states of the higher levels (and explain them accordingly), and the change in one's own whose states in time can be fully described by fundamental dependencies ‹…› are nothing more than an explication of the basic methods of scientific rationality» [152, p. 66].

Since the substitution and deduction of signs are not necessarily symmetrical to the aspects and levels of the original signification of reality, scientific knowledge takes on the form of a *symbol* that surpasses its exact semantics and is involved in several connotative systems of elements and operators at once, between which information relations are established (parallelism, interference, displacement, etc.). If the neo-positivist project pursued the *reduction* of subject-methodological alternatives through a refining reflection of their linguistic foundations, then the post-positivist one forces us to reconsider the very constitutive opposition of scientific representation – formalization / reference – and finally move from the inductivist ideal of the structural simplicity of *theoretical abstraction* to the epistemological norm of complexity. ««…› There is nothing at all insignificant – the presumption of meaningfulness of each element and the presumption of universal interdependence: even "the cat looks at the king", even the most "pure" theory is influenced by the structure of everyday experience and the structure of language; there is nothing "pure" – all products of culture and thinking are mediated by activity and bear its imprints, among which, in particular, are the prerequisites for future activity ‹…›» [170, p. 58].

We are talking about «heteromorphic rational reconstructions», not only

reflecting the ideal causal scheme from the positions of inductivism, conventionalism, falsificationism, etc., but also dictating to scientists the appropriate rules of behavior. Rejecting the ideal of the correspondence of the order of reason to the order of being, methodological analysis goes beyond intertheoretical relations, involving cultural contexts (P. Feyerabend), sociological criteria (T. Kuhn) and the historical dimension (I. Lakatos) into scientific rationality, which stratify the «almighty mind», desacralizing his position as an external observer. «*Instead of one mind*, many *types of rationality* arose. Thus, the universality and necessity of scientific knowledge was called into question. Skepticism and relativism, so characteristic of historicism in philosophy, have now spread to natural science» [166, p. 13].

Post-non-classical interpretation of scientific objects through the principles of nonlinearity, multistability and teleonomy in the behavior of complex systems leads to a series of failures and compromises of classics and non-classics. «In particular, the principle of superposition is not fulfilled in non-linear systems, resonances change qualitatively, special non-linear effects of dynamics appear, which are absent in linear systems. This leads to the fact that the behavior of nonlinear systems is not described by polar categories, and therefore it becomes necessary to introduce synthetic concepts that unite the sides of the dichotomy: deterministic chaos (ordered disorder; necessary, regular randomness); self-organization (random order); fractality (discrete continuity, integral partiality), etc. ‹…› Today it is well known that development is generally non-linear, and its trajectories are non-closed curves or even fractal sets that have no classical geometric analogues and require revolutionary topological images, such as a strange attractor, for their description» [229, p. 31].

In operational-mathematical terms, such a graded description of ontology means overcoming the formality of probability distributions of non-classical statistics in «stochastic dynamics», in which not only physicists have recently experienced analytical interest. ««…› This is connected both with the emergence of a large number of specific problems in various fields, and with the emerging opportunity to advance in the fundamental problem of the relationship between the dynamic and statistical laws of physics, which were previously opposed to each other» [230, p. 228].

On the one hand, the «removal» of alternative idealizations (spatial and temporal, discrete and continual, horizontal and vertical, static and dynamic, material-bodily and spiritual) means a course towards real value *neutrality*, on the other hand, it realizes the phenomenological *value* of the fullness of being and its representation. In experiments with open nonlinear systems, it is supported by ontological activity and the semantic load of *phenomena* that now express the previous stages and related links of the system's existence, including the communicative and applied context of the subject of cognition. The representation of the symbolic connotations of this «indirect» context (subtext) not just as non-classical conditions of cognition, but as an explanance connects it with the mental prerequisites of socio-humanitarian «understanding», but subordinates the value alternatives of the latter to the task of increasing the empirical sensitivity, critical breadth and predictive power of description languages, common with the original cognitive context. «Science, with all the diversity of its components, is a single system. And the general direction of its subdivisions is on the whole one and the same – identifying the realm of the "possible". Only if natural science determines the *possibilities* hidden in the *surrounding world itself*, then humanitarian knowledge contributes to understanding the *possibilities of human action*. In particular, those that still remain unrealized» [231, p. 33].

Thus, «included» scientific reflection presupposes the organization of «analytical data» from both sides of questioning into the general diachronic meaning of the innovative probabilistic perspective of post-Laplace determinism, ascending from the desired universal order of the cognizing mind to the initial diversity and variability of its regulators – the rational order of social actions. For the scientist, this means additional mediation of an «intentional» subject-content representation: he compensates for the shaken absolutes of criterion-normative validity with *intersubjective ersatz* of transcendent rationality, which, at their levels of representation, assimilate real possibilities in communicative forms of expression and interaction with reality, forming in a coherent whole «internal stories», «virtual worlds» and other analogues of the «third world» by K. Popper.

4.10 Postmodern critique of classical scientific rationality

The loss of structural stability by natural objects, which served as a source of objective meanings and absolute foundations of universal rationality [232, p. 103], reinforces postmodern ideas about such a radical mediation of reality by cultural layers that questioning turns out to be one of the functional acts (along with evaluation, interpretation or criticism) of a purely linguistic game of giving meaning to signs. «‹…› A new determinism is at work in the linguistic world of postmodernism. Linear development here has given way to non-linear branching of alternatives (rhizome). Instead of an equilibrium and structural system, a non-equilibrium and amorphous environment is presented, the creative potential of which expresses a multitude of random events. The abundance of inputs and outputs of the labyrinth environment devalues the division into external and internal. Here there is no certainty of dynamic laws (such as the laws of mechanics) and everything new arises statistically and with a certain degree of probability» [233, p. 563].

Both the studied phenomena and the scientists who study them are deprived of the «depths and volumes» of their own definition, turning into «superficial» aesthetic symbols for the random (anonymous and autonomous) events of this game. «Outside of fixed reference points, all acceptable means are equally good, and in a pragmatic light, reason itself turns out to be nothing more than one of the means of action. The way it is used replaces the lost essence of rationality, turning rationality into a predicate of activity» [152, c. 175].

In this regard, the explanance of theoretical explanation turns into a *narrative* similar to Kant's «ideas of practical mind», which, instead of subordinating the elements of scientific description to the goal-rational order of a rigid paradigm, includes them in a laminar history of current teleological meanings. The primary task of philosophical reflection is then transferred from the post-positivist «genesis» to the postmodern «deconstruction» of classical categories, such as «cosmos» / «chaos», «foundation» / «consequence», «subject» / «object», «author» / «work», etc., as discourse-forming oppositions that administer the space of scientific research and give

private values and prejudices the appearance of scientific descriptions and explanations.

The paradoxical result of this process was cultural self-awareness, which affirms the ontological and intellectual finiteness of man, and with it the inability of the scientific mind to objective (non-historical, non-social) truth. However, the postmodern image of the subject, crucified on communications with virtual value systems and incommensurable goals, should not be demonized. According to the prominent French sociologist A. Touraine, it is justified rather intellectually – as a *reaction* to too radical criticism of the traditionalist Ratio by the ideology of instrumental-pragmatic rationalism of modernity (Enlightenment) against the backdrop of anti-evolutionist, -progressive, -communitarian, -metasocial *consequences* of technical and economic modernization that discredited the industrial sociology of K. Marx, M. Weber and E. Durkheim [234, p. 46, 194, 219].

With all the *anti-systematic* outrageousness of postmodernism [235], the intermediate link in understanding its situation was *structuralism*, which, according to the generalizations of the concepts of psychoanalysis, linguistics, ethnology, etc., was the first to transfer the determining model of the truth of scientific knowledge to the unconscious beginning of a human. At the same time, since it is determined by the model of the language system relationally - by relations with all other elements of social life - structuralism is positively oriented (as opposed to, for example, existentialism or personalism) to the classical tradition, although it points to objective variability and hence the well-known uncertainty of the prerequisites of scientific rationality.

Today, methodological invectives like Feyerabend's «anything goes» are more and more commonly perceived, expressing the historical assessment of science as a very unreliable filter for separating «human nature» and «the nature of things». At least, the scientific community no longer requires a detailed argumentation of the thesis about the pragmatic and environmental burden of «pure» fundamental research, as at the end of the XX century [236]. Before a scientist who loses his original goals («first causes»), a similarity of the late Renaissance dilemma of piety arises: to engage in the

deconstruction of disciplinary standards or to look for guarantees of scientific production in new rational foundations of scientific methodology.

M. Foucault and other postmodernists demonstrate that in the process of «decentration» of the absolute Subject, which served as the basis for the subject-object dichotomy of scientific and cognitive activity, the content of its aspects changes: the general substratum-spatial order («essentialism») gives way to local coordination of time and meaning («eventualism»), and the conscious teleological motivation of scientists – is a random configuration of warring «forces». In both cases, the new basis is a simulated reality, in which «words and things» are fatally mixed. In other words, as the very idea of the subject «decentrates», the alienated goals that constituted the cumulative image of the absolute Subject begin to form its monstrous likeness, shuffling in their objective and target areas. According to M. Foucault, after the rejection of the absolute Subject, which claimed and authorized the subject to measure the earthly order, the method of earthly (reproduction) of substance lost its personal guarantees and at first found refuge in the competence of the elite collective Subject and was fixed there in scientific criteria, standards.

M. Foucault also exposes this temporal measure as one that claims to delineate in one fell swoop the realm of the real from infinite possibilities, but at the same time proclaim it to be the sphere of *all possible* experience. Moreover, the basis and means for such an identification is a set of rules, norms of rationality, developed within the framework of the same historical reality, in the structure of which (th, th) the subject of cognition is dissolved, more precisely, the («method of subjectivation») is set. The study of these «discourses» («structures of experience», «historical a priori»), derived from the sociocultural determinants of «cumulative historical situations», opens up universal sources («forces») of the constitution of knowledge [237].

In the eventualization program of M. Foucault, in connection with the general setting of poststructuralism, to show the «wrong side of the structure» and to withdraw the semantic content from the linguistic dictates of the discourse of representation, they are interpreted as a random correlation of certain genealogical forces. But it sets only the modus of the structure of ideas, and their substantive meaning («being of order»)

is organized by the semantic space of discursive practice [238]. It is its goals that drive the subject in his desire to master the «chaos» of individual cases of experience (eventus) and to fix the desired order in the subject-object scheme of representation and its rational foundations: «by all conceivable and unthinkable means, the subject breaks through to reality, to the level of "being of desires" » [239, p. 245].

Despite the novelty and relevance of the eventualization program, this is not the only example of deviation from essentialism. There is, for example, a whole metaphysical tradition of the biblical perception of reality without an emphasis on the inner essence of things – as structures of behavior of exclusively external causes. «The whole structure of Jewish thought is connected with realities that are different from the concepts of being, essence, object, predication, proof, etc. Although it is possible to find appropriate expressions for translating the above concepts into Hebrew, however, they often have to be translated descriptively» [183, p. 122].

One way or another, in postmodernism, anti-essentialism is translated into the aspect of power relations, taken in the generalized sense of «conditions of possibility», forcing the subordination of transformative practice to linguistic or, more broadly, to communicative practice. We are talking about a spontaneous interweaving of discursive practices (relations, rules, epistemes, dispositives), which generates a random subject and mediates power and language (knowledge). It is they who form the anonymous goal-setting, which is then realized in an expedient, but *methodological activity* alienated from the original goals.

Then it turns out, for example, that in classical European philosophy the chaotic element was allowed only in one aspect of rationality – goals by the right of absolute «free will» of the subject-creator. However, the earthly mediation of its transcendence brought forward other elements of rationality – means, conditions, sequence of events, an epistemological corpus, and, even more so, methodological rationality – that allowed contingency only as an anomaly, an imperfection of «necessity», tending to be forced out as rationality was mastered. Even on the political plane, any significant accident immediately turned into a necessary element of eschatological history or civil progress. Therefore, many creators of the *classical* scientific paradigm (F. Bacon, G.

Galileo, T. Hobbes, I. Newton, etc.) in their anti-scholastic motivation were guided not only by cognitive values: they quite consciously used the *analogy* of natural laws and social values when they put forward the program of «releasing the possibilities of Nature through the development of its reality». Thus, according to T. Hobbes, «‹…› *science* is the knowledge of connections and dependencies of facts. Thanks to this knowledge, based on what we can do at the moment, we know how to do something different from this or similar to this at another time, if that is our desire» [240, p. 35].

Modern study of the genealogy of natural science reveals more and more clearly the scientistic goal of the *reverse* application of the scientific virtues of «law» to the social process, the first of which is the calculation of social behavior.

In the state of Postmodernity, the formulation of not only laws, but also any cognitive foundations is perceived as an attempt to naturalize or transcend them and, thereby, to bring them beyond the rational. Therefore, the most rational construction of *meanings* in complete forms and their syntactic relations is regarded as a *logocentric* position, which presupposes predetermined invariant characteristics of the referent outside the acts of his communication. Thus, the human dimension of these meanings is ignored as the inclusion of the referent in a specific language system, cultural context, which cannot be stable both in historical and textual terms: each cultural connotation brings alternative hidden and contradictory meanings, which ultimately cast doubt on the existence of immanent qualities of the referent [241].

Abstraction in cognitive grounds from these premises, instead of representing the absolute completeness of the original meaning, leads to the elimination of real rational motives from the field of consciousness and tendentious ideological selection and interpretation of facts.

Then «each category makes a phase transition, in which its essence is liquefied in the solution of the system to homeopathic, and then to microscopic doses up to complete disappearance, leaving only an elusive trace „as if on the surface of water”» [242, p. 15]. But now it is no less senseless to restore its orientation to the original goal-setting and comparison of «pictures of the world» than to completely simulate it: both of them are subjectless. If in the natural science context this post-modern problem is

so far leveled by the innovative ideal, then in the socio-humanitarian context it questions its very essence.

4.11 Resource of self-representation in modern scientific rationality

At the same time, the postmodern analysis of the «discourse of power» seems to be an aftertaste of (neo)positivist objectivization («alienation», «externalization» [243]) of the mind and the objects of its cognition by instrumental methods of representation and in general, modern enlightenment of the sinfulness of «created nature», which is still destined for a reverse movement of methodological preferences towards the hyleomorphic strategy of imitation of «creative nature». «*An activity is rational if the mechanism of internal improvement and external harmonization is built into its structure* ‹…› *The level of balance in the relationship of activity with other human abilities and the surrounding world is the same criterion for the rationality of activity as its internal improvement* ‹…› In a certain sense, this is a combination of the principles of formal goal rationality and value rationality, formulated by M. Weber» [244, p. 1035].

Replacing the «almighty mind» with *immanent* conditions for the possibility of empirical and theoretical unity, scientific rationality supplements the *negative* freedom of logical control of the translation of cultural experience («stating rational consciousness») with a *positive* procedural correlation of the sides of questioning, depriving chance of the privilege of being a criterion for differences between text and reality, goals and results, value and meaning. Just as the historiographic load of historical events overcomes the dilemma of their regularity/randomness, the hermeneutic communication of the order of being (causes and effects), on the one hand, and the order of actions (means and ends), on the other, can express the organic ability of post-nonclassical rationality to *project* cognitive possibilities, assimilating the discrepancies between external causal schemes and the internal logic of research, and thus removing them from the asymptotic perspective of scientific and cognitive mastery.

Then the handling of means presupposes not only the proliferation of theories and the rationalization of scientific (meta)language in order to refine the criteria and principles of their purposeful rational selection or linguistic complementarity, but also the hermeneutic *restoration* of the cognizing subject, his original goals and cultural meanings in general. According to J. Habermas, such a methodological orientation can overcome the existing crisis of motivations, promote mutual understanding of the subjects of communication and organize the «social action» of the direct, undistorted implementation of rationality [245]. The latter "dilutes" the natural-science samples of scientific representation (whether it be mechanistic ways of explaining or probabilistic-statistical ways of describing) with contextual methods of description and non-demonstrative forms of substantiation of socio-humanitarian studies (with experience, intuition, typology, case study, participant observation, etc.), the classical non-rationalityof which was expressed in the weakening of idealizations and was paid for by the growth of uncertainty and unpredictability.

Moving from the status of «context of discovery» to «context of substantiation» in postnonclassics, socio-humanitarian methods of scientific representation make it possible to test scientific knowledge in addition to logical and linguistic normative criteria by pragmatic rootedness in its origin, functioning and communication: everything that determines the formal structure of the subject of cognition requires a separate representation ("self-representation") and endows axiological (in)acceptability with the same gradual evolutionary dimension that is mastered in the outside world. «If the classical image of science focused on the construction of a unified generalized theory, and the non-classical image of science - on the complementarity of various methods and languages for describing quantum mechanical phenomena, then post-non-classical science defends the idea of a fundamental plurality of descriptions and explanations, insisting only on the clarity and methodological transparency of the initial principles and premises, on the consistency and argumentation of scientific discourse, carried out in dialogue and criticism of other principles and ways of reasoning ‹…› Scientific knowledge appears as a multi-level network of interconnected symbolic conceptualizations, and its nodes as semantic

concepts that exist in acts of scientific communication, including, and above all, in acts of verbal communication» [246, p. 473, 619]. Then the extrapolation of means that successfully reproduce similar goals becomes truly rational, and does not justify its arbitrariness by statistical approximations, approximations, fraught with the substitution of the result, or, as Aristotle would say, «in vain» (μάτην) [247, p. 95].

4.12 Conclusions

Classical scientific rationality can be represented as an institutionalized mode of rationality in the context of normative scientific research. The ultimate expansion of normativity into rationality comes from the pragmatic ideology of the Modern time, which requires methodological and epistemological guarantees of cognitive activity, which eventually form a corpus of scientific foundations, and with them the self-consciousness of scientific rationality. At the turn of its formation, it acquires a mathematical way of describing phenomena, as opposed to the metaphysical-substantialist interpretation of forces – syllogistic in the Middle Ages and figuratively aesthetic in the Renaissance.

The changes that took place in this way are now qualified by philosophers of science as the formation of a paradigm of rational *nomological explanation*, that is, explanation by means of the laws of nature.

For scientists of the time, this meant that «general laws are hidden in all particular cases, where they are complicated by so many extraneous circumstances that it often takes the greatest skill to discover them ‹…›» [248, p. 302] or ««‹…› reduce the theory of mechanics and the art of solving problems related to it to general formulas, the simple specification of which gives all the equations necessary for solving any problem» [249, p. 9]. This or that fragment of reality became an object of study to the extent that it was included in the area (structure) of a certain set or to the extent that it met the requirement of equality of predicates. This made it possible to quite fully establish the set of conditions under which one or another scientific statement is true.

With the obvious new European progress of scientific determinism, its rational dimension, which goes back to the creationist-cognitive reflection of the objectively universal, reveals a repressive effect aimed at cleansing all corners of the world from the «dogmatic *pre*judices» of value forms of consciousness (myth, religion, tradition). «In the philosophy of the Enlightenment, oriented towards the experimental and mathematical natural science that arose in the XVII century, being is identified mainly with nature, as it appears in mechanics – as an environment where mechanical causality reigns and there is no more room for the concept of purpose, expediency» [166, p. 494]. As a result, conceptual awareness, general significance, systematicity and other criteria of purely scientific rationality are elevated to the rank of generally reasonable (and even meta-reasonable), which in turn hobbles the subjective and representative prerequisites for the further development of scientific determinism.

As a result of the enlightening combination of the mechanistic reductionism of Newtonianism with the quasi-religious rationalist idea of «full analysis», the particular scientific version of determinism crystallizes into a «Laplacian» model of a true description of reality, which reinterprets sacred mystery into modern problematicity and provides miracles with rational certainty in the formula «we can only know what did it themselves». «Mechanism finally said goodbye to the image of nature, which comes from the archaic-mythological consciousness, as a field of action of certain "living forces" that have their own aspirations, intentions, will, pursuing their goals (teleologism) and presented it in a homogeneous space in which objects devoid of internal energy and self-movement move according to strict uniform laws. Knowing these regularities, a human is able, in principle, to completely master nature, remove any halo of mystery from it, disenchant it, according to the well-known expression of M. Weber, and turn it into the material of his activity, which involves a rigid unambiguous determinism of controlled causal influences and the consequences they cause» [169, p. 110].

At the same time, this quintessence of classical scientific *reasonableness*, representing natural *determinism*, was subordinated by I. Kant to the value-teleological

principle of «practical mind», designed to bring the empirical alternatives of the first to the original Intention of the second.

The invariants of its a priori forms, which make up the «pure» (homogeneous) transcendental consciousness, will become the personification of the non-classical meta-rational attitude not so much towards subject properties, connections and structures, but rather towards the *prerequisites* for their cognition.

The consistent immanentization of the transcendental subject in German idealism has transferred empirical alternatives to scientific rationality into the status of extrema on the scale of natural determinism, where they constitute contradictory means of hyleomorphic communication of the Idea and reality as subordinate to the philosophical and scientific levels of determination, respectively. The discrepancy between the Idea and reality in G. Hegel takes the form of an expedient evolution of the mind, in which the enlightening stage only «clears the ground» for subsequent synthesis, which, in the body of scientific determinism, will manifest itself in the «real chance» that accompanies not only the variability of the individual, but also his whole « law of nature». At the same time, Hegelianism, like Laplacian mechanistic determinism, presupposes an exhaustive rationalization of reality, excluding cognitive alternatives and extra-cognitive foundations of human activity.

If the German idealists, overcoming enlightenment rational reductionism, but not abolishing faith in *mind*, hypostatized the latter, then the authors of the philosophical teachings of irrationalism abstract its intuitive moment from the dynamic integrity of thinking, resorting to a similar distinction between *philosophical* and *scientific* determinisms. The irrational immediacy of the first will lose its connection with universal cognizability and will find justification in the *micro*cosm beyond the limits of everyday life, while the instrumentality of the second will find its justification in its quantum regularity. On this path, the empirical dignity of the causal schemes of «artificial» determinism turns into pragmatic «laws of probability», and the constructivist potential of the formal norms of the scientific community – into non-classical criteria of scientific rationality.

Testifying to the emerging distance between empirical reality and the human mind, the instrumental-pragmatic approach to the study of non-mechanistic types of determination provoked a phenomenological apology for the intuitive unity of thought and the world, empirical and theoretical. In general, this contributed to the general methodological acceptance of a *probabilistic* style of thinking, implying the post-Laplace norm that in the «unified formula of movement» the proportion of «forces that animate nature» is different and changeable, and the scientific mind expresses the collective (heterogeneous) nature of cognition.

Historical and philosophical analysis of the main stages of scientific determinism allows us to present them in the methodological culture of modern science as a «semantic grid» of alternatives to scientific rationality. In particular, the implementation of the program of mechanism in the Laplacian ideals of «omnipotent mind», «unified formula of movement» and «completeness of description» provided a goal-oriented strategy for testing and incrementing scientific experience, and then establishing its structure in the form of a relationship of description languages. At the non-classical stage of methodological reflection, the *opacity* of these languages as a means of scientific research was realized, which limits their controlling ability in alternative descriptions and side effects.

Scientific rationality in its non-classical models contains an excessive set of characteristics and therefore is identified not so much by elementary criteria (explicitness, accuracy, completeness, logical validity, consistency, methodicalness, verifiability, falsifiability), but by structural ones (preservation, correspondence, invariance, symmetry, consistency) – and, first of all, the *integrity* (coherence, completeness, matureness) of the activities carried out in its cognitive, practical and reflective aspects [250, c. 41, p. 144-145]. But the synchronization (coordination) of the set of methodological criteria and the non-scientific (metaphysical, religious, political, historical, psychological) context of their preference is very situational, and the task of the philosophy of science of the XX century consisted in the logical explication and *standardization* of these «internal logic» and «external history».

In this perspective, the normative nature of scientific rationality became more and

more noticeable, since with the establishment of the paradigm of non-classical physics, the representation of reality is increasingly merging with sophisticated mathematical abstractions, less and less based on experience or visual models: «here, thinking reproduces an object as included in human activity and builds images object, correlating them with ideas about the historically established means of its development» [251, p. 166]. Using the connections of deterministic categories with the main scientific programs and «categorical matrices», it is possible to reconstruct the transition from the metaphysical to the dialectical *or* postmodern perception of these categories in philosophy, which equally constitute the philosophical and methodological support of the probabilistic style of thinking of modern science.

On the one hand, the model of an evolving object postulated by this style provokes the *deconstruction* of classical categories in the form of new concepts of «chaosmos», «death of the subject», etc., which negatively qualify rational needs in science as signs of narratives. Here, the efforts of *postmodern* consciousness to follow the actual priority of chaos, virtuality and permanent becoming are noticeable. However, this «marginalization» of ontology is not simple relativism: it occurs to the extent of historical, methodological and interdisciplinary *detection* of the context of the goals and means of socially determining processes that dictate the actual meaning of «naturalness» and the corresponding cognitive means (abstraction, categorization, idealization, extrapolation). With this approach, their deconstruction in various sciences reveals an *intense* «movement» of the content of these narratives and establishes existing contradictions and continuity in them.

On the other hand, the incompleteness of the scientific representation of post-nonclassical natural objects, comparable with the immanent context of a humanitarian object, allows us to generalize scientific and cognitive activity to a co-evolutionary ability of self-generation, in which the sides of the original subject-object questioning are open to mutual positive correction of chances according to the hermeneutic scheme, smoothing the spatial (levels), temporal (stages), etc. categorical polarization of rationality.

With the transfer of cognitive goals in this way to the variable order of sociocultural conditions and means, the criteria of scientific rationality are perceived as variable cognitive values, and the rational regulation of the new subject-subject interrogative, instead of a theoretical representation of the ideal causal scheme or the imposition of descriptions of varying degrees of generality, takes the form of a sensory-volitional *understanding* of dynamic communication their model interpretations.

The general conclusion drawn from this by the post-non-classicists is the need to distinguish between complexes of means from the ideal (and value-ambivalent) canon of rationality in relation to the types of objects, problems and tasks of scientific research, as well as the historical and scientific context [252, p. 122; 253; 254].

However, the question of the permanent *bifurcation* of the theoretical description of reality remains: does it mean a fundamental reduction in the rigidity of the determinism of modern rational cognition, or does it represent local and temporary violations of expediency in this activity? ‹‹…› Models can coexist at the same time, consisting of the same elements, but «working» differently due to the fact that these elements have different functions in them. One model emphasizes the prevailing importance of the consistency of the structures of scientific knowledge, the other model brings to the fore the fundamental «openness» of these structures, the richness and alternativeness of explanatory procedures, heuristics, etc. Thus, like the whole system of normative rationality, that and its subsystems as models are changeable, dynamic, adaptable to the development of scientific knowledge. ‹…› Thus, we should not talk about the criteria of rationality, by which one could judge the rationality of models of scientific rationality (the path to regression!), but about the degree of adequacy of the image of science and scientific activity, which dominates at this historical stage the picture of the general cultural process» [114, p. 96, 99].

10.46299/979-8-88680-821-6.5

5. Pedagogical algorithm of effective use of business games in professional training of managers in higher education institutions

5.1 Modernization of the content of training of future managers in higher education institutions, taking into account the current needs of professional training of modern professionals using gaming technologies

Analysis of the work of the country's leading free economic zones, as well as centers for training anti-crisis leaders shows the accumulation of some experience in training in the field of professional skills. The main method of this type of training is active learning methods, including business games.

There is a certain concept in the scientific literature about the business game as a way to resolve conflicts that arise in people's professional activities. The method is based on a combination of administrative (primarily technological), social (building interpersonal and organizational communications) and intellectual (using variable thinking) factors.

Depending on the tasks of the business game (improving the functioning, entering the market, gaining market share, etc.), special attention is paid to certain sections of professional disciplines. For example, business planning of a firm's entry into a new market within the framework of general management provides in-depth knowledge of such sections as decision-making, organizational communications, organizational design, business information support [255].

The organization of an active effort in the field of activity, on which we focused the student, - says Professor V.A. Petruk, - is an important condition for increasing the level of his professional orientation. The implementation of this condition allows such an organization of activities in the learning process, which puts before students tasks that reveal the specifics of the activity, its creative side [256, p. 420].

This organization of the educational process forms in the student one of the main components of the paradigm of learning in institutions of higher education
the effect of learning is directly proportional to his own activity.

In the process, teamwork in the form of collective creativity based on individual activity is a means of improving the student's knowledge. In a group training organized in the same way, each participant benefits. The effect of deepening knowledge is due to the exchange of individual thoughts and views on the problems to be solved, and due to a well-organized process of collective creative activity.

The main criteria when choosing future activities in the business game are professionalism, responsibility, personal interest, activity, choosing a team with comfortable conditions, the possibility of interpersonal communication (ie providing conditions for the formation of microgroups).

Particular attention is paid to bringing information to the student. With little experience in defending their opinions, students clearly formulate requirements for such types of competition as public speaking, participation in controversy. The wishes of students are reduced to the need for both audio and visual ways of transmitting information.

In addition, active participation in the controversy (a prerequisite for a business game) allows the analysis of the behavior of opponents, possible questions, and hence the preparation of answers.

The main thing that students say - in preparation for the business game you need to tune in to serious work and look for effective ways to achieve the goal.

Competitors, other teams are not weak opponents. The team that not only wins all the elements of the business game (business plan, speeches, polemics, coordination of actions during the game) at a high level, but also finds its know-how in each of these elements, which is beneficial. distinguishes the team from competitors.

The system of business games gives the right to solve the problem of economic and managerial education within the ideology of market competition, which was reduced to the following slogans: do not expect concessions; rely only on yourself, your knowledge and ingenuity; remember that competition is constant. Hence, the effectiveness of teaching management game methods is determined by changes in student consciousness.

Business game as a way to transfer knowledge and develop skills allowed the participant to succeed in such areas.

1. In the subject area of management as a comprehensive way to manage the organization and achieve the goal. Deepening of knowledge was noted in those disciplines, which under the terms of the business game were expanded with the competition of teams.

2. In the field of teamwork skills. Interpersonal communications within the team were formed, roles and responsibilities were distributed, the interests of the individual were coordinated and subordinated to the interests of the group in achieving the goal. Central to the development of the business game is the self-organization of students in a variety of areas, not just the division of responsibilities. The most important condition for the effective work of the team was the ability of all participants in the business game to collect information about the functional areas of the projected organization and organize equal access to it for each team member. Each participant in the business game worked on a team task, solving a private functional task at a high professional level.

3. Deepening knowledge in the service market sector in which competitive competition is developing. The competitive nature of the business game determines a wide range of knowledge not only about this type of service, but also about its individual aspects. The most important condition for victory is the original idea of

know-how, which distinguishes this team from all contenders. As practice shows, the search for such an innovation, its development and implementation in all sections of the business plan is possible only on the basis of in-depth study of the subject market (in our case, the market of consulting services) [257].

In our study, the practice of knowledge transfer from one level to another, ie activation and convergence of knowledge from primitive levels of its assimilation (incubation and development) to complex and socially significant (specializing and integrating) was professional practice, including by playing real problems business game situations.

Practice has shown that there are objectively two types of solutions to such situational problems. The first type allows the teacher to have an optimal solution to the problem.

The student only has to find it and substantiate it, ie show how he found it (for example, by calculations) or analyze the proposed ready-made solution. Another type of solution is due to the fact that most problems do not have a ready-made solution, in some cases there may be several solutions (almost equivalent).

The richest didactic opportunities have situations that contain problems.

Isolation and ranking of problems, their analysis and diagnosis, answers to questions or questions, search for possible solutions and their acceptance gives the right to develop future marketing communications managers not only professional competence but also the ability to work with people, skills of effective interaction.

In the study, we used three main types of situations that are commonly encountered by any marketing communications manager in their professional activities.

1 type. A standard situation is a situation that is somewhat typical, often recurring under the same circumstances. It has the same causes, sources and can be both negative and positive.

2 type. Critical situation - a situation, usually unexpected, atypical for a particular person, group, team. It captures by surprise, destroys the original calculations, plans; threatens to violate established norms, regimes, systems of rules, values, may cause material and moral damage, be harmful to health, the environment; requires immediate and radical intervention, revision of criteria, regulations, standards.

3 type. An extreme situation is a unique situation that has no analogues in the past. It leads to negative and sometimes destructive changes in any objects, processes, views, relationships; causes material, physical and moral losses; requires the involvement of unplanned and unforeseen material and human resources; encourages radical action, unconventional decisions, seeking help not only from other organizations but also from other countries (eg, fire, flood, terrorist attack, military invasion, etc.).

Situations of this type of practice have not been considered in the process of conducting business games, as their solution is not limited to the readiness of future managers of marketing communications, but allows collective participation in their solution.

At the same time, it should be noted that studies have shown that it is almost impossible to isolate one or another type of situation in its pure form. Some elements of other types of situations may be present in each specific situation.The type of situation used in the educational process depended on the specifics of the course studied, the contingent of students, the educational and developmental goals, training time and experience of future managers of marketing communications.

Interactive learning as a component of the didactic-technological component of our organizational model of professional knowledge, skills and functions of the future manager of marketing communications based on business games, in fact, includes all game technologies built on purposeful, specially organized, group and intergroup activities provides feedback between all its participants to achieve mutual

understanding and adjustment of learning and development process, individual style of communication based on feedback, analysis of reflection [258].

Studies have shown that the effectiveness of the principles of spatial organization, meeting the expected needs of future managers of marketing communications and the implementation of methodological benefits of online learning depend on strict compliance with all participants in the game ethical rules and requirements of professional relations (teacher and student); target and methodological adequacy, applicability and testing of used business games and direct educational material; the teacher's self-confidence, his ability to prevent and, if necessary, manage possible intra-group and inter-group conflicts.

The next component of the didactic-technological component of the organizational model of the formation of professional skills and functions of a specialist on the basis of business games was identified by us as the developmental nature of game modeling technologies.

Studies have shown that interactive game learning, in contrast to traditional, has a range of methodological advantages, primarily related to its development potential. These benefits are based on active, emotionally colored communication between the participants of the game with each other and with the teacher.

The next component of the didactic-technological component of the organizational model of the formation of professional skills and functions of a specialist on the basis of business games was identified by us as the developmental nature of game modeling technologies.

Studies have shown that interactive game learning, in contrast to traditional, has a range of methodological advantages, primarily related to its development potential. These benefits are based on active, emotionally colored communication between the participants of the game with each other and with the teacher.

However, the development potential of game modeling technologies can be used only if certain requirements are met, including the teacher's ability to meet the goals and objectives of a particular business game, because depending on the purpose of a particular game the teacher has to play different roles: organizer, communicator, facilitator.

Thus, as practice has shown, the maximum possible use of the development potential of game modeling technologies is possible with careful study of organizational and substantive aspects of creating game groups, distribution of roles, taking into account not only game but also target interests of group interaction. also with careful consideration of issues related to the preparation of the game space and props.

One of the methods of work that allowed to use as fully and rationally the advantage and development potential of gaming technology, was the method of game design, the purpose of which was to create or improve objects.

