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a 156-meter-long overpass was built. The transition itself was built for 8 days, laying 105 meters per day [5, p. 211].

At the same time, a high-water bridge was being built, for which 1,088 piles were hammered, 192 span structures weighing four tons each were installed, 33 intermediate structures, 20-32 tons each, were installed, and two overpasses over 200 meters long were erected. The works were carried out from November 1 to December 10, 1943 [5, p. 211].

Transport (railway) engineering was also rebuilt. In 1944, NKSHS began rebuilding 14 locomotive repair plants located in Ukraine. Favorable economic preconditions were created for their reconstruction. By order of the People's Commissar of Railways of March 15, 1943, all organizations and enterprises of railway transport, who resumed their activities on the territory liberated from German occupation, freed from counting of debts that they had on the day of liberation of the territory on all payments to the budget [1, p. 362].

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**Pikovska T.V.**

*senior lecturer at the Department of Law,  
Faculty of Management and Law  
(Ukraine, Vinnytsia, Vinnytsia National  
Agricultural University, Faculty  
Management and Law, st. Solar 3)*

### FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1789-1794: AN AMBIGUOUS WAY TO REALIZING THE IDEA OF NATURAL HUMAN RIGHTS.

#### Abstract.

*The Great French Revolution is one of the most important milestones on the path to the modern concept of human rights. As a result of the revolution in France, the "old order" was abolished - absolutism, the remnants of feudal relations in agriculture and the division of society were destroyed.*

*The French Revolution proclaimed the inalienable rights of man and citizen, and began the formation of the rule of law and civil society.*

**Keywords:** *Great French Revolution, republic, human rights, equality, democracy.*

At today's stage of social development, the concepts of human rights and democracy are perceived by us as something familiar, something that goes without saying. We rarely think about the fact that this has not always been the case. The period of existence of human society without respect for human rights far exceeds the period of a democratic democratic society with equal rights for all citizens.

Such scientists as D. Bovykin, T. Matveeva, L. Novak-Kalyaeva, and O. Kartunov studied the French Revolution.

The relevance of the topic is that there were aspects that made the French Revolution completely unique.

The French Revolution actually built a completely new socio-political system. The ideological basis of this perestroika was the work of the Enlightenment. They had an extremely high level of trust in society.

There was an idea among the Enlightenment that in order to change the social order, it was first necessary to adopt the right laws and write the right Constitution, that this was the path to general prosperity.

The aim of the article is to assess the significance of the Great French Revolution (1789-1793) for the formation of the modern concept of human rights.

The Great French Revolution is one of the most important milestones on the path to the modern concept of human rights. This problem raises many discussions and additional questions. In this regard, L. Novak-Kalyaeva notes: "The basis of the modern concept of human rights is the ideological legacy of the Great French Revolution of the late eighteenth century. during which the theoretical foundations of the concept of human rights were formulated, while the dynamics of the revolutionary process instead of its implementation led to

the rampage of terror, wars of aggression and the restoration of the monarchy "[10].

The French Revolution is a phenomenon completely unique in both European and world history in general. The event of the revolution in itself is not unique to Europe of that time. The formation of the republic and the execution of the king had already taken place during the English Revolution. The events of the English Revolution made a great impression on the monarchs of the time, so it is not surprising that the most widely read book by King Louis XVI of France was the story of King Charles of England. According to contemporaries, one of the king's greatest fears was to repeat the fate of the English monarch.

However, there were aspects that made the French Revolution completely unique. The French Revolution actually built a completely new socio-political system. The ideological basis of this perestroika was the work of the Enlightenment. They had an extremely high level of trust in society. There was an idea among the Enlightenment that in order to change the social order, it was first necessary to adopt the right laws and write the right Constitution, that this was the path to general prosperity. In fact, as a result of the revolution, the country was completely reformatted. Before the revolution, France was divided into provinces, each of which had its own traditions, laws, and even a language unlike the one spoken in Paris.

At the borders of the provinces were customs, that is, without paying the tax it was not possible to transport goods for trade in one province from another. The revolution completely changed the administrative-territorial division of the country. There are 80 more or less equal departments in the provincial city. The names of the provinces are a thing of the past, and the departments are named by geographical affiliation. The aim was to combat separatism in the provinces. One of the means of this struggle was to make French a compulsory language for all the French provinces. It is clear that this was not possible in a few years, but the first steps in this direction appeared during the French Revolution.

A large number of primary and secondary schools were established to teach children to speak correctly and to educate future French citizens. This system fully worked only at the end of the XIX century. The significance of this innovation of the French Revolution is difficult to overestimate. Prior to that, a Frenchman traveling from Paris to remote provinces felt like a foreigner because he did not understand the language at all.

The French Revolution completely destroyed the idea of any social division in order to create a single French people. Full equality before the law was proclaimed. The French Revolution abolished everything that divided the nation: estates, aristocratic titles, artisan guilds, corporations. The principle of selectivity appears. Under the previous regime, the principle of appointment to positions prevailed. The king appointed to all positions, some of which were officially sold. During the revolution, the notion of nation sovereignty emerged and all positions became elective. Even church. Over time, this process has been adjusted.

In particular, educators wrote that the whole nation had to pass laws [9]. It is clear that it was unrealistic for every citizen to vote for every law. Therefore, the people elected representatives who passed laws. During the reign of Napoleon Bonaparte, the idea of appointing individual officials - prefects - to control the field.

