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LEGAL REGULATION OF RELATIONS IN HIGHER EDUCATION IN UKRAINE: HISTORY AND PRESENT

The author identifies four periods of legal regulation of relations in higher education in Ukraine: (1) from the foundation of the first institutions of higher education till the early 1800s; (2) from 1800s till 1917; (3) from 1917 till 1991 (the Soviet period); and (4) from 1991 till the present time (independence of Ukraine). Legislators and scientists have been looking for a balance between centralized state regulation and university's self-government during the entire history. Social, political, and economic circumstances during different historical periods have promoted either strengthening or weakening of institutional autonomy of the institutions of higher education. Unfortunately, there were many more periods of diminished autonomy than bounty of it (e.g. the University Charter of Alexander II (1863-1884)). A contemporary trend is represented by not mere declaration of university autonomy but rather filling it with real civil-legal content of the principle of universities' autonomy.

Key words: autonomy, freedom, higher education, university.

Formulation of the problem. To determine legal status of participants of educational process and higher education institutions, which have both public and private nature is not possible without retrospective analysis of the evolution of the relevant legislation. We must identify the main stages of legal regulation of relations in higher education institutions from their appearing in the lands of Ukraine to the modern period. Specificity of this analysis is the fact that modern Ukrainian lands at different times were within various countries and, thus, formation of higher education was different.

Level of exploration. The history of education and history of legal regulation in higher education in Ukraine was studied by teachers, historians and lawyers, including L.V. Holovii, B.V. Derevianko, M.N. Kurko, S.O. Siropolko, M.O. Tymoshenko, R.V. Shapoval and others. In the scientific literature there are works about (1) periodization of economic-legal regulation of higher education in Ukraine; (2) periodization of administrative-legal regulation of activities in higher education; (3) stages of forming legal status of the educational institution and (4) periods of development of higher education, but without researching periodization of legal regulation of relations in the field of higher education.

Presentation of the basic material. On the territory of modern Ukraine the first educational institutions appeared in ancient times in Greek cities of the Northern Black Sea. In Olbia, Chersonesus, Panticapaeum and other city-states existed private and possibly public institutions that gave typical for the ancient world knowledge¹.

The first written mention of the education of children is fixed in the chronicle "The Tale of Bygone Years" (XII century) by Nestor chronicler. Vladimir the Great baptized the Rus and was the first who "ordered to build churches", "and to lead people to baptism from all the cities and villages", "and began to take children deliberately and give them to teachings of Book"². Getting education was based to religious sources and took place in the Christian churches. Despite the resistance of traditional culture and pagan consciousness schooling quickly spread to the lands of the Kievan Rus that is evidenced by numerous information about literacy mastering by general population.

Yaroslav the Wise during his reign in Novgorod also ordered to establish schools and teach children to read and write. Within the walls of the Saint Sophia's Cathedral (1037) a large library and a workshop were established, books were translated and rewrote there.

A major step towards the establishment of the European tradition of university education was the foundation of the University of Bologna in 1088, Paris University in 1150 and Sorbonne University in

¹ Верба, І.В., Вербовий, О.В., Горбань, Т.Ю. (2014). *Історія Київського університету*: монографія. Київ: Видавничо-поліграфічний центр «Київський університет», 6.

² Адриановой-Перетц, В.П. (ред.) (1996). Повесть временных лет . 2-*е изд., испр. и доп.* Санкт-Петербург: Наука, 593.

1253. Education in the Rus at that moment was not developing fast due to objective reasons, which include the decline of state after the death of Yaroslav the Wise through a constant struggle between princely family for ownership of Kyiv and Tatar invasion, which through fire caused destruction of library and the church. Another deterrent for development of education was strengthening of Orthodoxy on Kievan lands, which made impossible education in European universities, where Catholic faith was dominant.