To implement (apply) this method in practice, the participants of the game were divided into groups, each of which was engaged in the development of its project. The topic for the project development was chosen by the students, mostly independently, but in some cases the teachers offered their options [259].

Analysis of the experience of German researchers J. Schneider and I. Buhm found that at the stage of preparation of the game project mutual understanding between teacher and students contributes to the analysis of students' own experience [260, p. 102].

As mentioned above, a teacher who implements gaming technology has to act in different roles and perform various functions, perform new, unusual for him responsibilities, including work as an organizer, psychologist, facilitator, game technician (developer), expert. Each of these new activities requires the development

of a specific improved set of skills, verbal and nonverbal competence, communicative and interactive literacy.

At the same time, as practice has shown, it is quite difficult to find such a universal teacher. Usually, most educators have developed only some of these characteristics (for example, a teacher is a good psychologist but a bad organizer or a good organizer but a bad facilitator).

Accordingly, the main difficulty encountered in the process of experimental work was the lack of teachers of the above characteristics, which do not allow many of them to play business games and get pleasure from it.

Analyzing the above, we concluded that training in this context can be considered as an actual model of a new state of the teacher's personality, which he seeks to achieve and which allows him to qualitatively different self-awareness and organize their behavior in ever-changing situations. expectations of those he manages or interacts with. This state is inherently dynamic, necessitating the constant development of not only innovative pedagogical and professional knowledge, but also new, advanced learning technologies.

The use of business games as a form of learning has led to the transfer of the learner to a state that has manifested itself in the fact that many students, along with teachers, began to act as developers of business games. This allowed to change directly the role of the teacher: his activity gave way to the activity of students themselves, and the main task was the external management of learning and development through co-organization of interaction, creating conditions for their initiative and creative search for effective solutions to specific problems and situations language.

5.2 Implementation of communication comfort of students in vocational training in higher education institutions in the game environment

The orientation of modern educational practice of training specialists on the principle of diversification allows pedagogical teams of free economic zones to choose and construct the pedagogical process according to any of the available didactic models, including the author's. Accordingly, different versions of the content of education are developed, the possibilities of modern didactics are used in order to increase the efficiency of educational structures; new ideas and educational technologies are scientifically substantiated.

The main means of implementing this idea A.P. Belyaev includes the following: the creation of intensive, flexible, differentiated learning systems that provide high quality educational and professional activities; continuous development of personality on the basis of humanization, integration, democratization and differentiation of education; creation of a system of continuous professional education (pre-professional - primary - secondary - higher - additional - scientific training); cooperation of educational institutions and production; multilevel and multidisciplinary vocational education; transition from a technocratic approach in the development of vocational education to socio-pedagogical, humanitarian, etc. [261].

Business game as a form of organization of training of specialists is able to put into practice most of the above tools and principles, as well as approaches. At the same time, being a specific form of imitation of human activity and social interaction, it also requires special methodological equipment and support. The greatest interest in the context of the chosen problem are pedagogical means to increase the effectiveness of the formation of professional skills and functions of the specialist on the basis of business games.

Experimental work allowed to identify the main and most important pedagogical tools: the creation of a special game (communicative) field; formation of positive game motivation of students; establishing a system of feedback between the participants of the business game.

Let's dwell on them in more detail.

Creating a special game (communicative) field gives the right to conduct learning exciting for students and convenient for the teacher, because on its basis game technology fits well into the curriculum, without interfering with traditional learning (lectures, seminars, practical, laboratory, tests).

The playing field as a pedagogical phenomenon characterizes A.P. Panfilov in his works, who considers the playing field (communicative space) as a specially prepared and organized space equipped for the convenience of game interactive interaction, communicative work in teams, joint discussions and conferences [262].

Another important condition for creating a playing (communicative) field is to equip it with comfortable furniture, an audience that gives the right to transform the appearance.

Placement of game participants should be such that everyone can see the teacher, each other, the screen and other visual aids. In our work, the placement of participants in a circle or in the form of the Latin letter "U" (semicircle) proved to be the best. However, in any placement, it is very important that the teacher has the opportunity to move from table to table, and the teams do not interfere with each other in the process of group tasks.

Another important condition for the creation of a game (communicative) field is to provide an interactive nature of handouts, designed to include individual or group tasks that are performed during a business game. The participants of the game received handouts in advance, which saved working time.

In general, it should be noted that all the above points have a significant impact on the effectiveness of the business game and the satisfaction of its participants. Otherwise, as practice confirms, it is impossible to talk about the effective creation of a game (communicative) field.

The formation of positive game motivation is also closely related to the effectiveness of the formation of professional skills and functions of the specialist on the basis of business games. For the development of communicative, creative, cognitive activity of students, the teacher must look for ways to create a special, stimulating to creativity, a learning environment that liberates.

In other words, the educational process for students is assessed primarily in terms of the possibility of solving professional problems: constant changes in social and professional life require future managers of marketing communications such a level of professional, managerial and communicative competence that meets new requirements and allows adequate solve the tasks [263].

In addition, regardless of the discipline within which the business game is organized and conducted, there are universal indicators that contribute to the effective formation of positive game motivation of students. The business game compensates the participants of the game for gaps in communicative knowledge and skills, as it is often based on communicative material.

Experimental work has shown that the formation of positive game motivation can be based on such a reason for the attractiveness of the business game, as solving problems related to professional activities, careers, human relationships and personal difficulties. In the business game, which is carried out in the process of training a specialist, these solutions are usually associated with the victory of some and the defeat of others.

At the same time, the advantage of business games is that they awaken in students the full range of different feelings and sensations related to competition, power (leadership), self-confidence, relationships with people and solving professional and personal problems. And since the emotional or sensory component of games gives students the right not only to participate in the game process, but also to experience everything that happens during a business game, it is the best (most effective) factor in forming positive game motivation of students [264].

Speaking of the formation of positive game motivation, we can not leave aside such an issue as the ratio of interest motivation. The latter have always been the basis of everyone's needs. They largely determine the motivation.

As practice has shown, a significant number of students note the unusual situation of collective search for solutions, which causes them a state of confusion. Therefore, the teacher should help the participants to adapt and get used to their new learning situation.

Effective formation of positive game motivation of the student is possible only under the condition of partnership communication, free exchange of thoughts, ideas, in the atmosphere of lively discussion, creative discussion, which, in turn, requires high communicative competence of the teacher.

The next pedagogical means of improving the effectiveness of the formation of professional skills and functions of the specialist on the basis of business games was the establishment of a feedback system between the participants of the business game.

This tool, in our opinion, is no less, and in some cases, more important than others. This is due to the fact that, as research and experimental work has shown, preparation for the business game, its programming and implementation are less difficult for most teachers than completing the lesson and summarizing it by establishing feedback with students on the principle of "here and there now". However, this stage, as practice has shown, is often beyond the attention of teachers.

At the same time, practice has shown that a teacher who is able to record feedback signals, especially nonverbal, can not only control the game situation, correctly assess the causes, but also timely adjust the language, change interaction strategies, choose another model of information. , another scenario of the conversation and, therefore, avoid negative evaluation, inadequate reaction, etc.

In the context of the study, we considered the feedback between the participants of the game interaction as a fixation of external (verbal and nonverbal) manifestations by students in response to information presented or discussed, determining their causes and adjusting the business game.

Feedback is especially important during the business game, as several people are involved in the interaction at the same time. In fact, it is a matter of interactive feedback, when a group of students makes or makes a collective decision.

Feedback in non-group communication can contain positive and negative information for the recipient: approval and condemnation, control and advice. The communicator in real communication is always under the pressure of socio-cultural factors (norms, etiquette, traditions, customs). The latter restrains the frank expression of opinions. Evaluative judgments, both positive and negative, have a significant impact on the student.The communicator is able to hypothetically predict the reaction to the information expressed by him. Trying to avoid conflict situations, discomfort, fear of being misunderstood, the desire not to offend a person forces communicators to restrain their opinion, true attitude, to speak neutrally. However, this is not always possible to achieve [265. p. 502-503].

Intentional feedback can be involuntary or arbitrary. Spontaneous feedback is considered to be a spontaneous reaction that is not consciously addressed to the recipient. It is quite reliable and informative. Feedback can be verbal or non-verbal, expressed in words, gestures, facial expressions, intonation, etc.

An important condition for the effectiveness of feedback is its timeliness, due to the principle of "here and now". Feedback should relate to those manifestations of the personality that it can change. Negative information about physical characteristics, for example, can cause frustration and stress.

In the use of active learning methods, in particular business games, it is important to arouse the interest of students. Learning should create a need for knowledge and a positive perception of the lesson. The success of cognition will usually bring joy to the student. Enthusiasm for the business game mobilizes the intellectual strength of future managers of marketing communications, and the presence of curiosity, jokes, humor facilitate the implementation of tasks. Undoubtedly, the preparation of business games requires a lot of teacher time, there is some difficulty in conducting them, but the practical orientation significantly increases their effectiveness compared to conventional traditional teaching methods.

Pedagogical readiness for innovative activity is provided by: personal and professional improvement of the teacher, work with his inner "I", faith in the unique individuality of the student, the desire to help him in development [266].

The art of a teacher-innovator is that in the process of constantly searching for new methods of work, improving their pedagogical skills, their own professionalism, to find the optimal combination of the most effective methods and tools to achieve the educational goal.One cannot but agree that “the main thing is the creative search for new methods, adaptation of special pedagogical methods from other areas of education (for example, natural sciences, language training, approbation of changes to the methods used. After all, methods are not an end in themselves the result is the formation of a highly qualified practitioner, a conscious builder of the rule of law [267].

In the real practice of conducting business games, the meaning of the information received by students was often distorted due to the peculiarities and different levels of

intellectual development of participants, inconsistent values, goals, attitudes and life experiences of game participants and so on.

As shown by experimental work, the analysis of the results gives the teacher the right, on the one hand, to assess the level of achievement of the desired (planned) result, and on the other - to identify shortcomings and omissions of the business game and start corrective action.

Feedback technology, such as reflection, has proven to be the best in research and development. It allows awareness of how the participants of the game interaction perceive and accept each other, the implementation of mutual reflection of the inner world of the interaction partner, an attempt to explain him and his motives for behavior. To this end, after the game we organized public discussions about the completed joint activities, analysis of its effectiveness or ineffectiveness; liability for violations of labor legislation; knowledge of the requirements for the preparation and execution of official documents on personnel). There were also changes in skills (ability to develop and design various types of organizational and administrative documents, the ability to document the processes of personnel movement, etc.). And, of course, the practically oriented nature of the business game has significantly influenced the student's sense of self-confidence.The survey showed that free orientation, both in theoretical and practical aspects of this field helped to reduce students' fear of future real professional activities, increase the degree of independence in professional activities, increase responsibility for their actions as a specialist.

At the same time, to evaluate the effectiveness of the business game through feedback, the student must go through three steps:

Stage 1. Obtaining input information (theoretical information on the subject under study, comments, necessary skills).

Stage 2. Processing of the received information (analysis, processing, fixing and storage, joining of the new information to already available).

Stage 3. Presentation of initial information or learning outcome (demonstration of acquired knowledge through a public presentation, demonstration of skills).

In the first stage, feedback is needed to provide the teacher with information about the correct perception and understanding of knowledge by students. In the second stage, there is almost no feedback, because it is impossible to trace the assimilation of educational material within the intra-group work.

The predominant use of reflection as a means of feedback was also that, despite the definition of standards against which the effectiveness and appropriateness of joint action will be assessed, reflections and judgments cannot be judged as correct or incorrect.This allowed us to achieve a correct discussion of the results, to avoid rejection of this feedback technology due to the creation of an emotionally tense situation.

The dynamic nature of the interaction of participants in the business game determines the change in the conditions in which specific tasks of educational activities are solved. This calls for an objective need to select a technology that would ensure the self-organization of the student body, ie the ability to restructure the forms and methods of activity under changing conditions.The possibility of such a restructuring is provided by the analysis of reflection, ie the comparison of methods of activity and the replacement on this basis of some elements to others. Moreover, both comparisons and substitutions are based on a conscious discussion of changes in the participants of the game interaction.

In summary, i would like to emphasize that the establishment of feedback (including through reflection) to identify the educational effectiveness of the use of business games allows participants to understand new opportunities to apply the acquired knowledge, skills, abilities in further professional activities, are absent at the

last game lesson), and also gives the chance to create on the basis of reflection the generalized image of the future manager of marketing communications which is successfully realized in professional activity.

There is a certain set of knowledge, skills and abilities, without which it is impossible to successfully implement technologies of game modeling, in particular, business games. Signs of incompetence in this area of teachers, as practical experience shows, are underdeveloped skills and abilities on such indicators.

Game technical incompetence is mainly due to lack of professional knowledge of game modeling, lack of understanding of their purpose, specifics and principles of development and implementation.

Communicative incompetence of the teacher - insufficient verbal skills, ignorance of the meaning and content of nonverbal signals of communication and their improper use in the teaching process, poor mastery of the technique of asking questions and answers.

Interactive incompetence of the teacher - inability to organize teamwork; lack of strategies for interaction with students; inability to manage interpersonal and business conflicts that arise in the classroom; weak discussion leadership skills.

Perceptual incompetence of the teacher - poor knowledge of communicative types of students, inability to use sensory channels in the learning process; low level of emotional culture and weak psychological security in stressful situations.

In our opinion, specific game technical training should include: knowledge and skills in all types of game technology technologies; ability to develop and prepare a game program; ability to set educational, game and development goals and achieve their achievements; knowledge and ability to provide feedback, reflect, after a game discussion; ability to perform various roles; mastery of creative technologies and the ability to create a creative atmosphere within the playing field; mastering the technique

of stress relief and providing psychological support to students; knowledge of mental hygiene techniques and the ability to quickly restore their physical and mental strength; mastering the technique of heuristic optimism, ie the development of self-confidence, the formation of a focus on success, programming for this purpose your subconscious, etc.

In addition, as research and experimental work has shown, competence is significantly influenced by the professional mentality of the teacher, which we consider as a mental state that combines social and professional identity of the individual, as well as his way of thinking. As practice has shown, the professional mentality is manifested primarily in the choice of leadership style used by a particular teacher.The authoritarian style of leadership has a negative effect on the effectiveness of business games, as it reduces the activity and motivation of students, is based on the manifestation of the teacher's superiority over the student, manifested in almost monologue speech of the teacher during the business game [268].

The competence of teachers in the field of game modeling is manifested in what functions are successfully or not successfully performed by the teacher during the organization and conduct of business games. Previously, we limited ourselves to listing them, now we will dwell on them in detail.

Summarizing the above, it should be noted that a set of optimal indicators of teacher competence, which effectively forms the professional skills and functions of the future specialist on the basis of business games: the ability to listen to others; ability to clearly and distinctly formulate their thoughts, views, position; analytical thinking, which facilitates the implementation of objective examination and identification of the cause of deviations, deadlocks or conflicts; stress resistance and emotional culture; tolerance and loyalty to the audience; knowledge of various technologies and techniques of interaction and the ability to use them flexibly; high level of discussion culture;ability to

learn and gain experience; possession of the qualities of a creative improviser who seeks to be mobile restructured in space, regulations, means of interaction, forms of interactive contact; charismatic personality, as a result of which intelligence, charm, sense of humor and energy potential not only attract students, but also charge them with optimism, self-confidence, desire to develop and improve.

Thus, pedagogical activity on the formation of professional skills and functions of a specialist on the basis of business games is associated with a significant number of difficulties that can only be overcome by a qualified teacher, game technician with communicative, interactive and perceptual competence. To successfully start and end a business game, it is not enough just to know the topic and content of the subject, it is necessary to inspire confidence in the audience and encourage students to follow the teacher. By creating equal opportunities, establishing partnerships, relying on the rational and emotional aspects of joint activities, giving participants in the business game full independence and respect for their activities and decisions, the teacher can achieve high educational performance. This, in turn, will allow to consider pedagogical activity successful, such that meets the requirements to it in the conditions of modern pedagogical practice.

5.3 Application of business games as a method of interactive learning of students in real industrial communication

Methods of modern business games allow to rationally combine the professional interest of students with new teaching methods, the spirit of rivalry and collectivism. Creating a business game is associated with the development of methodological support for the game and is a complex scientific and technical task. The work of teachers in the preparation and management of the business game allows: development

of its methodological support; selection of enterprises and other research objects; adaptation of the content of the business game to a specific contingent of participants, the conditions of its preparation and conduct; preparation of instructional classes; development of a system for assessing student performance; providing advisory assistance and control of the business game.

In the initial stages of learning and studying specific disciplines, the business game takes place in one day. With the complication of business games, depending on the degree of integration of disciplines, the games are held in 3-4 stages: instructional lesson; individual work; lesson of control of readiness for the final lesson of the business game; final lesson of business game and summing up.

The most important stage is the independent work of students on tasks, the content of which involves working with literary sources, normative materials; collection of practical material in organizations and its processing, carrying out the necessary calculations, documentation, etc. This work is conducted by students in extracurricular activities for 2-5 days, depending on the scope of tasks [269].

The purpose and degree of complexity of the business game is determined by what stage of the educational process they complete. Regardless of this, business games can perform the following tasks: thematic control of knowledge, skills and abilities; intermediate control of knowledge and their systematization based on the results of, for example, a semester (or a specific examination session by correspondence); generalization of knowledge and skills and their control after the end of the course of several disciplines before entering the internship; control of readiness for the final certification after the end of the general course of education.

Business play, together with other teaching methods, serves to accumulate managerial experience close to the real one, and essentially replaces laboratory experience, and with the help of business games it can be done a little better than with

other methods of cognition. The game, first, quite realistically mimics the existing reality; secondly, it creates dynamic organizational models; third, it encourages more intense goals. Business games for learning management skills are aimed at gaining more experience in decision-making in training laboratories.

Elements of risk introduced into business games allow to make decisions in conditions of insufficient information and production tension, which entitles the student, the future manager of marketing communications, to make management decisions (often risky) in simulated production situations and accumulate management skills without loss for actual production in the future. This experience will allow the future manager of marketing communications in a real situation, if necessary, to make effective decisions with minimal losses. Another purpose of business games is research. If the game is based on the simulation of production situations, then their adequacy to real conditions, the method becomes a convenient scientific tool. First of all, with the help of game simulations it is possible to carry out search experiments, ie to investigate production interrelations by varying the corresponding variables of the simulation model in the researched field. Experimenting with production processes is also possible on other simulation models (for example, in the process of static modeling on a personal computer), but only in business games, the research elements can be people - production workers. The participation of people in simulation systems gives the right to do not only production experiments, but also socio-economic and organizational-psychological.

Many processes in production management are qualitative in nature and therefore are not reflected in statistics. Business games can fill this gap to some extent. Areas of research may include, for example, the relationship of managers and executors, groups and production units regarding the incentives, interests and goals in the management system. With the help of game simulations, systems of economic and material

incentives are being worked out at enterprises. The future specialist (manager, economist, engineer, etc.) can observe the psychological behavior of decision-makers, depending on whether the process is collective or individual. Here, in the laboratory, you can determine the leadership style and its impact on the end results. Education of business qualities on the basis of game imitations is an important aspect of the use of games in the training of future professionals. Situations played out in a business game develop the ability of leaders, or speakers in the role of students, to quickly comprehend and respond to them, making the right, effective decisions. It is these qualities that are now one of the first places in the set of requirements for training and education of managers.

The development of a system of incentives that help to activate the participants of the game should be based primarily on motives caused by positive emotions and to a lesser extent on negative ones, as the latter inhibit the mental activity of the student. The most complex and important constructive element of the business game is a system of incentives based on real conditions in different production organizations.

The implementation of simulation models requires the development of appropriate algorithms, programs and various instructions. The creation of a business game ends with organizational provisions for the game, which include rules that can be either the same for all participants, or differentiated. The rules include a number of requirements and conditions that must be met by the participants of the game. This includes, for example, the possibility of communication between the participants of the game, the time regulated for the solution of the problem at each stage, etc. If necessary, the rules provide for exceptions. The organization of a business game involves a description of the laboratory, technical means, personal computers and equipment of the workplaces of its participants.

In the process of defining goals for a business game developer, it is important to answer a few basic questions:

1. What is this business game for?

2. For which category of students?

3. Why should they be taught?

4. What results should be achieved?

Examples of educational goals: to show how to involve a whole set of tools (advertising, press, television, business communication of specialists in various fields, etc.); to check the level of training of managers of marketing communications in a certain type of production activity, etc. When setting goals, it is necessary to distinguish between the educational goals of the business game (they are set by the game manager) and the goals of the actions of its participants, which are set by them, based on the role roles.

Among the pedagogical goals of the business game can be distinguished both didactic and educational, namely: consolidation of knowledge in the field of game design; development of system skills in designing and methodical description of the game; exchange of experience in creating business games; improving skills in collective decision-making; development of communicative skills of various kinds; generation of creative thinking; developing an installation for the practical use of the game; education of individual style of behavior in the process of interaction with people; overcoming the psychological barrier to the forms and methods of active learning [270].

Methods of active learning by scientists and practitioners are understood as such ways of organizing the pedagogical process in the HEI, which maximize the activities of both students and teachers, stimulate them to identify activity and independence, the needs of self-realization and self-development [17; 18; 19 and others]. They are divided

into simulation and non-simulation teaching methods. Simulation teaching methods include game methods: business, didactic games, game situations, procedures and techniques, internships with job roles, simulation training, game design, role-playing, student theater, psychodrama; non-game methods - on-the-job training, real design, research work. Teaching methods such as analysis of a specific professional situation (individual and group), solving production problems can be implemented in game and non-game forms. Non-imitation teaching methods include problem-solving lectures, discussions, programmed training, field trips, graduation work on a real basis, internships without a job role.

Passive teaching methods are those that do not provide sufficient feedback, for example, dogmatic, some verbal methods. However, there are no purely passive methods, because under appropriate conditions they become active. "None of the methods can be considered completely passive. It is legitimate to talk about the degree of potential activity of students (students) in the application of a method, the level and content of their activity "[274, p. 80].

Usually, the structure of a business game contains the following elements: the content of the game situation; basic disciplines; educational goals; qualification requirements for the specialist; the composition of the participants of the business game and their functions; the content of each stage of the business game; recommended sources of information to prepare for the business game; list of basic enterprises and other objects for collecting information; tasks for "officials, specialists" within their functions; list of questions for knowledge control; system and criteria for assessing students' knowledge based on the results of the business game.

Consider the structure of the game situation. It consists of the following components:

The simulation model reflects a selected fragment of reality, which can be called a prototype model or object of simulation, specifying the subject of professional activity of a specialist in the learning process.

The game model is a way to describe the work of participants on a simulation model that sets the social context of professional activities of professionals.

The subject of the game is the subject of activity of the participants of the game, in a specific form of real professional activity, which replaces the subject.

The script is a basic element of the game, it reflects the principles of problem-solving, two-dimensionality, joint activities. The game script is a description in verbal or graphic form of the content, expressed in the nature and sequence of actions of the participants of the game, as well as those people who lead the game. The script displays the overall sequence of the game, divided into main stages, operations and steps, and presented in the form of a flowchart.

The roles and functions of the participants in the game should adequately reflect the "job picture" of the fragment of professional activity that is modeled in the business game.

The rules of the game reflect the characteristics of real processes and phenomena that take place in the simulated reality. At the same time, the rules of the game should reflect that the models and the game are a simplification of reality.

The evaluation system should ensure quality control of decisions made from the standpoint of norms and requirements of professional activity, to promote the development of the game curriculum. The evaluation system performs the functions not only of control, but also of self-control of professional activity, provides the formation of game, cognitive and professional motivation of game participants.

The peculiarity of the business game is its ability, as indicated above, the formation of goals by students themselves. Thus, the business game has a rather complex target system.

Psychological and pedagogical principles of constructing a business game are defined by A.A. Verbytsky and include: the principle of simulation modeling of specific conditions and dynamics of production; the principle of game modeling of the content and forms of professional activity; principle of joint activity; the principle of dialogic communication; the principle of biplanarity; the principle of problematic content of the simulation model and the process of its deployment in the game [275, p. 129].

One of the most difficult steps in designing a business game is choosing and describing an imitation object. This object selects the most typical fragment of the professional reality of performance, which requires systematic application by future professionals, a variety of skills and abilities "acquired" by students during their studies, in the previous game, but this application is difficult; in solving professional tasks involved a range of professionals with different interests and their subjects of activity. Thus, not every content of professional activity is suitable for game modeling,but only one that is quite complex and, according to A.A. Verbitsky, contains "problems and can not be mastered individually" [275, p. 144].

The basic element of the business game is the script. The business game scenario is the main document for its implementation. The group of experts created for its development analyzes: each stage, fragment (preferably no more than three), the maintenance, episodes, accurately defines the educational purpose, the instruction to each participant of game is prepared and experts, the full set of roles, time of the game, place of the game is determined, introductory material or lecture is recommended, the procedure for using technical means is discussed, etc.

Usually, the script displays the overall sequence of the business game, broken down into main stages, operations and steps.

Most researchers and developers of business games note the following number of difficulties in the use and design of business games: the lack of a common (or at least shared by most researchers and practitioners) concept of the business game; uncritical borrowing of business game technologies in the process of transferring them to various disciplinary practices; methodological difficulties in assessing the effectiveness of different types of business games; difficulties in reproducing and replicating business games due to the lack of their complete descriptions; anticipation of empirical developments of business games and their theoretical descriptions.

The subject of the game is the subject of activity of the participants of the game, which in a specific form replaces the subject of real professional activity. It is a list of processes or phenomena that are reproduced (simulated in a business game and that require professionally competent actions).

The scenario of the game is a description in verbal or graphic form of the substantive content expressed in the nature and sequence of actions of the participants of the game, as well as teachers who conduct business games.

The script should reflect the main stages, operations and steps of the business game. The scenario should include a description of the content of the contradiction or conflict, which is the implementation of the problem principle. The real contradiction is realized in the description of the simulation model, for example, the contradiction of choice that arises due to the variety of alternatives, due to new practical conditions of using existing knowledge, due to the theoretical possibility of solving the problem and practical impossibility. Game conflict is a contradiction caused by the difference of positions of the participants of the game about the same content, fact, problem, difference of interests of participants, personal tastes and preferences, individual styles

(authoritarian, democratic, conformist), individual personality traits, sanguine, melancholic etc.).

Game conflict should not turn into a conflict between the participants of the game, a quarrel, a dispute, affective reactions. As noted above, in the conditions of a business game in a virtual group, the probability of turning a game conflict into a personal conflict is significantly reduced.

The next element of the script is the way events are generated, which determines the degree to which the game is set. There are three ways - deterministic, spontaneous and mixed.

Conducting business games is preceded by the development of uniform requirements for individual stages: the target setting of the game; scenario of all stages of the business game; structure of specific situations that reflect the simulated process or phenomenon; evaluation criteria obtained during the game results; recommendations for further improvement of professional skills. In order to determine the main stages of conducting and preparing a business game, such a line of its development is developed that ensures the rapid entry of students into the role and liberation from the conventions of the traditional educational process. Naturally, in the online version, entering the role will be faster, because this form of training is unconventional.

After the business game, it is appropriate to discuss the course of the game together with the participants and listen to their opinions, suggestions and wishes on the method of the game, as well as the relationship between management and game participants.

The requirements for the rules of the game are reduced to the following provisions: the rules contain restrictions on the technology of the game, the rules of game procedures or their elements, the roles and functions of teachers-leaders, the evaluation system; the rules should not be too many, no more than 5-10, they should be presented

to the audience on posters or by technical means; the nature of the rules should ensure the reproduction of real and business contexts of the game; the rules should be related to the incentive system and instructions to the participants of the game. The main rules of the game include compliance with regulations, the use of media, the use of active forms of information, issues of discussion.

In the process of conducting games, the psychological readiness of the participants, the emotional background on which the action takes place are important. It is necessary to work out the most important rules in advance: we are not afraid and try to act one way or another; we do not laugh at the failure of others; together we are looking for a better way out of a difficult situation.

Depending on the content, the business game can last from 1 to 2-3 academic hours, it can be small fragments or a full-fledged business game. Given the significant, emotional load on the participants of the game, it is worth ending the school day with business games. Business game can be used as a form of credit. In this case, the teacher determines what problems are made in its content, by what criteria will be assessed: the level of knowledge. The content, course of the game and participation in it are discussed in the student audience in advance. You can choose a group of experts (3-4 people), which, closely monitoring the progress of the game, decides on the receipt of credit by each of its participants. The teacher seems to abdicate responsibility for accepting or not accepting the test, but in fact he creates for students the conditions in which the manifestation of responsibility for knowledge is required, as their own, and other students, argumentation of decisions, the ability to critically evaluate what is happening, to express comments, to see the positive principles in the actions and deeds of others [276. p. 60-61].

The undoubted advantage of business games is that they combine theory and practice, contributing to the formation of both professional knowledge and practical

skills. Games increase interest in the subject being studied because they are accompanied by positive emotions.

Conclusions

Used business games that allow the organization of communicative activities of students, in the process of which they reproduce typical situations of future professional communication, are the most effective methods of forming readiness for competent business communications in the training of future marketing communications managers.

A positive assessment of this form of education is based on the fact that students consider it effective. According to them, this way of learning is quite natural, and will soon be used in all areas of professional activity.

10.46299/979-8-88680-821-6.6

6. Peculiarities of information and legal support of legal education at the present stage in Ukraine

6.1 Information and legal regulation of legal education

Global processes of informatization of society require effective information and legal support of legal education. The professional activity of lawyers in the information society depends on its ability to adapt to modern conditions. Training of competitive specialists in the field of law needs to master and use their regulatory and legal support and information and communication technologies.

Evidence of the special importance of legal education reform in recent conditions is the establishment of a working group on the development of legal education within the Commission for Legal Reform under the President of Ukraine, approved by the Decree of the President of Ukraine in July 2019.

Reform of legal education of the Ministry of Science and the Ministry of Justice, in connection with which a number of regulations determine them appropriate for the implementation of certain components of legal education reforms [277].

On February 26, 2020, a new draft Concept for the Development of Legal Education [278] was published on the website of the Verkhovna Rada Committee on Science, Education and Innovation [278]. The concept of legal education development has many controversial issues that need to be addressed and the project as a whole needs to be refined.

The standard of higher education of Ukraine of another (master's) level of higher education for obtaining the degree of higher education "istr" in specialty 081 "Law" in the field of knowledge 08 "Law" was approved and put into effect by order of the Ministry of Education of Ukraine from 17.08.2020. № 1053 [279]. There is no state educational standard for specialty 082 "International Law".

In 2019, preparations began for the Unified State Qualification Exam for Lawyers. The pilot exam was scheduled to begin in December 2020, then in May 2021, and later in October 2021, but it was not conducted.

On May 19, 2021, the Government approved a new procedure for attestation of applicants in the unified state qualifying examination for professional higher and higher education degrees at the first (bachelor's and second) (master's) levels and the list of specialties for which EDKI will be held. It remains an open question - whether there should be one exam for the specialty "Law" and "International Law", or separately.

In October 2021, the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine approved the Program of the Unified State Qualification Exam in "Law" and "International Law" at the second (master's) level of higher education [280].

As part of the approbation of the qualification exam in Law and International Law, it was planned to be held in December 2021 for entrants to the 2020 master's degree, but it was not conducted in the epidemiological zone due to technical possibilities.

In connection with the Russian-Ukrainian war in Ukraine, holding a single state qualification exam in 2022 for a number of specialties, including 08 Law. This decision was made in the resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine of March 27, 2022 № 376 [281]. Attestation without an exam will be conducted at the first (bachelor's) and second (master's) levels. The issue of information-first provision of coverage in the works of O.V. Baranov, V. Bryzhko, V. Gorovy, R. Kalyuzhny, N. Savinova, V. Furashev, L. Khromchenko and others.

The works of V. Bykov, A. Gurzhiy, A. Ivannikov, Y. Izhvanov, O. Krivosheev, T. Kronivets, O. Moiko, S. Nikolaenko, L. Polyakova, R. Shevchuk are devoted to the problem of informatization of education.

The method of formation of informative competencies in future lawyers at the dissertation level was studied by: N. Rusina [282], O. Fedorchuk [283]. Issues of information and legal support of legal education need a separate study.

Information and legal support is defined as a set of management techniques in the management system aimed at forming the necessary information, special methods of processing, systematization, grouping [284, p. 112].

Analytical review of the regulatory framework of Ukraine on information and

legal support gives grounds to note that currently 260 laws of Ukraine, 290 resolutions of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of normative content, 375 decrees and 87 orders of the President of Ukraine, 1,160 resolutions and 210 orders of the Cabinet of Ministers and more than 1,000 regulations governing legal relations in the country [285, p. 156].

Regulatory and legal acts of information and legal support of legal education according to the level of legal regulation can be classified into international and national.The main international legal acts of information and legal support of legal education are the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, the Convention on Legal Assistance and Legal Relations in Civil, Family and Criminal Matters, Recommendation of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe № R (2000) 21 on the freedom of profession of lawyer, Recommendation of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe № R (2000) 19 on the role of public prosecutor in criminal justice, Recommendation of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe № R (2004) 4 on European Convention on Human Rights in University Education and Vocational Training, Joint Declaration on the European Higher Education Area, adopted in Bologna on 19 June 1999, Recommendation of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe № R (2000) 8 on university research mission, Recommendation of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe № R (2007) 6 on the responsibility of the state for higher education vol and research.Regulatory and legal support for the training of future lawyers in Ukraine is based on the legal norms of the Constitution of Ukraine of June 28, 1996; Laws of Ukraine: "On Education" of September 5, 2017 № 2145-VIII, "On Higher Education" of July 1, 2014 № 1556-VII, "On Scientific and Scientific-Technical Activity" of November 26, 2015 № 848-VIII ; Resolutions of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine: "On the State National Program" Education "(" Ukraine of the XXI Century ") of November 3, 1993 № 896," On approval of the Program of legal education for the period up to 2005 "of April 10, 2001 № 344," "On approval of the national qualifications framework" of November 23, 2011 № 1341, "On approval of the list of fields of knowledge and specialties for which higher education is provided"

of April 29, 2015 № 266, "On approval of the list of specialties for which a single state qualification exam for a master's degree "from May 10, 2018 № 354," Procedure for certification of persons obtaining a master's degree in the form of a single state qualifying exam "from July 17, 2019 № 684; Decrees of the President of Ukraine: "On the National Strategy for Education Development in Ukraine until 2021" of June 25, 2013 № 344/2013, "On Sustainable Development Goals until 2030" of September 30, 2019; orders of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine: "On approval of the standard of higher education of Ukraine in specialty 081" Law "in the field of knowledge 08" Law "for the first (bachelor's) level of higher education" by the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine №1379 of December 12, 2018, "On the establishment of a working group to develop the Concept Development of Legal Education in Ukraine ”№ 787 of July 5, 2016,“ Guidelines for the Development of Higher Education Standards ”of June 1, 2016 [286].

