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ON THE SOURCES OF FORMATION OF LVIV INTELLIGENTSIA (1944 – 1953)

Abstract. *The purpose of the Research is to identify the sources of the formation of the intelligentsia in Lviv in the first post-war years, to clarify the social, educational, national and political factors that determined its composition and nature. The methodology of the research is based on generally accepted principles of scientificity, objectivity, historicism, methods of external and internal criticism of sources. Scientific novelty. There has been made a summary regarding the specifics of the formation of the intelligentsia in Lviv in 1944 – 1953 based on the analysis of the archival materials, statistical data and current research. Conclusions. The formation of the new Soviet intelligentsia in Lviv underwent the influence of the complex political and socio-economic situation in the region in the first post-war years. After the restoration of Soviet control, the city inherited part of the pre-war intelligentsia, but its number and possibilities of activity were significantly limited by the political and ideological requirements of the regime; it became the object of repression, persecution or forced adaptation. The main mechanism for replenishing the intelligentsia was the targeted posting of the specialists from different regions of the USSR to Lviv, which provided the authorities with the necessary level of loyalty. The new intelligentsia was formed by graduates from Lviv and other universities in the USSR, who studied under the Soviet programs and were subjected to the ideological and repressive influence of the authorities, which determined their professional activities and social position. As a*

result of post-war migrations and resettlement, deportation and repressive actions of the Soviet system, changes occurred in the ratio of the Ukrainian, the Polish, the Russian and the Jewish intelligentsia. The pre-war Jewish intelligentsia was destroyed, the Polish intelligentsia largely left Lviv, while Russian-speaking specialists became a significant component of the new elite groups. As a result of the personnel policy pursued by the Soviet system, the city saw the arrival of representatives of the intelligentsia representatives of various nationalities of the USSR.

Keywords: intelligentsia, Lviv, cadres, students, Soviet system.

ДО ПИТАННЯ ПРО ДЖЕРЕЛА ФОРМУВАННЯ ІНТЕЛІГЕНЦІЇ ЛЬВОВА (1944 – 1953)

Анотація: *Мета статті* – розкрити джерела формування інтелігенції Львова у перші повоєнні роки, з'ясувати соціальні, освітні, національні та політичні чинники, що визначали її склад і характер. **Методологія дослідження** базується на загальноприйнятих принципах науковості, об'єктивності, історизму, методах зовнішньої та внутрішньої критики джерел. **Наукова новизна.** У статті на основі аналізу архівних матеріалів, статистичних даних та актуальних досліджень з'ясовано специфіку формування інтелігенції Львова в 1944 – 1953 рр. **Висновки.** Формування нової радянської інтелігенції Львова відбувався під впливом складної політичної та соціально-економічної ситуації в регіоні у перші повоєнні роки. Після відновлення радянського контролю місто успадкувало частину довоєнної інтелігенції, проте її чисельність і можливості діяльності істотно обмежувалися політичними та ідеологічними вимогами режиму. Вона стала об'єктом репресій, переслідувань або вимушеної адаптації. Основним механізмом поповнення інтелігентських кадрів стало цілеспрямоване направлення до Львова спеціалістів із різних регіонів СРСР, що забезпечувало владі необхідний рівень лояльності. Нову інтелігентську верству формували випускники львівських та союзних закладів вищої освіти, які навчалися за радянськими програмами та зазнавали ідеологічного і репресивного впливу влади, що визначало їх професійну діяльність і соціальну позицію. Унаслідок післявоєнних міграцій та переселенсько-депортативних акцій, репресивних дій радянської системи відбулися зміни у співвідношенні української, польської, російської та єврейської інтелігенції. Довоєнна єврейська інтелігенція була знищена, польська інтелігенція значною мірою залишила Львів, тоді як російськомовні спеціалісти стали важовою складовою нових елітних груп. Внаслідок кадрової політики радянської системи у місті з'являються представники інтелігенції різних національностей СРСР.

Ключові слова: інтелігенція, Львів, кадри, студентство, радянська система.

