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<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3727-3956>****DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN RESEARCHERS' CONTRIBUTION
TO CLARIFYING THE PROBLEM OF THE SPIRITUAL AND
CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY
IN THE POLICY OF UKRAINIAN GOVERNMENTS 1917-1920**

The article deals with an unbiased critical analysis of the contribution made by domestic and foreign researchers in clarifying the problems of the spiritual and cultural development of society in the policy of Ukrainian governments (the Ukrainian Central Council, the Ukrainian State of Hetman Pavlo Skoropadskyi, the Directory of the Ukrainian People's Republic, the West Ukrainian People's Republic) 1917-1920. The author revealed certain aspects of the role and significance of state administration, material and spiritual culture in the formation of the nation state. The analyzed materials of domestic and foreign researchers in clarifying the problems of the spiritual and cultural development of society in the policy of the Ukrainian governments of 1917-1920 provide an opportunity to get acquainted with the peculiarities of the development of Ukrainian public education, to identify the main problems that existed at that time in the field of state education management and cultures. A number of issues of humanitarian transformations in the field of education are covered, in particular book publishing, the development of librarianship, as well as separate problems of spiritual and cultural construction during the years of the Ukrainian national revolution, such as the formation and development of the Ukrainian school, printing, fine arts, theater. It is concluded that the diaspora itself became the center for the study of national humanitarian science during the period of liberation struggles, and the works published at that time abroad became a valuable source of studying the history of the spiritual and cultural development of society in the policy of the Ukrainian governments of 1917-1920. The importance of the content goals, tasks, directions, principles and priorities of state social and cultural policy are emphasized, as well as features of state policy regarding the development of spiritual values, the formation of a single humanitarian space in Ukraine. The main directions and ways of forming and implementing cultural policy are analyzed, attention is focused on the need to creatively use the experience of that time in today's practice.

Key words: public administration, spiritual and cultural development, cultural policy, Ukrainian government, Ukrainian People's Republic, Ukrainian State, West Ukrainian People's Republic.

ВНЕСОК ВІТЧИЗНЯНИХ ТА ЗАРУБІЖНИХ ДОСЛІДНИКІВ У З'ЯСУВАННІ ПРОБЛЕМ ДУХОВНО-КУЛЬТУРНОГО РОЗВИТКУ СУСПІЛЬСТВА В ПОЛІТИЦІ УКРАЇНСЬКИХ УРЯДІВ 1917-1920 рр.

У статті розглянуто неупереджений критичний аналіз того внеску, який зробили вітчизняні та зарубіжні дослідники у з'ясуванні проблем духовно-культурного розвитку суспільства в політиці українських урядів (Української Центральної Ради, Української Держави Гетьмана Павла Скоропадського, Директорії Української Народної Республіки, Західноукраїнської Народної Республіки) 1917-1920 рр. Автором розкрито окремі аспекти ролі та значення державного управління, матеріальної та духовної культури у формуванні національної держави. Проаналізовані матеріали вітчизняних та зарубіжних дослідників у з'ясуванні проблем духовно-культурного розвитку суспільства в політиці українських урядів 1917-1920 рр. дають можливість ознайомитися з особливостями розвитку української народної освіти, виявити основні проблеми, які існували на той час у сфері державного управління освіти та культури. Висвітлено ряд питань гуманітарних перетворень у сфері освіти, зокрема книговидання, розвитку бібліотечної справи, а також окремі проблеми духовно-культурного будівництва в роки української національної революції, такі як становлення та розвиток української школи, друкарства, образотворчого мистецтва, театру. Зроблено висновок, що саме діаспора стала центром з вивчення національної гуманітарної науки періоду визвольних змагань, а праці, опубліковані у цей час за кордоном, стали цінним джерелом вивчення історії духовно-культурного розвитку суспільства в політиці українських урядів 1917-1920 рр. Підкреслено важливість змісту, мети, завдань, напрямів, принципів та пріоритетів державної соціальної та культурної політики, а також особливості державної політики щодо розвитку духовних цінностей, формування єдиного гуманітарного простору в Україні. Аналізуються основні напрями та шляхи формування та реалізації культурної політики, акцентується увага на необхідності творчого використання тодішнього досвіду в сьогodenній практиці.