The main features of Ukrainian system of education in post-Kievan Rus (Cossack) era were as follows: 1) in contrast to Western Europe the Ukrainian lands had not universities but educational institutions of medium type, including fraternal schools that were financed at the expense of the Zaporizhian Sich and personal donations of some Cossacks, shliakhta and townspeople; 2) in contrast to the Tsardom of Muscovy education in Ukrainian lands had a secular, not purely theological nature, humanities, natural sciences and foreign languages were also studied¹.

For a long time, Ukraine was a part of the Russian Empire, and therefore fell under the general rules. History of Higher Education until 1917 was a complex and multidimensional process, which can be divided into several stages, different in levels of higher education and general culture, as well as by the degree of correlation between autonomy of the university and command-administrative pressure from the government. Historian O.Oleseiuk identifies five stages². The first stage lasted from the inception of Moscow University (1755) to the establishment of the Ministry of education (1802). The second stage, lasted since the first university charter (1804) to 1835, when was adopted the second charter, is often called childhood of Russian universities. The third stage lasted from 1835 to 1863, i.e. from University Charter of Nicholas I to University Charter of Alexander II. The fourth stage was the timeframe from 1863 to 1884, is called the youth's of universities, flourishing of university autonomy and significant impact of Western philosophy of higher education. The fifth stage is called maturity period; it lasted until 1917 and was characterized by suppression of the democratic principles that activated at the previous stage. Results of the last University charter in 1884 was deceleration and creating obstacles to the development of higher education.

Analyzing periodization of higher education represented by O.Oleseiuk we should note that higher education at the Ukrainian lands developed even before the establishment of the Moscow University, so this periodization should be adjusted according to the history of universities in the lands of Ukraine. Ostroh Academy (Slavic-Greek-Latin College) emerged in Ostroh (now Rivne oblast) in 1576 as the first institution of higher level. The leading force in education since the middle of XVI century became fraternal schools. Fraternities were non-religious cultural organizations, founded hospitals and schools. In 1585 Dormition Fraternity of Lviv organized its own school. The model for most fraternal schools was "Schooling Procedure" (1586) established by Lviv fraternity fellows, which at the present day is the oldest preserved monument of Ukrainian educational thought³. Inception of Kyiv Academy began in 1615, when it was called fraternal school. In 1632 it was joined by Lavra School, founded by Petro Mohyla, and thus Kyiv Mohyla Collegium was formed. Kyiv Mohyla Collegium, later Kyiv-Mohyla Academy became one of the most interesting phenomena of Ukrainian culture of XVII - XVIII century. First the status of Academy was assigned by Hadiach agreement in 1658⁴, and on 26 September 1701, thanks to the insistence of P. Mazepa, Peter I confirmed the level of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy as the highest educational institution. Describing the history of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, S.O. Siropolko writes that one of the signs of high schools since the second half of the XVII century by the end of the XVIII century was the right to grant scientific titles - bachelor, master, doctorate; the right to have its own trial over professors and students, and not be subject to the jurisdiction of extraneous spiritual or secular court; the right of students to have own corporations⁵. Kyiv-Mohyla Academy in its structure resembled West-European University. Rector had

¹ Деревянко, Б.В. (2014). Правове регулювання господарської діяльності навчальних закладів: дис...д.ю.н. 12.00.04. Донецьк, 62.

² Олесеюк, Е.В. (ред.) (2006). Отечественные университеты в динамике золотого века русской культуры: монография. Москва: Федеральный центр образовательного законодательства «Союз», 165–169.

³ Верба, І.В., Вербовий, О.В., Горбань, Т.Ю. (2014). *Історія Київського університету:* монографія. Київ: Видавничо-поліграфічний центр «Київський університет», 20.

⁴ Медведєв, І.А. (2010). Витоки ідеї університету в Україні та її вплив на національний менталітет. *Теорія та практика державного управління, вип. 2 (29),* 55.

⁵ Сірополко, С.О. (2001). Історія освіти в Україні. Київ: Наук. думка, 118.

unlimited rights and disposed of all income and property of the Academy, watched teachers, "made judging and punishment"¹.