Problem Statement. In the first post-war years, the Western Ukrainian region underwent radical political, economic and social transformations. It was during this period that the Soviet government actively integrated the region into the all-Union space unifying all spheres of life. The multi-component Western Ukrainian society was to match the Bolshevik class. The formation of a new Soviet intelligentsia became a primary task to implement the policy of Sovietization, since it was the intellectual «layer» that determined the ideological, cultural and moral face of society. Studying the sources allows us to find out the way the transition from a nationally oriented elite to the «Soviet intelligentsia» took place; the mechanisms for training personnel, the social, national and educational paths of its formation,

as well as how political repression, ideological pressure and personnel policy influenced its composition and worldview.

Analysis of Recent Research. Ethno-national and social transformations in Lviv were studied by S. Makarchuk (Makarchuk, 2007). The position of the intelligentsia of Lviv, the policy of the Soviet system towards it and the peculiarities of the everyday practices of this social stratum in the first post-war years are revealed in the publications of O. Lutskyi, R. Popp, M. Yarushak, N. Kantor (Lutskyi, 2009; Popp, 2002; Popp, Yarushak, 2021; Popp, Kantor, 2021). The works of R. Henega focus on the new post-war residents of Lviv, the student resistance movement and certain socio-public directions of development of post-war Lviv (Heneha, 2009, 2014).

M. Lytvyn, V. Ilnytskyi revealed the prosopographical and commemorative aspects of the socio-humanistics in the western region under Stalinist totalitarianism (Lytvyn, Ilnytskyi, 2021).

Purpose of the Article. To identify the sources of the formation of the intelligentsia in Lviv in the first post-war years, to clarify the social, educational, national and political factors that determined its composition and nature.

Presentation of the Main Material. The events and processes of the Second World War significantly affected the number and structure of the population in Lviv. With the expulsion of German troops from the city on July 27, 1944, the Soviet system was restored/reestablished here again. S. Makarchuk gives two numbers of residents in the city on October 1, 1944: 154,284 and 149,219 people (Makarchuk, 2007, p. 448). According to other data, during the war years the population of Lviv decreased from 396,700 to 167,400 people (Hulay, 2003, p. 148). All social groups in Lviv, the intelligentsia in particular, suffered significant losses. In addition, those who survived the repressions of the Soviet and Nazi regimes, the horrors of wartime, as noted by O. Lutskyi, «with the approach of the Soviet-German front to Galicia in 1944, faced a dilemma of whether to stay or leave. Taught by their experience of 1939–1941, a significant part of it decided not to test its fate and chose the path of emigration» (Lutskyi, 2009, p. 590). In total, during the last months of the Nazi occupation, approximately 30–50 thousand people left Lviv. (Lutskyi, 2009, p. 590).

The scale of the losses of the intellectual environment in Lviv is evidenced by official data on the staff of educational, scientific, medical institutions and other institutions that resumed their work in the city under the new Soviet reality. In pre-war 1941, 2,350 teachers worked in Lviv, and by the end of the German occupation, only 887 remained (State Archive of Lviv Oblast, f. P-402, d. 1, c. 3, p. 50). In 1941, the Lviv writers' organization had 58 members and 50 candidates, and in 1944 only 12 members and 10 candidates remained (SALO, f. P-163, d. 1, c. 3, p. 1). Before the war, the Lviv Composers' Union consisted of 35 people, while in 1944 only 7 remained (SALO, f. P-1864, d. 1, c. 19, p. 3). In May 1941, the staff of Lviv University included 331 professors and teachers and 100 teaching and support staff, and in October 1944, 40 and 49, respectively (SALO, f. P-3, d.1, c. 116, p. 8). In 1941, Lviv Polytechnic had 297 teaching staff and 260 teaching and support staff, and in 1944 their number decreased to 224 and 134, respectively (SALO, f. P-3, d. 1, c. 116, p. 10). In 1941, 105 scientists worked in Lviv research institutions, and in 1944 – 71 (SALO, f. P-3. d. 1, c. 78, p. 88). According to official Soviet data, on November 15, 1944, 4,125 intellectuals worked in Lviv's cultural, educational, and medical institutions, of whom 960 were teachers, 795 were lecturers at institutes and technical schools, 515 were doctors and medical staff, and 1,854 were employees of art institutions (DALO, f. P-3, d.1, c. 116, p. 24).