Recently, draft regulations have been developed: the draft Law of Ukraine "On Legal (Legal) Education and General Access to the Legal Profession" of September 28, 2017 №7147, the Draft Law on Legal Education and Legal (Legal) Profession of October 17, 2017 years, which were to help reform the training of lawyers. On August 29, 2019, the draft laws were rejected.

In the framework of reforming the higher education system and comprehensive updating of legislation in this area, I. Timkovych considers the adoption by the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine of the order of 05.07.2016 № 787 "On the establishment of a working group to develop a concept of legal education in Ukraine" , discussion of ways to improve its legal and organizational framework with the participation of not only government officials but also partners implementing the USAID Fair Justice project, OSCE project coordinators in Ukraine, representatives of higher education institutions and NGOs. According to the order, the working group is tasked to develop and submit to the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine a draft Concept for the Development of Legal Education in Ukraine by September 30, 2016, and to develop and submit a draft Implementation Plan to the Ministry by December 30, 2016. of this Concept. The result of this work was a presentation by the

Minister of Education and Science of Ukraine, Chair of the Working Group on Concept Development Lilia Hrynevych and Deputy Minister of Justice of Ukraine Hanna Onyschenko of the Concept 2016 during the round table "Modernization of legal education in Ukraine", and the text of the draft Concept is posted on the website of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine for public review [287, p. 56].

The concept of legal education development is designed to ensure the quality of higher legal education and verify the compliance of graduates with the needs of the labor market, modern challenges of the global legal profession and world best practices. Information and legal elements of the system of internal quality assurance of legal training in accordance with the draft Concept for the development of legal education are:

- availability of information systems for effective management of the educational process;

- publicity of information about educational programs and qualifications;

- observance of academic integrity by employees of higher education institutions and applicants for higher legal education, including the creation and maintenance of an effective system for preventing and detecting plagiarism and other manifestations of academic dishonesty;

- creation of an effective system of responsibility for non-compliance with the requirements of academic integrity;

- providing higher legal education students with access to educational resources, including recognized professional databases, international information, scientific and practical, library and other resources [285].

According to L. Stolyarchuk, the approval of the Standard of Higher Education of Ukraine in the specialty 081 "Law" in the field of knowledge 08 "Law" for the first (bachelor's) level of higher education by order of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine №1379 of December 12 2018. This standard has been in force since the 2018/2019 academic year and defines the basic requirements for the content and results of educational activities of the Free Economic Zone, which prepare bachelors of law. In particular, this document provides a list of graduate competencies, which are

represented by 3 types: integrated competence, general and special (professional, subject) competencies. In addition, the normative content of bachelors of law is formulated, formulated in terms of learning outcomes, which include the following blocks: socio-humanitarian erudition, research skills, communication, professional self-organization and use of information technology, law and law enforcement [289, p. 91].

Cooperation between the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine and the Ministry of Justice of Ukraine on reforming legal education is active. In the structure of the Ministries, the Directorates - the Directorate of Higher Education and Adult Education of the Ministry of Education and Science, as well as the Directorate for Human Rights, Access to Justice and Legal Awareness of the Ministry of Justice are responsible for formulating state policy in the field of legal education. In recent years, thanks to the joint actions of both ministries, with the active assistance of international partner organizations, professional legal communities, we have made significant progress in this direction, including conceptual rulemaking, improving the selection of law schools, optimizing public procurement for legal education. , recommendations for improving the content of educational programs, etc. [290].

The new draft concept of legal education development, which was developed and discussed at working meetings of people's deputies of Ukraine together with experts in the field of law and higher education, plans to include higher education with a master's degree in 081 "Law" in the field of knowledge 08 "Law". The master's degree in 081 "Law" is obtained on the basis of complete general secondary education. It is also established that the training of applicants for the specialty 081 "Law" in the system of professional pre-higher education and the degree of junior bachelor and bachelor is not carried out [291].

The specialties "International Law" and "Law Enforcement" will not be considered higher legal education in the context of qualification requirements for a certain position.

The possibility of distance learning is abolished: the training of lawyers will be carried out exclusively on a full-time basis [292]. According to the authors of the

project, the Concept of Legal Education Development should comply with the provisions of strategic and policy documents, including: National Strategy for Human Rights, Strategy for Judicial Reform, Judiciary and Related Legal Institutions for 2015-2020, development of civic education in Ukraine.

The concept of legal education development provides:

- promoting the increase of necessary resources for the organization of the educational process, including independent work of students;

- availability of information systems for effective management of the educational process;

- providing access to legal resources for students of legal education, including recognized professional databases, international information, scientific and practical, library and other resources [291].

The draft concept of legal education in order to ensure the quality of training of lawyers provides for the organization and conduct of the Unified State Qualification Exam. On November 7, 2019, by order of the Minister of Education and Science G. Novosad, a working group was established on methodological, organizational and analytical support of the unified state qualifying exam in specialties 081 "Law" and 293 "International Law".

On July 17, 2019, the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine issued a resolution "Procedure for certification of persons obtaining a master's degree in the form of a single state qualifying examination" [293].

In this Procedure, the term "single state qualifying examination" means a standardized form of control over the achievement of higher education students' learning outcomes defined by the standard of higher education, and evaluation of such learning outcomes [293].

Certification of persons obtaining a master's degree in the form of a qualifying examination is carried out in specialties according to the list of specialties for which a single state qualifying examination for a master's degree, approved by the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine from May 10, 2018 № 354 [295].

The state bodies responsible for organizing the qualifying examination in the

specialty 081 Law are the Ministry of Education and Science and the Ministry of Justice.

According to the resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine "Procedure for attestation of persons obtaining a master's degree in the form of a single state qualification exam" qualification exam programs are developed on the basis of higher education standards of the appropriate level and specialty.

The programs of the unified state qualification exam in the specialties "Law" and "International Law" master's degree in higher education is not published on the official website of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine [280].

EDKI is a mandatory component of the certification of special competencies defined by the standards of higher education and sufficient for the effective performance of professional activities in the chosen specialty.

Examination work will consist of plots (descriptions of the actual circumstances of the situation). Each plot will contain no more than 12 test tasks (questions) of the following types:

- tasks with four possible answers, of which only one is correct;
- tasks with seven possible answers, of which only three are correct;
- tasks that need to determine the sequence / priority;
- tasks that require compliance.

The total number of test tasks is 120, which will take participants 180 minutes to complete.

The EDCI program in Law and International Law consists of 12 sections:

- Constitutional law of Ukraine;
- Administrative law of Ukraine;
- Administrative proceedings in Ukraine;
- International public law, international protection of human rights;
- Civil law of Ukraine;
- Civil procedural law of Ukraine;
- Labor law of Ukraine;
- International private law;

- Criminal law of Ukraine;

- Criminal Procedure Law of Ukraine;

- International criminal law, including international cooperation in crime prevention;

General ethical requirements of the legal profession.

The program was developed by the working group on methodological, organizational and analytical support of EDKI in specialties 081 "Law" and 293 "International Law", which includes employees of the Ministry of Education, lawyers, scientists, representatives of other central authorities and NGOs [280].

In order to counteract the spread of coronavirus infectious disease COVID-19, the state authorities have adopted regulations amending the organization of the educational process in Ukraine. Almost every family has schoolchildren, students, research and teaching staff, and other people involved in educational activities. Threat to the life and health of participants in the educational process of Ukraine during the spread of coronavirus infectious disease COVID-19, the implementation of educational tasks require the creation of effective legal regulation of education: adoption of new regulations, amendments to existing regulations.

Normative-legal regulation is the definition of the limits of self-realization of subjects of law, enshrining in the legal norm and the consciousness of citizens the ability to act in accordance with the law [295, p. 12].

Legal regulation of education in Ukraine is a set of legal means by which the state exercises legal influence on public relations in the field of education. The purpose of legal regulation of education is to ensure the unimpeded movement of the interests of subjects to values [296, p. 1110].

The main legal acts regulating education in Ukraine and continuing to operate under the COVID-19 coronavirus are: the Constitution of Ukraine of June 28, 1996, the State National Program "Education" ("Ukraine of the XXI Century") of November 3, 1993, the National Doctrine of Education Development of April 17, 2002, National Strategy for Education Development in Ukraine until 2021. from June 25 2013 № 344/2013 and Laws of Ukraine "On Education" of September 5, 2017, "On Preschool

Education" of July 11, 2001, "On Complete General Secondary Education" of January 16, 2020, "On Extracurricular Education" of 22 June 2000, "On Vocational (Technical) Education" of February 10, 1998, "On Higher Education" of July 1, 2014. Legal norms of educational legislation continue to be used: resolutions of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, resolutions of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, decrees of the President of Ukraine, orders of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine, letters of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine and other bylaws [297, p. 182].

Government bylaws are important in order to prevent the spread of acute respiratory illness COVID-19 in Ukraine. On March 11, 2020, the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine adopted a resolution "On prevention of the spread of acute respiratory disease COVID-19 caused by SARS-CoV-2 coronavirus" on March 11, 2020 № 211. On April 2, 2020, the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine introduced amendments to the resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine of March 11, 2020 № 21. On March 13, 2020, Presidential Decree № 87/2020 “On the decision of the National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine“ On urgent measures to ensure national security in the event of an outbreak of acute respiratory disease COVID-19 caused by coronavirus SARS-CoV-2 ”was issued.

On March 17, 2020, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine adopted laws aimed at preventing the emergence and spread of coronavirus disease and supporting taxpayers for the period of implementation of the following measures:

- Law № 530-IX “On Amendments to Certain Legislative Acts of Ukraine Aimed at Preventing the Occurrence and Spread of Coronavirus Disease (COVID-19)”, which entered into force on March 17, 2020;

- Law № 533-IX “On Amendments to the Tax Code of Ukraine and Other Laws of Ukraine on Support of Taxpayers for the Period of Measures to Prevent the Occurrence and Spread of Coronavirus Disease (COVID-19)”, which entered into force on March 18, 2020.

Since the beginning of quarantine, the Ministry of Education and Science has made many management decisions to adapt educational processes to its conditions. All changes in the educational process, implemented through quarantine, are collected on

a separate website (http://mon-covid19.info) [298].

Regulations of the Ministry of Education and Science in quarantine can be classified in such areas as:

- organizational measures to prevent the spread of coronavirus disease (COVID-19): Order of the Ministry of Education and Science "On ensuring the implementation of preventive and anti-epidemic measures" № 392 of 12.03.2020; Order of the Ministry of Education and Science "On organizational measures to prevent the spread of coronavirus COVID-19" of March 16, 2020; Letter of the Ministry of Education and Science "On the inadmissibility of forced eviction of students or providing such recommendations to students" № 1 / 9-165 dated 18.03.20; Letter of the Ministry of Education and Science "On proposals for amendments to Annex № 3" Distribution of expenditures of the State Budget of Ukraine for 2020 "of the Law of Ukraine" On the State Budget of Ukraine for 2020 ", sent on 27.03.2020" № 1 / 10-1031 dated March 27, 20.

- organization of the educational process: Letter of the Ministry of Education and Science "On the organization of the educational process in general secondary education during quarantine" № 1 / 9-173 from 23.03.20; Letter of the Ministry of Education and Science "On the peculiarities of the organization of the educational process during quarantine" № 1 / 9-176 dated 25.03.20; Letter from the Ministry of Education and Science

"On the organization of the educational process in institutions of professional (vocational) education for the period of quarantine" № 1 / 9-177 from 26.03.20; Letter of the Ministry of Education and Science "On the completion of the 2019/20 academic year" № 1 / 9-178 dated 27.03.20; Order of the Ministry of Education and Science "On exemption from passing the state final certification of students who complete primary and basic general secondary education in the 2019/2020 academic year" № 463 of 30.03.2020; Letter of the Ministry of Education and Science "Regarding the organized end of the 2019/2020 academic year and enrollment in general secondary education institutions" № 1 / 9-182 dated 31.03.20; Letter of the Ministry of Education and Science "On the organizational principles of inclusive resource centers in quarantine"

№ 1 / 9-185 from 03.04.20; Letter of the Ministry of Education and Science "On the organized end of the school year in vocational (vocational) education institutions during the quarantine period" № 1 / 9-200 dated 08.04.20; Letter of the Ministry of Education and Science "Regarding the final assessment and organized completion of the 2019-2020 academic year" № 1 / 9-213 dated 16.04.20.- on the organization of labor and remuneration of employees: Letter of the Ministry of Education and Science "On remuneration of employees of educational institutions during the suspension of training due to quarantine" № 1 / 9-161 of March 13, 2020. Letter of the Ministry of Education and Science, Central Committee of the Trade Union of Education and Science Workers "On the conditions and remuneration of employees of educational and scientific institutions in quarantine" № 1 / 9-162, № 02-5 / 202 from March 17 № 2020; Letter of the Ministry of Education and Science "On the certification of teachers in 2020 in quarantine" №1 / 9-179 from 27.03.2020.

During quarantine, learning takes place exclusively at a distance, so it is important to provide regulatory and legal support for distance education, which is carried out in accordance with the Constitution of Ukraine (Articles 41, 54), Civil Code of Ukraine (Articles 418-448), Law of Ukraine "On Higher Education" 01.07. 2014 (Article 49), the Law of Ukraine "On the National Informatization Program" of 04.02.1998, the Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine "On approval of licensing conditions for educational activities of educational institutions" of 30.12.2015 № 1187, the Decree of the President of Ukraine on the development of the national component of the global information network Internet and ensuring wide access to this network in Ukraine "of July 31, 2000 № 928/2000," Concepts of distance education in Ukraine "approved by the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine of 20.12.2000, on distance learning "(order of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine from 25.04.2013 № 466), "On approval of time norms for planning and accounting of educational work and lists of basic types of methodical, scientific and organizational work of pedagogical and scientific - pedagogical workers of higher educational institutions" "Order of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine from 07.08.2002" 450).

Regulatory regulation of education in quarantine should ensure the implementation of curricula, promote theoretical knowledge and practical skills of participants in the educational process, promote respect for fundamental rights and freedoms of participants in the educational process, so the adoption of new regulations should be timely, appropriate, take into account future perspective.

Regulatory regulation of education in quarantine is a set of regulations by which the state regulates public relations in the field of education in quarantine.

Training of competitive specialists in the field of law requires the development and use of information and communication technologies.

Information and communication technologies are a set of methods, tools and techniques for searching, storing, processing, presenting and transmitting graphic, textual, digital, audio and video data based on personal computers, computer networks and communications [299, p. 195].

ICTs have an active influence on the process of teaching and educating students, as they change the scheme of knowledge transfer and teaching methods.

The main tools of ICT used in the educational process of future lawyers are: word processors and spreadsheets, computer presentations, electronic reference books, electronic textbooks and multimedia; electronic libraries and archives, expert and information retrieval (universal) systems, banks and databases, global and local educational networks, cloud technologies. They help the future lawyer to choose the necessary information and present it properly.

Thus, information and legal support of legal education is a set of legal acts and information and communication technologies used in the training of future lawyers.

Reforms of legal education are impossible without the adoption of the Concept of development of legal education and the mechanism of its implementation. Therefore, it is necessary to adopt regulations that meet modern requirements and international standards for the training of future lawyers.

6.2 Information competence of future lawyers

In the context of education reform, in accordance with the competence approach, the requirements for future specialists, who must be competitive in the labor market, are growing. The main task of higher education is to form the professional competencies of future specialists in accordance with modern requirements.

The professional activity of a lawyer ensures the functioning of any legal system. The fate of people, the activities of institutions, organizations, stability in the state depend on the advice, decisions, contracts concluded by lawyers [300].

Modern legal education needs to be reformed because the level of training does not meet international professional standards. According to R. Maidanik, a significant number of graduates of higher legal educational institutions have an inadequate level of training in such areas as:

a) sufficiency of possession of legal working equipment;

b) solving certain legal problems, incidents;

c) comprehensiveness of legal knowledge;

d) the ability to find alternative solutions;

e) technique of argumentation;

f) ability to work in a team and lead a team;

g) knowledge of the Ukrainian business language, foreign languages, microeconomics;

h) knowledge of applied legal computer programs [301].

Curricula of higher legal institutions do not pay enough attention to the acquisition of practical skills. The main form of classes are seminars, during which theoretical knowledge is deepened. The inefficiency of internships also does not contribute to the professional competence of future lawyers.Recently, many studies have appeared in the scientific literature on the formation of professional competencies of future professionals in various professions in the educational process.

Professional competencies of future lawyers are considered in the works of B. Andrusyshyn, S. Bocharov, O. Bandurko, A. Guza, S. Gusarev, D. Demchenko, V.

Ryzhikova, V. Savishchenko, O. Skakun, S. Slyvka, O. Tikhomirova , G. Yavorskaya and other researchers.

The professional competence of the future lawyer in the process of professional training is defined as the readiness of the future lawyer to implement the legal regulation of public relations, provided with a system of knowledge, skills, abilities and personal qualities.

The general requirements to the properties and qualities of graduates of higher legal education as social personalities are presented in the form of competencies for solving certain problems and tasks of social reality.

The very concept of "competence" includes:

- knowledge and understanding (theoretical knowledge of the academic field, ability to know and understand);

- knowledge of how to act (practical and operational application of knowledge to specific situations);

- knowledge of how to be (values as an integral part of the way of perceiving and living with others in a social context) [302, p. 5].

The new explanatory dictionary of the Ukrainian language defines the concept of "competence" as a good knowledge of something; the range of powers of any organization, institution, person" [303, p. 874]. The European Commission identifies 8 key competencies that every European should have:

- competence in the field of native language; competence in the field of foreign languages;

- mathematical and fundamental natural science and technical competencies;

- computer competence;

- educational competence;

- interpersonal, intercultural and social competences, as well as civic competence;

- competence of entrepreneurship;

- cultural competence [302, p. 5].

In the formation of competence plays a crucial role not only the content of

education, but also the educational environment of higher education institutions, the organization of the educational process, educational technologies, including independent work of students and more.

The compliance of the quality of graduate training with the requirements of the industry standard of higher education should be determined by its competencies.

In the process of studying in higher education, students must form: socio-personal, general scientific, instrumental and professional competencies.

Social competence is a competence that reflects the ability and willingness of a person to cooperate with people in a certain way, to understand their interests and social status, to participate in the process of forming work harmony and working life.

Personal competence - competence that reflects a person's ability and willingness to act independently and responsibly, reveals the person's own actions and attitudes to the actions of others, the intention to improve their skills in the future.

Socio-personal competencies:

- understanding and perception of ethical norms of behavior in relation to other people and in relation to nature (principles of bioethics);

- understanding the need and adherence to a healthy lifestyle; ability to learn; ability to criticize and self-criticize; creativity, ability to think systematically;

- adaptability and sociability; persistence in achieving the goal;

- care for the quality of work performed;

- tolerance;

- environmental literacy.

General scientific competencies are manifested in the ability to analyze, compare, systematize, summarize, acquire new knowledge. These competencies characterize the level of intellectual development of the individual. Intelligence plays a crucial role in all activities of the specialist. General scientific competencies:

- basic ideas about the basics of philosophy, psychology, pedagogy, contributing to the development of general culture and socialization of the individual, inclination to ethical values, knowledge of national history, economics and law, understanding the causal links of society and the ability to use them in professional and social activities;

- basic knowledge of the fundamental sections of mathematics in the amount necessary to master the mathematical apparatus of the relevant field of knowledge, the ability to use mathematical methods in the chosen profession;

- basic knowledge in the field of informatics and modern information technologies;

- skills of using software and skills of work in computer networks, ability to create databases and use Internet resources;

- basic knowledge of basic sciences, to the extent necessary for the development of general professional disciplines;

- basic knowledge in the field required for the development of general professional disciplines.

Instrumental competencies:

- ability to written and oral communication in the native language; knowledge of another language (languages); computer skills;

- information management skills; research skills.

Professional competence - competence that covers knowledge and skills, describes the ability and willingness to professionally, autonomously and methodologically perform tasks, solve problems, evaluate the process and the results obtained. Professional competencies can be generalized, inherent in a professional (specialist) in general or from a certain class (subclass, group) of professions, and are determined by the requirements of specific professional standards of a particular profession or (in their absence) expertly on the proposals of relevant working groups. analogues and qualification characteristics of the employee's profession (according to the Handbook of Qualification Characteristics of Employees' Professions (DKHPP) or proposed and agreed with the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy).

State industry standards establish state requirements for the content of legal education, determine the professional competencies of university graduates.

The professional competencies of future lawyers are divided into general-professional and special-professional.

According to the state standards of education, curricula, training programs for

lawyers, taking into account the reform of legal education and domestic legislation, the future lawyer must have the following general professional competencies:

- modern ideas about the requirements for professional and personal qualities of a lawyer, modern ideas about the laws of origin, functioning and development of the state and law;

- basic knowledge of state and legal phenomena and mastering the conceptual and categorical apparatus for the development of special professional disciplines; modern ideas about the sources of law;

- basic knowledge of the main branches of law;

- modern ideas about the system of public authorities;

- basic knowledge of legal regulation of legal relations;

- basic knowledge of legal liability;

- modern ideas about legal regulation in the field of economics, socio-cultural and administrative-political construction. Special-professional competencies:

- ability to determine and analyze the structure and types of legal norms, legal force and limits of normative legal acts, as well as to use methods of interpretation and rules of application of legal norms;

- ability to analyze and evaluate the circumstances of the case and other documents using various scientific methods, the ability to provide legal support for the conclusion of transactions, to determine the conditions of their validity;

- ability to independently form and maintain legal statistics, as well as to analyze statistical data;

- ability to compile and draw up management documentation taking into account the modern requirements of office standards;

- ability to organize and carry out general record keeping at enterprises, institutions, organizations, as well as record keeping on citizens' appeals, issues of organization of archival storage and use of documents;

- ability to have computer skills at the user level, to use information technology to solve practical problems in the field of professional law.

The competencies of future lawyers are determined on the basis of the

competence approach and taking into account modern requirements for law graduates. Reforming higher legal education, adopting industry standards of higher school in jurisprudence, improving educational and methodological support, coordination of educational and professional programs of junior specialists, bachelors, specialists, masters helps to prepare a competitive specialist with a high level of professional competence. The professional activity of a lawyer in the information society depends on his ability to adapt to modern conditions. The training of competitive legal professionals requires the development and use of information and communication technologies (ICT).

The general requirements to the properties and qualities of graduates of higher legal education as social personalities are presented in the form of competencies for solving certain problems and tasks of social reality. The use of ICT contributes to the formation of future lawyers' information competence.

Information competence is included in the list of key competences approved in 2006 by the EU ("Recommendation of the European Parliament and the Council of 18 December 2006 on key competences for lifelong learning") [304, p. 83].

Standards of higher education in Ukraine, bachelor's degree, field of knowledge - 08 Law, specialty - 081 Law determines the list of competencies of the graduate, the general competencies include skills in the use of information and communication technologies [305].

Applicants for higher education bachelor's degree in 081 "Law" must demonstrate the following learning outcomes: professional self-organization and use of information technology (should use statistical information obtained from primary and secondary sources for their professional activities; free to use available information technology for professional activities and databases, demonstrate the ability to use computer programs necessary for professional activities, work in a group, forming their own contribution to the tasks of the group) [305].

Standard of higher education of Ukraine of the second (master's) level of higher education for obtaining the degree of higher education "master" in the specialty 081 "Law" in the field of knowledge 08 "Law". (Order of the Ministry of Education and

Science of Ukraine dated 17.08.2020 № 1053) general competencies include the ability to search, process and analyze information from various sources, special competencies include the ability to convey information, ideas, content of problems to specialists and non-specialists in the field of law and the nature of optimal solutions with proper reasoning [306].

N.H. Balovsyak defines information competence as an integrative formation of personality, which reflects its ability to identify information needs, search for information and work effectively with them in all their forms and representations - both in traditional, printed form and in electronic form; ability to work with computer equipment and telecommunications technologies, and the ability to apply them in professional activities and everyday life [307, p. 2].

M.S. Golovan on the basis of the analysis of the concepts of competence and information competence draws conclusions: first, information competence can be considered as a quality of personality, including a set of knowledge, skills and abilities to perform various types of information activities and values of this activity. this information activity is understood as a set of processes of collection, analysis, transformation, storage, retrieval and dissemination of information; secondly, the information competence of the specialist is directly related to the field of his professional activity; thirdly, information competence can be considered in three aspects: as part of key competences; as a component of professional competence of a specialist; as a stage in the formation of his professional or information culture [308].

O.S. Fedorchuk and N.G. Rusina devoted their dissertation research to the method of forming information competencies of future jurists.

O.S.Fedorchuk defines the concept of "professional and informative competence of the future jurist - a complex individual psychological education based on the integration of theoretical knowledge and practical skills to work with information of various kinds, using ICT to search, process, transform, assimilate and generalize information. specific knowledge, which is the basis for forecasting, development, adoption and implementation of optimal decisions in the legal field, the desire to engage in this matter [283, p. 11].

N.G. Rusina considers the information competencies of the future jurist as the ability to apply the acquired knowledge, skills and abilities in the field of informatics and information technology, related to the ability to enable people to solve professional problems and be able to use ICT in everyday life and for professional development [282, p. 8].

M.S. Golovan considers information competence, which should be understood as subject and separate it from information, which can be characterized as key. The scientist defines the concept of information competence of the student - an integrative quality of personality that characterizes the degree of development of competencies in the field of informatics, necessary for activities in the information space. According to him, the structure of information competence includes five components: motivational, cognitive, activity, value-reflexive, emotional-volitional.Information competence is dynamic; it involves functioning, ie constant change and development; it is in the properties, connections, functions and their interaction are the origins of the development of information competence as a holistic system [308].

According to S.A. Rakov, the composition of ICT competence includes the following components: methodological; research; model; algorithmic; technological [309].

N.H. Balovsyak believes that the structure of information competence can be represented as three components:

1) information component (ability to work effectively with messages in all forms of their presentation);

2) computer or computer-technological component (which determines the skills and abilities to work with modern computer tools and software);

3) procedural component (which determines the ability to use modern means of information and computer technology to work with information resources and solve various problems) [307, p. 2].

In our opinion, the information competence of future lawyers includes the following components:

- information (methods of receiving, storing and processing information);

- computer (skills and abilities to work with a computer);

- motivational (motives, purpose, desire to use ICT);

- evaluation (comparison of results with the purpose, forecasting);

- communicative (using other people's resources to achieve their goals);

- emotional and volitional (ability to understand their own emotional state as a result of search and processing, transmission of information);

- ethical (knowledge of the rules of ethics of information use).

In the process of higher education, law students should form the following information competencies:

- basic knowledge in the field of informatics and modern information technologies;

- skills in using software and skills in computer networks, the ability to create databases and use Internet resources;

- computer skills;

- information management skills. The formation and development of information competence of future lawyers should contribute to the effective organization of the educational process in the university, the use of modern teaching methods, the use of interdisciplinary links, enhancing students' cognitive activity, motivating learning activities, and taking into account The information competence of future lawyers should facilitate the effective search, evaluation, selection of information in order to perform professional duties during legal practice.

Thus, the information competence of future lawyers is an integrative characteristic of a lawyer as a professional related to the implementation of actions of search, evaluation, selection of information using ICT in legal practice. The structure of information competence of future lawyers includes the following components: information; computer; motivational; evaluative; communicative; emotional and volitional; ethical.

6.3 Features of distance legal education in Ukraine

Today, distance education is becoming more common. The number of universities offering distance learning, including law, is increasing, and this trend is observed all over the world. The world's leading educational institutions are opening distance learning centers in other countries, the most remote parts of the globe. Migration processes force many people to leave their homeland and seek a better life abroad. There are difficulties in adapting to new conditions, including education. Distance education can help Ukrainian migrants obtain Ukrainian diplomas and become more competitive.

Poland, Germany, Russia, Canada, Italy, the Czech Republic, the United States, Spain, Austria, France and Hungary remain among the most desirable countries for study. And 2/3 of Ukrainians study at Polish universities. Canadian, Czech and Italian universities also showed significant relative and absolute growth of Ukrainian citizens in their studies. This trend in Ukraine can lead to negative consequences: lack of qualified personnel, demographic problems of Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and other countries. One of the ways to solve this problem is the opening of distance learning centers by Ukrainian universities abroad, the development of joint educational programs with foreign educational institutions. The target audience of distance learning centers are citizens of Ukraine who are temporarily or permanently studying or working abroad, people living in geographically remote settlements, people with special needs, people who are able to independently or quickly master the curriculum.

Distance education is a form of learning equivalent to full-time, part-time and part-time education, which is implemented mainly by distance learning technologies [310]. Distance education is an education that a person can acquire throughout life. Continuity of education is due to the development of scientific and technical process, changing requirements for employees. Continuing legal education is based on the achievements of jurisprudence, pedagogy, computer science and other sciences.

Among the most commonly used terms related to distance learning are the

following: correspondence education, home study, self-study, external learning, lifelong learning, distance learning, technical-based learning, or indirect learning, open learning, open access , flexible and distributed learning.

Under distance learning in accordance with paragraph 1.2 "Regulations

on distance learning "of April 23, 2013. means individualized process of acquiring knowledge, skills, abilities and ways of human cognitive activity, which occurs mainly through the indirect interaction of distant participants in the learning process in a specialized environment that operates on the basis of modern psychological, pedagogical and information and communication technologies [311].Distance learning differs from traditional forms in the following features: flexibility, modularity, parallelism, coverage, manufacturability, social equality, a new role of the teacher.

Normative and legal regulation of distance education in Ukrainian universities by distance learning is carried out in accordance with the Constitution of Ukraine (Articles 41, 54), the Civil Code of Ukraine (Articles 418-448), the Law of Ukraine "On Higher Education" of 01.07. 2014 (Article 49), the Law of Ukraine "On the National Informatization Program of 04.02.1998", the Law of Ukraine "On Copyright and Related Rights" of 23.12.1993, "On Information" of 02.10.1992, the Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine "On state registration of copyright and agreements relating to the author's right to a work" of 27.12.2001, Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine "On approval of the list of branches of knowledge and specialties for training higher education" from 29.04.2015 № 266 , Resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine "On approval of licensing conditions for educational activities of educational institutions" from 30.12.2015 № 1187, Decree of the President of Ukraine "On measures to develop the national component of the global information network Internet and ensure wide access to this network in Ukraine" from 31 July 2000 № 928/2000, "Concepts for the development of distance education in Ukraine" approved by the Ministry of Education and of Science of Ukraine on December 20, 2000, "Regulations on Distance Learning" (order of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine of April 25, 2000).2013 № 466, "On approval of time norms for planning and accounting of educational work and lists of basic types of methodical, scientific

and organizational work of pedagogical and scientific - pedagogical workers of higher educational institutions" (order of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine from 07.08.2002 № 450), "On the Recommendation on the procedure and establishment, organization and work of the state examination (qualification) commission in higher educational institutions of Ukraine" (letter of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine dated 29.12.1993 № 83-5 / 1259), "On approval of the Model Statute higher educational institution "(order of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine of 05.02.03 № 60)," On approval of the Regulations on the practice of students of higher educational institutions of Ukraine "(order of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine of 08.04.1993 № 93), "On approval of the Regulations on the procedure for transfer, expulsion and renewal of students of higher educational institutions" (order of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine district of 15.07.1996 № 245), "On approval of the Requirements for higher education and postgraduate education, scientific, educational and research institutions that provide educational services in the form of distance learning for training and retraining of specialists in accredited areas and specialties" (Order of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine of 30.10.2013 № 1518, "On approval of the Regulations on academic leave and re-education in higher education institutions" (Order of the Ministry of Health of Ukraine of 06.06.1996 № 191/153) [36, pp. 46-47]. Persons who are able and able to acquire knowledge and implement the curriculum using distance learning technologies, the Internet, as well as the use of other means of communication can study remotely.

The positive aspects of distance legal education include such opportunities as:

- education of persons who in certain circumstances are unable to obtain it in any other way;

- obtaining education without separation from production, place of residence, as well as obtaining several educations at the same time in different educational institutions;

- getting an education at a convenient time for the student, in a convenient place and a convenient pace of learning;

- formation of a set of independent training courses (modules) of the optimal individual or group curriculum;

- simultaneous communication of students with teachers and with each other, regardless of their location and time of entry into the information and telecommunications network;

- reduction of costs for training, no costs for rent, on the way to the place of study for both teachers and students;

- improving the quality of education through the use of modern tools, large electronic libraries, etc .;

- creation of a single educational space;

- use of the latest achievements of information and telecommunication technologies in the educational process, etc.

In turn, the negative aspects of legal distance education can be considered:

- the actual lack of domestic development of qualified teaching aids (electronic textbooks and books, tests and virtual simulators, etc.) in the specialty "Law";

- low level of computerization of educational institutions;

- Lack of a perfect regulatory framework for the existence and development of distance education and state-recognized conceptual developments, which undermines its national importance and reduces it to the corporate interests of certain groups of people who may sometimes be incompetent in this area, etc.

The educational process of distance learning is carried out in the following forms: independent work; training sessions; practical training; control measures.

The main types of distance learning classes are: lecture, seminar, lesson, practical classes, laboratory classes, consultations and others.

Lecture, consultation, seminar, lesson are conducted with students (students, listeners) remotely in synchronous or asynchronous mode according to the curriculum.

Receipt of educational materials, communication between the subjects of distance learning during distance learning classes is provided by the transmission of video, audio, graphic and textual information in synchronous or asynchronous mode.

Practical training, which involves the implementation of practical (control)

work, takes place remotely in asynchronous mode.Some practical tasks can be performed in a synchronous mode, which is determined by the work program of the discipline.

Laboratory classes are conducted in person in specially equipped training laboratories or remotely using appropriate virtual simulators and laboratories.

Other types of training activities in the implementation of the educational process may include business games, project implementation in groups and more. These types of classes can be conducted in person or remotely in synchronous or asynchronous mode, as determined by the work program of the discipline.

Practical training of students (pupils, students) who study by distance learning is carried out according to a separately approved program by the educational institution.

Control measures in the discipline (subject) in the training of distance learning in higher education include intermediate (thematic, modular), final and other defined by the university control of knowledge, skills and abilities acquired by students in the learning process.

All control measures in the university can be carried out according to the decision of the educational institution remotely using the capabilities of information and communication technologies, including video conferencing, provided that the authentication of the student, or in person [313, p. 260].

State certification in the training of specialists in distance learning is carried out by the state examination commission in accordance with Article 7 of the Law of Ukraine "On Higher Education" [314]. The introduction of distance learning in Ukrainian higher education institutions, including their foreign missions, will allow everyone to study Ukrainian, reduce the number of Ukrainian students studying in foreign universities, maintain ties with the homeland, and promote better adaptation in case of re-emigration.

In October 2017, Ukraine will have the first professional cloud CRM system for lawyers. The problem of choosing and adapting to the needs of the quality CRM-system industry was solved by the team of the well-known in Ukraine legal resource

"Lawyer's House". They have proposed the first professional cloud CRM system for lawyers and will soon provide an opportunity for free testing. With the help of the system, lawyers will be able to issue invoices to clients, conduct their own billing, quickly and easily generate various reports, manage their affairs and use other opportunities [315].