***Ключові слова:** державне управління, духовно-культурний розвиток, культурна політика, український уряд, Українська Народна Республіка, Українська Держава, Західноукраїнська Народна Республіка.*

Formulation of the problem. The state and spiritual and cultural revival of the Ukrainian people in the liberation revolution of 1917-1920 was prepared by the historical development of Ukrainian society itself. This process actually began in the first years after the Russian Empire abolished the autonomy of the Cossack-Hetman state and continued throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries. Overcoming various obstacles of a political, economic, spiritual and cultural nature, Ukrainian statesmen, cultural figures, various organizations, and with their

appearance political parties, waged a consistent and persistent struggle for the statehood's revival of the Ukrainian society, its free spiritual and cultural development. This struggle found its logical conclusion and practical implementation in the course of the liberation struggle, during which Ukrainian statehood was restored and its independence proclaimed. Therefore, today an important issue in the public administration science is an in-depth and comprehensive clarification of the problems in the spiritual and cultural society's development in the policy of the Ukrainian governments of the Ukrainian People's Republic, the Ukrainian State, the West Ukrainian People's Republic and an unbiased critical analysis of the contribution that domestic and foreign researchers made to solve current problems in cultural processes in Ukraine.

Analysis of recent research and publications. The works of famous Ukrainian scientists, activists, writers, ideologists and organizers of the national liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people of that time, such as: M. Hrushevskiy, M. Mikhnovskiy, V. Vynnychenko, O. Doroshkevich, S. Cherkasenko, D. Dontsov, P. Khrystyuk, M. Shapovalov, H. Vashchenko, O. Voynarenko, R. Mlynovetskiy, D. Doleng, I. Krylov, S. Siropolk, S. Filonenko, G. Pavlutskiy, L. Kurbas, F. Schmidt, and others are devoted to the theoretical and methodological aspects of the spiritual and cultural development of society during the Ukrainian Revolution.

After the defeat of the Ukrainian People's Republic, representatives of the Ukrainian diaspora, such as D. Antonovych, Yu. Lypa, O. Olzhych, D. Doroshenko, D. Chyzhevskiy, Ye. Malanyuk, I. Kostetskiy and others, worked extremely fruitfully in this area.

With the declaration of Ukraine's independence, a qualitatively new period has come in the study of the state-building of Ukrainian governments during the days of the national revolution. There is a violent rethinking of everything that has been accumulated by historical science over all the previous years. V. Troshchinsky, P. Sitnik, V. Skurativsky, S. Mayboroda, V. Kravets, I.

Mikhailova, S. Skydan, D. Thorevsky, A. Vyhrushch, L. Vovk, N. Rotar and others imagined in their works various aspects of these topic.

The purpose of this study is to analyze and reveal the contribution of domestic and foreign researchers in clarifying the problems of spiritual and cultural development of society in the policy of Ukrainian governments in 1917-1920.

Presenting main material. Considering the theoretical and methodological principles of problems' analysis of the spiritual and cultural development of society in the Ukrainian governments' policy during 1917-1920, we note that during this heroic and tragic period, the historical science of public administration went through two stages of its development. 1917 belongs to the first. At that time, the first publications appeared, which highlighted the reform of the state administration system in Ukraine, spiritual and cultural construction, its immediate and promising tasks and ways of implementation.

The second stage begins with the proclamation of the Fourth Universal by the Ukrainian Central Council and the development of the struggle for the construction of an independent state in Ukrainian society. This stage lasted until the end of the revolution and the emigration abroad of the Directory of the Ukrainian People's Republic.

In the state and cultural figures' works of this era, compared to 1917, the question of the need for profound state-administrative and national-cultural transformations in the process of building an independent Ukraine was already more concretely, consistently and scientifically and theoretically substantiated. Separate aspects of the state administration's role and significance, material and spiritual culture in the formation of the national state were revealed.

After the end of the national liberation struggle, the final establishment of Soviet power in Ukraine, the Ukrainian historical science of public administration was divided into two parts. One part of scientists and culture leaders, who worked fruitfully in the field of state building under national governments, disagreeing with

the Soviet-Bolshevik regime, emigrated abroad and developed scientific research work based on democratic, national-historical principles.

The other, under the leadership of the Ukrainian SSR, was gradually transferred in its scientific activity to the Bolshevik platform and Sovietization of the historical science of the cultural policy's development. As noted by V. Kotsur, this part of scientists still had the opportunity until the beginning of the 1930s on the pages of the press, in discussions, in scientific institutions to discuss certain controversial issues from the history of state administration, spiritual and cultural development, including those related to revolutionary events of 1917–1920 and resolve them collegially [1].