One of the first institutions of higher education in the lands of Ukraine was the Lviv Academy with the rights of a university, which was established in 1661 by the decree of King Jan II Kazimierz. At the beginning of formation of the idea of a university, emergence of university education in the territory of modern Ukraine, the preference was given to self-government and autonomy of the educational institution.

Temporal boundaries that defined the end of one stage and the beginning of another stage of development of higher education are university charters. In pre-revolutionary period relations in higher education were regulated primarily by imperial decrees, in particular:

1. The first general university charter on 5 (17) of November 1804 (University Charter of Alexander I);

2. University Charter on 26 of July (7 of August), 1835 (University Charter of Nicholas I);

3. University Charter on 18 (30) of June 1863 (University Charter of Alexander II);

4. University Charter on 23 of August (4 of September) 1884 (University Charter of Alexander III).

The first general University Charter, signed by the Emperor Alexander I on 5 (17) of November, 1804, extended its influence on Moscow, Kharkiv and Kazan Universities. These imperial universities were created on a prototype of Sorbonne University in Paris, i.e. were financially and organizationally independent of the founder. Providing or deprivation, strengthening or weakening of autonomy at the various stages of such universities depended on the will of a state as the main source of income were state subsidies, and universities were financially dependent on the treasury. The internal arrangement by the charter in 1804 was based on the principle of full institutional autonomy in all internal affairs. The executive body of the university was the Board, made up of the rector, deans and special assessor, who was appointed by a trustee from the circle of professors. The document gave the leading role in the management to the Council of Professors, which elected a rector and fully defined learning process. In fact, universities at this time acted as independent subjects of property relations. Universities were not only scientific and educational centers, but also administrative institutions because their jurisdiction involved gymnasium and schools. The Emperor Nicholas I issued a new charter on July 26 (August 7), 1835, by which dismissed universities of extrinsic for them function to administrate secondary schools, but also restricted the autonomy of a university board subordinating them to trustees of educational circles, which, in turn, subordinated to the Ministry of education (which was established in 1802). Nominations for rectors were approved by the Emperor and for professors by a trustee. The Board of professors rid of autonomy in educational and scientific matters. In literature is prevalent negative assessment of this stage of development of higher education, because the rights of universities were significantly curtailed, and the control of the Ministry of education was strengthened. But traditionally among Russian historians there are supporters² of comprehensive state regulation and intervention even in those areas which in a civilized society should be subjected to the same entity.

General movement toward democratic freedoms in political life and building of a market economy forced to amend the system of higher education. The general statute of the Imperial Russian Universities 18 (30) June, 1863 (hereinafter - the 1863 University Charter) is one of the main results of the University reform in education, held in the context of "great reforms" of Alexander II. Significant impact on the development of this reforms had general democratic rise in late 1850 - early 1860, which prompted the authorities to soften censorship and to democratize higher education. The 1863 University Charter, which main characteristics are liberalization and autonomization of legal status of a university extended to five existing at that moment universities: Moscow, St. Petersburg, Kazan, Kharkiv and Kyiv. This University Charter, which weakened the management vertical by strengthening positions of professor's corporation resulted both positive reviews and criticism.

Comparing the 1863 University Charter with the previous one, we should note that it, *firstly*, gave to universities greater autonomy in matters of internal management and more opportunities for development in line with local conditions; *secondly*, created in universities a fertile environment for scientific and educational activities; *thirdly*, did teaching more attractive for talented young people, triggering the

¹ Деревянко, Б.В. (2014). *Правове регулювання господарської діяльності навчальних закладів*: дис. ... д.ю.н. 12.00.04. Донецьк, 64.

² Олесеюк, Е.В. (ред.) (2006). Отечественные университеты в динамике золотого века русской культуры: монография. Москва: Федеральный центр образовательного законодательства «Союз», 167.

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emergence of enough qualified teachers at university departments in future; *fourthly*, provided a number of special events to motivate students to science¹.