Representatives of all national groups of the city's intelligentsia suffered losses:

Polish, Ukrainian, but mostly Jewish. On October 1, 1944, there were 1,698 Jews in Lviv, which was 1.1% of all residents (Makarchuk, 2007, p. 448). Over time, their number in the city increased, primarily due to the arrival of evacuees and Soviet personnel. On October 19, 1946, the Lviv Regional Committee of the CP(b)U sent a response to a letter from the Central Committee of the CP(b)U, which, in particular, indicated that «by mid-October 1946, there were 13,198 of them in the city» (SALO, f. P-3, d. 1, c. 523, p. 112). Moreover, Jews made up more than 8% of the heads of enterprises and institutions in the city (SALO, f. P-3, d. 1, c. 523, p. 112). In 1946, among the doctors there were 69 representatives of Jewish nationality, and in 1949 their number grew to 179 (SALO, f. P-406, d. 2, c. 66, p. 159; c. 11, p. 13).

At the beginning of October 1944, there was dominance of the Polish population in Lviv – 102,983 people, that is, 66.70% of all residents (Makarchuk, 2007, p. 448). The dominance of Polish nationality was evident, in particular, among the scientific and educational intelligentsia. In September 1944, out of 887 teachers in the city, 627 were Poles (SALO, f. P-3, d. 1, c. 112, p. 126). Out of 645 teaching staff, 300 were Poles. There were 42 people working at the university, 164 at the polytechnic institute, 8 at the pedagogical institute, 58 at the medical institute, 10 at the veterinary institute, 9 at the institute of Soviet trade, and 10 at the state conservatory (SALO, f. P-3, d. 1, c. 112, p. 28). Out of 431 staff members at the opera and ballet theatre, 200 were Poles (SALO, f. P-3, d. 1, c. 113, p. 6). In the Artists' Union, out of 61 full members, 26 were of Polish nationality (SALO, f. P-1694, d. 1, c. 22, p. 1). Out of 62 architects in Lviv during this period, 48 were Poles (Heneha, 2009, p. 79). The departure of the Polish intelligentsia began after the government of Soviet Ukraine and the Polish Committee of National Liberation signed an agreement in September 1944 on the evacuation of Ukrainians from Poland and Poles from the western regions of Ukraine and the personnel situation became more complicated. Most of the Poles did not want to leave the region they considered their homeland, especially Lviv, which was treated as a bastion of Polish culture in the «Eastern Borderlands». In addition, Polish underground organizations, led by the Home Army, campaigned against the resettlement. In order to intensify the exodus of Poles and eliminate the Polish underground, the Soviet authorities resorted to threats and repressions. On January 9, 1945, the NKVD arrested 772 Polish citizens in Lviv, including 14 professors, 21 engineers, 6 doctors, and 5 priests (SALO, f. P-3, d. 1, c. 214, p. 4). As of early March 1945, the lists of people who were planning to leave included 12 Catholic priests, 2 journalists, 227 students, 131 nurses, 68 doctors, 29 musicians, 42 artists, 244 teachers, 41 lawyers, 135 engineers, 21 painters, 6 architects, 2 sculptors and 5 designers (SALO, f. P-3, d. 1, c. 239, p. 44). In total, 78.5 thousand Poles moved from Lviv to Poland (Makarchuk, 2007, p. 454).

The Soviet system's need for educated workers gave the local intelligentsia, who decided to stay, a chance to be involved in the reconstruction and development of the city administrative, cultural, medical, educational and research centres, institutions and organizations. As M. Lytvyn and V. Ilnytskyi note: «Soviet Communist officials sought to persuade the local national intelligentsia to be loyal, to provide them with positions in higher and secondary educational institutions, academic titles (without defense or re-defense of dissertations), deputy mandates of various levels, and urged them to join the Communist Party, the Komsomol, and trade unions» (Lytvyn, Ilnytskyi, 2021, p. 140).