A significant role in the problem's study of spiritual and cultural development of society in the policy of the Ukrainian governments of 1917-1920 is played by the members of the People's Commissariat of Education H. Hrynko, O. Kisil, Ya. Ryappo and M. Skrypnyk. They provide an opportunity to get acquainted with the peculiarities of the development of Ukrainian public education, to identify the main problems that existed at that time in the sphere of state management of education and culture.

In the article “To the scheme of public education”, H. Hrynko presents the basic principles of building a system of state management of public education in the Ukrainian SSR, which, according to him, “is built in its roots and foundations on the labor principle, for successful implementation it needs a practical scheme, which:

a) would reveal the most basic and burning needs of the workers during the period of the proletarian dictatorship;

b) would carry out the main line of educational policy among the extremely diverse types of schools left as a legacy of the bourgeois system;

c) would outline those existing educational institutions and cells that can and should become permanent points in the implementation of the entire educational system” [2, p. 55].

In the second chapter of Ya.Ryappo's work “The Age of Civil War 1917-1920”, the author analyzed the rather complex and controversial process of organizing the state management of school education, provided statistics on the growth of schools, reflected the problem of state management in the formation of extracurricular and professional education, the Ukrainization of schools, the creation of education for national minorities, showed the dynamics of increasing the output of printed products, including for the education system. This publication was essentially the first work in which an attempt was made to reveal the state educational construction carried out by the Soviet authorities, but with an underestimation of the contribution to the creation of schools by Ukrainian governments and political parties and organizations opposed to the Bolsheviks.

Also worthy of attention is the work of Yu. Mezhenka, which analyzes the work of individual publishing houses in the production of educational and literary literature, which became an important source for scientists studying the problem of organizing the state management of Ukrainian printing during the years of the revolution [3].

However, with the gradual loss of Ukraine's sovereignty as part of the USSR, the formation's strengthening of the Stalinist totalitarian regime both in society and in science, led to the curtailment of research on the national liberation revolution of 1917-1920. The impetus for this was J. Stalin's article “On some questions of the history of Bolshevism”, published in the magazine “Proletarian Revolution” in 1931. It was with the release of this publication, V. Kotsur believes, that the process of increased party control over the study of the history of state management of cultural development and the development of historical problems began in the USSR, the beginning of the persecution, and then the total extermination of Ukrainian cultural figures, Russification, Bolshevization of the history of state management of Ukraine and the loss of

historical science “...of its natural functions and its transformation into an obedient servant of the Bolshevik regime” [1].

In the 1920s and 1930s, Ukrainian scientists in emigration were in a double situation. In Galicia, they were severely persecuted by the Polish authorities. But, despite this, in 1923, I. Krypyakevich published “Ukrainian Historiography”, which became one of the first works on the historiography of Ukraine. Separate works of D. Dontsov were also published: “History of the Development of the Ukrainian State Idea”, “Foundations of Our Policy”, works by E. Hrytsiak, M. Galushchynsky, devoted to state management in the field of book publishing, library affairs, and other studies [4].

The historical science of state administration, the history of relations between the Ukrainian People's Republic and the West Ukrainian People's Republic among the Ukrainian diaspora of Czechoslovakia, Austria, Germany, France, and Great Britain developed much more successfully, compared to Galicia. The vast majority of the Ukrainian national liberation movement leaders – V. Vynnychenko, S. Petlyura, P. Skoropadskyi, M. Shapoval, and scientists – D. Doroshenko, I. Ohienko and other public and cultural figures emigrated to these countries. Thanks to the emigrants' efforts abroad, the Ukrainian Free University was founded in Vienna, the Ukrainian Economic Academy in Podebrady, the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin, etc.

L. Bykovskyi, S. Siropolko and S. Narizhnyi [5] considered humanitarian transformations in the field of education, book publishing, library development, and the policy of Ukrainian governments to solve these issues. D. Antonovych, researching the development of Ukrainian culture from the time of Kievan Rus until the middle of the 20th century, also highlighted certain problems of spiritual and cultural construction during the years of the Ukrainian national revolution, such as the formation and development of the Ukrainian school, printing, fine arts, theater, etc.

So, as we can see, in the 1920s and early 1940s, the diaspora became a center for the study of national humanitarian science during the period of liberation struggles, and the works published at that time abroad turned into a valuable source of studying real, not distorted, history of spiritual and cultural development of society in the policy of the Ukrainian governments of 1917-1920.