This charter has provided considerable autonomy in internal matters, in particular, it fixed establishment of the university court, which means that a number of conflicts, involving participants in the educational process, were transferred not to the general court, but to internal organ of the university - the university court. According to §58 of the 1863 University Charter the competence of this body included proceedings against students: 1) on the violation of established special rules of procedure in buildings and institutions of a university; 2) conflicts between students on the one hand and university teachers and officials on the other, even if they took place outside of buildings and institutions of a university.

The 1863 University Charter received mixed reviews from contemporaries and historians. Representatives of the liberal intellectuals considered it the most democratic of all, while their conservative opponents argued that autonomy given to the Russian universities led to collapse of university, and therefore of political life of the Empire. However, both sides acknowledged that it was the 1863 Charter which guaranteed gradual development of university corporations and its autonomy².

Autonomy of universities did not last long, as far as in early 1872 the Ministry of Education appealed to the universities asking about desired changes to the statute of 1863, bearing in mind to gain control over university studies and introduction of stricter discipline for students who actively participated in political riots. As a result of strengthening of government's response of 1880 on August 23 (September 2), 1884 Emperor Alexander III signed the University Charter, which again cancelled the autonomy of universities. Due to the controversies about understanding of university autonomy in 1908 the Senate published clarification, stating that "the very autonomy must be understood only in terms of application of the elective principle, but not in terms of university autonomy and its independence from the Ministry of education"³. University autonomy, student government and other democratic principles inherent to European universities were actually absent in universities of the Russian Empire in the period since 1884. Instead, vertical of power within ministries and other government bodies was developed and functioned efficiently at that time. Ministry not only chose rectors, appointed, promoted, dismissed professors, but also approved programs of individual courses and even schedule⁴

In the Soviet period legislative regulation occurred mainly in administrative and legal plane, leaving no hope for autonomy of a university. On 9 (22) of November, 1917 was adopted the Decree on the establishment of the State Commission on Education⁵, which included the Science department. According to this act the right of overall management of public education was entrusted to the Constituent Assembly, the State Commission on People's Education, which was represented by the People's Commissar. As a part of the State Commission it was expected to organize 15 departments, including the Department of autonomous universities. The first principles of legal policy in regulation of science and public education acknowledged the possibility for existence of autonomous universities. Over time, self-government was increasingly changed by mandatory guidelines of the power vertical.

In 1920, by the decision of People's Commissariat for Education of Ukraine all institutions, and especially universities, were transformed into institutions of people's education⁶. University form was attributed to a capitalist excess, not desired for working class. Preference was given to special technical education, which helped to increase the number of institutes and colleges. In January-April of 1919 the basic principles of the Soviet system of education and training were proclaimed: generally available, unpaid and mandatory schooling. Bolshevik authorities immediately started "proletarianization" of the higher education and for this purpose announced the principle of "open doors" for high schools, that is everyone, without exception, had free access to higher education. This policy led to the complete destruction of the

¹Томсинов, В.А. (2012). Подготовка и проведение университетской реформы 1863 года. Университетская реформа 1863 года в России. Москва: Зерцало, 99–100.

² Верба, І.В., Вербовий, О.В., Горбань, Т.Ю. (2014). *Історія Київського університету*: монографія. Київ: Видавничо-поліграфічний центр «Київський університет», 92.

³ Кинелев, В.Г. (1995). Высшее образование в России: Очерк истории до 1917 года. Москва: НИИ ВО, 116

⁴ Сірополко, С.О. (2001). Історія освіти в Україні. Київ: Наук. думка, 247.

⁵ Декрет об учреждении Государственной комиссии по просвещению 1917 (ВЦИК и СНК РСФСР). *СУ РСФСР, 3,* 32.

⁶ Шаповал, Р.В. (2011). Становлення та розвиток освіти в Україні. *Наше право, 1, ч. 1,* 47.

higher education as a research institution¹.