Training of highly qualified specialists requires to keep up with the times, to take into account the changes that occur in the information environment, vocational education. In modern conditions, cloud technologies are more widely used in the training of future specialists.

The strategy of information society development in Ukraine for 2013-2020 provides for the formation of a modern information structure based on cloud technologies [316]. According to N.A. Khmil, the purpose of integrating cloud technologies into the pedagogical process of universities is to create an information environment or information infrastructure of the educational institution, which in the "Strategy for Information Society Development in Ukraine" is defined as "a set of various information (automated) systems, information resources. telecommunication networks and data transmission channels, means of communication and management of information flows, as well as organizational and technical structures, mechanisms that ensure their functioning " [317, p. 129].

The term "cloud technology" was first introduced in 1997 by R. Chellapp.

Cloud technology is a data processing technology in which computer resources and capabilities are provided to the user as Internet services. The user has access to their own data, but they do not need to worry about the infrastructure, operating system and security of data storage. The term "cloud" is used as a metaphor for a complex infrastructure, which hides all the technical details [318, p. 149]. The advantages of using cloud technologies are: unnecessary powerful computers; less cost to purchase software and update it regularly; unlimited data storage; accessibility from various devices and no workplace connection; ensuring data protection against losses and the implementation of many types of educational activities, monitoring and evaluation, online testing, open educational environment; saving money on the maintenance of

technical specialists.

Cloud systems are not without drawbacks, which are more common to ordinary users, and to a lesser extent - providers: constant connection to the Internet; work poorly with slow Internet access; programs may run slower than on the local computer; not all programs or their properties are available remotely; data security may be compromised; not every cloud application allows you to save the results in a user-friendly form on the desired media; the risk of mass data loss by many users due to a technical failure with the cloud service provider; loss of freedom - most cloud services do not have clear standards, and therefore there may be serious problems when moving from one cloud service provider to another. Despite the disadvantages, many experts believe that the benefits and conveniences outweigh the possible risks of using such services.

Consider the main opportunities for the use of cloud technologies in the educational process in the training of future lawyers.The most commonly used are cloud services designed to acquire skills in working with web services and regular documents. Among them we will consider the cloud platform Microsoft Live @ edu, thanks to which on the basis of cloud technologies it is possible to study in practice well-known office applications through a web browser, and the services of this platform include e-mail, calendar, web conferencing. language); virtual board; website design and support designer; the ability to create, edit documents Word, Excel, Power Point [319, p. 98].

Office 365 offers classic Microsoft Office applications and cloud services, including enterprise-class mail, shared calendars, instant messaging, a portal for storing and working with documents, and video conferencing in HD quality.

Windows Azure provides a cloud service to reduce costs and grow your business based on Microsoft data centers located in different parts of the world.

Google Apps Education Edition cloud platform, the main tools for use by students and teachers are: Gmail e-mail (the advantages of this service are support for text and voice chat Google Talk, as well as video chat); Google Calendar Google Drive - storage for your own files and the ability to configure access rights to them; Google

Docs - a service for creating documents, spreadsheets and presentations with the ability to share rights to multiple users; Google Sites is a tool that allows you to create sites using built-in templates. Cloud services are also becoming increasingly popular, which allow you to develop your own or use existing tests. An example of such a service for fast and high-quality development of own tests is OpenTest, which provides the opportunity to serve free (in Lite mode) about 100 students per month with one test administrator. Cloud storage is also quite easy to use. The most famous are Google Drive, SkyDrive, Dropbox and others. One of the main advantages of using cloud platforms and services is undoubtedly the availability of training anywhere and anytime. The student can start the task at the university, while he can continue to work at home without having to copy the task on media. This is possible due to the fact that all the necessary information and data can be stored on a remote server [319, p. 99].

The most popular learning management systems in the world are: Moodle, Edmodo, Blackboard.Modular Object Oriented Distance Learning Environment (Moodle) distance learning system, which is classified as free education software, can be used for distance training of future lawyers. This system is designed to organize online learning in a networked environment using Internet technologies. The system provides a variety of online learning procedures, a combination of which can be used to organize effective learning in an educational institution. Moodle provides the ability to install educational resources (learning materials) and provide means to access and manage resources; provides communication interaction of participants in the educational process, which is implemented in the form of Internet conferences, forums, discussions, as well as the exchange of messages, including, in particular, tasks for learners, tasks and comments. The system provides the ability to specify the categories (Category) of training courses, such as Office work [320].

Edmodo is a virtual learning environment, similar to Facebook's social platform, to support real-time teacher-student interaction. It is an incredibly easy to use and powerful educational tool that can be adapted to any training course.

Blackboard is an artificial intelligence application based on the Blackboard architectural model, where the overall knowledge base is updated by experts in various

fields of knowledge. It is worth noting that the Blackboard model was originally created to solve complex and complex problems, but today this application is widely used for self-education. Many universities that train lawyers are now creating websites, Internet platforms and other educational resources to host teaching, video lectures, interactive bibliography, online law courses, thus enhancing the training of future lawyers and form professional competencies.

The use of cloud technologies during the training of future lawyers in universities helps to intensify the educational process, increase student motivation to obtain a future specialty, ensures student mobility, cooperation of students and teachers, the formation of professional competencies [321, p. 188].

The introduction of distance learning in higher education, including law, will significantly improve the training of future lawyers, but a necessary condition is to improve the information support of the educational process, taking into account the latest advances in science and technology, developing new teaching methods.

10.46299/979-8-88680-821-6.7

7. The way of life and the formation of A. Yakovliv as a lawyer and historian of law

7.1 Formation of legal views of A. Yakovliv

A. Yakovliv belonged to the generation of Ukrainian lawyers who met the events of 1917 with mature people who had national-democratic views and wanted to use their knowledge and work to establish an independent, democratic, national Ukrainian state. The proclamation of Ukraine's independence contributed to the study of public and scientific activities of Ukrainian lawyers who lived outside Ukraine.

A.I. Yakovliv was born on November 28 (December 11), 1872 in the town of Chyhyryn, Kyiv province, in the family of the provincial secretary Ivan Yukhymovych Yakovliv. The boy's mother (the second wife of a 44-year-old father), Maria Prokhorovna, was 19 at the time. A large family lived in their house on Dvoryanska Street [322, p. 4].

After primary school in Cherkasy (1886–1890), A. Yakovliv studied at the Kyiv Theological Seminary (1890–1894), which he graduated with a first-degree diploma. During 1894–1898 A. Yakovliv worked as a teacher in Cherkasy. From 1898 to 1902 he studied at the Faculty of Law of the University of Dorpat (Tartu). The young man became interested in the history of Ukrainian, Western Russian and Western European law, and during his internship (1901–1902) he diligently studied documents of the Warsaw Main Archives, the Warsaw State Chamber, and the Warsaw Libraries. The result of the search was the scientific work "Cherkasy Economic Castle and County in the XV-XVII centuries.", Which was prepared under the guidance of Professor (later Academician) M. Dyakonov (author of the well-known at the time "Essays on the social and state system of ancient Russia") [323, p. 3]. Work on the dissertation gave A. Yakovliv the opportunity to study archival documents relating not only to Cherkasy Castle, "but also to its near and far neighborhoods, including the neighborhood of Chyhyryn and the history of its founding" [324, p. 44]. In 1901–1902 he was forced to work on the construction of the Warsaw-Kalisz railway [325, p. 203].

The end of the XIX - first years of the XX century. were a period of intensification of the Ukrainian national movement. During this period, national-political organizations were created, so it is natural that the idea of a purely national union arose among Tartu Ukrainian students. Its founders were F. Matushevsky and A. Yakovliv, who were acquainted in Ukraine. To attract the attention of Ukrainian students, they spoke only Ukrainian. At the end of 1889, the Dorpat Ukrainian Student Community was established. F. Matushevsky, A. Yakovliv, K.-F. Redlich and S. Macri signed the charter of the community. According to him, its members could be students of the University of Tartu - Ukrainians by origin or beliefs who shared the idea of independence of the Ukrainian nation and culture. The political program of the community demanded constitutional freedoms in Russia, autonomy of Ukraine within its national territory, the right of Ukrainians to education, literature and the press in their native language. The charter also required strict secrecy from its members, as the Ukrainian community, like most Tartu student national organizations, was an illegal association. F. Matushevsky was elected chairman of the council, A. Yakovliv was elected deputy, V. Kozlovsky was elected secretary, and S. Macri was elected treasurer [326, p. 77-78]. At the beginning, the Student Community met every Saturday in the apartment rented by F. Matushevsky and A. Yakovliv, on the street. Tehelfer, or other members. Abstracts or reports on the problems of Ukrainian life, culture, and ideological issues were read at the meetings.At the end of February, according to tradition, the community celebrated Taras Shevchenko's Day. The first anniversary was organized at the end of February 1899 in an apartment on Tehelferskaya, where A. Yakovliv delivered an essay on "Cultural and educational movement in Galicia and Bukovina" [327, p. 43]. In 1900, in the days of Taras Shevchenko, L. Ukrainka took part in a visit to M. Kosach's brother, who studied at the University of Tartu. Members of the community took part in student performances in 1899–1902 in Tartu [326, p. 78].

From the 15th to the 27th of August, 1902, the XII Archaeological Congress took place in Kharkiv, in which A. Yakovliv took part. He published an article in the Don region "and two reports:" Excavation of the mound in the village. Cattle Bakhmut

district of Ekaterinoslav province in August 1900. " and "A few words about accidental archaeological finds in the construction of railways." During the construction of the railway on the banks of the Chir River (a right tributary of the Don), a burial ground and silicon tools from the Neolithic-Eneolithic period were found. In the works of A. Yakovliv described the results of excavations [328].

The gifted and talented student was invited to stay at the Department of History and Law after graduation to prepare for a professorship. However, due to family and financial circumstances in 1903 he was forced to return to Ukraine. In Kyiv, he lived for some time on Mykilsko-Botanichna Street in building 25 (the house has not survived to this day) [329]. In 1904, A.Yakovliv passed the state exam at the University of St. Vladimir in Kiev and received a diploma of the first degree. In 1905–1907 he actively and persistently studied Ukrainian law, was elected a member of the Ukrainian Scientific Society and the board of Kyiv's Prosvita. After graduating from university he served in the Kyiv State Chamber, in 1908 he left the civil service and went to the bar [330, p. 284].

During 1906–1907 A. Yakovliv's articles (Revolt of Cherkasy and Kaniv in 1536. Essay on the history of Ukrainian cities "," Governors, statesmen and elders of the Cherkasy economic castle in the XV-XVI centuries "," On the history of registration of Ukrainian Cossacks "And other scientific papers) were published in the journal" Ukraine ". [323, p. 3]. The subject of research is the history of Cherkasy region. In the newspaper Hromadska Dumka (later Rada) A. Yakovliv published articles describing the events of that time ("State Economy", "Specific Lands"). When writing articles, he uses the pseudonym "A.Ya.", which was his calling card in the early period of research and social activities [331, p. 264-265].

At the same time, Andriy Ivanovych began active work as a publicist and public figure of national autonomy. During his internship in Warsaw, A. Yakovliv became acquainted with Polish social nation-centered sentiments. In his letters to the second youth of F. Matuszewski, the scientist describes the impressions of Warsaw and its inhabitants in sublime tones. He notes that despite the government's actions, Poles maintain their own linguistic and cultural identity, that the Polish-speaking press and

theater are. According to A. Petryk, it is the Warsaw experience that shapes A. Yakovliv's political and civic views. He became a supporter of the "Ukrainization of the masses" through the introduction of the Ukrainian language in everyday communication, the publication of Ukrainian-language periodicals, the nationalization of theater and literature. It is under such conditions, which should be achieved only through the active educational work of the nationally oriented intelligentsia among the inert and unconscious population of "Greater Ukraine". Thus, the figure believed, it is possible to move away from "smallness" and achieve cultural Ukrainian autonomy, which should be an intermediate stage to cultural independence and, in the long run, political (the apogee of the competition of conscious Ukrainians) [331, p. 264].

In 1911 A. Yakovliv received the right to teach the basics of law and legislation in all commercial schools in Russia, and from that year until the beginning of 1918 he taught at the 1st Kiev Commercial School [323, p. 3]. In 1913, after completing his internship, he became a district attorney for the Kyiv Judicial Chamber. During 1910–1918.he was an assistant legal adviser and later a legal adviser to the Kyiv City Council. For some time Andriy Ivanovych was the Deputy Chairman and Chairman of the Kyiv Bar Association. Having access to the archives of the Moscow administration and the library of the Kyiv Magistrate, he worked on historical materials of Kyiv and published in the "Izvestia of the Kyiv City Duma" [323, p. 3]. In 1914, the article "Suburbs of Kyiv: Priorka, Kurenevka and Syrets" was published [332] - a historical and legal essay on the suburbs of Kyiv. As an assistant to the city's legal adviser, A. Yakovliv was repeatedly published in the newspaper with reports on the distribution of land in Kyiv and the ownership of land in the former Kyiv Fortress. "On the question of the city's right to lands that are within its boundaries and are not listed by anyone under the acts of fortification") [334].

Thus, we note that the historical-legal and national-political views of A. Yakovliv began to form during his studies in 1898-1902 at the Faculty of Law of the University of Dorpat (Tartu). After graduating from the university he is engaged in professional legal and teaching activities in public and educational institutions of Kyiv. The revolution of 1917 intensified the political activity of A. Yakovliv.

7.2 State and political activities of A. Yakovliv during the national liberation struggle of 1917-1921

The February Revolution of 1917 intensified the socio-political activities of the Ukrainian intelligentsia. The revolutionary events of the spring of 1917 were greeted with great enthusiasm by the forty-five-year-old, already experienced lawyer-practitioner A. Yakovliv. He was one of the founders of several legal institutions.

In 1917 A. Yakovliv together with the lawyer V. Voitkevych-Pavlovych organized the Ukrainian Bar Association [335, p. 3], was one of the founders of the Ukrainian Law Society in Kyiv, continued to teach at the People's University, where he taught the course of the state budget.

In order to determine the degree of national consciousness of the population of Kyiv and its environs, the Ukrainian Central Rada (UCR) decided to hold a national demonstration in Kyiv on March 19, 1917. A. Yakovliv was a participant in this manifestation. In his memoirs, he wrote that "this was the first purely Ukrainian national manifestation, it was impressive and aroused great enthusiasm in the Ukrainian citizenship of Kyiv, the surprise of the non-Ukrainian population of Kyiv and the anger of Ukraine's enemies. Tens of thousands of people took part in the demonstration. At the head of the demonstration was a large portrait of Taras Shevchenko, adorned with Ukrainian towels and flowers, followed by the UCR presidium headed by its chairman, Prof. M. Hrushevsky. Then came the army: Constantine's military school in full force and with weapons, followed by ranks of soldiers of the reserve regiments and those who returned from the front; for soldiers thousands of Kyivites and visitors. Blue and yellow flags were in the hands of delegations from all walks of life. The picture was majestic, picturesque, joyful. This is the first time that Ukrainians have had the opportunity to freely and en masse express their nationality, their feelings, desires, and postulates on the streets of golden-domed Kyiv. I saw tears in the eyes of our old leaders, who, having survived the difficult times of the tsarist regime, which seemed to bury the hope of Ukrainian patriots to gain the freedom of Ukraine, waited for better times and this happy day. " [336, p. 3].

On April 6-8, 1917, A. Yakovliv took part in the All-Ukrainian Congress as a representative of the Ukrainian Bar Association and was elected to the Ukrainian Central Council [323, p. 3]. 115 people were elected to the UCR, among them - A. Yakovliv among the twelve "from educational and other organizations of Kyiv." Taking part in the meetings of the UCR, Andriy Ivanovych acted as a speaker on several projects, amendments to old or the adoption of new laws in the field of law and justice. Among other things, at his suggestion, the UCR passed a law that the original formula of laws and court judgments: "By decree of the Provisional Government", which after the abdication of the king replaced the old formula: "By decree of His Imperial Majesty", was replaced by the following: Of the Ukrainian People's Republic ". As a lawyer, A. Yakovliv was successful in adopting several draft laws, despite the opposition of minorities [337, p. 3].

A. Yakoviliv was a member of the Radical Democratic Party, which convened a congress on April 8, 1917, at which, in addition to spreading his program, he changed the party name to a new one: the Party of Socialists-Federalists. According to A. Yakovliv, “the name was unsuccessful, did not correspond to the party's program and caused a lot of controversy at the congress, but it was proposed and warmly supported by party leaders S. Yefremov and F. Matushevsky. We were not "socialists", and the federation was not a fundamental postulate of the party. However, the majority voted for the new name, following the "fashion" for socialism that emerged at the time; everyone wanted to be called "socialists", because then only socialist parties, such as the SD and the SR, were successful among the citizens "[336, p. 3].

On April 30, 1917, the Ukrainian Law Society was founded in Kyiv. At the same time, the general meeting of Ukrainian lawyers approved the company's charter and elected its first presidium. It included: M. Tkachenko (chairman), M. Radchenko and A. Yakovliv (comrades of the chairman), Yu. Gaevsky and R. Lashchenko. According to the statute, based on the basic principle that the Ukrainian people must create their own law, the Ukrainian Law Society aimed to unite theoretical and practical forces to: promote the formation and development of Ukrainian law; to cover the process of Ukrainization of modern law in Ukraine; practically help the Ukrainianization of all

state and public institutions and in general the Ukrainianization of the legal basis of life in Ukraine; to promote the formation of the Ukrainian legal language. The Ukrainian Law Society was the main organizer of the Ukrainian Law Congress, which took place on June 13–14, 1917 in Kyiv [338, p. 198-199].

The congress was chaired by a well-known lawyer and public figure M. Levitsky, and M. Hrushevsky was elected honorary chairman. A. Yakovliv's report "On Legal Terminology and Legal Language" was heard. The participants of the congress supported the 1st Universal of the UCR published the day before and decided to immediately start the restoration and creation of Ukrainian law on the basis of science, life and legal consciousness of the people, in accordance with the conditions of new life. It was considered necessary to introduce the Ukrainian language in courts and notaries, while ensuring the rights of national minorities to take legal action in their native language.The Ukrainian Law Society was instructed to draw up a program of activities for the development of Ukrainian legal terminology, to elect an editorial board of lawyers and philologists to compile the relevant terminology dictionary. The congress established the Kyiv Regional Judicial Committee to maintain links between the UCR and local courts. G. Vovkushevsky, V. Voitkevych-Pavlovych, Y. Gaevsky, R. Lashchenko, G. Lemekh (Lemekha), Z. Margulis, M. Radchenko, M. Tkachenko and A. Yakovliv were elected to it [338, p. 201].

The Ukrainian Central Rada had to fight for Ukraine's autonomous rights for a long time with Russian political parties: the Social Democrats, the Socialist-Revolutionaries, the Cadets, and national minorities in Ukraine: Russians, Poles, and Jews. Both everywhere in Russia and in Kyiv, a Council of Soldiers', Workers', and Peasants' Deputies was formed, which tried to oppose itself to the Central Council and even tried to seize power. In order to reach an agreement with the Council of Soldiers', Workers' and Peasants' Deputies, the Central Rada sent a delegation to the meeting of the Rada, of which A. Yakovliv was also a member. Recalling this, he wrote, “the meetings were, so to speak, permanent, lasting days and nights, so that the delegates of the Central Committee had to take turns, some sitting during the day, others at night.

Meetings for Ukrainians were of no interest, they were filled with endless speeches and "tea and fire" a huge number of sandwiches with ham, veal, cheese, etc. " [339, p. 3].

A. Yakovliv characterizes the policy of the Provisional Government: “despite the fact that it consisted of a majority of left-wing ministers, it adhered to a specific Russian tactic: either give nothing or give as little as possible; and what they had to give against their will and desire, then in various lateral ways to reduce or even eliminate " [339, p. 3].

A. Yakovliv believes that the First Universal June 10, 1917"Made a great impression not only in Ukraine but in Russia as a whole… This fact was of great legal importance because it transformed the Central Rada from the Ukrainian national body into the universally recognized by the population of Ukraine supreme legislative body of autonomous Ukraine" [339, p. 3].

The significance of the Second Universal, according to A. Yakovliv, is that all power in Ukraine was transferred to the General Secretariat, the Third Universal is that the General Secretariat, supplemented by ministers from national minorities, takes over all power in Ukraine , and the UCR becomes the supreme legislative body of the UPR. The Ukrainian language was recognized as the state language [339, p. 3].

According to A. Yakovliv, the first stage of the struggle of the Ukrainian people for the restoration of their state independence ended in victory.

In his Memoirs, he negatively assessed the policy of Soviet Russia, which, despite the proclamation of the principle of "self-determination until secession", interfered in the UPR's internal affairs, criticizing the UPR government's order on agrarian policy, and accused the UPR of "bourgeoisie." He criticizes the policies of the Entente governments, which demanded that Ukraine not move troops to the east, where the Red Army was grouped, but increase the number of troops on the Western Front in the interests of war with the German coalition.Andriy Ivanovych believed that “the Secretary General first had to hastily send a military force against the Red Army of the Bolsheviks, which pushed him further from Kharkiv to Kyiv… The military command had to take military formations from other shades of the Eastern Front and transfer them to defend the Kyiv direction » [340, p. 3].

A. Yakovliv, believes that "the Ukrainian delegation to the Brest peace talks as part of the largest Ukrainian parties: from the SD party - M. Levitsky and N. Porsche, from the SR party - O. Sevryuk and V. Golubovich had to fight on two fronts: against Germans and against the Bolsheviks, conducted negotiations talentedly and achieved significant political and diplomatic success [341, p. 3].

In order to weaken the position of Soviet Russia at the world conference, the UCR decided to legislate the state independence of the UPR, which had already taken place on January 9/22, 1918 in Kyiv on Sophia Square. The Ukrainian Central Rada solemnly announced its IV Universal on the full independence of the Ukrainian State in the form of the Ukrainian People's Republic and thus abolished the III Universal, which proclaimed the independence of Ukraine as part of the future federation with Russia [341, p. 3].

Assessing the significance of this important event in the history of the UPR, A. Yakovliv recalls that: “The Ukrainian people, through their 800 representatives, members of the UCR, recognized and formally proclaimed their full, unlimited state independence and their independent state - the Ukrainian People's Republic. With this solemn act, the Ukrainian people forever "self-determined", before the whole world showed their unshakable will to be the master of their great-grandfather's land, to live in their own independent state - the UPR. This manifestation of the will of the free Ukrainian people cannot be deprived of any legal force, no coercion, no non-recognition by other states or peoples. IV Universal of the supreme legislative body of Ukraine - the Ukrainian Central Council, was, is and will be the Charter of Freedom of the Ukrainian People, an act that proclaimed January 9/22, 1918 state independence and independence of Ukraine forever " [341, p. 3].

This Universal accelerated the conclusion of a peace treaty with the Central Powers, all of which formally recognized the independence of the UPR.

During the Bolshevik uprising of January 16-22, 1918 in Kyiv, A. Yakovliv found himself at the center of events. The insurgents managed to seize the arsenal with guns and other weapons, sit in it and start shelling the center of Kiev with guns. The insurgents also seized several police stations, including Starokyivska, which was next

to the apartment at the corner of V. Volodymyrska Street and Sofia Square, where A. Yakovliv lived with his wife and children [342, p. 3].He wrote in "Memoirs" - on the balcony of the 2nd floor, government officials set up a machine gun, which fired on the street, square and Starokyivska police station, where the insurgents settled. Therefore, everyone had to stay at home, and the gate to the yard and the exits from the house to Sofiyivska Square and Volodymyrska Street were closed and a guard was posted ” [341, p. 3].

On January 26, 1918, Bolshevik troops under the command of M. Muravyov captured Kyiv. Despite the fact that the Presidium and most of the members of the Central Rada left the city after the capture of Kyiv by the Bolsheviks, A. Yakovliv remained in Kyiv. With the arrival of the Bolsheviks, terrible days and nights of terror, murder, and looting began for the people of Kyiv. When he learned that they were looking for members of the Central Committee, A. Yakovliv burned his membership card and did not go outside. A few days later, he was summoned to the city council, where he held the position of assistant legal counsel, to "take care of the validity of the city government." He was issued a certificate certified by the Red Commissioner, which allowed him to move freely and perform official duties [342, p. 3].

After the conclusion of the Brest Peace Treaty on February 9, 1918 and an agreement with the German and Austrian governments to liberate Ukraine from Bolshevik occupation, Ukrainian units led by General K. Prisovsky and S. Petliura, together with German and Austrian units, fought successfully on the Right Bank and on March 1. In 1918 Kyiv was liberated.

The Central Rada and the Government of the Ukrainian People's Republic returned to the capital.The Central Council began regular work and there was a need for a permanent office. The head of the UCR, M. Hrushevsky, invited A. Yakovliv to be the director of the UPR chancellery. The new director took organizational measures for the functioning of the office, divided the powers between the four secretaries, and appointed their assistants. He himself took over the leadership of the codification department, which performed a very important task - the systematization of UCR legislation. Information and financial departments were also established, the publishing

house of the official magazine was organized: "News of the Central Council" [343, p. 3].

The special commission drafted the Constitution of the Ukrainian People's Republic and the law on national and personal autonomy for national minorities. A. Yakovliv was credited with the authorship of the "Constitution of the UPR", but he, already in the United States, in January 1953 in the pages of "Freedom" denied this: - "I was not the author of the Constitution of the UPR. The author of the draft Constitution was the following. in memory of the Chairman of the Ukrainian Central Council, Prof. M. Hrushevsky. " [344, p. 3].

A. Yakovliv took a direct part in the organization of the Supreme Court, which was called the "General Court". Almost every session of the Minor Council he reported on the organization of the General Court and proposed the appointment of O. Shelukhin, A. Margolin, and several members of the Kyiv Judicial Chamber and the Russian Senate, who were prominent lawyers of Ukrainian descent or of Ukrainian descent to the UPR. A. Yakovliv's candidacy was also proposed, but he refused, arguing that he was not old enough to sit in the Ukrainian Senate [345, p. 3].

In the process of international recognition of the Ukrainian People's Republic, especially after the signing of the Brest Treaty, the question of establishing diplomatic missions of Ukraine arose. Article IV of this document stated that “diplomatic and consular relations between the parties to the treaty will begin immediately after the ratification of the peace treaty. Certain conditions are reserved for the greatest possible admission of the consuls of both sides. " In the spring of 1918, a consular department headed by an experienced government official O. Sukhoversky began its work within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) [346, p. 24].

Germany and its allies sent diplomatic representatives to Kyiv: Germany - Ambassador, Baron von Mumm; Austria-Hungary - Ambassador, Count Forgach; Bulgaria - Ambassador, Prof. Шиманова; Turkey - Ambassador Ahmed Mukhtar Bey.

The first permanent diplomatic missions of the Ukrainian People's Republic are being introduced in the countries of the Fourth Union. March 16, 1918A temporary representative of the Ukrainian People's Republic, a member of the Ukrainian Central

Committee O. Sevryuk, went to Germany, and on March 17, 1918 a member of the Ukrainian People's Republic M. Levitsky was appointed temporary representative in Turkey [347, p. 85]. To Bulgaria, later, under Hetman P. Skoropadsky - O. Shulgin, and to Austria-Hungary - A. Yakovliv.

The principle of establishing diplomatic representations, their status, and the formation of staffs was twofold and borrowed from the system of the Russian diplomatic service. The first rank was given to the Ukrainian embassies in Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria, whose chairmen had the status of resident ministers and had the right to independently form the composition of the representation. The second rank included other representatives of the UPR abroad, whose heads were nominated attorneys for charge (charge d'affaires) [346, p. 24].

A. Yakovliv's appointment came as a surprise to him. M. Hrushevsky invited him to become the ambassador to Austria-Hungary, who believed that "Andriy Ivanovych has an advantage over others because he knows theoretical international law, that he is a lawyer and also a lawyer. This is enough to start a career as a diplomat "[348, p. 2]. The main task facing the diplomat in Vienna was the ratification by Austria-Hungary of the Brest Peace Treaty, which the Austrians deliberately postponed. Before the trip, M. Hrushevsky gave a number of practical tips, recommended to meet the ambassadors: Yevhen Petrushevych, who was the chairman of the club of Ukrainian ambassadors in parliament, with Ambassador K. Levitsky and the Minister of Health, Professor I. Gorbachevsky [348, p. 2].

On April 21, 1918, in a separate car of the 2nd class, together with three government officials, A. Yakovliv left for Vienna. He invited D. Doroshenko, who was going to Lviv for literary affairs, to his car. At the border in Pidvolochysk they boarded an Austrian train full of passengers and arrived in Lviv. Late in the evening of April 23, the delegation arrived in Vienna. Professor Stepan Smal-Stotsky helped to settle in Vienna [348, p. 2].

The next day, A. Yakovliv rented an apartment for the UPR embassy, which consisted of a salon, two bedrooms and a bathhouse at the Bristol Hotel in central Vienna. On the same day, unofficially, before the meeting with the Minister of Foreign

Affairs, A. Yakovliv talked to local correspondents, told them about Kyiv, about Ukraine in general, and presented some biographical facts. In the following days, A. Yakovliv visited the President of the Ukrainian Embassy Club E. Petrushevych in the House of Parliament, where he, as the leader of Ukrainian ambassadors, had his office, met his son, who recently graduated from university, knew German and French and invited him to work. as diplomatic secretary. The diplomat also met with deputies of the Austrian Parliament K. Levitsky and M. Vasylko. Vasilko had many connections and influences among Austrian-Hungarian political circles and repeatedly helped A. Yakovliv as ambassador. During the meeting of Ukrainian deputies of the Austrian Parliament, organized by E. Petrushevych, A. Yakovliv met with Minister I. Gorbachevsky, B. Levitsky, K. Trylovsky and others who were sincerely interested in the events in Ukraine [349, p. 2].

In early May 1918, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Ministry agreed to receive the Ukrainian ambassador. Von Flotov appointed him a day and time of appointment. On the appointed day, taking young Petrushevych with him, A. Yakovliv met with Deputy Foreign Minister von Flotov, and the Minister left for Romania for talks. Von Flotov did not welcome A. Yakovliv and stated that he was not a full-fledged ambassador. AND.Yakovliv, then decisively noted that in Vienna he has such a situation and such rights as the ambassador of the Austro-Hungarian state in Kiev, Count Forgach [349, p. 2]. The reason for the negative attitude towards A. Yakovliv was the events that took place in Ukraine in connection with the coup and the coming to power of Hetman P. Skoropadsky.

In the first hetman's government, the portfolio of the Minister of Foreign Affairs belonged to N. Vasylenko, who, although a Ukrainian, belonged to the Russian Cadet Party and collaborated with the Russian magazine Kyivskaya Mysl. After accepting the ministry, N. Vasylenko first recalled the ambassadors appointed by the Central Rada, including A. Yakovliv, but did not inform the dismissed, so the ambassadors remained in office for several months, unaware that they were already deprived of diplomatic powers. A. Yakovliv learned about his release through his courier, whom he sent to Kyiv in early June for news. Thus, from the very beginning of his diplomatic

activity, his status was twofold: he considered himself a full-fledged ambassador of the Ukrainian People's Republic in Austria-Hungary, and meanwhile, formally had no right to represent the Ukrainian People's Republic, which had ceased to exist. A. Yakovliv did not know, but the Austrian Foreign Ministry was well informed about this, which also for some reason did not consider it necessary to inform him and did not forbid him to continue to perform the functions of ambassador. Deputy Minister, von Flotov and Minister Count Burian, received from A. Yakovliv statements, diplomatic notes, but did not respond, in the conversation was limited to various promises [349, p. 2]. He visited the Foreign Ministry every day, waiting for an answer.

A. Petryk believes that one of the reasons for A. Yakovliv's resignation was the conflict that arose almost immediately between the ambassador and the embassy secretary and the translator Bodnar. In his telegram to Kyiv, A. Yakovliv asked the ministry to dismiss the official, arguing that he had a complete lack of qualifications and communication skills in the "relevant high society." The ambassador asked to appoint his acquaintance, the Ukrainian emigrant M. Trotsky, the editor of the Visnyk, which was published at the expense of the Ukrainian community in Vienna. M. Trotsky was appointed, however, the situation in the embassy staff remained tense. In turn, the staff (probably Bodnar and Kosinin, dismissed on the initiative of the ambassador) reported "indecent" behavior of Ambassador A. Yakovliv. After returning to Kyiv, former diplomats continued to slander Andriy Ivanovych. They reported in the Ministry that "the ambassador drinks and walks in Vienna in various inappropriate societies, degrading the dignity of the Ambassador of the Ukrainian State." This information became known to the Ambassador of Austria-Hungary to Ukraine - Count Forgach, who at an official reception of Hetman P. Skoropadsky told the head of state about the rumors and advised to recall A. Yakovliv. D. Doroshenko, as the head of the diplomatic mission and the direct head of the ambassador, invited him to Kyiv and offered to move to the Ministry, heading the Department of Foreign Relations. A. Yakovliv immediately agreed, but on the condition that he stays in Vienna until the arrival of a new ambassador - V. Lypynsky [331, p. 267].

A.Yakovliv, believes that the "cleansing" among the diplomatic representatives of the UPR was favorable for German policy towards Ukraine, but basically undermined the independence of the Ukrainian state, which was recognized in the Brest Treaty "[349, p. 2].

In addition to the main agreement with the four states concluded in Brest, our delegation managed to conclude a secret agreement with Austria-Hungary, on the basis of which it undertook to issue a law on the territorial autonomy of Galicia and Bukovina. This treaty was to be ratified separately and M. Hrushevsky instructed A. Yakovliv to demand its ratification in the first place. During meetings with the Minister of Foreign Affairs Burian A. Yakovliv constantly reminded about this case, and he limited himself to promises to ratify in due time [350, p. 2].

The unsatisfactory state of communications between the diplomatic mission and the government of the republic had a negative effect on the efficiency of the mission. The embassy lacked specific guidelines from the Center and information material on the situation in Ukraine. According to A. Yakovliv's report, the mission, despite a previous agreement with the Central Bureau of the Central Rada, received virtually no Ukrainian press. "Without magazines, the ambassador said, I feel completely cut off from Ukraine and have no information." Even to obtain such extremely important information as the ratification of the Brest Peace Agreement by Ukraine, A. Yakovliv was forced to go to the Berlin embassy of the Ukrainian People's Republic [351, p. 50].

During the meeting O.Sevryuk provided him with important information on Germany's general policy towards Ukraine and handed over a copy of the secret agreement. The treaty stated that the Austro-Hungarian government had undertaken to ratify the treaty by July 20, 1918, by approving it through parliament. At the same time, O. Sevryuk warned A. Yakovliv that he would not give the text of the agreement to anyone in Vienna, so that sometimes its content would not get to the press, and this would provoke opposition from Poles and then the parliament may refuse to approve it [350, p. 2].