From the beginning of the 1930s to the middle of the 1950s, the most difficult and tragic period in the Ukrainian history of the spiritual and cultural development of society during the liberation struggles of 1917-1920 lasted. Starting from the mid-1930s, the leadership, having carried out a massive purge of Ukrainian scientific institutions from "nationalists", issued an order to establish the Institute of the History of Ukraine of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR (1936). The employees of the newly formed institution were instructed to study the history of Ukraine, based on Marxist-Leninist teachings and methodology. As a result of these measures, the study of events related to the struggle of the Ukrainian people for the revival of their own state in 1917–1920, including state-administrative and national-cultural transformations, was completely stopped. Instead, a concept was developed that dominated in Soviet science for a long time about the historical role of the Great October Socialist Revolution, popular support for the ideology of Bolshevism, etc.

Also, in Soviet science, the history problems of the relationship between the Ukrainian People's Republic and the West Ukrainian People's Republic were practically not investigated or received distorted coverage. The influence of the Soviet historical science's ideologization in the coverage of the above-mentioned problems is characteristic of all publications of this period. Naturally, this approach did not contribute to source studies as well. An exception was the work of O. Karpenko, in which for the first time an attempt was made to move away from biased assessments of the revolutionary events' nature in the western Ukrainian lands [6].

During the Khrushchev "thaw", an attempt was made to carry out a certain democratization of the social and spiritual and cultural life of the country. In the wake of these transformations, a more intensive study of the historical and administrative past of Ukraine began, including certain aspects of the spiritual and cultural development of the Ukrainian Revolution era of 1917-1920. Such studies include the works of I. Zolotoverkhyi, S. Gutyanskyi, which highlighted various aspects of cultural construction in Ukraine. However, these works bear the ideological involvement's imprint, the belittling of the non-Bolshevik organizations' role in spiritual and cultural development, and hence the bias in the analysis of the state administration and cultural transformations' process.

The period from the mid-1960s to the beginning of the 1980s was marked by the restriction of the already not so broad democracy in the state, the constitutional legitimization of the leadership role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in society, which was also reflected in the studies of the Ukrainian national revolution of 1917–1920.

The administrative aspect of the formation of school and higher education, overcoming illiteracy in Ukraine, the construction of various cultural and educational centers, the state development of theatrical art, book publishing was covered in the scientific works of Yu. Stanishevskyi, T. Skrypnyk, P. Rulin, M. Berezovchuk, P. Kuvshynov, M. Suprunenko, A. Melnychenko as well as in the collective eight-volume history of Ukraine and other studies. But all this work is considered mainly through the prism of the Bolshevik's activities or youth Komsomol organizations, the stewardship of the city over the village, etc.

They practically do not analyze the spiritual and cultural development of society in the activities of Ukrainian national governments and other non-party organizations in 1917-1920, which illuminates the problem one-sidedly and unobjectively [7].

The events of the spiritual and cultural development of society in the policy of the Ukrainian governments of 1917-1920 were considered in a completely

different way in Ukrainian foreign science after the Second World War and in the 1950s–80s. The peculiarities of its development in this period were that the research began to be conducted by the young generation of Ukrainian diaspora scientists who, compared to their predecessors, approached the study of the history of state administration and the spiritual and cultural development of society in 1917-1920 in a new way. Their work no longer had the moral and psychological imprint of the revolution's participants. Using various methods in their scientific research, foreign scientists sought to objectively evaluate various events of the Ukrainian Revolution.

The 1980s were fruitful for diaspora scientists. In the works of M. Semchyshyn, I. Keivan, P. Lonchyna, A. Zhyvotka, V. Yaniv, separate components of management in education, book publishing, and fine arts are highlighted. S. Chorniy analyzed the formation of the Ukrainian drama theater of the Ukrainian State of P. Skoropadsky, Yu. Shevelyov thoroughly interprets the development of linguistic Ukrainization on the territory of Ukraine in the first half of the 20th century. A number of new views on the events of 1917-1920 in the field of public administration were highlighted in his work by I. Nagaevsky [7].

Especially valuable for scientists of Ukraine was the work of O. Subtelny "Ukraine. History". Its publication in Ukraine prompted many Soviet scientists to change their views on the very concept of the revolution of 1917–1920 in the direction of its reevaluation from a purely proletarian and socialist to a national liberation one.

Gorbachev's M. announcement of a course to rebuild social life in the USSR contributed to the active publication of works and liberation struggles' documents of 1917-1920, which in the past had been prohibited for study and scientific use by the leadership of the CPSU. These are the works of M. Hrushevskyi, M. Dragomanov, N. Polonska-Vasylenko, I. Lysiak-Rudnytskyi, V. Vynnychenko and other authors, which covered the revival and existence of

Ukrainian statehood, the course of spiritual and cultural transformations in Ukrainian society. Among the documents published were Universals of the Ukrainian Central Rada, a collection of programs of Ukrainian parties, etc. [8].