Discussion on the feasibility to codify legislation on education is not just a modern problem, and has a long history. Politburo of Central Committee of CP(b)U initiated such codification, which led to adoption of The Code on public education on 22 of November, 1922. Considerable volume (767 articles) of this document covered all levels of education, settled all areas of cultural construction within the jurisdiction of the People's Commissariat of Education of the Ukrainian SSR, also including management and logistical support of education system².

Regulation on institutions of higher education from 03.07.1922³ consisted of two parts. The first described the purpose of a university, types and status of researchers, structure and schedule; the second (larger by volume) part was dedicated to the management of high school. The first acts of the Soviet government in education concerned establishment of central body to manage education.

Restoration of university education in Ukraine took place in 1933. Universities began to operate in Kyiv, Kharkiv, Odesa, Dnipropetrivsk. The situation with institutional autonomy and academic freedom left much to be desired. A lawyer by profession and well-known historian of Education of Ukraine S.O. Siropolko notes that the Bolshevik government gave higher education institutions the freedom insofar as it tends to deepen the "creative process of socialist construction"⁴. In Soviet times science in Ukraine was deprived of freedom of scientific research was a maid for policy, as in the middle Ages science was the handmaiden of religion. History knows a great trial in 1633 over the Italian astronomer and mathematician Galileo Galilei, who supported and developed the idea of Nicolaus Copernicus heliocentric model of the world, i.e. the Earth's rotation around the sun. This theory opposed to ecclesiastical concepts of the universe that existed for centuries, so caused the arrest of the scientist and coercion to renounce his scientific views.

The next document is USSR Regulation on Universities from 01.22.1969⁵; it also had obvious administrative and legal connotation. It settled goals and objectives of universities, legal status of students and teaching staff, educational, scientific and methodical work, research work, rights and structure of universities, university management. Individual and solitary civil law norms were enshrined only in the last 10 chapter of the Regulation.

The majority of rules of the Basic Laws of the USSR and Union Republics on public education from 07.19.1973⁶ were focused on regulation of administrative relations. Among fourteen chapters on general provisions, certain types of education and the rights of students, teachers, rights and duties of parents, responsibility for violation of legislation on public education, the rights of foreign citizens and stateless persons, only the twelfth chapter concerned private law regulation of relations on the use of educational and material resources of the university. On the prototype of RSSR Basic Laws Ukrainian republican law "On public education" was adopted on 06.28.1974. At that time the doctrine of Educational Law was formed, the first scientific and legal developments in educational law and issues of sectoral affiliation of legislation on education appeared.

Fundamental changes in the nature of legal regulation of relations in higher education are related to the Declaration on State Sovereignty of Ukraine on July 16, 1990 and the Law of the USSR "On education"⁷. The structure of the Law included seven sections governing constitutional, administrative, labor, family, civil relations. The Law USSR from 23.05.1991 "On education" is very important in the context of historical and legal development of higher education, as it firstly proclaimed the principle of university autonomy, which was later reproduced in the 2002 Law of Ukraine "On Higher Education". Declaration of Independence has brought positive changes in all spheres of public life, and education sector is not exception. Disclaimer of command-administrative influence of Moscow and recognition of the Ukrainian SSR as a sovereign nation state made it possible to determine the path of education and shape our

¹ Сірополко, С.О. (2001). Історія освіти в Україні. Київ: Наук. думка, 738.

² Рябошапко, Л. (2010). Кодифікація про освіту – складова освітніх реформ. Віче, 19 (280), 26.

³ Декрет о Положении о высших учебных заведениях 1922 (СНК ЗСФСЗ). http://pravo.levonevsky.org/baza/soviet/sssr7285.htm (2015, October, 08).

⁴ Сірополко, С.О. (2001). Історія освіти в Україні. Київ: Наук. думка, 761.

⁵ Постановление об утверждении положения о высших учебных заведениях СССР 1969 (Совмин СССР). http://lawrussia.ru/texts/legal-346/doc346a990x441.htm> (2015, October, 08).