Most of the local intelligentsia, who were able to get a job, hoped that they would be able to survive in the new Soviet realities. But the initial favourable attitude of the Soviet system, especially towards the authoritative local elite, was masked by total suspicion. They were not trusted due to their origin, education, previous activities, worldview, stay in the

territory of German occupation, but mostly for their political beliefs. Prior to entering Lviv, the Soviet secret services continued to constantly collect data on the intelligentsia, even on the pro-Soviet intelligentsia, which gave them the opportunity to be keen on its moods and develop strategies for dealing with it. Numerous reports of the Lviv Regional Committee of the CP(b)U to the Central Committee of the CP(b)U sounded like this «about the political moods of the intelligentsia in Lviv» (Kulturne zhyttia v Ukrainsi, 1995, pp. 201–211; 221–222; 238–239; 378–407). Since the intelligentsia was the object of a class approach, occupying the place of a «layer» between the workers and the collective farm peasantry, its simple participation in economic and cultural life was not enough, it had to change its socio-political face, become Soviet in views and lifestyle. To remain in the «ranks of the Soviet intelligentsia», the local intelligentsia had to constantly prove its loyalty, in particular, through articles, scientific works, literary and artistic works, speeches at all possible gatherings, of ideological and propagandistic content, with a special emphasis on exposing the «hostile essence of bourgeois Ukrainian nationalism» (Kulturne zhyttia v Ukrainsi, 1995, p. 404). The intelligentsia had to permanently repent all possible and impossible sins, do everything to convincingly testify to the break with the past and favourably perceive all measures of the new government. Due to far-fetched accusations of «collaborationism», «Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism», «anti-Soviet activity», «formalism», «cosmopolitanism», «worship of foreignness», a person could have lost a job with further arrests and deportations (Popp, 2002, p. 46–473). Constant psychological stress, fear for themselves and their loved ones were the reasons for voluntary dismissals and changes in their professional activities, and «premature deaths of patriotic scientists» (Lytvyn, Ilnytskyi, p. 151). The intellectual environment of Lviv became extremely impoverished after numerous intellectual forces had been removed by the will of the totalitarian system.

Personnel gaps were quickly filled by specialists from various fields sent to the city from the eastern regions of Ukraine and the entire USSR. After all, Lviv was to quickly become a Soviet industrial and cultural centre. At the beginning of 1945, 1,429 scientists, health workers, culture workers, and artists, some of whom were demobilized from the army, arrived in Lviv from the eastern parts of the country (SALO, f. P-3, d. 1, c. 76, p. 72). By August 1945, more than 100 people had arrived at the polytechnic institute to receive jobs on a permanent basis. Lviv university as well as medical, forestry, printing, agricultural, and other institutes received a significant increase in teachers. By the end of 1946, 885 teachers had arrived to teach at higher educational institutions, and 139 persons at technical schools (SALO, f. P-3, d. 1, c. 469, p. 17). In 1945/1946, over 300 teachers arrived in Lviv. During 1946, 419 medical workers were demobilized from the army and sent to Lviv. Of these, 136 were doctors and 273 were paramedics (SALO, f. P-406, d. 2, c. 66, p. 158). Hundreds of engineers and technicians were sent to the regional centre every year for permanent work and residence. Thus, while in 1946 there were 2,737 specialists working there, then in 1948 the number almost reached 4,000 (SALO, f. P-4, d. 1, c. 60, p. 7). The significant number of newcomers led to the emergence of two categories – «local» and «sent personnel» among the Lviv intelligentsia. The distrust to local specialists was so evident and total that the reporting documentation on the personnel composition of all enterprises, institutions, and establishments in the city, as well as the entire western region of Ukraine, necessarily indicated the number of «natives from the western regions of Ukraine». From this we see that despite the post-war graduates of local educational institutions, the percentage of locals was very small, especially when it came to managerial positions. Thus, visiting teachers were to be distributed among all schools in Lviv, at least three in each (SALO, f. P-6,

d. 2, c. 58, p. 69). And when there was a surplus of teachers sent to the city from the east, local specialists were usually sent to work in rural areas (SALO, f. P-3, d. 1, c. 112, p. 126). Constant shake-ups of teaching staff due to their political positions led to the fact that in 1947/1948, out of 1,317 teachers in Lviv, only 198 were locals, and in 1952/53, out of 1,761, only 284 were natives of the Western Ukraine (SALO, f. P-402, d. 3, c. 40, p. 113, c. 81, p. 352). In 1945, in the regional department of education, the head and his deputy, 7 out of 8 heads of sectors, 13 out of 15 inspectors were from the eastern regions of Ukraine and the entire Soviet Union (SALO, f. P-3, d. 1, c. 113, p. 56). In 1953, among the 39 employees of the regional health service, there was only one local inspector, and in the city health service there was none (SALO, f. P-402, d. 3, c. 40, p. 113). Out of six directors of Lviv higher educational institutions only one was local; out of 7 deputies, only two, out of 226 heads of departments, 36 (SALO, f. P-3, d. 1, c. 112, p. 83). Among the 23 directors of secondary schools in Lviv, there were only 4 people from the western regions of Ukraine. In 1946, there was only one local doctor in the city health department, and among the 9 chief doctors of the city district health departments, there was none (SALO, f. P-406, d. 3, c. 11, p. 9). The same situation was among other professional groups of the intelligentsia.