A. Yakovliv regularly informed Kyiv about the ambassadorial activity, but the Foreign Ministry did not answer that he was very worried, he did not know what was

happening in Kyiv after the coup, which is now the government, who is the chief foreign minister, what is his legal status, whether he is still an ambassador or perhaps already fired. In order to get some information, A. Yakovliv sent an official to Kyiv, I. Kosynyn, in the second half of May, with a letter to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The official left, there were no rumors about him for a long time, he returned to Vienna in early June, bringing a lot of news, including an official statement dated early May, in which Minister N. Vasylenko informed A. Yakovliv that he had been fired. ambassador, but that he should remain in Vienna and perform the duties of ambassador until the arrival of a successor who has not yet been appointed. I. Kosynin also said that a new minister, D. Doroshenko, had been appointed to replace N. Vasylenko. Having received such information, A. Yakovliv decided to go to Kyiv and find out what was going on there and what he should do: whether to wait for his successor in Vienna, or move to Kyiv [350, p. 2].

A. Yakovliv left for Kyiv on June 7 by a short road through Radyvyliv and on the morning of June 9 he was already in Kyiv. The next day A. Yakovliv, at the invitation of his neighbor, Minister of Finance of the Hetman's government Rzhepetsky, took part in the grand opening of the Academy of Arts, where he introduced A. Yakovliv to Hetman P. Skoropadsky [352, p. 2].

On June 11, 1918, A. Yakovliv met with the new Minister of Foreign Affairs D.Doroshenko, who asked to return to Vienna before the appointment of a new ambassador and acted as ambassador. Andriy Ivanovych agreed, provided that "he can wait no more than a month, because his position as dismissed ambassador to Vienna is extremely difficult and unhelpful for the Ukrainian state, that the ratification of the secret treaty and other important matters require decisive steps before the Austro-Hungarian government" [352 , p. 2].

During the meeting, A. Yakovliv handed D. Doroshenko a copy of the secret agreement, which was not in the ministry, and two draft diplomatic notes: one touched on the secret agreement and required the acceleration of its ratification; the second demanded the liberation of the Ukrainian lands of Kholm, Podlasie, and parts of Volhynia from the occupation of the Austrian army and their transfer to the control of

the Hetman's government, in accordance with the peace treaty. At the same time, A. Yakovliv suggested that when the text of the notes is approved by the Council of Ministers, Doroshenko will hand over one copy of the notes in Kyiv to the Austro-Hungarian ambassador, Count Forgach, and A. Yakovliv, returning to Vienna, will pass the notes to Foreign Minister Burian [352 , p. 2].

During his stay in Kyiv, despite the bans, A. Yakovliv met with M. Hrushevsky, who was under house arrest. After the meeting with M. Hrushevsky, A. Yakovliv noted that: “although it was difficult for him (M. Hrushevsky) to sit under house arrest, he was not such a man to lose his spiritual balance and clarity of thought. He treated all the events as a great scholar-historian and in his spiritual eyes what happened to him personally took the least place.He was firmly convinced that the hetman's regime would not last long and the free and independent UPR would return [352, p. 2].

On June 12, A. Yakovliv took part in a meeting of the Socialist-Federalist Party, at which he reported on his activities as ambassador to Vienna. The Socialist-Federalist Party had a negative attitude towards Hetman P. Skoropadsky, his government, and policies, but found it useful for party members to hold positions in ministries other than ministers and to overcome the Russification of state institutions and Ukrainianize them. Therefore, it was also recommended to return to A. Yakovliv in Vienna [352, p. 2].

Some time later, D. Doroshenko informed A. Yakovliv that the Council of Ministers approved the text of both notes with some minor amendments and agreed to pass these notes to the Minister, Count Burian in Vienna, and in Kyiv they will be on the same day. transferred to the ambassadors, Count Forgach [354, p. 2]. A. Yakovliv returned to Vienna and on the appointed day passed both notes to Count Burian, noting that the notes with the same content were passed on to the ambassador, Count Forgach. The Minister accepted the notes and promised to announce the response of the Austro-Hungarian government.

Given the information that the UPR had disrupted certain supplies of bread, on June 18, 1918, S. Burian instructed the Austro-Hungarian ambassador in Berlin to inform the Allies about the possible declaration by Austria-Hungary of the Brest Peace Treaty invalid. The next day, the Minister also sent similar messages to the

ambassadors in Bulgaria and Turkey [353, p. 125]. Relations between the two countries began to deteriorate.

In order to assess the attitude to Ukraine, A. Yakovliv visited some foreign ambassadors. He had a long and interesting conversation with the German ambassador, Prince Hohenlohe, and gave him the impression that Germany was a major factor in Ukraine's policy and that Austria-Hungary's policy was subordinated to the smallest detail to Germany, without whose consent the Austrian government could not. step to step. He also visited the ambassadors of Bulgaria and Turkey [354, p. 2].

A. Yakovliv also visited the Spanish Consul General, who also served as Ambassador of Spain, who protected the citizens of the Entente and the former Russia. The Ukrainian diplomat has been with him several times in the field of legal protection of Ukrainian citizens, and explained to him that there is now an independent Ukrainian State, of which he is an accredited ambassador to the Austro-Hungarian government. The consul argued for a long time, defending his right to the care of the citizens of the former Russia, but finally agreed to transfer the protection of Ukrainians to the Ukrainian ambassador [355, p. 2].

During his stay in Austria-Hungary, A.Yakovliv, who facilitated the release of Ukrainian prisoners of war, registered all prisoners in all camps. Combat Administration of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, formed in 1917 in the city of Freistadt on the initiative of D. Dontsov [331, p. 266] began to form a division. Addressing the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ambassador of the Ukrainian People's Republic proposed the establishment of a Commission at the Ukrainian Embassy in Vienna, as the Combat Command of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine did not have an official mandate. The functions of the institution were to collect information on the census of prisoners, the process of forming Ukrainian military organizations and the return of prisoners to Ukraine [331, p. 267]. In order to be constantly aware of everything that is being done in the organization of captured Ukrainians, their return to Ukraine, he considers it necessary to have a temporary military agent who would know the location of the camps. He proposed for this position his brother, the chicken of the 1st Regiment of the Captive Division, which was formed in Volodymyr-Volynskyi -

Hryhoriy Yakovliv, who had the rank of captain, was in Austrian captivity for two years, held three camps personally captured Ukrainian officers. He argued that the service abroad requires special trust and confidence - "I can rely on my brother more than anyone" [356, p. 1].

In order to help Ukrainians who were in Austria-Hungary, A. Yakovliv organized a consular department. There were few citizens of Greater Ukraine in Vienna, and consular work was limited to the issuance of several passports and certificates. In his "Memoirs" for 1918-1919, A.Yakovliv recalls that "one of the first clients of the consular department was Princess Dolgorukova from Korsun, an old, very nice Russian aristocrat who spoke Russian correctly, but as if she were translating her conversation from French. She came to the embassy to get a Ukrainian passport, because, as she explained, when the Ukrainian State came into being, she believes that she must have a Ukrainian passport to live abroad " [354, p. 2].

A. Yakovliv, in Memoirs, cites the untimely arrival of the new ambassador V. Lypynsky, who was to arrive in Vienna by July 1, 1918, and the incident with notes to Austria-Hungary, in which D. Doroshenko was a participant. Without waiting for the arrival of the new ambassador V. Lypynsky, A. Yakovliv left Vienna on July 10 and left for Kyiv. He left the office of the embassy to the secretary A. Petrushevych, to help him left the government official I. Kosinin, providing them with a monthly salary, paid for hotel accommodation and left just in case a couple of thousand crowns in current bank accounts [354, p. 2].

Arriving in Kyiv on the morning of July 12, the same day he went to the ministry to report to Minister Doroshenko, and learned there that Lypynsky had not yet left for Vienna, but was preparing and would leave soon. A. Yakovliv informed D. Doroshenko that he had given both notes of the agreed day to the Minister, Count Burian. D. Doroshenko replied that he had sent a note in the Kholmshchyna case to Count Forgach on the same day, but as for the note in the secret agreement case, a very unpleasant story had happened to it. He handed over the texts of both notes to the office for the production of blank copies, which he had to hand over to Forgach after signing. They brought him the originals to sign, he signed them and ordered the note in the

Kholm region to be sent by special courier to the Austrian ambassador, and the second note in the secret treaty, he was detained for another day to personally hand over to Count Forgach. Meanwhile, drafts of both notes were handed over by the office to the information department of the ministry, which was accessible to newspaper correspondents. There it was read by a correspondent of "Kiev Thought", wrote down its contents and the next day, in the morning, the texts of both notes were published in this magazine, so Forgach learned in the morning from "Kiev Thought" about the note in the secret agreement before receiving it from the Minister. On the same day, he came to D. Doroshenko and strongly protested against the fact that the note appeared in the press before the minister sent him the original, and also complained that the ministry did not comply with the terms of this agreement and allowed the note to be published in the press. concerning the secret agreement "[354, p. 2].

D.Doroshenko, so that Count Forgach did not complain about it to Hetman P. Skoropadsky and he did not lose his post, given that A. Yakovliv is temporarily ambassador to Austria-Hungary, said that such a note, which was published in "Kiev Thought", he did not sign and it does not really exist because what was published, only the project, which was compiled by our Ambassador A. Yakovliv, and brought for testing by the government, but the project was not tested. Along with other papers, he accidentally got into the information department of the office, where he was written off by a correspondent. " D. Doroshenko apologized to A. Yakovliv for shifting the blame on him [354, p. 2].

A few days after the meeting with D. Doroshenko, A. Yakovliv made a report at a meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers, which was attended by advisers to the Ministry, shortly before that appointed: Professor O. Eichelman and M. Slavinsky, and Director of the Chancellery I. Measured, and a few more people. In his report, A. Yakovliv informed about the policy of Germany and Austria-Hungary towards Ukraine, the secret agreement and its terms, the need to encourage Austria-Hungary to ratify the previously set deadline - July 20, despite the stubborn opposition of Polish and Hungarian influential politicians . In the report, Andriy Ivanovych reported on his measures to establish relations with the Entente states through the Spanish consul in

Vienna and expressed the opinion that one should try to establish relations through ambassadors of neutral states, such as Switzerland, Sweden, Holland [354, p. 2].

The development of foreign relations required the reorganization of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. At the initial stage, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had only one general office, which performed everything necessary for the functioning of the ministry. With the participation of O. Eichelman and D. Doroshenko, several departments were organized, headed by directors. An advisory body was also established under the Minister of Foreign Affairs - the Council of Ministers, consisting of advisers, directors of departments, and an executive body - the Office of the Ministry. In addition, two other departments were organized: foreign relations and consular. The Chancellery was headed by its director - I. Mirnyi, the director of the Consular Department was K. Lossky, and the position of director of the Department of Foreign Relations was offered to A. Yakovliv, who after the incident with the note did not want to serve under D. Doroshenko. But after discussing this proposal at a meeting of the Socialist-Federalist Party, which insisted that he accept the post, saying that the ministry already serves I. Mirny and K. Lossky, and when he also takes the post of director of the most important department, then the whole ministry will be entirely Ukrainian, it was emphasized that he is the best prepared of all possible candidates for the position of director of the department, A. Yakovliv agreed to the appointment [354, p. 2].

On July 13, 1918, Hetman P. Skoropadsky issued Order 97 on the appointment of Andriy Ivanovych Yakovliv as the Director of the Department of Foreign Relations [36, p. arch. 8] and only on October 1, 1918 Order № 268 on the dismissal of the official from the post of Ambassador of the Ukrainian state in Austria-Hungary from October 1, 1918 [358, p. 20].

At the initial stage, Andriy Ivanovych dealt with organizational and personnel issues, recruited government officials, distributed responsibilities among them, determined the hours of reception, and M. Levitsky, the former ambassador to Turkey, was appointed vice-director. Most government officials did not have clerical practice, so he himself had to sort correspondence, compose answers to inquiries, some

documents he signed himself, others carried to the Minister for signature, or for a report. Documents of the department were kept in Ukrainian, returned to inquiries in Russian with the addition that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs requires compliance with the law on the official language [354, p. 2].

During this period, in addition to working in the Department of Foreign Relations, A. Yakovliv served in the evenings as a legal adviser to the legal department of the city administration. He was forced to stop practicing law, did not take new cases, and handed over those he had to his assistant [354, p. 2].

As the head of the department, Andriy Ivanovych continued to take part in negotiations with the Germans and Austrians on the transfer of prisoners and the fulfillment of Ukraine's obligations to the Central Bloc [331, p. 266].

Working in the ministry, A. Yakovliv dealt with the return of Ukrainians to their homeland.He distinguished himself as one of the authors of the agreement between Ukraine and the Central Powers of April 19, 1918 on streamlining the relocation of citizens. Another significant personal achievement of A. Yakovliv-diplomat was his participation in the Ukrainian-Romanian commission on concluding a trade agreement between the states [331, p. 266-267].

At the end of 1918, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine decided to send a diplomatic mission to Belgium and the Netherlands. However, due to the lack of funds in the state treasury, it was decided to form a joint diplomatic mission, which was to work in the two countries [359, p. 189]. The official appointment of the composition and leadership of the mission took place on January 5, 1919 [360, p. 196]. The mission included A. Yakovliv (head of the mission), Andriy-Heinrich Varketin (first secretary), Yakiv Kulisher (second secretary), Mykola Panasevych (attache), Petro Kovalev (attache), Mykola Tikhomirov (government official), Gustav Ver-Elst (government official) [360, p. 197]. All mission staff spoke not only the major European languages but also the languages of the countries of destination. The budget of the mission was 106,800 hryvnias per month [361, p. 65].

On a trip to Holland, the mission left Kyiv on January 19, 1919 by road through Volochysk, Ternopil, Stryi, Lavochne, Munkach (Mukachevo), Budapest, Vienna [362, p. 20].

On January 20, 1919, the Netherlands appointed Dr. T. Fokker Consul General in Kyiv [363, p. 65], which indicates that the Netherlands wanted to establish diplomatic relations with the UPR.

The mission arrived in Vienna on January 25. During their few days in Vienna, the embassies of Paris, the Czech Republic, the United States, Denmark and the Berlin embassies gathered here.Several meetings with representatives of missions and embassies took place in Vienna [362, p. 20].

On January 28, the mission left for Berlin via Munich. The consul of the Ukrainian People's Republic P. Orenchuk met the mission in Munich and said that he had good and quite friendly relations with the German government [362, p. 20].

The mission arrived in Berlin on January 30 at the Ukrainian embassy, which was still run by the ambassador's protégés under Hetman F. Steingel. The mission left Berlin early on February 3 and arrived at the Dutch border the same day, at 5 p.m. Here the mission was awaited by a separate car provided by the Dutch government. In this car, the mission arrived in The Hague on February 3 at 11 am [362, p. 21].

A few days after arriving in The Hague, A. Yakovliv sent the secretary to the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs to ask when he could be received by the Minister. The Secretary-General replied that the Ukrainian government had not yet recognized the Entente, so the Dutch government could not accept the head of the mission. he also did not receive [362, p. 21]. The head of the mission states the reason for the refusal to recognize it as: communication with the Germans, to whom she constantly supplied grain. In the same position as the mission of the Ukrainian People's Republic was the then ambassador of Czechoslovakia, whom the Minister did not accept and did not recognize "[362, p. 21].

However, despite the official non-recognition of the Ukrainian mission by the Dutch Foreign Ministry, other ministries considered the mission an official representative of the UPR.And then the employees of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

noted that "... they do not see the need to hinder the mission in its cause, as they are certain that the UPR will soon be officially recognized." Due to this, Dutch government circles avoided conducting political negotiations with representatives of the UPR, so Ukrainian diplomats from the very beginning of their activities were deprived of the opportunity to conduct practical diplomatic work aimed at recognizing Ukraine's independence [361, p. 65].

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs recognized the passports of the mission's representatives as diplomatic, and they were all given the right to extraterritoriality [362, p. 21].

Dutch political parties were mostly negative about the imperialist policies of the Bolsheviks and sympathized with the Ukrainians in their struggle. In particular, at the suggestion of the local Communist Party to establish economic relations with Soviet Russia, the States-General twice vetoed it in 1919. In its policy, the Netherlands strongly opposed any imperialism. Also, political circles of the country were grateful to the Ukrainian government for the care of the Dutch Mennonites, who at that time lived in Ukraine 60-80 thousand [361, p. 65]. Mennonites are members of the Protestant movement, founded by Menno Simons, who were resettled during the reign of Catherine II in the southern steppes of Ukraine. The doctrine promotes peaceful coexistence in a secular society, the absence of violence, non-violent methods of protest and dispute resolution, and pacifism. Back in the summer of 1917.Simultaneously with the Crimean Tatars, the Mennonites of Ekaterinoslav, Kherson and Northern Tavria recognized the Ukrainian Central Rada in Kyiv [364, p. 26]. Instead, the Ukrainian central government guaranteed the Mennonite communities their state support in the economic and cultural spheres [359, p. 190]. In the Netherlands itself, there were about 60,000 of them, but they played a significant role in society, their representatives held the positions of ministers, ambassadors, there were many bankers who influenced the Amsterdam Stock Exchange. They were concerned about the fate of their relatives in Ukraine during the Bolshevik and Denikin occupations, there were many publications about them in the press, and a special Mennonite Aid Committee was set up in Ukraine, which raised several thousand

guilders. A. Varketin, a secretary of the diplomatic mission of the Ukrainian People's Republic in The Hague, who came from the Dutch Mennonites in Ukraine, was invited to this committee as a member [364, p. 26].

As head of the diplomatic mission, A. Yakovliv issued orders, which were recorded in the "Book of orders of the head of the mission" (a total of 98 orders). In the first order, the diplomat defined the mission's work schedule and distributed responsibilities among the mission members.

In March 1919, a fair-exhibition of samples of goods took place in Utrecht, which was of great commercial importance and to which Ukrainian diplomats were invited. The organizers of the exhibition singled out a separate bureau decorated with Ukrainian flags [365, p. 22]. A. Yakovliv noted that the political recognition of Ukraine by the Netherlands will be possible only with the establishment of permanent economic relations between the countries. In 1919, the Dutch Ministries of Trade and Industry had high hopes for this [361, p. 65].

According to A. Yakovliv, one of the signs of official recognition of the mission in the Netherlands is that it received the right to issue passports to Ukrainians to travel from the Netherlands to Ukraine, Germany, Belgium, England, America and France. All issued passports were recognized by these states. Even when the Austrian embassy was ordered not to issue passports to Galicians, it sent everyone who needed passports or visas to travel to Ukraine to our mission [362, p. 22]. For comparison, Ukrainian diplomatic missions in Great Britain and France were forbidden to issue passports [359, p. 192]. V. Solovyova believes that the diplomatic mission in the Netherlands was, in fact, one of the few Ukrainian representations abroad that issued documents recognized by all European countries [360, p. 198].

Representatives of the diplomatic mission in the Netherlands provided assistance to Ukrainians, whom A. Yakovliv divides into Ukrainians who have lived freely in the Netherlands for a long time, those who moved from Belgium during the war and prisoners or fugitives from German camps [362, p. 23]. In order to inform about the work of the mission in the Netherlands, an advertisement was published in various magazines urging Ukrainian citizens to register for the mission. From different

categories of our citizens, special attention was drawn to migrants from Belgium and our prisoners. The first are permanent residents of Belgium, Antwerp, the so-called "diamonds". That is, the owners of diamond grinding factories and workers in these factories. They are mostly Jews from Galicia. Following a truce with the Germans, the Belgian government called on all "diamond workers" to return to Belgium to reopen the factories, but the question arose of obtaining "new passports by diamond workers because old Austrian passports were no longer valid." The Polish delegation in The Hague called on "diamond makers" to take Polish passports, but the diamond makers, all as one, said they would only come with Ukrainian passports, that they were valid citizens of the Ukrainian Republic from Galicia and Bukovina. The Belgian government then agreed to accept them with Ukrainian passports. Mission staff, having checked the place of birth, whether it belongs to Eastern Galicia or Bukovina issued passports [362, p. 23].

The second category is German refugees, there were quite a few of them in the Netherlands before the mission arrived, more than five hundred.But before the arrival of the mission, the Dutch government, fearing Bolshevism and considering every Russian soldier a Bolshevik, took them to Danzig, from where they got not to their homeland, but to the Polish army [362, p. 23]. The government of the Ukrainian People's Republic has allocated 20,000 rubles to help Ukrainian prisoners of war [359, p. 190]. Representatives of the mission tried to free and send them through Germany and the Czech Republic. To return to Ukraine, these Ukrainians were given ten guilders and one hundred German marks each [351, p. 24]. Thanks to the work of the mission, 80 Ukrainian prisoners of war were sent from Ukraine to the Netherlands, who were issued passports and travel funds. The situation with prisoners in Belgium was more complicated. Most Ukrainians were recruited by Polish and Russian representatives, and only a few dozen people volunteered to join the UPR army [361, p. 65-66].

Not being officially recognized and not being able to act diplomatically, the mission turned its full attention to activating the press. A. Yakovliv wrote that "time demands from us the greatest work on the part of daily truthful information. We had to catch up with what we all lost because of our own unconsciousness, Europe knew

nothing about us, and if it did, it knew everything against us. Now everything needs to be reworked, and this is hard and maybe not noticeable black at first glance work " [362, p. 26].

The Dutch press provided information about Ukraine based on materials from the Russian and Polish press, treated them as Bolsheviks, and scolded them as much as possible. A. Yakovliv, with the help of Ukrainians who have long lived in the Netherlands and were acquainted with the press, invited journalists to breakfast. In order to get acquainted with the latest events in Ukraine, the head of the mission wrote and printed a detailed memorandum, which was translated into Dutch, German, French and English and distributed to the press during breakfast [362, p. 24]. Breakfast had extremely good results. On the second day, detailed information about Ukraine appeared in all magazines on the basis of a memorandum, and then every day one or another newspaper wrote something about Ukraine [362, p. 24].

In order to obtain new information about Ukraine, A. Yakovliv appealed to the Ukrainian Information Bureau in Lausanne, headed by V.Stepankovsky, received bulletins issued by the UPR mission in Paris and founded the Ukrainian Press Bureau in The Hague, through which he had the opportunity to telegram news from Ukraine [362, p. 24].

Information about Ukraine was sent by telegram to the Dutch press and Reuters in Amsterdam via the Ukrainian Press Bureau. Important information, such as all the notes submitted by the UPR delegation in Paris at the peace conference, A. Yakovliv printed a separate collection and sent through the press bureau to all ambassadors, ministries, magazines, the International Institute in The Hague [362, p. 25]. In addition, the magazines submitted articles on topical issues: about Ukraine and Poles, about Ukraine and Russia, about minority rights in Ukraine, about the Union of Nations, about events in Poland and Romania, also included several interviews with A. Yakovliv, published refutation of various Polish lies about Ukraine [362, p. 53].

The Dutch press treated Ukraine well and provided more information than magazines in other countries. The real information explosion in the Dutch and Belgian press was observed after the signing of the Warsaw Pact and during the Ukrainian-

Polish offensive of 1920. May 1920, -… noted, "Is it possible to believe in the sincerity of Poland towards Ukraine, which would be quite fair for Ukrainians who have proved their right to independence, and which would be very useful for the whole of Europe, if lucky to liberate Ukraine from under the Bolshevik yoke… " [360, p. 200].

In addition to the Dutch press, the diplomatic mission had contacts with the English press. On February 28, 1919, an interview with a Reuters agent was published in the Daily Telegraph and provided information about Ukraine. Despite all the measures, it was not possible to establish contacts with the Belgian press at first [362, p. 26].

Lack of funds and devaluation of foreign currency negatively affected the work of the press office [366, p. 8]. A. Yakovliv took 75,000 rubles from Kyiv and thought it was a large sum, but it turned out that this money would not be enough in the future, so he asked the ministry to allocate another 200,000 rubles as soon as possible. [362, p. 25-26].

In addition to disseminating information about Ukraine, the mission analyzed publications in European journals about events in the homeland. All information about Ukraine was registered, processed, translated and submitted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian People's Republic [362, p. 26].

On November 25, 1919, a press bureau was established in Belgium in Liege, headed by Kislichenko, Dzhulinsky and Sichenko [367, p. 22].

The Dutch and Belgian press were interested in Ukraine's economic opportunities, as well as the state and opportunities of Ukrainian cooperation. It was noted that the latter is of interest not only in economic and financial circles, but also at the state level - in particular, the Dutch press showed the interest of the Dutch Ministry of Trade and Industry. It is also noteworthy that from time to time the Dutch press published thorough investigations into the historical past of Ukraine and the struggle of the Ukrainian people for independence. Thus, Professor I. Nirmeyer in his article in the Amsterdam magazine "Die Telegraaf" stated that on Dutch maps of Ukraine in the seventeenth - early eighteenth century. had its place, which was later deprived of Russification. The scholar not only condemned the actions of tsarist Russia, but also

contributed to the restoration of the geographical name "Ukraine" in a large atlas for Dutch schools, published in late 1919 [360, p. 200].

The head of the mission constantly stressed the need for widespread propaganda in the world. Along with reviews of Ukraine's economic situation, prospects for trade relations with European countries and, in particular, Belgium and the Netherlands, development of its natural resources, the mission's press office published historical and political-analytical materials on the Ukrainian issue in the world. During 1919–1921, the Ukrainian representation printed 9 brochures with a total circulation of 5,200 copies. in French.Among them, in particular, "Note of the UPR delegation at the Paris Peace Conference", "Ukraine, historical and political summary", "Ukrainian problem" (O. Shulgina), "Ukrainian cooperation", "Letter to Belgian deputies and senators" (with a memorandum of cooperators)) " [360, p. 206].

In addition to conducting diplomatic talks and informing the press about Ukraine, Ukrainian representatives gave lectures at educational institutions. For example, on March 23, 1920, Secretary of the Mission J. Kulischer gave a lecture on Ukraine at the People's University of Brussels "Le Tayer Intellectuel" [362, p. 20].

The UNR government, realizing the importance of culture in international relations, sent a choir to the West, led by Oleksandr Koshyts, to perform in Amsterdam, The Hague and Belgium. According to A. Yakovliv, the National Republican Chapel was extremely helpful in informing the public about Ukraine. During the performances, the choir suffered losses in the amount of 1361.96 guilders, which the head of the mission decided to cover at the expense of the press office, returning the money to the chapel [367, p. 25].

For some time, the diplomatic mission in the Netherlands has established contacts with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other ministries, and Dutch officials sometimes respond: “Although the Netherlands cannot recognize Ukraine as an independent state because the Entente has not yet spoken, , any difficulties for Ukraine, its mission, because it is certain that Ukraine will be recognized, if not tomorrow, then the day after tomorrow "[367, p. 22].

On July 30, 1919, A. Yakovliv left for a meeting of ambassadors and heads of diplomatic missions of the Ukrainian People's Republic in Carlsbad. The meetings were attended by: Minister V.Temnytsky, Counselor to the Minister A. Zhuk, M. Porsche (Germany), M. Slavinsky (Czechoslovakia), A. Yakovliv (Holland, Belgium), D. Levitsky (Denmark), Counselor of the Mission in England J. Olesnytsky, Counselor of the Embassy in Austria V. Poletika, K. Lossky (Sweden, Norway), deputy. Chairman of the Mission to Finland M. Zalizniak, Plenipotentiary Representative of the Secretary of State of the Ukrainian People's Republic O. Burachynsky, J. Biberovych (Hungary, the Ukrainian People's Republic), Chairman of the Ukrainian People's Republic Delegation to the Paris Peace Conference V. Paneiko, V. Singalevich (Austria, the Ukrainian People's Republic). There were 12 meetings, which took place in the hotels "Hohenburg" and "Pupp" [368, p. 90]. Among the main issues of the meeting were the reports of Ukrainian diplomats and the analysis of the foreign policy situation in the world [361, p. 66].

Analyzing the miscalculations in the foreign policy of the Ukrainian People’s Republic, the head of the Ukrainian mission in Belgium and the Netherlands A. Yakovliv linked them with the internal situation in the country. In particular, he stressed that the preconditions for the success of diplomatic activity are, among other things, "coalition and consolidation of national forces" in the Ukrainian state itself, the implementation of agrarian and economic reforms in the UPR. According to him, first of all, it was necessary to "fix the agrarian reform through the sale of land" and provide "private ownership of land", which was to become a pillar of statehood. A. Yakovliv drew attention to the interest of the Western world in trade relations with Ukraine and "concessions for the construction and operation of our wealth." He stressed that the government must ensure the inviolability of private property of foreign citizens in Ukraine.

The result of A. Yakovliv's report was the creation of a special financial and economic department at the diplomatic mission of the Ukrainian People's Republic in Belgium and the Netherlands. The department was to inform the governments of the Netherlands, Belgium and the Ukrainian People's Republic about the financial and

economic condition of these states, about finances, products, exports and imports; take measures to organize joint banks, agencies, trade missions to establish permanent financial and economic relations between countries [359, p. 190]. On September 22, 1919, Angelo Gize, a Dutch citizen, was appointed head of the department, as well as the secretary of the mission J. Kulisher and attache M. Panasevych [360, p. 206].

The diplomatic mission was assigned not only to the Netherlands but also to Belgium. After the arrival of A.Yakovliv asked the Belgian ambassador to The Hague if he could come to Belgium and meet with Foreign Minister Paul Humans, but the ambassador told the mission that "Ukraine is not recognized as an Entente and he hopes the mission will postpone its visit to Belgium." [362, p. 22]. Belgium, as a member of the Entente, was significantly influenced by the governmental and economic circles of France, which did not recognize the independence of Ukraine [361, p. 66].

In July 1919, the head of the diplomatic mission on behalf of the UPR government appealed to the Belgian Foreign Ministry that the Ukrainian government recognize the public debts of the former Russian Empire and assume their payment in the part that belongs to Ukraine. J. Popenko notes that this declaration was adopted very favorably. The relevant memorandum was published in the local press. At the same time, the head of the Ukrainian mission asked the Ukrainian government what the mission should do in this direction: "We have no authority or instructions here abroad." But the diplomatic mission did not receive any instructions from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian People's Republic for the practical implementation of this memorandum [359, p. 191].

Only a year later, on March 3, 1920, A. Yakovliv received an invitation to meet with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Belgium [367, p. 28]. On March 8, he met with P. Humans, during which A. Yakovliv presented a letter of credence signed by members of the Directory on January 5, 1919, and prepared by him "Memorandum on the international position of Ukraine in connection with its current situation" and a copy memorandum of Ukrainian cooperative organizations abroad [360, p. 205].The diplomat was helped to meet with the minister by a Ukrainian citizen living in Brussels, engineer Boris Vulbrun, who had connections among influential circles in Belgium.

For this he was seconded to the mission as a technical and commercial attache without pay, out of state and was issued a diplomatic passport [367, p. 30]. According to J. Popenko, thanks to this meeting the Ukrainian mission was recognized, de facto, as the representation of the UPR in Belgium [361, p. 66]. V. Solovyova believes that the permission to open a diplomatic mission in Belgium is dictated by the need to strengthen trade and economic ties between Ukraine and Belgium [360, p. 200]. At that time, Belgian entrepreneurs in Ukraine had 80% of the capital invested in the industry of the former Russian Empire. This created real conditions for the recognition of Ukraine by Belgium at an earlier date than other Entente countries [350, p. 204].

The head of the diplomatic mission decided to move part of the mission and the press office to Brussels. In The Hague remained A.-G. Varkentyn, a government official of M. Tikhomirov, a government official of Giza's press office, the head of the mission A. Yakovliv, secretary J. Kulisher and government official G. Ver-Elst (Belgian) and a forwarder of the press office of B. Chornyi went to Brussels. The consular department and the general chancellery remained in The Hague [367, p. 28].

According to government officials, the internal problems in Belgium between the Belgian Flemings and the Belgian Walloons were similar to the confrontation between Ukrainians and Russians. Not the least role in shaping the negative image of the UPR was played by Russian and Polish representatives, which is why Belgian government circles perceived Ukraine as a "German intrigue." Attitudes toward the Ukrainian mission and the UPR as a whole changed after the signing of the Ukrainian-Polish treaty on April 21, 1920, under which Poland recognized the independence of the UPR. According to A. Yakovliv, “we, in Belgium, are definitely supported by all political parties and groups. Even the Socialists, who sympathize with the Soviets but are still nationalists, are still behind us. In the Netherlands, we are also treated favorably, with the exception of the Dutch Communists, who are especially for the Bolsheviks " [362, p. 34].

Realizing that the Belgian government does not recognize Ukraine's independence, Ukrainian diplomats paid special attention to information about the possibility of economic cooperation between the countries. In 1920, brochures and

bulletins on the possibilities of economic cooperation with the Ukrainian People's Republic were published and distributed in the Netherlands and Belgium. In 1920The Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Belgium and the Netherlands have repeatedly inquired about the possibility of importing Ukrainian bread. Economic projects of Ukrainian-Belgian and Ukrainian-Dutch trade groups on the supply and exchange of goods between the states were drawn up. However, neither the Ukrainian government nor the cooperatives responded to these proposals in a timely manner. Time was lost, and with it the opportunity to establish practical relations in the international arena [361, p. 67].

Analyzing the economic situation in the Netherlands, A. Yakovliv draws attention to the fact that during the war a large number of ships were requisitioned by the Entente, which led to the decline of trade. Holland needs bread, and for bread it will give everything it has, and in addition can help politically [362, p. 28]. In 1920, several large Rotterdam shipping companies approached the UPR mission with a proposal to establish a Rotterdam-Odesa transport line to establish trade relations, subject to the liberation of Odessa from the Bolsheviks. At that time, the Netherlands ranked third in the world after the United States and Great Britain in the number of steamships. Belgian industrial circles were also interested in economic cooperation. Special economic programs were developed for possible trade between countries. The Ukrainian government did not even need to send a separate economic representative, as Ukrainian cooperators and procurement commissions were permanently based in Vienna and Berlin. However, the requests of diplomats, as well as previous ones, remained unanswered [361 p. 67].

In addition to political and economic issues, the mission sought to establish military cooperation.The head of the mission had very good relations with the Minister of War P. Johnson. A. Yakovliv offered to hire qualified Belgian instructors-officers for the army of the Ukrainian People's Republic, who received a small salary in Belgium. The Belgian military uniform is similar to the Ukrainian one, which was adopted during the Central Rada, so it can be purchased, as well as other necessary things for the army [362, p. 35].

From August 1, 1920, a military mission of the Ukrainian People's Republic, which had moved from Warsaw, worked in Belgium for a year, consisting of Ataman O. Osetsky, head of the mission, Colonel Pilenko, adviser, and Captain Didunik, secretary. The mission was authorized not only by the Ministry of Military Affairs, but also by the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian People's Republic. The military mission worked closely with the diplomatic mission and its head [362, p. 60]. The main purpose of its activities was the purchase of weapons and military equipment (tractors, tractors, cars, etc.) for the armed forces. However, due to lack of funds, she was actually unable to fulfill the task set before her and was liquidated, transferring her property to the Ministry of Military Affairs of the Ukrainian People's Republic [360, p. 208].