⁶ Закон об основах законодательства Союза ССР и союзних республик о народном образовании 1973 (Верховный Совет СССР). Ведомости Верховного Совета СССР, 30, 918.

⁷ Закон про освіту 1991 (Верховна Рада УРСР). Відомості Верховної Ради УРСР, 34, 451.

own legal framework.

The latest milestone in the history of legislation on higher education was the Law of July 1, 2014 "On Higher Education", which provides implementation of the principle of institutional autonomy and academic freedom, the introduction of tiered higher education system, new lists of disciplines and specialties according to National Qualifications Framework, as well as citizens' rights to academic mobility.

A significant influence on formation of modern legal field for higher education made the fact that Ukraine joined the Joint Declaration of European Ministers of Education "European space of higher education" (Bologna, June 19, 1999, the so-called Bologna Declaration). Decision about accession of Ukraine to the Bologna process was adopted on May 19, 2005 at the Conference of Ministers of Education in Europe, which was held in the Norwegian city of Bergen¹.

Important for all spheres of life in Ukraine Association Agreement between Ukraine, on the one hand, and the European Union, the European Atomic Energy Community and their Member States, of the other hand, was signed in two stages: the political part of the agreement on March 21, 2014, economic part on June 27, 2014. The Section V «Economic and sectoral cooperation" consists of two chapters relating to education and science: Chapter 9, "Cooperation in science and technology" (Articles 374-377) and Chapter 23 "Education, training and youth" (Articles 430-436). According to Art. 431 parties undertake to intensify cooperation in higher education, in particular, in order to:

a) reform and modernize system of higher education;

b) promote approximation in higher education, which is happening within the Bologna process;

c) improve quality and importance of higher education;

d) deepen cooperation between higher education institutions;

e) empowering higher education institutions;

f) enhance the mobility of students and teachers; attention will be paid to cooperation in the field of education in order to facilitate access to higher education.

The Recommendation of Council on association between Ukraine and the EU on implementation of the Agenda on Association between Ukraine and the EU was approved by the Decree of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on 13 March, 2015, N 207. According to the paragraph 7.19 of the Agenda on Association between Ukraine and the EU parties should cooperate in:

- Support of reform and modernization of higher education, particularly through the implementation of the new Law of Ukraine "On Higher Education" for further integration into the European Higher Education Area;

- Carrying out joint work and exchanges with quality assurance in order to promote the implementation of international criteria of evaluation and monitoring practices; development of autonomy of universities; and management in professionalization of higher education;

- Raising awareness and promoting participation of Ukraine in EU programs in the field of education for research, training and mobility, such as Erasmus+ and Marie Sklodowska Curie;

- Work towards mutual recognition of academic and professional qualifications, diplomas and certificates of education.

Conclusions. Concluding we may say that higher education institutions appeared at Ukrainian territories earlier then in Russian Empire; for example, Lviv academy with the rights of a university was established in 1661. We may highlight four main stages of legal regulation of relations in the sphere of higher education on Ukrainian lands: (1) from the foundation of the first institutions of higher education till the early 1800s; (2) from 1800s till 1917; (3) from 1917 till 1991 (the Soviet period); and (4) from 1991 till the present time (independence of Ukraine). Legal fixation of universities' autonomy and legal content of this right caused differences for the legislator during all time of existence of higher education. For about three centuries the society looks for optimal balance between centralized state government and university self-government. Socio-political and economic conditions at the various stages of human development have contributed to the strengthening or weakening of institutional autonomy of the university. Unfortunately, there were more periods of limitation of institutional autonomy (e.g. during 1863 University Charter of Alexander II (1863-1884 g.). A contemporary trend is represented by not mere declaration of

¹ Чесановська, Т.П. (2013). Правове регулювання європейського співробітництва в сфері вищої освіти. Науковий вісник Національного університету ДПС України (економіка, право), 4(63), 244.

university autonomy but rather filling it with real civil-legal content of the principle of universities' autonomy.

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