Among the incoming specialists, there was a significant share of representatives of Russian nationality, who occupied entire social niches. In 1946, Russians made up over 30% of the heads of enterprises and institutions in the city, and in 1949 this figure exceeded 50% (SALO, f. P-3, d. 1, c. 101, pp. 88–91, c. 218, p. 1). At Lviv University, out of 275 scientific and pedagogical workers, 165 were Ukrainians (of whom 69 were local), 81 were Russians, 7 were Poles, and 22 others. (SALO, f. P-119, d. 28, c. 9, p. 13). In the post-war period, the intelligentsia in Lviv was also replenished with representatives of other national groups. In official reports on the national composition of employees in cultural, educational and scientific institutions, enterprises and governmental institutions in the city, they are marked as «others». A detailed analysis of the national composition of the medical staff in Lviv can be found in the documents of the city health department. Thus, in April 1947, besides the Russian, Jewish, Ukrainian and Polish doctors at the regional centre, there were Belarusians, Armenians, Georgians, Latvians, Estonians, Tatars, Udmurts, Ossetians and Koreans (SALO, f. P-406, d. 2, c. 37, p. 10).

One of the sources that was supposed to provide the region with qualified workers in the shortest possible time, capable of implementing the economic, educational, cultural, administrative and ideological tasks of the Soviet system, were graduates of higher educational institutions and technical schools. In the Soviet period, one of the conditions which defined belonging to the Soviet intelligentsia, in addition to the «correct political position», was a diploma of higher education. Lviv universities provided qualified personnel for the industrial, agricultural, scientific and cultural sectors not only for the western regions, but also for the entire Soviet Union. In the early 1950s, they offered 146 specialties (SALO, f. P-4, d. 1, c. 89, p. 37). During 1946 – 1950, Lviv higher education institutions trained 8,000 specialists, and in 1951 alone – almost 14,000 (SALO, f. P-4, d. 3, c. 463, p. 91). However, it is difficult to say how many of them stayed in Lviv.

Despite the loud declarations of the Soviet authorities about unlimited opportunities in access to education, the formation of a new intelligentsia took place within a clearly defined ideological framework, with the obligatory consideration of social, national origin, and place of birth. In 1952/1953, the children of workers and collective farmers already made up 75% of all students in Lviv higher education institutions. The contingent of applicants and students of educational institutions was sifted through the prism of loyalty to the authorities,

family ties, participation and support in the Ukrainian liberation movement. During the 1945/1946 academic year, 4.5% of Lviv students were detained for «anti-government activities» (Heneha, 2015, p. 250). Therefore, the percentage of natives from the western regions of Ukraine among Lviv students was insignificant. Thus, in 1946 they were only 37%. In the 1949/1950 academic year, out of 15 thousand students, 39% were locals, and in technical schools the number was 29% (Kulturne zhyttia v Ukrainsi, 1996, p. 652).

Candidates for postgraduate studies had to have the appropriate social origin, «unblemished» family ties. In the 1949/1950 academic year, the recruitment plan for postgraduate studies at Lviv higher educational institutions and research institutes of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, with time off from work, was 67 people. 100 applicants submitted applications, 88 successfully passed the exams, 68 postgraduate students submitted their files for approval to the relevant authorities, and only 53 were enrolled in the first year. Therefore, the universities had 13 vacancies in such specialties as mathematics, chemistry, and Ukrainian literature (SALO, f. P-3. d. 3, c. 464, p. 266). In the oil and gas geology sector of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, one of the four postgraduate students was arrested, two were denied access to classified materials, and the fourth, as noted in the report, «could not be a scientific worker due to his business qualities» (SALO, f. P-3. d. 3, c. 352, p. 80). They especially distrusted local personnel. In 1950, out of a total 122 postgraduate students, there were only 45 locals (37%) (SALO, P-4, d.1, c. 464, p. 269). Despite all the measures that were supposed to instill Sovietism in the future intelligentsia, the policy of the Stalinist totalitarian system aimed at the radical transformation of the linguistic, religious, moral and spiritual traditions of the region, repressions against the nationally conscious Ukrainians in the region, caused resistance among the student community in Lviv. R. Henega emphasizes that the development of the student resistance movement contributed to the spread of «national-patriotic sentiments among young qualified personnel, many of whom later, even holding responsible administrative positions, showed hidden sympathies for the Ukrainian national idea (Henega, 2015, p. 251).