On April 25, 1920, an international socialist conference opened in Amsterdam, which was attended by representatives of Ukraine P.P. Matyushenko, I. Didushok. During its work, for 5 days, the conference addressed many issues, including territorial issues of recognition of the independence of some new states. The conference called for recognition of the independence of Finland, Estonia and Georgia. As for Ukraine, the representatives of the Dutch, Belgian, Irish, and Swedish socialist parties voted in favor of the UPR, while the French (Langett), English (MacDonald), German (The Hague), Polish, and Russian (Sukhomlin) representatives voted against. The conference decided to recognize Ukraine's independence as soon as the Ukrainian population speaks on this issue. A. Yakovliv organized representatives of the press to cover the Ukrainian issue at the conference, but P. Matyushenko, I. Didushok did not contact him [362, p. 28-29].

While staying in Belgium on May 17, 1920 in connection with Poland’s recognition of Ukraine’s independence, A. Yakovliv sent Second Secretary J. Kulisher to the Foreign Minister with a report persuading the Minister to send UPR representatives to conferences in Spa and Brussels. The head of the Ukrainian mission proposes to submit a declaration of recognition of Ukraine to the Spa conference. At a financial conference in Brussels, A. Yakovliv proposes to submit a detailed memorandum on the economic importance of Ukraine for Europe. To prepare for the participation of the UPR delegation, he proposed Ambassador to Germany M. Porsche

and Minister of Finance B.Martos to convene a conference of Ukrainian representatives: diplomatic, financial, economic and cooperators to draw up a comprehensive memorandum. If necessary, agreed to draw up a memorandum, with the appropriate powers [362, p. 33]. Also, the head of the diplomatic mission proposes to allow him to submit a declaration to the Supreme Council of the Entente on the recognition of part of the public debt of former Russia, recognition of concessions for foreigners and compensation for war during conferences in Spa and Brussels [362, p. 34], but did not receive answers from any of them.

From July 5 to 16, 1920, a conference of Entente representatives was held with the participation of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Germany at the Belgian Spa. On the eve of the conference, June 26, 1920 in Proskuriv, at a meeting of the Council of People's Ministers, a delegation was approved for a conference at the Spa. The head of the delegation was appointed Ambassador - Count M. Tyszkiewicz, members - ambassadors: in London - A. Margolin, in Belgium - A. Yakovliv and in Switzerland - Baron M. Vasilko - all with the right to vote [369, p. 83]. But the Ukrainian delegation was not invited to the conference, so the Ukrainian delegation consisting of diplomats A. Yakovliv, M. Vasylko and others. did not take part in its official part [369, p. 691]. The conference was used to establish contacts with foreign diplomats and discuss the Ukrainian issue at an informal level.

In September 1920, a financial conference was held in Brussels under the auspices of the League of Nations. A. Yakovliv headed the delegation, which included O. Daskolyuk and V. Tymoshenko. The Ukrainian diplomat, through a mission in London, asked the General Secretariat of the League of Nations to include the UPR delegation in the conference on the rights of delegations of Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia, which are not members of the League of Nations [370, p. 301]. On September 9, the conference's organizing committee announced that "according to the instructions, it is not authorized to include the Ukrainian delegation in the conference." Having received this answer, the head of the delegation addressed the President of the Conference Mr. Ador for the second time, emphasizing the role of Ukraine in providing food for Europe during the war and wishing that the conference be asked to allow the

Ukrainian delegation an advisory vote. which Estonia, Latvia and Armenia had. However, President Mr. Ador refused, arguing that the composition of the conference is determined by the Council of the League of Nations, not the conference [362, p. 68]. On September 20, A. Yakovliv submitted a memorandum in five copies to the conference and sent it to all participants, representatives of the world press and representatives of various financial and economic circles. A total of 1,000 copies of the memorandum were published, 500 of which were distributed at the conference [362, p. 69]. Regarding the memorandum, the conference took note of it.The positive consequence of participating in the conference was that the delegation gained certain semi-official rights, which eventually gave the opportunity to attend all meetings of the confection and received all the documents of the conference [370, p. 302]. Thus, the conference in Brussels, as well as the previous one - in Spa, had no practical consequences for the recognition of Ukraine's sovereignty.

Difficulties in the work of the mission arose due to the lack of material resources, which were not enough to maintain the diplomatic mission, the press office, to pay the mission staff and freelancers. A. Yakovliv repeatedly appealed to the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Finance for financial assistance. The funds received by the UPR Representation in Belgium and the Netherlands from the issuance and renewal of passports, certificates, visas and inscriptions on documents were insufficient. Funding decreased with the deterioration of the UPR and the loss of territory and, as a consequence, sources of funding. At a conference of ambassadors and heads of missions held in August 1920 in Vienna, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian People's Republic announced a plan to reduce the staff of diplomatic missions. The diplomatic mission to the Netherlands and Belgium was reduced to three (head of the mission - A. Yakovliv, secretary - A.-G. Varkentin and attache - J. Kulisher). A. Yakovliv did not receive an order to second government officials who remained out of state, and they continued to perform their duties in the mission and the press office, for which they were paid. A total of 4,200 guilders were allocated for the maintenance of the mission for a month - from September 1, 1920, which in September 1920 the diplomatic mission did not receive.Prior to that, the mission's monthly budget

was 7,937 guilders. Expenditures are thus reduced by about 46%. A. Yakovliv decided to use for the needs of the mission the funds it received from the passport fee [370, p. 308], constantly increasing the size for the services provided [367, p. 39].

On December 30, 1920, in view of the reduction of the mission staff and the non-receipt of funds for the organization of the press bureau, the head of the mission issued an order dismissing freelance officials from January 1, 1921, Mrs. Gize and Mr. Black, paying them a passport fee. for the month of December, government G. Ver-Elst [367, p. 40]. On January 1, 1921, M. Tikhomirov left the mission in connection with the reduction of the staff of the mission and the end of his studies in Vienna [367, p. 40,366].

From January 1, 1921, the mission worked only on the proceeds from the passport fee, 2.5 thousand guilders, which were allocated by Minister M. Vasilko, and at the personal expense of A. Yakovliv. In his inquiries to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on July 4 and 28, June 9, and September 3, 1921, the head of the mission asked to resume funding or order the closure of the mission, but received no response [361, p. 68].

Unable to keep the mission room from 3 rooms, A. Yakovliv was forced to reduce it to 1. Due to the fact that M. Vasylko did not pay the appropriate funds for six months, the head of the mission sent government officials to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian People's Republic [360, p. 209].

On January 12, 1921, A. Yakovliv addressed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian People's Republic with a report on relations in the Netherlands and Belgium with Ukraine, in which he reported on the coverage of this issue in the press. Most often, reports of a military nature were published, about the actions of the Bolsheviks on the territory of Ukraine, but very rarely information was published about the need for an independent Ukraine, a national government, and material and natural resources. A. Yakovliv proposed to move from word to deed, to offer Europe something more real than just simple evidence, no matter how convincing they were about the fact that Ukraine has the right to its state [371, p. 2].

According to A. Yakovliv, the leadership of the Ukrainian People's Republic was "too idealistic, they thought that if we prove our right with arguments, we will be recognized" [371, p. 2]. It was necessary to take into account the experience of Czechoslovakia, which passed a law to pay the Entente deficit of 750 million francs in gold for the independence of the Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, who sold their forests and other concessions to England, which recognized and supported them everywhere [371, p. 2].

A.Yakovliv proposes to take real measures that would help strengthen Ukraine's international position, namely:

1) what concessions the government can transfer to foreign capital; 2) what and for what amount of orders for materials for the reconstruction of the region and goods for the population; 3) what benefits and privileges it can give to foreign capitalists; 4) how much and in which industries you need to invest foreign capital; 5) what loans the government can take abroad; 6) how much grain, raw materials can be sold; 7) how much money can be given to Ukraine to compensate for the losses caused by the war to foreign owners and to pay part of Russia's debts due to Ukraine. All proposals must be approved by the Council of Ministers and approved by the supreme power [371, p. 2]. He also recommended the creation of an extraordinary delegation of the most competent and responsible persons (for example: the Chairman of the Council of Ministers or his Deputy, Ministers: Foreign Affairs, Finance, National Economy, Military or other representatives of the army). The delegation was tasked with visiting the main centers of Europe (London, Paris, Berlin), negotiating not so much with officials - ministers or their representatives, but with people of capital - industrialists and bankers who made real politics in Europe, to offer them certain real benefits for the recognition of Ukraine, for the support of its national government, for aid with money, weapons, for support in the resolute struggle against Soviet Russia. A. Yakovliv was convinced that such a delegation would do a lot and achieve real results.An example to follow was the leadership of Poland, Romania, Latvia, which visited all the Entente states several times [371, p. 3].

A. Yakovliv believed that the main way that can promote Ukraine's independence is to establish economic ties with European countries, he noted that "we are too weak politically to form the political combination we need, to expect that one or another combination , which is formed without our direct influence, something can give us under certain conditions, it is both uncertain and dangerous, because when we do not have the strength to influence the combination, it thus does not depend on us and can turn against us, as has happened more than once "[50, p. 3 stars]. In his opinion, the hope for an Anglo-German combination, or the Black Sea, or some other, not only will not give anything in our weakness, but on the contrary may, against our will, make us the object of sale or exploitation, as usual, but grandiose and very attractive "concession" [371, p. 3].

On March 14, 1921, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine responded to A. Yakovliv's proposal that the Council of Ministers had approved a memorandum by I. Feshchenko-Chopivsky on the plan for the reconstruction of Ukraine entitled "Ukraine and Europe." On March 30, 1921, the diplomat informed the ministry that he had read the document, but stressed the need for decisive action: "one should not wait until someone is interested in him." He also noted that in Europe the government of the Ukrainian People's Republic began to be forgotten, as most European countries accepted the fact of the existence of the Ukrainian Soviet government and established official diplomatic relations with it [361, p. 69]. The diplomat reiterated the need for an urgent departure of a special ministerial delegation abroad to the Entente states, which would be authorized to sign specific agreements with representatives of industrial, financial, trade and official circles in Europe. Only in this way the governments of both leading European countries and Belgium and the Netherlands could recognize the independence of Ukraine [359, p. 195].

On September 16, 1921, A. Yakovliv addressed the Minister of Foreign Affairs A. Nikovsky with a report on the activities of the mission for more than a year and a half, in which he argued that the mission's stay in Holland and Belgium could not have positive consequences in diplomatic affairs. recognition of Ukraine's independence. This is hindered by local reasons. During the war, the Netherlands pursued a neutral

policy and tried to maintain friendly relations with both the Entente and the Central Powers.It has always avoided taking independent steps that would contradict the policy of "big" states, the Netherlands can not recognize Ukraine until it is recognized by other countries, especially the Entente [372, p. 8]. Belgium is an Entente state, France has a great influence on its foreign policy, it has widespread sympathy for Poland, with which Ukraine has long had hostile relations [372, p. 11]. One of the reasons for closing the mission, according to A. Yakovliv - is insufficient funding, despite the fact that the mission staff was reduced in 1920. The deficit on the mission on June 1, 1921 was 8236 guilders 90 cents [372, p. 59]. At that time, the mission included A. Yakovliv - head of the mission, secretary A.-G. Varkentin - for the Netherlands and J. Kulisher for Belgium [372, p. 17].

On October 10, 1921, in a letter to A. Yakovliv, Minister A. Nikovsky thanked the representatives of the mission for their work and said that the only way out was to close the mission, because finding a financial source in our current difficult financial situation was not possible." [372, p. 59-59]. The diplomat did not receive an official order to liquidate the mission.

On February 14, 1922, A. Yakovliv again appealed to the Minister for financial support, hoping for the help of cooperators, who promised to allocate 30,000 francs to support the mission [372, p. 210]. He points out that during 1921 the mission did not receive any sums from the UPR government, the deficit of the mission was more than 13 thousand guilders [372, p. 99]. The debt to A. Yakovliv, as the head of the mission, in Belgium and the Netherlands in 1921 amounted to 5771 guilders [364, p. 21]. From November 1920 he did not receive a salary.Under such conditions, he informs the Minister that he will close the mission in the Netherlands on March 1, he will be able to work in Belgium if he receives funds from cooperators [372, p. 99].

On February 20, 1922, A. Yakovliv sent notes to the Foreign Ministries of Belgium and the Netherlands, in which he protested against X. Rakovsky's illegal representation of Ukraine's interests at the Genoa Conference. The documents were accepted, but there was no answer to them. Thus, European countries actually recognized the Ukrainian Soviet government [361, p. 70].

On April 1, 1922, A. Yakovliv was forced to close the mission of the mission in Holland and unite all the affairs of the mission in Brussels [372, p. 212].

On April 2-4, 1922, an international conference was held in Berlin. E. Vandervelde, a representative of the Socialist Party of Belgium, submitted a proposal to the government of Soviet Russia demanding "recognition of the full right to self-determination" of Ukraine, Armenia and Georgia. However, the proposal was not considered. However, the fact itself was evidence that some Belgian political circles did not give up the idea of supporting the sovereignty of the UNR [361, p. 70].

On June 26, 1922, A. Yakovliv again appealed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian People's Republic and informed him that: , and not just to keep the mission ", he noted that he will be forced to close the mission in Brussels on August 1 [372, p. 213].

On July 7, 1922, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian People's Republic sent a letter to A. Yakovliv, in which it assured that the funds would be sent in the coming days and that the mission should not be liquidated. The funds were not received, so A. Yakovliv was forced to close the diplomatic mission in Brussels [372, p. 213].

In August 1922, the Government of the Ukrainian People's Republic instructed Mr. A. Yakovliv, Plenipotentiary Minister, Head of the Diplomatic Mission to the Netherlands and Belgium, to enter into negotiations with Belgian financiers and industrialists to establish the size and form of participation of Belgian Belgium loan to the UPR. A. Yakovliv is also negotiating with representatives of the "Committee for the Protection of Belgian Interests in Russia." The total amount of Belgian claims against Russia was 4 billion.gold francs, Ukraine accounted for 1 billion 812 million francs (52%) according to the memorandum of the Belgian delegation to the Genoa Conference. According to A. Yakovliv, the figures are inflated by Belgian industrialists [373, p. 10].

A. Yakovliv, as a diplomatic representative of the Government of the Ukrainian People's Republic, was to inform the interested Belgian citizens and institutions that

the Government of the Ukrainian People's Republic is based on ensuring the private property rights of both Ukrainian citizens and foreigners.

At the same time, A. Yakovliv had to emphasize that the negotiations would take effect if the exile government of the Ukrainian People's Republic returned to the territory of Ukraine, ie Belgium had to officially support it. However, first, the Belgian government did not see any real benefit in negotiating with the UPR government in exile, as the latter could not provide any real guarantees; secondly, in the absence of funding and closure of the diplomatic mission A. Yakovliv could not actually negotiate [361, p. 68].

With the termination of the diplomatic mission in Belgium, its functions of protecting the interests of Ukrainians and fighting for the idea of Ukraine's independence are transferred to the Branch of the Ukrainian National Union in Belgium, headed by A. Yakovliv. On January 22, the UNS Branch holds a meeting dedicated to the 5th anniversary of the proclamation of the UPR as an independent state. The activities of the UNS Branch and the UPR diplomatic mission established two Ukrainian communities - in Liege and Leuven, and a central union of these communities was organized in Brussels [374, p. 1].

At the same time, the activities of the Ukrainian missions helped the UPR to break out of the hostile circle and helped to establish various ties with the countries of Europe and the world.It influenced the fact that Western politicians began to take a more realistic approach to the fact of Ukraine's existence as a modern state and the establishment of political and economic relations with it. Thanks to the actions of Ukrainian diplomacy in Western Europe, the public of these countries, many politicians realized that Ukrainian statehood is an extremely important factor in maintaining political balance in the region and Europe before Russian pressure, as well as protecting Russia's independent neighbors. Therefore, due to this circumstance, Ukrainian diplomatic missions were able to continue their activities even after the defeat of the national liberation struggle in Ukraine, using every opportunity to establish the idea of Ukrainian independence in the world.

REFERENCES

1. Andreev P.A. (1909). Yuho-Zapadnye kazennye zheleznye dorohy. Ystoryko-ekonomycheskyi ocherk v sviazy s rezultatamy ekspluatatsyy Yuho-Zapadnykh doroh za vremia perekhoda (1880-1894) y posle perekhoda v kazennoe upravlenye (1895-1908). K. 156 s.

2. Borodyn A. P. Sluzhba podvyzhnoho sostava na Yuho-Zapadnykh zheleznykh dorohakh v peryod desiatyletyia 1880-1889. Ynzhener. 1893. № 2. S. 56-63.

3. Lomonosov Yu. V. Sovremennye zadachy passazhyrskoho dvyzhenyia na Russkoi sety s tochky zrenyia parovoznoi sluzhby. Ynzhener. 1903. № 10. S. 332-342.

4. Vytte S.Iu. (1960). Vospomynanyia. M. T.1. 87 s.

5. Lavrov Yu.P. Sklad robitnykiv metalurhiinoi promyslovosti Ukrainy naprykintsi XIX- na pochatku XX st. Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal. 1965. № 7. S. 43-53.

6. Luhova O.I. Pro stanovyshche Ukrainy v period kapitalizmu Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal. 1967. № 3. S. 15-25.

7. Los F.E. (1955). Formyrovanye rabocheho klassa na Ukrayne y eho revoliutsyonnaia borba v kontse KhIKh y v nachale KhKh v. K., Hospolytyzdat. 332 s.

8. Bielinskyi E.F. (1960). Z istorii formuvannia zaliznychnoho proletariatu na Ukraini v druhii polovyni XIX st. V kn.: Z istorii sotsialno-ekonomichnoho rozvytku ta klasovoi borotby na Ukraini KhVI - pochatku XX st. K. 156 s.

9. Shataiev V. (1999). Tvorchist O.P. Borodina v konteksti rozvytku tekhniky rukhomoho skladu zaliznyts Ukrainy (druha polovyna KhIKh st.) Avtoref. dys. kand. ist. nauk: 07.00.07 /NAN Ukrainy. Tsentr doslidzh. nauk.-tekhn. potentsialu ta istorii nauky im. H.M. Dobrova. K. 16 s.

10. Lutsenko E.M. Razvytye sredneho spetsyalnoho obrazovanyia na Ukrayne vo vtoroi polovyne XIX st. Avtoreferat na soysk. uchenoi stepeny kand. yst. nauk. K, 1991. 16 s.

11. Stepanovych E.P. Vysshaia spetsyalnaia shkola na Ukrayne (konets KhIKh - nachalo XX v.). K., 1991. 99 s.

12. Puzanov M.F., Tereshchenko H.Y. Ocherky ystoryy professyonalno-tekhnycheskoho obrazovanyia v Ukraynskoi SSR. K, 1980. S.17-18.

13. Kizchenko V. Kulturno-osvitnii riven robitnychoho klasu naperedodni revoliutsii 1905-1907rr. K., 1972. 190 s.

14. Bohatchuk S. Pidhotovka kadriv zaliznychnykiv v Ukraini (druha polovyna KhIKh – pochatok KhKh st.) Deiaki pytannia novoi istorii Ukrainy. Kyiv, 2009. S. 17–27.

15. Bohatchuk S. Rozvytok tekhnichnoi dumky v ukrainskii zaliznychnii haluzi v kintsi KhIKh st. – pochatku KhKh st. Hileia: naukovyi visnyk. 2016. Vyp. 115. S. 32-36.

16. Bohatchuk S. Formuvannia tekhnichnykh kadriv dlia zaliznyts Ukrainy (kinets KhIKh – pochatok KhKh st.) Naukovi zapysky Vinnytskoho derzhavnoho pedahohichnoho universytetu imeni Mykhaila Kotsiubynskoho. Seriia : Istoriia. 2009. Vyp. 15. S. 42-46.

17. Honchar M. Nyzhcha profesiina osvita na Pivdni Ukrainy u druhii polovyni KhIKh – pochatku KhKh st.: metodychni rekomendatsii /M. Honchar. Kherson: «Khersonska akademiia neperervnoi osvity», 2015. 86 s.

18. Vyrhynskyi V. 1964. Dzhordzh Stefenson. 1781-1848. M.: Nauka. 214 s.

19. Entsyklopedycheskyi slovar Brokháuza y Efróna . SPb, 1897. T. 2.

20. Kaliuzhnyi P. Zaliznytsi. Kharkiv: Derzhvydav Ukrainy, 1930. 54 s.

21. Telychko V. Voznyknovenye parovoza y zheleznykh doroh. Ystorycheskyi ocherk. K.: Yzd-vo AN USSR, 1937. 82 s.

22. Khotynskyi M. Ystoryia parovykh mashyn, parokhodov y parovozov, obshcheponiatno yzlozhennaia. SPb, 1853. 274 s.

23. Sharhun T. Stanovlennia profesiinoi pidhotovky fakhivtsiv zaliznychnoho profiliu v Ukraini (druha polovyna KhIKh stolittia). Molodyi vchenyi. № 2 (17). 2015. S. 144-150.

24. Voenno-statystycheskoe obozrenye Rossyiskoi ymperyy / yzd. po Vysochaishemu povelenyiu pry 1-m otd-nyy Departamenta Hener. Shtaba. Sankt-Peterburh : V typ. Departamenta Hener. Shtaba, 1848 - 1858. T. 10, ch. 2 : Podolskaia hubernyia / [sost. kap. Tverytynov]. 1849. 159 s.

25. Voenno-statystycheskoe obozrenye Rossyiskoi ymperyy / yzd. po Vysochaishemu povelenyiu pry 1-m otd-nyy Departamenta Hener. Shtaba. Sankt-Peterburh : V typ. Departamenta Hener. Shtaba, 1848 - 1858. T. 10, ch. 2 : Ekaterynoslavskaia hubernyia / [sost. kap. Tverytynov]. 1849. 159 s.

26. Strelko O. H. Zaliznychne budivnytstvo v Rosiiskii imperii (1836-1917): vytoky ta rozvytok / O. H. Strelko //Doslidzhennia z istorii tekhniky. 2014. Vyp. 20. S. 51-57.

27. Vestnyk Yuho-Zapadnykh zheleznykh doroh. 1903. № 3. S.12-15.

28. Ocherky ystoryy tekhnyky v Rossyy 1861-1917. M., 1975. 28 s.

29. Vestnyk Yuho-Zapadnykh zheleznykh doroh. 1903. № 29. S. 15-16.

30. Solohubov V.N. Razvytye parovozostroenyia v SSSR/ Ocherky razvytyia zheleznodorozhnoi nauky. (Sbornyk statei). M.,1956. 103 s.

31. Tkachenko F.D. Sovetskye avtotormoza. M., 1956. 209 s.

32. Shyshkyn K.A. SSSR – rodyna teplovoza. M., 1956. 132 s.

33. Zheleznodorozhnoe delo. 1916. № 475. S. 17-19.

34. H.D. Dubelyr – vydaiushchyisia teoretyk y praktyk sovetskoho dorozhnoho stroytelstva (1874-1942). M., 1949. 149 s.

35. Sozdately novoi tekhnyky v Ukraynskoi SSR. K, 1991. 129 s.

36. Promyshlennost y torhovlia. 1915. № 6. S.297-309.

37. Vytte S.Iu. Entsyklopedycheskyi slovar. SPb., 1892. T.6. 579 s.

38. Promyshlennost y torhovlia. 1910. № 8. S. 514-521.

39. Ynzhener. 1884. № 1. S. 1-4.

40. Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi istorychnyi arkhiv Ukrainy. F.442. Opys 1. Spr.536. Ark.12.

41. Ynzhener. 1882. №1. S. 1- 6.

42. Solohubov V.N. Vydaiushchyisia russkyi ynzhener A.P.Borodyn. Zheleznodorozhnyi transport. 1950. № 1. S. 77-78.

43. Ynzhener. 1887. № 8. S. 343.

44. Ynzhener. 1886. № 2. S. 81.

45. Ynzhener. 1886. № 5. S. 171.

46. Zenzynov N.A. Vydaiushchyesia ynzhenery y uchenye zheleznodorozhnoho transporta. M., 1978. 110 s.

47. Babychkov A.M. Otechestvennaia nauka o tiahe poezdov /Ocherky razvytyia zheleznodorozhnoi nauky y tekhnyky (Sbornyk statei). M., 1956. S. 144-154.

48. Ynzhener. 1886. № 7-8. S. 303, 377-389.

49. Zheleznodorozhnoe delo. 1916. № 475. S. 17-19.

50. Honchar M.V. Rozvytok nyzhchoi profesiinoi osvity na pivdni Ukrainy u II polovyni KhIKh –pochatku KhKh stolittia. Kherson, 2015. 243 s.

51. Huldman V. Otchët Podolskoho hubernskoho statystycheskoho komyteta za 1886 hod / Sostavyl V. K. Huldman. Kamenets-Podolsk, 1888. 165 s.

52. Rabochee dvyzhenye v Rossyy v XIX v. Sbornyk dokumentov y materyalov. Pod red. A.M. Pankratovoi. M., 1963. S. 416.

53. Zheleznodorozhnoe delo. 1890. № 4. S. 353.

54. TsDIA Ukrainy. F.442. Opys 596. Spr.50. Ark.17.

55. Kratkyi ystorycheskyi ocherk uchebnykh zavedenyi vedomstva Putei Soobshchenyia. SPb: Typohrafyia mynysterstva Putei Soobshchenyia.1900. 80 s.

56. Srednye y nyzshye tekhnycheskye uchylyshcha Mynysterstva puteisoobshchenyia. V sektsyia / Ymperatorskoe russkoe tekhnycheskoe o-vo; Trudy orh.komyteta siezda russkykh deiatelei po tekhnycheskomu y professyonalnomuobrazovanyiu Rossyy. SPb.: Typ. Yu.N. Erlykh. 1890. 72 s.

57. Uchebnyi otchët po Nykolaevskomu tekhnycheskomu zheleznodorozhnomu uchylyshchu za 1894/95 uchebnyi hod / Y.N. Yarev. Nykolaev: Typ. A.H.Shneidera, 1896. 30 s.

58. Ocherky ystoryy professyonalno-tekhnycheskoho obrazovanyia v SSSR /[S. Ya.Batyshev, N.N.Kuzmyn, M.S.Stepanov y dr.]; otv. red. S. Ya.Batyshev. M.: Pedahohyka, 1981. 351 s.

59. TsDIA Ukrainy. F.707. Opys 225. Spr.196. Ark.13.

60. Vestnyk Yuho-Zapadnykh zheleznykh doroh. 1906.-№ 25. S. 213.

61. Mynysterstvo Putei Soobshchenyia. 1878. T 1. Kn.2. S.108.

62. Trudy orhanyzatsyonnoho komyteta sъezda russkykh deiatelei po tekhnycheskomu y professyonalnomu obrazovanyiu v Rossyy.-5 sektsyia. Srednye y nyzshye tekhnycheskye uchylyshcha Mynysterstva Putei Soobshchenyia. SPb, 1890. S.9.

63. TsDIA Ukrainy. F.730. Opys 1. Spr.205, Ark.12-16.

64. Ystoryia rabochykh Donbassa. V 2-kh t. T 1 K. 1981. S. 130.

65. TsDIA Ukrainy. F.707. Opys 227. Spr.14 Ark. 355.

66. Veselov A.N. Professyonalno-tekhnycheskoe obrazovanye v SSSR. Ocherky po ystoryy sredneho y nyzsheho proftekhobrazovanyia. M., 1961. S.25.

67. Leikyna-Svyrskaia V.R. Yntellyhentsyia v Rossyy vo vtoroi polovyne XIX veka. M.,1971. 368 s.

68. Prosvetytelnye uchrezhdenyia na Yuho-Zapadnykh zheleznykh dorohakh [Elektronnaia kopyia] : (1878–1903). Otdel 1. Kyev : Yzd. red. «Vestnyka Yuho-Zap. zheleznykh doroh» (Typ. T-va Y. N. Kushnerev y Ko), 1904. 51 s.

69. Obrazovatelnye uchrezhdenyia na Yuho-Zapadnykh zheleznykh dorohakh [Elektronnaia kopyia] : (1903–1907 hh. y 1907/8 uch. hod). Kyev : Typ. S. V. Kulzhenko, 1908. 43 s.

70. Otchet o sostoianyy obrazovatelnykh uchrezhdenyi za 1908 hod / Yuho-Zapadnyia zheleznyia dorohy. Kyev : Typ. S. V. Kulzhenko, 1909. 134 s.

71. Vestnyk Yuho-Zapadnykh zheleznykh doroh. 1903. № 40. S.10.

72. TsDIA Ukrainy. F.707. Opys 221. Spr. 97. Ark. 2-7; Spr. 60. Ark. 1-5; Opys 221. Spr. 97. Ark. 1-14.

73. Vestnyk Ekaterynynskoi zheleznoi dorohy. 1914. № 341. S. 10.

74. Vestnyk Yuho-Zapadnykh zheleznykh doroh. 1903. № 33. S. 14.

75. Vestnyk Yuho-Zapadnykh zheleznykh doroh. 1906. № 25. S. 108.

76. Vetrov I.H., Lysenko O.Ie., Sheleiko T.V. Donbas 1943-1950 rokiv:vidnovlennia promyslovosti i transportnoi infrastruktury. K.; Instytut istorii NAN,2016. 324 s.

77. Ukraina u Druhii svitovii viini: pohliad z KhKhI st.Kn.2. K.; Naukova dumka, 2011. 941 s.

78. Huzhva O.P.,Kolesnyk K.E.,Kravchenko O.V., Arbuzov H.F. Istoriia zaliznychnoho transportu. Praktykum. Kharkiv.;Ukr.DAZT, 2012. 65 s.

79. Kucherenko Y., Sokyrkyn A.,Chystoletov P.,Iamnyk N. Prydneprovskaia zheleznaia doroha.Dneproperovsk.; Promin, 1973. 283 s.

80. Dneprodzerzhynskyi vahonostroytelnyi. Kratkyi ocherk. Dnepropetrovsk; Promin,1969. 74s.

81. Satanovskyi B., Kyryllova L. Zaporozhskyi elektrovozoremontnyi. Ocherky ystoryy zavoda. Dnepropetrovsk.; Promin,1965. 137 s.

82. Persha koliia. Do 150richchia Lvivskoi zaliznytsi. Lviv.; ZUKTs, 2011. 495 s.

83. Istoriia mist i sil URSR. Vinnytska oblast. K.; URIe,1972. 775 s.

84. Vinnychyna v roky Druhoi svitovoi viiny. Vinnytsia.; Nilan LTD,2021. 315 s.

85. Velykaia Otechestvennaia voina 1941-1945 hh. V 12 t. t 7. M.; 2020. 850 s.

86. Kovalev Y.V. Transport v Velykoi Otechestvennoi voine (1941-1945 hh). M.; Nauka, 1981. 479 s.

87. Ystoryia transportnoi mylytsyy Donbassa. Donetsk.; Yurpress, 2001. 366 s.

88. Istoriia mist i sil URSR. Luhanska oblast. K.; URIe, 1968. 939 s.

89. Zheleznodorozhnyky v Velykoi Otechestvennoi voine (1941-1945). M. ;Transport.1987. 591 s.

90. Istoriia mist i sil URSR. Donetska oblast. K. URIe.1970. 991 s.

91. Romanenko Yu.Y., Kharchenko M.P. Vzghliad skvoz hody. Yuzhnaia zheleznaia doroha za 130 let. Kharkov. Propor.1999.282 s.

92. Voienna istoriia Sivershchyny ta Slobozhanshchyny. Kharkiv. 2010. 496 s.

93. Yuho-Zapadnaia zheleznaia doroha. Vchera. Sehodnia. Zavtra. K.; Transport Ukrayny, 1995. 242 s.

94. Bobylev A.N. Skvoz rasstoianyia y hody. Ystorycheskye ocherky. Konotop.; Olymp, 2009. 172 s.

95. Stolychnaia mahystral Ukrayny. K.; Transport,1970. 260 s.

96. Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi arkhiv hromadskyi obiednan Ukrainy (TsDAHO Ukrainy).F.1.Op. 77. Spr.43.

97. Mazylo I., Sheleiko T.Z istorii vidbudovy mostiv, shtuchnykh sporud na zaliznychnomu transporti Ukrainy 1943-1947 rr.Zb.nauk.statei.Vyp.15.K.; I nstytut istorii Ukrainy NAN, 2012. S.209-215.

98. Prydneprovskaia zheleznaia doroha. Dnepropetrovsk.; Promin, 1973. 238 s.

99. TsDAHO Ukrainy. F.1.Op.77.Spr.47.

100. Ukraina v polumi viiny 1941-1945 rr.K.; Ukraina 2005. 557 s.

101. Belych V.Ia., Sumyna Z.H. Dnepropetrovsk. Putevodytel. Dnepropetrovsk.; Promin,1985. 222 s.

102. Stalynskaia mahystral.-1946.-17 fevralia.

103. TsDAHO Ukrainy.F.1.Op.77.Spr. 234.

104. Dneprodzerzhynskyi vahono-stroytelnyi. Kratkyi ocherk ystoryy zavoda. Dnepropetrovsk.; Promin. 1969. 74 s.

105. Mazylo I.V. Storinky istorii Vinnytskoi zaliznytsi. Podilska starovyna. Visnyk derzhavnoho arkhivu Khmelnytskoi oblasti. Vyp.1. Khmelnytskyi.; 2017. S.104-111.

106. Mazylo I.V. Z istorii vidbudovy Vinnytskoi zaliznytsi. Materialy KhII istoryko-kraieznavchoi konferentsii. Kamianets-Podilskyi.; 2004. S.126-128.

107. Voienna istoriia Pivnichnoho Prychornomoria ta Tavrii. Sevastopol.; 2011. 801 s.

108. Voienna istoriia Halychyny i Zakarpattia. Lviv.; 2010.768 s.

109. Mazylo I. Vidbudova zaliznychnoi merezhi u 1943-1945 rr. Naukovi zapysky VDPU seriia:istoriia. Vyp. KhIII. Vinnytsia.; Fop Korzun. 2008. S.120-123.

110. Narysy istorii Zakarpattia. V 3-kh tomakh. T.2. (1918-1945). Uzhhorod.; Zakarpattia,1995. 663 s.

111. Narysy istorii Zakarpattia. V 3-kh tomakh. T. 3.(1946-1991). Uzhhorod.; Redaktsiino-vydavnychyi viddil upravlinnia u spravakh presy ta informatsii, 2003.642 s.

112. Lipscher L. K vyvoje politickej správy na Slovensku v rokoch 1918-1938. Bratislava, 1966.243s.

113. Liptak L. Politické strany na Slovensku 1860-1989. Bratislava.1992.320s.

114. Ivashchenko K.V. Struktura politychnoi systemy Chekhoslovachchyny ta yii vplyv na diialnist ukrainskykh emihrantskykh politychnykh partii mizh dvoma svitovymy viinamy. Kyiv.,1999.24s.