The first attempt to reveal the real, not falsified, history of the state-cultural construction of Ukraine during the period of the national revolution was made by a team of scientists in the work “About the past – for the sake of the future”. I. Kuras, L. Goshulyak, S. Dibrova, P. Vargatyuk reviewed the then-accepted communist historical and party assessment of the revolution of 1917–1920, revealed various facets of the political struggle surrounding the implementation of the idea of creating Ukrainian statehood, a spiritual and cultural issue [8].

In the works of other authors, separate state building problems by the Ukrainian People's Republic, the cultural policy development during the time of the Directorate of the Ukrainian People's Republic, etc. were considered. O. Romanchuk's pamphlet highlighted the cause of the conflict between the Ukrainian Central Rada and Council of People's Commissars of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR). V. Sergiychuk studied the process of Ukrainian state symbols' formation during the national revolution of 1917-1920. V. Kopylenko published the work with an analysis of M. Hrushevskyi's scientific and public-political activities.

Authors B. Bilyk and Ya. Kalakura made a new attempt to consider the events of 1917-1920, including spiritual and cultural transformations, in a course of lectures for teachers and students of higher educational institutions. A number of new ideas related to the formation of theatrical art management during the time of the Ukrainian Central Rada were reflected in the work of Ya. Hordiychuk. B. Lobanovskyi and P. Hovda covered some aspects of national Ukrainian visual arts [8].

With the declaration of Ukraine's independence, a modern, qualitatively new period of its development, based on democratic principles and national traditions, begins in the development of the field of science "Public Administration". The

lifting of the long-term ban on the study of archival funds and other printed materials related to the activities of the Ukrainian national-democratic governments and parties and public cultural organizations opposed to the Soviet government created favorable conditions for scientists to investigate in a new way the events of the Ukrainian governments of the era of the national revolution of 1917–1920, state-building processes, including the spiritual and cultural transformations of this time. There is a violent rethinking of everything that has been accumulated by historical science over all the previous years.

Questions regarding the various components of the theory and history of state administration, management of the cultural sphere are contained in the works of modern researchers: V. Averyanov, V. Lugovoi, V. Knyazev, S. Krysyuk, I. Kuras, B. Gaevsky, V. Maiboroda, V. Maslov, I. Nadolny, N. Nyzhnyk, P. Nadolishny, V. Ryzhykh, I. Rozputenko, V. Bykov and others. In their writings, scientists reveal the modern trends in the development of public administration, explore the processes of decentralization, the role and place of the public in administration, analyze the relationship between government and society, the problems of civil society formation, the essence of higher education public administration as well as determine the principles of its implementation.

The collective work of V. Skurativskyi, V. Troshchynskyi, P. Sytnyk, V. Karlova, M. Kravchenko, N. Yarosh, O. Petroye, T. Fedoriv “State policy in the socio-humanitarian sphere”, which examines the socio-humanitarian sphere as an object state policy, its place in the life of society, the essence of state social policy, its types and models, features of globalization conditions has become especially valuable for modern scientists. The content, purpose, tasks, directions, principles and priorities of the state social and cultural policy, as well as the features of the state policy regarding the development of spiritual values, the formation of a single humanitarian space in Ukraine, etc., are disclosed [9].

In the works of S. Kulchytsky, A. Vykhresh, S. Maiboroda, S. Filonenko, D. Thorzhevsky, A. Hrytsenko, certain state management issues of new school

education, its Ukrainization, school programs' improvement, forms and methods of mental, aesthetic, and spiritual education children during the liberation struggles of 1917-1920 are being investigated.

Conclusions. Therefore, the analysis of the domestic and foreign researchers' contribution in clarifying the problems of the spiritual and cultural development of society in the policy of the Ukrainian governments of 1917-1920 shows that many important aspects of the national and cultural construction during the years of the Ukrainian revolution did not find their proper coverage in the national historiography. This process was complex and ambiguous, different in different historical periods and under different social and political situations. A lot has been done, but there are still aspects that have not been covered enough. There is also a lack of systemic holistic studies of these processes.

The directions of further research are in-depth study and development of specific proposals regarding ways of implementing the experience of spiritual and cultural development of society in the policy of the Ukrainian governments of 1917-1920 into the practice of modern state-building processes under martial law and in the post-war period in Ukraine.

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