Against the backdrop of ideological pressure, dismissals, persecution, repression, and welfare and household problems, in the first post-war years, the «Soviet intelligentsia» of Lviv was growing. Thus, in 1946 there were 1,032 teachers; in 1952 there were 1,600 (SALO, f. P-3. d. 3, c. 528, p. 255). In the 1952/53 academic year, 1,761 teachers worked in Lviv (SALO, f. P-402, d.3, p.8, p. 352). In 1947, the system of the city health department, regional medical institutions, and military hospitals already had 624 doctors and 1,136 nursing staff (SALO, f. P-312, d. 2, c. 12, p. 108). In 1951, the city had more than 1,500 doctors and 2,500 nursing staff (SALO, f. P-406, d. 2, p. 109). In 1948, almost 2,400 engineers and technicians worked in Lviv (SALO, f. P-4 op. 1, c. 251, p. 398). In 1953, the Lviv regional organization of the Union of Soviet Writers had 22 full members and 2 candidates (SALO, f. P-2009, d. 1, c. 43, p. 13). The Union of Composers grew from 7 to 20 members in 1944 – 1949 (SALO, f. P-1864, d. 1, c. 19, p. 26). In 1947, the city art institutions had 1,829 employees, of whom 118 were engaged in actual creative activity (SALO, f. P-1341, d. 1, c. 3, p. 6). In 1952, 174 researchers worked at scientific institutes, including 5 academicians, 8 corresponding members of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, 72 candidates of sciences (Vilna Ukraina, 1952). In 1951, there were 78 architects in Lviv (SALO, f. R-1657, d. 1, c. 25, p. 9). Most of them were members and candidates of the Lviv branch of the Union of Soviet Architects. Despite all the difficulties, a significant portion of intelligentsia sincerely tried, as far as their talent, the spirit of the times, and political and ideological barriers allowed them, to make a real contribution to the development of the city. For the majority, formal agreement

and cooperation with the new authorities was a forced compromise. The nationally conscious elite was confined to their home environment, cultivating the language and traditions of the region there, thereby rejecting repeated attempts to transform the growing number of Ukrainian-speaking Lviv residents into a russified Soviet people (Henega, 2007, p. 143).

Conclusions. The formation of the new Soviet intelligentsia in Lviv took place under the influence of the difficult political and socio-economic situation in the region in the first post-war years. After the restoration of Soviet control, the city inherited part of the pre-war intelligentsia, but its number and possibilities of activity were significantly limited by the political and ideological requirements of the regime; it became an object of repression, persecution or forced adaptation. The main mechanism for replenishing the intelligentsia personnel was the targeted sending of specialists from different regions of the USSR to Lviv, which provided the authorities with the necessary level of loyalty. The new intelligentsia was formed by graduates of Lviv and other universities in the Soviet Union who studied under Soviet programs and were subjected to the ideological and repressive influence of the authorities, which determined their professional activities and social position. As a result of post-war migrations and resettlement and deportation actions, repressive actions of the Soviet system, changes occurred in the ratio of Ukrainian, Polish, Russian and Jewish intelligentsia. The pre-war Jewish intelligentsia was destroyed, the Polish intelligentsia largely left Lviv, while Russian-speaking specialists became a significant component of the new elite groups. As a result of the personnel policy pursued by the Soviet system, the city saw the arrival of representatives of the intelligentsia representatives of various nationalities of the USSR .

Determining the qualitative characteristics of intelligentsia in Lviv, its educational level, professional characteristics and the presence of intellectual qualities is a promising direction for further research.

СПИСОК ВИКОРИСТАНИХ ДЖЕРЕЛ І ЛІТЕРАТУРИ

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