115. Harna J. Stranickopolitickỳ system v Československu v letech 1918-1938 / J. Harna //Mališ J., Pavel M. a kol. Politickě strany. Vyvoj politických stran a hnuti v českých zemich a Ćeskoslovensku v letech 1861-2004. 1. Dil: 1861-1938.Brno. 2005.1024 s.

116. Švorc P. Začlenenie Podkarpatskey Rusi do ČSR (1918-1938. Československa hostorická ročenka. 1997.Brno. S.39-60.

117. Šebek J. Politickě strany Německé menšiny// Mališ J., Pavel M a kol. Politickě strany. Vyvoj politických stran a hnuti v českých zemich a Ćeskoslovensku v letech 1861-2004. 1. Dil: 1861-1938.Brno, 2005.1024 s.

118. Pikovska T.V. Osoblyvosti provedennia zemelnoi reformy na Zakarpatti u 1918-1938 rr. Ekonomika, finansy, menedzhment: aktualni pytannia nauky i praktyky. 2019. № 10. (50). S.105-111.

119. Vehesh M.V. Zakarpattia 1919–2009 rokiv: istoriia, polityka, kultura: monohrafiia Uzhhorod: Lira, 2010.720 s

120. Barnovský M. Niekol'ko poznámok k sranicko-policke štrukturre na Podkarpatskej Rusi. CeskoSlovenská Historicka Ročenka.1997.№7.S. 83–93.

121. Kravchuk O. M. Natsionalna polityka Chekhoslovatskoi respubliky. 1918-1929 rr.: monohrafiia. Vinnytsia: Edelveis, 2008.119 s.

122. Kornovenko S. V. Zemziulina N.I. Revoliutsiini potriasinnia pochatku KhKh st.: ahrarne zakonodavstvo krain Tsentralnoi ta Pivdenno-Skhidnoi Yevropy. Ukrainskyi selianyn.2018.№19.S. 45–49.

123. Pikovska T.V. Natsionalne pytannia v prohramakh politychnykh partii Pershoi Chekhoslovatskoi respubliky 1918-1938 rr.: monohrafiia. Vinnytsia: «Nasha knyha», 168 s

124. Pikovska T.V. Ideological and legal basis of the national issue in the first Czechoslovak Republic (1918-1938). Colloquium-journal. 2020. № 29 (81). Część 1. P. 7-14.

125. Boldyzhar M. M. Derzhavno-pravovyi status Zakarpattia (Pidkarpatskoi Rusi) v skladi Chekhoslovachchyny. Uzhhorod: VAT vydavnytstvo «Zakarpattia», 2005. 104 s.

126. Tokar M. Yu. Politychni partii Zakarpattia v umovakh bahatopartiinosti (1919 - 1939).Uzhhorod. 2006. 380 s.

127. NA. fond Ministerstvo zahraničnich věci. - vystřižkovy archiv1916 – 1944. Krabice čislo.2414.

128. NA fond Ministerstvo zahraničnich věci - vystřižkovy archiv1916 – 1944. Krabice čislo.2415.

129. NA fond Ministerstvo zahraničnich věci - vystřižkovy archiv1916 – 1944. Krabice čislo. 2649

130. Iusyp-Yakymovych Yu.V. Istoriia Slovachchyny. Uzhhorod, 2009. 288s.

131. Hosler.J. Politicky system českých zemi 1828-1989. Praha, 2007.180s.

132. Olivová V. Déjny prvni republiky. Praha.2000.356s.

133. Galandauer A. Vznik Československe republiky 1918. Programy, proektỳ, perspektivy. Praha: Svoboda, 1988. 347 s.

134. Broklová E. Dvé Hitlerovy lži o Československu. Spory o dejiny. Sbornik kritickych textu.I. Praha, 1999. S.36-39.

135. Karnik Z. České země v éře První republiky (1918–1938). Díl první, Vznik, budování a zlatá léta republiky (1918–1929). Praha: Libri, 2003. 545 s.

136. Rákosník J. Sociální stát v Československu: právněinstitucionální vývoj v letech 1918–1992. Praha: Auditorium, 2012. 416 s.

137. Rákosník J. Odborové organizace v počátcích Československa. Praha, 2007. 302s.

138. Kazimourová V. Vliv odborů na podobu personální práce v meziválečném Československu. Praha, 2017. 71 s.

139. Stepanishchev A.F. Ratsional'nost' filosofii i nauki: ot klassiki k postneklassike: [nauch. mon.]. Bryansk: BGTU, 2006. 239 s.

140. Stotskaya T.G. Fenomen ratsional'nosti: filosofskaya traditsiya i sovremennyye interpretatsii. Izvestiya RGPU im. A.I. Gertsena. 2009. № 96. S. 122—130.

141. Weber, M. (2019), Economy and Society. Ed. and trans. by K. Tribe. Cambridge, M., London: Harvard University Press. 520 p.

142. Putnam, H. (2012), Reason, truth and history. Cambridge.: Cambridge University Press. 222 p.

143. Filosofiya: [uchebn. dlya vuzov] / [Otv. red. V.P. Kokhanovskiy]. Rostov n/D.: «Feniks», 1998. 576 s.

144. Leont'yeva Ye.Yu. Ratsional'nost' i yeye tipy: genezis i evolyutsiya: [uch. pos.]. M.: Izd-vo MPSI; Voronezh: Izd-vo NPO «MODEK», 2006. 256 s.

145. Fukidid Istoriya. Í, 144, 4; [per. s grech. / podgot. izd. G.A. Stratanovskogo, A.A. Neykharda, YA.M. Borovskogo]. L.: Izd-vo «Nauka», 1981. S. 5–400.

146. Gombrovich V. Kosmos. SPb.: Izd. Dom «Kristall», 2001. 736 s.

147. Nitsshe F. Volya k vlasti: opyt pereotsenki vsekh tsennostey; [per. s nem. pod red. S. M. Sterdenko]. M.: «REFL-book», 1994. 352 s.

148. Makarov Z.Yu. Razvitiye predstavleniy o sluchaynosti v antichnoy filosofii. Filosofiya. kul'tura. Zhittya: Mízhvuzívs'kiy zbírnik naukovikh prats'. Vypusk 28. Dnepropetrovsk: Dnepropetrovskaya derzh. Fínansova akademiya, 2007. S. 89–99.

149. Bekon F. O dostoinstve i preumnozhenii nauk; [per. s lat. N.A. Fedorova]. Bekon F. Sochineniya v 2 t. [2-ye izd.]. M. : Mysl', 1977. T. 1. S. 81–522.

150. Kant I. Kritika chistogo razumaıo I. Kant. Soch. v 6 t.: [per. s nem. N. Losskogo; red. TS.G. Arzakan'yana, M.I. Itkina, T.I. Oyzermana]. M.: Mysl'. 1963 – 1966. T. 3. 1964. S. 69 – 756.

151. Gaydenko P.P. Istoriya novoyevropeyskoy filosofii v yeye svyazi s naukoy: [uch. pos. dlya vuzov]. M.: PER SE; SPb.: Un-tskaya kniga, 2000. 456 s.

152. Belokobyl'skiy A.V. Osnovaniya i strategii ratsional'nosti Moderna: [nauch. mon.]. K: Izd. PARAPAN, 2008. 244 s.

153. Horkheimer M., Adorno T.V. Dialektika Prosveshcheniya. Filosofskiye fragmenty; [per. s nem. M. Kuznetsova]. M.-SPb.: Medium-Yuventa, 1997. 312 s.

154. Kont O. Kurs polozhitel'noy filosofii: [v 2-kh tt.]. SPb., 1900. T. 1. S. 3–4. Mir filosofii: Kniga dlya chteniya: [v 2-kh ch.] / Sost. P.S.Gurevich i V.I. Stolyarov. M.: Politizdat, 1991. Ch. 1. S. 57–65.

155. Shparaga O. Telesnyy sub"yekt: YA kak moya bol' i kak moya lyubov'. Topos. 2002. №2(7). S. 76–89.

156. Antiseri D., Reale Dzh. Zapadnaya filosofiya ot istokov do nashikh dney: [v 4-kh t.]; [per. i red. A.S. Mal'tsevoy]. SPb.: Pnevma. 1997 – 2002. T. 3. 2002. 880 s.

157. Laplas P.S. Opyt filosofii teorii veroyatnostey. Populyarnoye izlozheniye osnov teorii veroyatnostey i yeye prilozheniy; [per. s frants. pod red. A.K. Vlasova] M.: URSS, KD «LIBROKOM», 2011. 208 s.

158. Lega V.P. Problema chuda s tochki zreniya sovremennogo nauchnogo i khristianskogo mirovozzreniya. Tsennostnyy diskurs v naukakh i teologii: [sb. nauch. st.] / RAN, In-t filosofii, RGU; Otv. red. I.T. Kasavin i dr. M.: IFRAN, 2009. S. 73–95.

159. Aristotel'. Nikomakhova etika; [per. s drevnegrech. N.V. Braginskoy]. Aristotel'. Sochineniya v 4-kh t. M.: Mysl'. 1976 – 1983. T. 4. 1983. S. 53–293.

160. Gaydenko P.P., Davydov Yu.N. Istoriya i ratsional'nost'. Sotsiologiya M. Vebera i veberovskiy renessans. M.: Politizdat, 1991. 367 s.

161. Martishina N.I. Ratsional'nost' i nauchnost': k opredeleniyu sootnosheniya ponyatiy. Filosofiya nauki / In-t FPR Sib. otd. RAN. 2000. №2 (8). S. 21–25.

162. Akhutin A.V. Ponyatiye «priroda» v antichnosti i Novoye vremya / In-t istorii yestestvoznaniya i tekhniki; otv. red. N.F. Ovchinnikov, I.D. Rozhanskiy. M.: Nauka, 1988. 207 s.

163. Kant I. Kritika chistogo razuma. Kant I. Soch. v 6 t. : [per. s nem.N. Losskogo; red.TS.G. Arzakan'yana, M.I. Itkina, T.I. Oyzermana]. M.: Mysl'. 1963 – 1966. T. 3. 1964. S. 69 – 756.

164. Monten' M. Opyty: v 3-kh kn.; [per. F.A.Kogan–Bernshteyn / Podgot. izd. A.S.Bobovicha i A.A.Smirnova]. M.-L.: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1954–1960. T. 2. 1958, . 652 s.

165. Porus V.N. Al'ternativy nauchnogo razuma (k analizu romanticheskoy i naturfilosofskoy kritiki klassicheskoy nauki). Voprosy istorii yestestvoznaniya i tekhniki. 1998. № 4. S. 18 – 49.

166. Gaydenko P.P. Nauchnaya ratsional'nost' i filosofskiy razum. M.: Progress-Traditsiya, 2003. 528 s.

167. Losev A.F. Shestakov V.P. Istoriya esteticheskikh kategoriy. M.: «Iskusstvo» 1964. 376 s.

168. Svas'yan K.A. Filosofskoye mirovozzreniye Gyote. M.: Evidentis, 2001. 224 s.

169. Shvyrev V.S. Ratsional'nost' kak tsennost' kul'tury. Traditsiya i sovremennost'. M.: Progress-Traditsiya, 2003. 176 s.

170. Avtonomova N.S. Rassudok. Razum. Ratsional'nost': [mon. / Otv. red. V.A. Lektorskiy]. M.: Nauka, 1988. 287 s.

171. Dyshkant T.N. O vozmozhnosti ontologizatsii irratsional'nogo. Vísnik Kharkívs'kogo nats. un-tu ím. V.N. Karazína (ser.: Teoríya kul'turi í fílosofíya nauki). 2003. №587. S. 19–21.

172. Gryaznov B.S. Logika, ratsional'nost', tvorchestvo. [2-ye izd.]. M.: Editorial URSS, 2002. 256 s.

173. Tarnas R. Istoriya zapadnogo myshleniya; [per. s angl. T. A. Azarkovich]. M.: KRON-PRESS, 1995. 448 s.

174. Lobkovits N. Ot substantsii k refleksii. Puti zapadnoyevropeyskoy metafiziki. Voprosy filosofii. 1995. №1. S. 95–105.

175. Svas'yan K.A. Sud'by matematiki v istorii poznaniya novogo vremeni. Voprosy filosofii. 1989. №12. S. 41–54.

176. Shnedel'bakh G. Tipy ratsional'nosti. Praktychna fílosofíya. 2001. № 3 (№ 4). S. 212–229.

177. Popper K. Ob oblakakh i chasakh. Popper K. Logika i rost nauchnogo znaniya: [izbr. ct.]; [per. s angl. / Sost., obshch. red. i vstup. st. V.N. Sadovskogo]. M.: Progress, 1983. S. 496–557.

178. Kvayn U. van O. Dví dogmy yempiryzmu; [per. z angl. I. Ivashchenka / Za red. V. Tsyby]. Sententiae. 2015. №2 (XXXIII). S. 9–26.

179. Pruzhinin B.I. Ratsional'nost' i istoricheskoye yedinstvo nauchnogo znaniya (gnoseologicheskiy aspekt) / IF RAN; otv. red. V.A. Lektorskiy. M.: Nauka, 1986. 150 s.

180. Galiley G. Probirnykh del master; [per. Yu.A. Danilov]. M.: Nauka, 1987. 272 s.

181. Popper K.R. Kvantovaya teoriya i raskol v fizike: Iz «Postskriptuma» k «Logike nauchnogo otkrytiya»; [per. s angl., komment., poslesl. A. A. Pechenkina]. M.: Logos, 1998. 192 s.

182. Uaytkhed A. Priklyucheniya idey. Uaytkhed A. Izbrannyye raboty po filosofii: [per. s angl.] / Sost. I. T. Kasavin: Obshch. red. i vstup. st. M. A. Kiselya. M.: Progress, 1990. S. 389–702.

183. Kulik S.P., Seval'nikov A.Yu. Narusheniye neravenstv Bella i problema kvantovoy ontologii. Spontannost' i determinizm: [sb. st.] / [In-t filosofii RAN; V.V. Kazyutinskiy, Ye. A. Mamchur, Yu. V. Sachkov, A. Yu. Seval'nikov i dr.]. M.: Nauka, 2006. S. 109–128.

184. Erekayev V.D. O determinatsii kvantovo-mekhanicheskikh zaputannykh sostoyaniy. Spontannost' i determinizm: [sb. st.] / [In-t filosofii RAN; V. V. Kazyutinskiy, Ye.A. Mamchur, Yu.V. Sachkov, A. Yu. Seval'nikov i dr.] M. : Nauka, 2006. S. 136–153.

185. Khoruzhiy S.S. Rod ili nedorod: zametki k ontologii virtual'nosti. Voprosy filosofii. 1997. №6. S. 53–68.

186. Tsekhmistro I.Z. Implikativno-logicheskaya priroda kvantovykh korrelyatsiy. Uspekhi fizicheskikh nauk. T. 171. Vyp. 4. M., 2001.S. 452 – 458.

187. Bodriyyar Zh. Paroli; [per. s frants. N. Suslova]. Bodriyyar Zh. Paroli. Ot fragmenta k fragmentu: [sb.]. Yekaterinburg: U-Faktoriya, 2006. 2000 s. S. 1–59.

188. Bashlyar G. Novyy nauchnyy dukh. Bashlyar G. Novyy ratsionalizm: [per. s fr.] / Predisl. i obshch. red. A.F. Zotova. M.: Progress, 1987. S. 28–160.

189. Bashlyar G. Filosofskoye otritsaniye. (Opyt filosofii novogo nauchnogo dukha). Bashlyar G. Novyy ratsionalizm: [per. s fr.] / Predisl. i obshch. red. A.F. Zotova. M.: Progress, 1987. S. 160–281.

190. Okorokov V. Geometricheskiye zakonomernosti transformatsii khaosa (k probleme vzaimosvyazi dvizheniya i tochki). Sententiae. 2007. spetsvip. №1. Vipadkovíst' v suchasnomu svítí: díalog nauki, relígíy, kul'tur. S. 81–93.

191. Belousov L.B. Tselostnost' v biologii – obshchaya deklaratsiya ili osnova dlya konstruktivnoy programmy? Metodologiya biologii: novyye idei (sinergetika, semiotika, koevolyutsiya) : [sb. st..] / Otv. red. O.Ye. Baksanskiy. M.: Editorial URSS, 2001. S. 74–82.

192. Shmerlina I.A. Ideya tselostnosti v sotsiologii i biologii. Sotsiologicheskiy zhurnal. 2004. № 1/2. S. 5–33.

193. Sachkov Yu.V. Veroyatnostnaya revolyutsiya v nauke (veroyatnost', sluchaynost', nezavisimost', iyerarkhiya). M.: Nauchnyy mir, 1999. 144 s.

194. Lebedev M.V. «The matrix never has you». Khilari Patnem i traditsionnaya filosofiya: [vst. st.]. Patnem KH. Razum, istina i istoriya: [per. s angl. T.A. Dmitriyeva i M.V. Lebedeva]. M.: Praksis, 2002. S. 283–294.

195. Nikitin Ye.P. Otkrytiye i obosnovaniye: [nauchnaya monografiya]. M.: Mysl', 1988. 221 s.

196. Eynshteyn A. Iogann Kepler. Eynshteyn A. Sobraniye nauchnykh trudov: [v 4-kh t.] / Pod red. I.Ye. Tamma, Ya.A. Smorodinskogo, B.G. Kuznetsova. M.: Izd-vo «Nauka», 1965–1967. T. IV (Stat'i, retsenzii, pis'ma. Evolyutsiya fiziki); [per. YU.A. Danilova, S.G. Suvorova, A.M. Frenka]. 1967. S. 121–124.

197. Delez Zh, Gvattari F. Chto takoye filosofiya?; [per. s fr. i poslesl. S.N. Zenkina]. M.: Akademicheskiy proyekt, 2009. 261 s.

198. Kuhn, T. (1977), Objectivity, value judgments and choice of theory. The Essential Tension: Selected Studies in Scientific Tradition and Change. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. P. 320–339.

199. Polanyi, M. (2005), Personal knowledge. Toward a Post-Critical Philosophy. London: Routledge. 494 p.

200. Panofski E. Idea: K istorii ponyatiya v teoriyakh iskusstva ot antichnosti do klassitsizma; [per. s nem. YU.N. Popova]. [izd. 2-ye]. SPb.: Andrey Naslednikov, 2002. 237 s.

201. Agatstsi E. Otvetstvennost' – podlinnoye osnovaniye dlya upravleniya svobodnoy naukoy. Voprosy filosofii. 1992. № 1. S. 30–40.

202. Khaydegger M. Vremya kartiny mira. Khaydegger M. Vremya i bytiye: stat'i i vystupleniya; [sost.. per. s nem. i komm. V.V. Bibikhina]. M.: Respublika, 1993. S. 41–62.

203. Shapovalov V.F. Osnovy filosofii. Ot skholastiki k sovremennosti: [ucheb. pos. dlya vuzov]. M.: «FAIR-PRESS», 1998. 576 s.

204. Bruno Dzh. O geroicheskom entuziazme: [per. s ital. YA. Yemel'yanova, YU. Verkhovskogo, A. Efrosa]. M.: Gos. izd-vo khud. lit-ry, 1953. 212 s.

205. Lektorskiy V.A. Epistemologiya klassicheskaya i neklassicheskaya; RAN In-t filosofii. M.: Editorial URSS, 2001. 256 s.

206. Leonardo da Vinchi Ob istinnoy i lozhnoy nauke. Leonardo da Vinchi Izbrannyye yestestvennonauchnyye proizvedeniya; [per. V.P. Zubova / AN SSSR]. M.: Izd-vo AN SSSR, 1955. S. 9–31.

207. Yyeyts F.A. Dzhordano Bruno i germeticheskaya traditsiya; [per. s angl. G. Dashevskogo]. M.: Novoye literaturnoye obozreniye, 2000. 528 s.

208. L'otstsi M. Istoriya fiziki; [per. s ital. E.L.Burshteyna]. M.: Mir, 1970. 464 s.

209. Klayn M. Matematika. Poisk istiny; [per. s angl.]. / Pod red. i s predisl. V.I. Arshinova, YU. V. Sachkova. M.: Mir, 1988. 295 s.

210. Bart R. Mifologii; [per., vstup. st. i komment. S. Zenkina]. M.: Izd-vo im. Sabashnikovykh, 1996. 312 s.

211. Vitgenshteyn L. Tractatus logico_philosophicus; [per. s nem. i komment. V.Rudneva]. Vitgenshteyn L. Izbrannyye raboty. M.: Izdatel'skiy dom «Territoriya budushchego», 2005. S. 14–222.

212. Moiseyev N.N. Sovremennyy ratsionalizm i mirovozzrencheskiye paradigmy. Obshchestvennyye nauki i sovremennost'. 1994. №3. S. 77–87.

213. Markov V.A. Fenomen sluchaynosti: Metodologicheskiy analiz. Riga : Zinatne, 1988. 232 s.

214. Nugayev R.M. Smena razvitykh nauchnykh teoriy: tsennostnyye izmereniya. Voprosy filosofii. 2002. № 11. S. 124–134.

215. Holton, G. (1988), The Roots of Complementarity. Holton G. Thematic Origins of Scientific Thought: Kepler to Einstein. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. P. 99–146.

216. Il'in V.V. Filosofiya: uchebnik: [v 2-t.]. Rostov-n/D: «Feniks», 2006. T. 1 832 s.

217. Bergson A. Tvorcheskaya evolyutsiya; [per. s fr. V.A.. Flerovoy]. M.-SPb.: R-a mysl', 1914. 254 s. Bukinist. izdaniye. M.: «Terra-Knizhnyy klub», 2001. 384 s.

218. Dobronravova Í. Neklasichna ratsíonal'níst' dlya nelíníynoĭ nauki. Vísnik KNU ím. T. Shevchenka. Seríya: Fílosofíya. Polítologíya. K.: Vid. tsentr „Kiĭ vs'kiy un-t”, 1999. Vip. 29. S. 23–26.

219. Semenov V.V. Pyat' krivykh zerkal ratsional'nosti. Aktual'nyye problemy sotsial'no-gumanitarnykh nauk: [sb. nauch. trudov FSEP MPGU]. Vyp. IV. M.: FK «Shkola budushchego», 1999. S. 17–29.

220. Sekst Empirik Tri knigi pirronovykh polozheniy; [per. s drevnegrech.]. Sekst Empirik Sochineniya: [v 2-kh tt.] / Obshch. red. A.F. Loseva. M.: Mysl', 1963 – 1976. T. 2. 1976. S. 205 – 380.

221. Lyubishchev A.A. Nuzhna li filosofiya dlya nauki? Filosofiya biologii. Vchera, segodnya, zavtra (Pamyati R.S. Karpinskoy): [sb. st. / IF RAN; otv. red. I.K. Liseyev]. M.: IF RAN, 1996. S. 256–291.

222. Makh E. Poznaniye i zabluzhdeniye. Ocherki po psikhologii issledovaniya; [per. s nem. G. Kotlyara / Pod red. N. Lange]. M.: BINOM. Laboratoriya znaniy, 2003. 456 s.

223. Geyzenberg V. Izmeneniya struktury myshleniya v razvitii nauki; [per. s nem. A.V. Akhutina]. Geyzenberg V. Shagi za gorizont: [sb. st. / sost. A. V. Akhutin; obshch. red. i vstup. st. N. F. Ovchinnikova]. M.: Progress, 1987. S. 190 – 200.

224. Born M. Interpretatsiya kvantovoy mekhaniki; [per. s angl. i nem. V.V. Ivanova i dr.]. Born M. Fizika v zhizni moyego pokoleniya: [sb. st. / Pod obshch. red. S.G. Suvorova]. M.: Izd-vo inostr. l-ry, 1963. S. 252–266.

225. Sachkov Yu.V. K sintezu paradigm (kontseptsiy) zhestkoy determinatsii i veroyatnostnoy determinatsii. Filosofiya nauki: [nauch. izd. / otv. red. L.B. Bazhenov, S.N. Konyayev]. Vyp. 7. (Formirovaniye sovremennoy yestestvennonauchnoy paradigmy). M.: IFRAN, 2001. S. 148–175.

226. Ivin A.A., Nikitina I.P. Klassicheskoye i neklassicheskoye opredeleniya tsennosti. Filosofiya i sotsial'nyye nauki. 2014. №1. S. 17–20.

227. Vindel'band V. Filosofiya KHÍKH veka. Faust i Zaratustra: [sb. st.].; [per. s nem.]. SPb.: Azbuka, 2001. S. 31–70.

228. Leysi Kh. Svobodna li nauka ot tsennostey? Tsennosti i nauchnoye ponimaniye; [per. s angl. L. Surkovoy / Pod obshch.red. V.A. Yakovleva]. M.: Logos, 2001. 360 s.

229. Afanas'yeva V.V., Anisimov N.S. Postneklassicheskaya ontologiya. Voprosy filosofii. 2015. №8. S. 28–42.

230. Gaponov-Grekhov A.V., Rabinovich M.I. Nelineynaya fizika. Stokhastichnost' i struktury. Fizika XX veka. Razvitiye i perspektivy: [sb. st.] / Otv. red. Velikhov, Ye.P. M.: Nauka, 1984. S. 219–280.

231. Gusev S.S. Gumanitarnoye poznaniye: ot universal'nykh tsennostey k tipovomu povedeniyu. Fílosofskiye nauki. 2008. №12. S. 19–33.

232. Dekart R. Pravila dlya rukovodstva uma: [per. s lat. M.A. Garntseva]. Dekart R. Sochineniya v 2 t. [nauch.-isled. izd. / sost., red. i vstup. st. V.V. Sokolova]. M.: Mysl', 1989–1994. T.1. 1989. S. 77–153.

233. Yulov V.F. Istoriya i filosofiya nauki: [uch. pos.]. Kirov, 2007. 573 s.

234. Turen A. Vozvrashcheniye cheloveka deystvuyushchego. Ocherk sotsiologii; [per. z fr. Ye.A. Samarskoy pod red. M.N. Gretskogo]. M.: Nauchnyy mir, 1998. 204 s.

235. Malakhov V.S. Postmodernizm. Sovremennaya zapadnaya filosofiya: Slovar' / [sost.: Malakhov V.S., Filatov V.P.]. M.: Politizdat, 1991. S. 237–240.

236. Luk'yanets V., Sobol' O. Ratsional'nost' – «obychay – despot»? Sententiae. 2004. spetsvip. №1. Problemi ratsíonal'ností. S. 3–27.

237. Fuko M. Slova i veshchi. Arkheologiya gumanitarnykh nauk; [per. s fr. N. Avtonomovoy i V. Vizgina]. M.: Progress, 1977. 488 s.

238. Sobol' O.M. Postmodern í maybutnye fílosofiyi: [naukove. vyd.]. K.: Naukova dumka, 1997. S. 75–89.

239. Avtonomova N.S. Poststrukturalizm. Sovremennaya zapadnaya filosofiya: Slovar' / [Sost.: Malakhov V.S., Filatov V.P.]. M.: Politizdat, 1991. S. 243–246.

240. Gobbs T. Leviafan, ili materiya, forma i vlast' gosudarstva tserkovnogo i grazhdanskogo. Gobbs T. Sochineniya v 2 t.: [per. s lat. i angl.]. M.: Mysl', 1991. T. 2. S. 3 – 545.

241. Klípínġer D. Referent. Entsiklopedíya postmodernízmu / [za red. Ch. Vínkísta ta V. Teylora]. K.: Vid-vo Solomíĭ Pavlichko «Osnovi», 2003. S. 361.

242. Bodriyyar Zh. Prozrachnost' Zla: Sb. esse; [per. s fr. L. Lyubarskoy, Ye. Markovskoy]. M.: Dobrosvet, 2000. 258 s.

243. Gusserl' E. Krizis yevropeyskogo chelovechestva i filosofiya. Voprosy filosofii. 1986. №3. S. 101–116.

244. Kasavin I.T., Lektorskiy V.A., Shvyrev V.S. Ratsional'nost' kak tsennost' kul'tury. Vestnik RAN. 2005. T. 75. №11. S. 1028–1037.

245. Farman I.P. Model' kommunikativnoy ratsional'nosti (na osnove sotsial'no-kul'turnoy kontseptsii Yurgena Khabermasa). Ratsional'nost' na pereput'ye: [cb. v 2 kn.]; [redkol.: P.P. Gaydenko, V.A. Lektorskiy, V.S. Stepin]. M.: ROSSPEN, 1999. Kn. 1 / [otv. red. V.A. Lektorskiy]. 1999. S. 264–292.

246. Ogurtsov A.P. Filosofiya nauki: Dvadtsatyy vek. Kontseptsii i problemy: [v 3-kh ch.]. SPb.: Izd. dom «Mir», 2011. Ch. 2. (Filosofiya nauki: Nauka v sotsiokul'turnoy sisteme). 495 s.

247. Aristotel'. Fizika: [per. s drevnegrech. V.P. Karpova]. Aristotel'. Sochineniya v 4-kh t. M.: Mysl', 1976–1983. T. 3. 1981. S. 59–262.

248. Laplas P.S. Izlozheniye sistemy mira; [per. V.M. Vasil'yeva] / Izd. podgotovili V.M. Vasil'yev, A.A. Mikhaylov. L.: Nauka, 1982. 376 s.

249. Lagranzh Zh.L. Predisloviye avtora ko vtoromu izdaniyu (1811). Lagranzh Zh.L. Analiticheskaya mekhanika:[v 2-kh tt.].; [per. s frants. V.S. Gokhmana. Pod red. i s primech. L.G. Loytsyanskogo i A.I. Lur'ye]. M.-L.: GITTL, 1950 T.1. S. 9–14.

250. Porus V.N. Sistemnyy smysl ponyatiya «nauchnaya ratsional'nost'». Ratsional'nost' kak predmet filosofskogo issledovaniya: [sb.] / RAN, In-t filosofii; [red. B.I. Pruzhinin, V.S. Shvyrev]. M.: IF RAN, 1995. S. 77–101.

251. Stepin V.S. Struktura teoreticheskogo znaniya i istoriko-nauchnyye rekonstruktsii. Metodologicheskiye problemy istoriko-nauchnykh issledovaniy: [cb. st.] / In-t Yestestvoznaniya i tekhniki / [otv. red. I.S. Timofeyev.]. M.: Nauka, 1982. S. 137–172.

252. Krims'kiy S. B. Zapity fílosofs'kikh smyslív: [mon.]. K.: Vid. PARAPAN, 2003. 240 s.

253. Stepin V.S. Nauchnoye soznaniye i tsennosti tekhnogennoy tsivilizatsii. Voprosy filosofii. 1989. №10. S. 3–18.

254. Stepin V. S. Teoreticheskoye znaniye: struktura, istoricheskaya evolyutsiya. M.: Progress-Traditsiya, 2000. S. 619–636.

255. Bielkin I. The use of business games in preparing a future manager in higher education institutions as a scientific problem. Socio-humanitarian development of ukrainian society in the epoch of modernity and current postmodern transformations: Collective monograph. Bielkin I., etc. Boston. USA, Primedia eLaunch. 2022. P. 8-68.

256. Petruk V.A. Motyvatsiina skladova profesiinykh umin maibutnikh vypusknykiv navchalnykh zakladiv. Suchasni informatsiini tekhnolohii ta innovatsiini metodyky navchannia u pidhotovtsi fakhivtsiv: metodolohiia, teoriia, dosvid, problemy: zb. nauk. pr. Vyp. 26. Kyiv-Vinnytsia, 2010. S. 417-421.

257. Bielkin I.V. Protsedurni aspekty stvorennia, provedennia i rozbir rolovoi hry.Filosofiia v suchasnomu naukovomu ta sotsialno-politychnomu dyskursakh: materialy dopovidei ta vystupiv vseukr. nauk.-prakt. konf. z mizhnar. uchastiu. Vinnytsia. 2021. S. 14–17.

258. Belkin I.V. Business game as one of the key methods of educational technology in modern development conditions. Colloquium-journal. 2021. № 8 (95). Część 2. P. 22-24.

259. Belkin I.V. The importange of business game in the education of students of higher educational institutions in modern economic conditions. Colloquium-journal. 2020. № 33 (85). Część 2. P. 36-40.

260. Shnaider Y. Dystantsyonniy kurs produktyvnoho obuchenyia. SPb. Azbuka-klassyka, 1999. 210 s.

261. Beliaeva A.P. Mezhdystsyplynarnaia kontseptsyia razvytyia professyonalnoi pedahohyky kak nauky. Akad. chtenyia. 2001. Vyp. 2. S. 63-65.

262. Panfylova A.N. Yhrovoe modelyrovanye v deiatelnosty pedahoha. – M. : Akademyia, 2006. – 368 s.

263. Belkin I.V. Modern methodology of innovatie teaching. Colloquium-journal. 2020. № 29 (81). Część 2. P. 15-18.

264. Petruk V.A. Formuvannia umin samostiinoi roboty u maibutnikh inzheneriv zasobamy ihrovykh form: monohrafiia. V. A. Petruk, I. V. Khomiuk. Vinnytsia: «Universum-Vinnytsia», 2004. 185 s.

265. Parubok O.M. Vykorystannia dilovykh ihor v protsesi modulnoho navchannia. Suchasni informatsiini tekhnolohii ta innovatsiini metodyky navchannia u pidhotovtsi fakhivtsiv: metodolohiia, teoriia, dosvid, problemy. Kyiv-Vinnytsia. 2004. S. 509-515.

266. Skakun V.A. Orhanyzatsyia y metodyka professyonalnoho obuchenyia. M. Forum-Ynfra-M, 2007. 336 s.

267. Bielkin I.V. Elementy konkurentospromozhnosti i yikh rol v marketynhu. I.V. Bielkin, M.O. Zahoruiko. Mizhnarodna naukovo-praktychna konferentsiia internetkonferentsiia „Suchasnist, nauka, chas. Vzaiemodiia ta vzaiemovplyv". K., 2013. S. 4-7.

268. Badiuk Yu.V. Zmist i metodyka provedennia dilovykh ihor u protsesi profesiinoi pidhotovky studentiv tekhnikumiv i koledzhiv : navch.-metod. posib. Yu.V. Badiuk. Vinnytsia TOV „Konsol", 2008. 132 s.

269. Dilova hra yak zasib formuvannia profesiinykh navychok i funktsii fakhivtsiv – maibutnikh menedzheriv marketynhovykh komunikatsii: metodychni rekomendatsii. Uklad. I.V. Bielkin. Vinnytsia : DonNU, 2016. 68 s.

270. Katerusha O.P. Dilovi ihry yak zasib piznavalnoi diialnosti studentiv. Vyshcha shkola. 2009. № 12. S. 53-60.

271. Bielkin I.V. Vykorystannia innovatsii u navchalnomu protsesi vyshchoi shkoly. Suchasni informatsiini tekhnolohii ta innovatsiini metodyky navchannia u pidhotovtsi fakhivtsiv: metodolohiia, dosvid, problemy : zb. nauk. pr. Vyp. 35 redkol. : I.A. Ziaziun (holova) ta in. K., Vinnytsia: TOV „Vinnytsia", 2013. S. 158-163.

272. Bielkin I.V. Kouchynh – innovatsiinyi metod navchannia. Suchasni informatsiini tekhnolohii ta innovatsiini metodyky navchannia v pidhotovtsi fakhivtsiv: metodolohiia, teoriia, dosvid, problemy: zb. nauk. pr. Vyp. 47 / redkol. Kyiv-Vinnytsia.Planer, 2016. S. 110-114.

273. Vakhrusheva T.Yu. Teoretychni aspekty aktyvnykh metodiv navchannia. Pedahohika, psykholohiia ta medyko-biolohichni problemy fizychnoho vykhovannia i sportu. 2008. – № 3. S. 46-49.

274. Konoshevskyi L.L. Obrobka psykholohichnykh doslidzhen zasobamy IKT : navchalno-metodychnyi posibnyk. L.L. Konoshevskyi, I.Yu. Shakhina. Vinnytsia : TOV Firma „Planer", 2011. 200 s.

275. Verbytskyi A.A. Aktyvnoe obuchenye v vysshei shkole: kontekstniy podkhod: [metod. posobye]. M. : Visshaia shkola, 1991. – 207 s.

276. Ivanenko L. Imitatsiini ihry – rakursy y perspektyvy. Visn. NAN Ukrainy. 2007. № 5. S. 58-67.

277. Kontseptsiia vdoskonalennia pravovoi (iurydychnoi) osvity dlia profesiinoi pidhotovky yurysta vidpovidno do yevropeiskykh standartiv vyshchoi osvity i yurydychnoi profesii URL: https://mon.gov.ua/ua/osvita/visha-osvita/koncepciyavdoskonalennya-pravnichoyi-yuridichnoyi-osviti-dlyafahovoyi-pidgotovki-pravnika. (data zvernennia 19.05.2022).

278. Kontseptsiia reformy yurydychnoi osvity proponuie vprovadyty «naskriznu» mahisterku dlia pravnykiv. URL:http://ukrainepravo.com/news/ukraine/ (data zvernennia 19.05.2022).

279. Standart vyshchoi osvity Ukrainy druhoho (mahisterskoho) rivnia vyshchoi osvity dlia otrymannia osvitnoho stupeniu vyshchoi osvity «mahistr» za spetsialnistiu 081 «Pravo» u haluzi znan 08 «Pravo». URL: https://mon.gov.ua/storage/app/media/vyshcha/standarty/2020/08/081-pravo-magistr.pdf. (data zvernennia 19.05.2022).

280. Zatverdzheno prohramu YeDKI dlia mahistriv za spetsialnostiamy «Pravo» ta «Mizhnarodne pravo» URL: https://mon.gov.ua/ua/news/zatverdzheno-programu-yedki-dlya-magistriv-za-specialnostyami-pravo-ta-mizhnarodne-pravo (data zvernennia 19.05.2022).

281. Pro vnesennia zminy do postanovy Kabinetu Ministriv Ukrainy vid 19 travnia 2021 r. № 497 : Postanova Kabinetu Ministriv Ukrainy vid 27.03.2022 № 376 // Baza danykh «Zakonodavstvo Ukrainy» / Verkhovna Rada Ukrainy. URL: https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/go/376-2022-%D0%BF (data zvernennia: 28.05.2022).

282. Rusina N.H. Metodyka formuvannia informatyvnykh kompetentnostei u maibutnikh pravoznavtsiv: avtoref. dys. …kand. ped.. nauk: 13.00.02 “Teoriia ta metodyka navchannia”. Kyiv, 2016. 20 s.

283. Fedorchuk O.S. Formuvannia u maibutnikh pravoznavtsiv navychok profesiinoho zastosuvannia informatsiino-komunikatsiinykh tekhnolohii: avtoref. dys. …kand. ped. nauk: 13.00.04 «Teoriia i metodyka profesiinoi osvity». Kyiv, 2009. 20 s.

284. Khromchenko L.H., Rakovska-Bashmakova O.S., Shraier A.S. Orhanizatsiia informatsiinoi diialnosti. Teoretychni osnovy: navch. posibnyk; za zah. red. Kh. V. Chalovskoho. Kharkov: MSU, 2008. 351 s.

285. Pavlichenko Ye. Napriamy udoskonalennia informatsiino-pravovoho zabezpechennia subiektiv hospodariuvannia. Pidpryiemnytstvo, hospodarstvo i pravo. 2017. № 3. S.155-158.

286. Mangora V.V. Informatsiino-pravove zabezpechennia yurydychnoi osvity Informatsiia i pravo. 2020. 1 (31). S. 138-144.

287. Tymkovych I.I. Yurydychna osvita yak element pravovoi systemy Ukraina. Yurydychnyi visnyk. 2016. № 4(41). S.54-58.

288. Proekt Kontseptsii rozvytku yurydychnoi osvity. URL: https://www.mon.gov.ua/ua/ osvita/visha-osvita/koncepciya-vdoskonalennya-pravnichoyi-yuridichnoyi-osviti-dlya-fahovoyi-pidgot ovki-pravni ka (data zvernennia 19.05.2022).

289. Stoliarchuk L.B. Suchasnyi stan profesiinoi pidhotovky bakalavriv prava v zakladakh vyshchoi osvity Ukrainy. Molodyi vchenyi. 2019. № 1 (65). S. 89-94.

290. Shemelynets I. Tochka bifurkatsii: kurs na prodovzhennia reformy yurydychnoi osvity. Yurydychna hazeta online. № 43-44 (697-698). URL: https://www.yur-gazeta.com/publications/pract ice/inshe/tochka-bifurkaciyi-kurs-na-prodovzhennya-reformi-yuridichnoyi-osviti.html (data zvernennia 19.05.2022).

291. Proekt Kontseptsii rozvytku yurydychnoi osvity. URL: http://www.kno.rada.gov.ua/ print/75465. html (data zvernennia 19.05.2022).

292. Reforma yurydychnoi osvity: holovni tezy proektu. URL: https://www.pravo.ua/reformajuridichnoi-osviti-golovni-tezi-proektu/ (data zvernennia 19.05.2022).

293. Poriadok atestatsii osib, yaki zdobuvaiut stupin mahistra, u formi yedynoho derzhavnoho kvalifikatsiinoho ispytu vid 17.07.19 r. № 684. URL: https://www.zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show /684-2019-%D0%BF (data zvernennia 19.05.2022).

294. Pro zatverdzhennia pereliku spetsialnostei, za yakymy provodytsia yedynyi derzhavnyi kvalifikatsiinyi ispyt dlia zdobuttia stupenia mahistra: Postanova Kabinetu Ministriv Ukrainy vid 10.05.18 r. № 354. URL: https://www.zakon.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/354-2018-%D0%BF (data zvernennia 19.05.2022).

295. Kurakin O.M. Poniattia i zmist normatyvno-pravovoho rehuliuvannia yak yurydychnoho yavyshcha. Derzhava ta rehiony. Ser. : Pravo. 2013. № 3. S. 10-15. URL:http://nbuv.gov.ua/UJRN/drp_2013_3_4(data zvernennia 19.05.2022).

296. Shapoval R.V. Pravove rehuliuvannia osvity v Ukraini. Forum prava. 2011. № 1. S. 1110–1115. URL: http://www.nbuv.gov.ua/e-journals/FP/2011-1/11srvovu.pdf (data zvernennia 19.05.2022).

297. Mangora V.V. Normatyvno-pravove rehuliuvannia osvity v Ukraini v umovakh karantynu. Pravovi zasady epidemichnoi bezpeky: vyklyky ta perspektyvy : materialy internet-konferentsii (m. Poltava, 29 kvit. 2020 r.). Kharkiv: Pravo, 2020. S. 181-185.

298. MON zapustylo sait pro kliuchovi zminy v osviti, vprovadzheni cherez karantyn URL:https://www.kmu.gov.ua/news/mon-zapustilo-inforesurs-pro-klyuchovi-zmini-v-osviti-vprovadzheni-cherez-karantin (data zvernennia 19.05.2022).

299. Mangora V.V. Formuvannia informatsiinoi kompetentnosti maibutnikh yurystiv u protsesi fakhovoi pidhotovky: materialy nauk.-prakt. konf. Teoretyko-pravovi osnovy formuvannia ta rozvytku informatsiinoho suspilstva, m. Kyiv, 29 lyst. 2017 r. / uporiad. V. M. Furashev, S. Iu. Petriaiev. (Nats. tekhn. un-t Ukrainy “KPI im. Ihoria Sikorskoho”). Kyiv: “Politekhnika”, 2017. S. 192-196.

300. Mangora V.V. Profesiini kompetentsii maibutnikh yurystiv. Naukovi zapysky Vinnytskoho derzhavnoho pedahohichnoho universytetu imeni Mykhaila Kotsiubynskoho. Seriia: Pedahohika i psykholohiia: Zb. nauk. pr. Vypusk 39 / Redkol.: V. I. Shakhov (holova) ta in. Vinnytsia: TOV «Nilan LTD», 2013. S. 209-211.

301. Maidanyk R. Derzhavni standarty vyshchoi yurosvity v Ukraini: stan, problemy, perspektyvy. Pravovyi tyzhden. № 21(147). 26 travnia 2009 r. URL: http://www.legalweekly.com.ua. (data zvernennia 19.05.2022).

302. Kompleks normatyvnykh dokumentiv dlia rozroblennia skladovykh systemy haluzevykh standartiv vyshchoi osvity / Lyst Ministerstva osvity i nauky Ukrainy vid 31. 07. 2008 № 1/9-484 holovam robochykh hrup MON Ukrainy z rozroblennia haluzevykh standartiv vyshchoi osvity ta holovam naukovo-metodychnykh komisii MON Ukrainy 73 s. URL: http:elib.crimea.edu/zakon/list484.pdf. (data zvernennia 19.05.2022).

303. Novyi tlumachnyi slovnyk ukrainskoi movy : v trokh tomakh / [uklad. V. Yaremenko, O. Slipushko]. Kyiv: Akonit, 2005. T. 1. 2006. 926 s.

304. Mangora V.V. Struktura informatsiinoi kompetentnosti maibutnikh yurystiv Informatsiino-pravove ta orhanizatsiino-upravlinske zabezpechennia innovatsiinoho rozvytku rehionu : materialy kruhloho stolu, 24 travnia 2018 r., m. Vinnytsia / uporiadnyky: O.D. Dovhan, M.V. Belaniuk, S.A. Lapshyn, O.V. Lebedynska, O.I. Yaremenko ; VDPU, NDIIP NAPrN Ukrainy. Kyiv : Vydavnychyi dim «ArtEk», 2018. S. 83-87.

305. Standart vyshchoi osvity Ukrainy: pershyi (bakalavrskyi) riven vyshchoi osvity, haluz znan 08 «Pravo», spetsialnist 081 «Pravo» (nakaz Ministerstva osvity i nauky Ukrainy vid 12.12.2018 r. № 1379. 06.04.2016 r. № 375). URL: https://mon.gov.ua/storage/app/media/vishcha-osvita/zatverdzeni%20standarty/12/21/081-pravo-bakalavr-1.pdf (data zvernennia 19.05.2022).

306. Standart vyshchoi osvity Ukrainy druhoho (mahisterskoho) rivnia vyshchoi osvity dlia otrymannia osvitnoho stupeniu vyshchoi osvity «mahistr» za spetsialnistiu 081 «Pravo» u haluzi znan 08 «Pravo». (nakaz Ministerstva osvity i nauky Ukrainy vid 17.08.2020 r. № 1053). URL: https://mon.gov.ua/storage/app/media/vyshcha/standarty/2020/08/081-pravo-magistr.pdf (data zvernennia 19.05.2022).

307. Balovsiak N. Kh. Struktura ta zmist informatsiinoi kompetentnosti maibutnoho spetsialista. Naukovyi chasopys NPU imeni M.P. Drahomanova. Seriia № 2. Kompiuterno-oriientovani systemy navchannia: Zb. nauk. prats / Redkol. K.: NPU im. M. P. Drahomanova. № 4 (11). 2006. S. 3-6.

308. Holovan M.S. Informatychna kompetentnist: sutnist, struktura ta stanovlennia. Informatyka ta informatsiini tekhnolohii v navchalnykh zakladakh. 2007. № 4. S. 62 – 69. URL: http://uabs.edu.ua/images/stories/docs/ K_VM/Holovan_05.pdf (data zvernennia 19.05.2022).

309. Rakov S.A. Suchasnyi uchytel informatyky: kvalifikatsiia i vymohy. Kompiuter u shkoli ta simi. 2005. № 3. S. 35-38.

310. Kontseptsiia rozvytku dystantsiinoi osvity v Ukraini, zatverdzhena Postanovoiu MON Ukrainy vid 20 hrudnia 2000 r. URL: http://www.osvita.org.ua/distance/pravo/00.html (data zvernennia 19.05.2022).

311. Polozhennia pro dystantsiine navchannia, zatverdzhenoho Nakazom Ministerstva osvity i nauky Ukrainy vid 25.04.2013 r. № 466 URL: http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/ (data zvernennia 19.05.2022).

312. Mangora V.V. Osoblyvosti dystantsiinoi yurydychnoi osvity v Ukraini. Pravova systema Ukrainy: problemy ta perspektyvy: materialy vseukrainskoi naukovo-praktychnoi konferentsii (26 veresnia 2017 r, m. Kyiv, KNUTD) / vidp. Red. A. Yu. Oliinyk, O. S. Shmorhun. K.: KNUTD, 2017. S. 45-49.

313. Mangora V.V. Rol dystantsiinoi osvity na suchasnomu etapi. Problemy modernizatsii Ukrainy : [zb. nauk. pr.] / MAUP. K.: DP "Vydavnychyi dim "Personal", 2008. Vyp. 8: Materialy Mizhnar. nauk. konf. "Aktualni problemy modernizatsii nederzhavnoho sektoru osvity v Ukraini u konteksti svitovykh tendentsii i natsio nalnoi praktyky", 11 kvitnia 2019 r. / redkol. : M. N. Kurko (holova) [ta in.]. 2019. S. 258-261.

314. Pro vyshchu osvitu : Zakon Ukrainy vid 01.07.2014 № 1556-VII // Baza danykh «Zakonodavstvo Ukrainy» / Verkhovna Rada Ukrainy. URL: https://zakon.rada.gov.ua/go/1556-18 (data zvernennia: 28.05.2022)

315. V Ukraini ziavytsia persha profesiina khmarna CRM-systema dlia yurystiv URL: http://zib.com.ua/ (data zvernennia 19.05.2022).

316. Pro skhvalennia Stratehii rozvytku informatsiinoho suspilstva v Ukraini : rozporiadzh. Kabinetu Ministriv Ukrainy vid 15 travnia 2013 r. № 386-r / Verkhovna Rada Ukrainy : ofitsiin. veb-portal. URL : http://zakon4.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/386-2013-%D1%80 (data zvernennia 19.05.2022).

317. Khmil N.A. Zarubizhnyi i vitchyznianyi dosvid intehratsii khmarnykh tekhnolohii u pedahohichnyi protses vyshchoho navchalnoho zakladu. Informatsiini tekhnolohii i zasoby navchannia. 2015. Tom 50. № 6. S. 128-136.

318. Yatsenko O.I. Osnovni poniattia ta perevahy khmarnykh tekhnolohii. Informatsiini tekhnolohii : zb. tez I Ukrainskoi konferentsii molodykh naukovtsiv, 22-23 trav. 2014 r., m. Kyiv / Kyiv. un-t im. B. Hrinchenka, Instytut suspilstva, Kafedra informatyky, Kafedra informatsiinykh tekhnolohii i matematychnykh dystsyplin. Kyiv : Kyiv. un-t imeni Borysa Hrinchenka, 2014. S. 148-150.

319. Vakaliuk T.A. Mozhlyvosti vykorystannia khmarnykh tekhnolohii v osviti. Aktualni pytannia suchasnoi pedahohiky. Materialy mizhnarodnoi naukovo-praktychnoi konferentsii (m. Ostroh, 1-2 lystopada 2013 roku). Kherson: Vydavnychyi dim «Helvetyka», 2013. S. 97–99.

320. Fomenko N.A. Pravova pedahohika : Navchalnyi posibnyk. / N. A. Fomenko, M. I. Skrypnyk, O. V. Fatkhutdinova. Kherson: Oldi-plius, 2015. 326 s. URL : http: pidruchniki.com/78577 (data zvernennia 19.05.2022).

321. Mangora V.V. Vykorystannia khmarnykh tekhnolohii pry pidhotovtsi maibutnikh yurystiv. Internet rechei: problemy pravovoho rehuliuvannia ta vprovadzhennia: materialy nauk.-prakt. konf. / Uporiad. V. M. Furashev, S. Yu. Petriaiev // Nats. tekhn. un-t Ukrainy «KPI im. Ihoria Sikorskoho». 24 zhovtnia. 2017 r. Kyiv: Vyd-vo «Politekhnika» KPI im. Ihoria Sikorskoho», 2017. S. 183-188.

322. Krykun Yu. S. Zvychaieve pravo ukraintsiv u naukovykh doslidzhenniakh 1920-kh – na pochatku 1930-kh rokiv: dys... kand. ist. nauk. Kyiv, 2009. 213 s.

323. TsDAVO Ukrainy. F. 4438 osobystyi fond Yakovliva Andriia Ivanovycha (1872–1955) – dyrektora kantseliarii Ukrainskoi Tsentralnoi Rady, holovy Nadzvychainoi dyplomatychnoi misii Ukrainskoi Narodnoi Respubliky v Belhii ta Hollandii, profesora Ukrainskoho vilnoho universytetu v m. Prazi. Op. 1. Spr. 5. Biohrafiia Yakovliva A. I., 6 ark.

324. Yakovliv A. Chyhyryn kolys i teper. Kalendar «Svobody» na 1955 rik. Niu-York: Vydannia Ukrainskoho Narodnoho Soiuzu, 1954. S. 44–49.

325. Verstiuk V. F. Diiachi Ukrainskoi Tsentralnoi Rady. Bibliohrafichnyi dovidnyk. Kyiv: 1998. S. 203–204.

326. Isakov S. H. Ukrainski studenty v Tartuskomu universyteti KhIKh st. Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal. 2005. № 1. S. 70–82.

327. Vynnychenko I. Ukraintsi v krainakh Baltii: istoryko-heohrafichnyi ta sotsialno-demohrafichnyi aspekty. Heohrafiia. № 55. S. 43–45.

328. XII Arkheolohichnyi zizd: (Do 100-richchia provedennia): bibliohr. pokazhch. /uklad.: O. M. Dmytriieva: Khark. Derzh. Nauk. b-ka im. V. H. Korolenka; Kharkiv: 2002. 76 s.

329. Mykilsko-Botanichna vulytsia, 19-20 st. (arkhit., ist., mistobud.). URL: pamyatky.Kiev.ua.

330. Horak V. Andrii Yakovliv. Istoriohrafichni doslidzhennia v Ukraini. Vyznachni postati ukrainskoi istoriohrafii XIX–XX st. Vyp. 12. Kyiv. 2003. S. 283–302.

331. Popenko Ya. Diialnist A. Yakovliva – ukrainskoho dyplomata, istoryka, yurysta. Istorychnyi zhurnal. 2005. № 3. S. 64–73.

332. Yakovliv A. Predmestia horoda Kyeva: Pryorka, Kurenevka y Syrets: (Yst.-yuryd. ocherk). K.: Typ. Kruhlianskoho, 1914. 6 s.

333. Yakovliv A. Y. Pravo horoda Kyeva na zemly, zaniatye sooruzhenyiamy byvshei kyevskoi kreposty y ee esplanadoi. Kyev. hor. yzv. 1916. № 5–6. S. 13.

334. Yakovliv A. K voprosu o prave horoda na zemly, nakhodiashchyesia v eho cherte y ny za kem ne chysliashchyesia po aktam ukreplenyia. Yzvestyia Kyevskoi Horodskoi Dum. K., 1916. № 4.

335. Yakovliv A. Nezabutni dni vidnovlennia derzhavnoi samostiinosti Ukrainy (Uryvky z moikh «Spomyniv») (2). Svoboda. 1953. 24 sichnia. № 22. sichnia. S. 3.

336. Yakovliv A. Nezabutni dni vidnovlennia derzhavnoi samostiinosti Ukrainy (Uryvky z moikh «Spomyniv») (1). Svoboda. 1953. 23 sichnia. № 21. sichnia. S. 3.

337. Yakovliv A. Nezabutni dni vidnovlennia derzhavnoi samostiinosti Ukrainy (Uryvky z moikh «Spomyniv») (3). Svoboda. 1953. 27 sichnia. № 25. S. 3.

338. Yurydychna entsyklopediia [Tekst]: nauk.-dovidk. vyd. V 6 t. T. 6. T – Ya / Nats. akad. nauk Ukrainy, In-t derzhavy i prava im. V. M. Koretskoho, Vyd-vo «Ukr. entsykl.» im. M. P. Bazhana; redkol.: Yu. S. Shemshuchenko (holova redkol.) [ta in.]. K. : Ukr. entsykl. im. M. P. Bazhana, 2004. 765 s.

339. Yakovliv A. Nezabutni dni vidnovlennia derzhavnoi samostiinosti Ukrainy (Uryvky z moikh «Spomyniv») (4). Svoboda. 1953. 28 sichnia. № 26. 28 sichnia. S. 3.

340. Yakovliv A. Nezabutni dni vidnovlennia derzhavnoi samostiinosti Ukrainy (Uryvky z moikh «Spomyniv») (5). Svoboda. 1953. 29 sichnia. № 27. S. 3.

341. Yakovliv A. Nezabutni dni vidnovlennia derzhavnoi samostiinosti Ukrainy (Uryvky z moikh «Spomyniv») (6). Svoboda. 1953. 30 sichnia. № 28. S. 3.

342. Yakovliv A. Nezabutni dni vidnovlennia derzhavnoi samostiinosti Ukrainy (Uryvky z moikh «Spomyniv») (7). Svoboda. 1953. 31 sichnia. № 29. S. 3.

343. Yakovliv A. Nezabutni dni vidnovlennia derzhavnoi samostiinosti Ukrainy (Uryvky z moikh «Spomyniv») (8). Svoboda. 1953. 3 liutoho. № 32. S. 3.

344. Yakovliv A. Vysokopovazhnanyi Pane Redaktore! Svoboda. 1953. 24 sichnia. № 22. S. 3.

345. Yakovliv A. Nezabutni dni vidnovlennia derzhavnoi samostiinosti Ukrainy (Uryvky z moikh «Spomyniv») (9). Svoboda. 1953. 4 liutoho. № 33. S. 3.

346. Derzhavnyi Tsentr Ukrainskoi Narodnoi Respubliky v ekzyli: Statti i materialy. Filadelfiia-Kyiv-Vashinhton: Fundatsiia imeni Symona Petliury, Veselka, Fundatsiia Rodyny Feshchenko-Chopivskykh. 1993. 495 s.

347. Vedenieiev D. Stanovlennia zovnishnopolitychnoi sluzhby Ukrainy v period Tsentralnoi Rady. Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal. 1997. № 3. S. 79–89.

348. Yakovliv A. Na dyplomatychnii sluzhbi Ukrainy (Uryvky z moikh «Spomyniv» za 1918–1919 pp.) (1). Svoboda. 1953. 8 kvitnia. № 82. S. 2.

349. Yakovliv A. Na dyplomatychnii sluzhbi Ukrainy (Uryvky z moikh «Spomyniv» za 1918–1919 pp.) (2). Svoboda. 1953. 9 kvitnia. № 83. S. 2.

350. Yakovliv A. Na dyplomatychnii sluzhbi Ukrainy (Uryvky z moikh «Spomyniv» za 1918–1919 pp.) (3). Svoboda. 1953. 10 kvitnia. № 84. S. 2.

351. Vedenieiev D. Dyplomatiia Ukrainskoi derzhavy doby Tsentralnoi Rady Zovnishni spravy. 2013. № 2. S. 46–51.

352. Yakovliv A. Na dyplomatychnii sluzhbi Ukrainy (Uryvky z moikh «Spomyniv» za 1918–1919 pp.) (4). Svoboda. 1953. 11 kvitnia. № 85. S. 2.

353. Fartushnyi Yu. V. Svoboda kozatstva yak vymir svobody natsii (za motyvamy rannikh tvoriv Andriia Yakovliva). Yakovlivski chytannia. Materialy naukovoi konferentsii, prysviachenoi pamiati ukrainskoho istoryka, pravoznavtsia, hromadskoho i politychnoho diiacha Andriia Yakovliva (1872–1955) / Molodizhne istorychne tovarystvo im. A. Yakovlieva; Ukrainske istorychne tovarystvo. Cherkasy, 2000. S. 6–9.

354. Yakovliv A. Na dyplomatychnii sluzhbi Ukrainy (Uryvky z moikh «Spomyniv» za 1918–1919 pp.) (5). Svoboda. 1953. 14 kvitnia. № 86. 14 kvitnia. S. 2.

355. Yakovliv A. Na dyplomatychnii sluzhbi Ukrainy (Uryvky z moikh «Spomyniv» za 1918–1919 pp.) (6). Svoboda. 1953. 15 kvitnia. № 87. S. 2, 4.

356. TsDAVO Ukrainy. F. 3198. Posolstvo Ukrainskoi Derzhavy v Avstro-Uhorshchyni, m. Viden, Op. 1. Spr. 1. Lystuvannia z Ministerstvom po vnutrishnim administratyvnym spravam posolstva i dyrektyvni rozporiadzhennia i vkazivky ministerstva. 5 serpnia – 23 lystopada 1918 r., 28 ark.

357. TsDAVO Ukrainy. F. 3795. Ukrainska hospodarska akademiia v m. Podiebradakh (Chekho-Slovachchyna) – 1922–1938 rr. Op. 3. Spr. 67. Chornovyky lektsii burzhuaznoho natsionalista profesora A. Yakovliva «Torhove pravo». – T.1., 204 ark.

358. TsDAVO Ukrainy. F. 3766 .Ministerstvo zakordonnykh sprav Ukrainskoi Derzhavy, m. Kyiv. Op. 2. Spr. 3. I viddil osobovoho skladu i zahalnykh sprav. Nakazy po hetmanskomu ministerstvi zakordonnykh sprav pro pryznachennia na posady ta zvilnennia z nykh. 3 travnia – 4 hrudnia 1918 r., 43 ark.

359. Popenko Ya. Diialnist dyplomatychnoho predstavnytstva Dyrektorii UNR u Belhii ta Niderlandakh u 1919–1921 rokakh. Nauk. pr. ist. f-tu / Zaporiz. derzh. un-t. Zaporizhzhia, 2005. Vyp. 19. S. 188–197.

360. Soloviova V. Osnovni napriamy diialnosti dyplomatych¬nykh predstavnytstv Dyrektorii Ukrainskoi Narodnoi Respubliky. Desiat rokiv nezalezh¬nosti Ukrainy: Mynule i suchasne derzhavo¬tvorennia. Naukovyi zbirnyk. Kyiv. Instytut istorii Ukrainy NAN Ukrainy, 2003. S. 197–203.

361. Popenko Ya. Diialnist A. Yakovliva – ukrainskoho dyplomata, istoryka, yurysta. Istorychnyi zhurnal. 2005. № 3. S. 64–73.

362. TsDAVO Ukrainy. F. 3696. Ministerstvo zakordonnykh sprav Ukrainskoi Narodnoi Respubliky, mm. Kyiv, Kamianets-Podilskyi, Vinnytsia; Tarniv (Polshcha), Op. 2. Spr. 314. Kopii nakaziv ta dopovnennia pro diialnist nadzvychainoi dyplomatychnoi misii UNR v Hollandii ta Belhii ta lystuvannia z neiu pro konferentsiiu v Italii, pro perevid predstavnyka misii ta inshe. 14 liutoho 1919 – 23 hrudnia 1920 r., 76 ark.

363. Posol Yakovliv uriadovo pryniatyi na audiientsii belhiiskym ministrom. Svoboda. 1920. 27 bereznia. № 38. S. 1.

364. TsDAVO Ukrainy. F. 3696. Ministerstvo zakordonnykh sprav Ukrainskoi Narodnoi Respubliky, mm. Kyiv, Kamianets-Podilskyi, Vinnytsia; Tarniv (Polshcha), Op. 2. Spr. 453. Informatsiini dokumenty dyplomatychnoi misii UNR v Hollandii ta Belhii pro vnutrishnie i mizhnarodne polozhennia Hollandii 1920 r., pro perehovory z belhiiskym uriadom, orhanizatsiiu v Belhii kredytu dlia UNR ta rakhunok vydatkiv i prybutkiv dyplomatychnoi misii UNR v Hollandii ta Belhii. 17 sichnia 1921 – 8 travnia 1923 r., 38 ark.

365. TsDAVO Ukrainy. F. 3696. Ministerstvo zakordonnykh sprav Ukrainskoi Narodnoi Respubliky, mm. Kyiv, Kamianets-Podilskyi, Vinnytsia; Tarniv (Polshcha), Op. 2. Spr. 401. Spysky spivrobitnykiv dyplomatychnykh misii UNR, dopovidi povirenoho UNR u Belhii, pro reorhanizatsiiu MZS Belhii, lystuvannia z posolstvom UNR v Nimechchyni, z viiskovym Ministerstvom pro administratyvne stanovyshche armii. Instruktsiia pro skladannia shchodennoho ohliadu presy Ministerstva. 20 hrudnia 1920 – 14 lystopada 1921 r., 49 ark.

366. Chubata M. V. Problemy derzhavnoho budivnytstva u konstytutsiinomu zakonodavstvi Tsentralnoi Rady: analitychnyi ohliad istoryko-pravovykh doslidzhen. Naukovyi visnyk Khersonskoho derzhavnoho universytetu. Seriia Yurydychni nauky. 2014. Vypusk 6–2. Tom 1. S. 66–70.

367. TsDAVO Ukrainy. F. 4442. Dyplomatychna misiia Ukrainskoi Narodnoi Respubliky v Hollandii ta Belhii, m. Briussel. Op. 1. Spr. 1. Knyha nakaziv № 1–98 Holovy misii. 14 liutoho 1919 r. – 2 kvitnia 1922 r. Haaha 1919 r., Briusel 1920 r., 54 ark.

368. Padokh Ya. Predmet istorii ukrainskoho prava v UVU y yoho vykladachi (1921–1981). Naukovyi zbirnyk Ukrainskoho Vilnoho Universytetu. Zbirnyk na poshanu prof. d-ra Volodymyra Yaneva. Symbolaeinhonorem Volodymyri Janiw /vidpov. red. O. Horbach. 1983. T. 10. S. 1049.

369. Dyrektoriia, Rada Narodnykh Ministriv Ukrainskoi Narodnoi Respubliky. Lystopad 1918 – lystopad 1920 pp.: Dok. i materialy: u 2-kh tomakh, 3-kh chastynakh. Kyiv: Vydavnytstvo imeni Oleny Telihy, 2006. T. 2. 744 s.

370. TsDAVO Ukrainy. F. 4211. Ukrainska nadzvychaina dyplomatychna misiia Ukrainskoi Narodnoi Respubliky u Shveitsarii, m. Bern. Op. 1. Spr. 45. Ohliady presovoho viddilu MZS UNR pro: diialnist MZS UNR v 1920 r. ta stratehichnu i politychnu sytuatsiiu na Ukraini v 1920 r. Informatsiia MZS UNR pro polsko-ukrainski vidnosyny ta zvit pro robotu misii UNR v Anhlii. Kopiia lysta Holovnoho otamana S. Petliury do Holovy Rady Narodnykh Ministriv UNR Prokopovycha pro zvilnennia yoho z posady Holovy uriadu v zviazku z khvoroboiu. Vidomosti pro prybutky i vydatky misii UNR v Shveitsarii za 1920 r. ta insh. 1920-1922 rr., 345 ark.

371. TsDAVO Ukrainy. F. 3696. Ministerstvo zakordonnykh sprav Ukrainskoi Narodnoi Respubliky, mm. Kyiv, Kamianets-Podilskyi, Vinnytsia; Tarniv (Polshcha), Op. 2. Spr. 526. Lystuvannia z nadzvychainoiu dyplomatychnoiu misiieiu UNR v Belhii ta Hollandii pro vidnoshennia zakhidnoievropeiskykh derzhav do UNR pro vstup Ukrainy v chleny mizhnarodnoho komertsiinoho instytutu v Briuseli. 12 sichnia 1921 – 23 hrudnia 1921 r., 42 ark.

372. TsDAVO Ukrainy. F. 3696. Ministerstvo zakordonnykh sprav Ukrainskoi Narodnoi Respubliky, mm. Kyiv, Kamianets-Podilskyi, Vinnytsia; Tarniv (Polshcha), Op. 2. Spr. 242. Zvity pro diialnist, balans, vypysky z holovnoi knyhy, vidomosti na vyplatu platni personalu ta lystuvannia pro finansovyi stan dyplomatychnoi misii UNR u Belhii ta Hollandii. 17 sichnia 1920 – 8 liutoho 1923 r., 223 ark.

373. TsDAVO Ukrainy. F. 1429. Kantseliariia Dyrektorii Ukrainskoi Narodnoi Respubliky, m. Kyiv, Kamianets-Podilskyi; Polshcha, Chekho-Slovachchyna, Op. 2. Spr. 143. Protokoly 3-ho zizdu predstavnykiv studentskykh hromad UNR v Polshchi. Dopovid pro uchast zakordonnoho kapitalu v vidbudovi i rozvytku narodnoho hospodarstva UNR, kontrrevoliutsiinykh emihrantiv z Ukrainy y tiazhke stanovyshche v taborakh internovanykh, diialnist Derzhavnoi kantseliarii ministerstv ta zahalnoekonomichne stanovyshche na Volyni i Chekhii. Koshtorysy prybutkiv i vydatkiv po vydavnytstvu «Ukrainska Trybuna». 6 sichnia – 8 lystopada 1922 r., 207 ark.

374. TsDAVO Ukrainy. F. 1429. Kantseliariia Dyrektorii Ukrainskoi Narodnoi Respubliky, m. Kyiv, Kamianets-Podilskyi; Polshcha, Chekho-Slovachchyna, Op. 2. Spr. 142. Dopovid ta lystuvannia z Ministerstvom zakordonykh sprav i predstavnykamy misii UNR za kordonom Avstrii, Italii, Belhii, Nimechchyni, Frantsii, Rumunii, Shveitsarii pro vzaiemovidnosyny pidhotovku povstan proty Radianskoi vlady ta pidtrymku z boku zakhidnoi Yevropy. Memorandum Vseukrainskoi spilky diiachiv mistsevykh narodnykh samovriaduvan komitetu spasinnia Ukrainy pro Natsionalnyi ukrainskyi komitet v Paryzhi. 6 sichnia – 29 lypnia 1922 r., 582 ark.