One of the outstanding achievements of the French Revolution was the introduction into the official state ideology of meritocracy (translated from Latin "power of the worthy") - the principle of governance, according to which leadership positions should be held by the most talented people, regardless of their social or economic background. None of the European countries of that time proclaimed this principle. A striking example of an attempt to implement it is the story of Napoleon Bonaparte. Today, this principle is common for any democratic country, because in order to hold any position in public authorities it is necessary to have the appropriate education and pass a competitive selection.

All these innovations formed a new political system relevant to modern France. The French Revolution was a fundamental event not only for France but for the whole of Europe. In 1792, the war began, which lasted until 1815. The Revolutionary Wars escalated into the Napoleonic Wars. After the Congress of Vienna in 1815, not only the map of Europe changed, but also the principles that guided international politics. As a result of these changes, the nineteenth century proved to be the most peaceful of all the previous ones. In fact, the fundamental principles initiated by the French Revolution are the basis of European and American political models: freedom, equality before the law, the presumption of innocence, the sovereignty of the people, electability [10].

If we analyze the ideological currents that became the basis of democratic change around the world in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. liberalism, conservatism, socialism, they all have their origins in the Great French Revolution.

An important aspect of understanding the essence of any revolution is to determine its causes. In the second half of the eighteenth century. in France there was an absolute monarchy and this hampered the social development of the country. The ruling classes of France were the clergy and nobility, who owned land on property rights and enjoyed numerous privileges. The third stratum of the population consisted of various groups (peasants, burghers, artisans), whose situation was different.

However, France in the second half of the eighteenth century. was a powerful European state, which in terms of industrial development was second only to England. In the eighteenth century. foreign trade quadrupled. In Europe, it became fashionable to buy French things. French culture was extremely popular. The nobility of the vast majority of European countries considered it necessary to have a good knowledge of French.

One of the main economic problems was the low development of agriculture. The peasants felt deep dissatisfaction with the existing political system. French peasants were not serfs, they could dispose of their own

land - to sell, give, inherit. At the same time, the medieval principles of vassalage operated. The French peasant undertook: to give the feudal lord more than half of his income; served up to 10 days of serfdom per month; paid tax to the church. The vast majority of peasant uprisings in the eighteenth century. were caused by these outdated social relations [7, p.307].

The main demand of the bourgeoisie at that time was equal rights with the nobility. The nobility, in turn, became much poorer and dreamed of help from the royal authorities. The nobility, inspired by the example of a prosperous and prosperous England, saw the reason for this prosperity in the restriction of absolute monarchy.

Officially, the revolution began in 1789. At this time, the country was gripped by an economic crisis caused by a failed trade agreement with England, as a result of which the French markets were filled with cheap British industrial goods. Severe winters led to the death of much of the crop. In the eighteenth century, in France there were thirty barren years. In practice, in the late 1770s, France's state treasury was almost empty. This situation is due to a failed foreign policy. Almost all the wars in the eighteenth century, France lost. In addition, due to strained relations with Britain, France spent three times more to support the American Revolution than the country's annual profits. In order to cover the costs, the French king was forced to constantly take loans. In the early 80's, it's time to pay interest on loans. The king's financial advisers reported that it was impossible to pay this interest [6, p.308].

Financial and managerial reform was needed. The main source of income of the royal treasury at that time were taxes. In particular, the land tax, which has traditionally not been paid by the nobility and clergy. Other tax revenues were not stable. Because each of the provinces had its own taxes. Therefore, the advisers proposed to the king to introduce a single system of taxation for the whole country and for all estates.

However, according to the tradition of the French monarchy, any royal edict, including on tax matters, had to be approved by parliament. Parliament was not an elected body. Members of the French parliament were appointed, and their positions were officially sold and inherited. Thus, the parliament, which consisted mainly of representatives of the nobility, actively opposed any attempt to introduce general taxation.

In these circumstances, the king was forced to agree to convene the States General. Traditionally, voting in the General States was as follows: one state, one vote. The nobility hoped that the vote would take place in his favor, because among the clergy there were many representatives of the nobility, and the third estate was also often represented by nobles, because among its representatives there were not enough people with the appropriate level of education.

However, the announcement of the convening of the States General, which began on May 5, 1789 and consisted of 1,200 delegates, provoked a stormy reaction in society. A large number of pamphlets and newspapers were published without political censorship. In fact, the government has lost control of the situation. In these circumstances, the popularity of the teachings of

the Enlightenment, which said that the States General should represent the French nation, and the French nation is primarily a third, working class.

For a long time, delegates in the States General could not agree on the voting procedure, which allowed the delegates of the third estate to take decisive action. They announced that the parliament was elected by virtually the entire nation and on June 17, 1789, proclaimed themselves the National Assembly. On this day, the National Assembly decided that taxes in the state could not be levied without the consent of the National Assembly [5].

The King of France decided to disperse the National Assembly by force, but he failed to do so. The Parisians resisted the royal troops and stormed the central political prison, the Bastille, which was a symbol of royal absolutism. This event became the official date of the beginning of the revolution - July 14, 1789. Gradually, the ruins of the Bastille, which remained after the assault, were dismantled by the Parisians, and in its place a plaque with the inscription "dance here" was installed [12, p.308].

The beginning of the revolution was spontaneous and unexpected for its participants. Prior to that, the idea of reform was more popular in French society. In the eighteenth century, scientists, philosophers and publicists thought it possible to identify all the patterns of social development and change society on the basis of these studied laws. The idea of reforming royal power was popular among the French intellectual elite. The reason for its emergence was the decline of the authority of the monarchy, the failure of France in the military and economic confrontation with England.

The great achievement of the Enlightenment was the emergence of interstate social elevators. Philosophers, scientists, artists who came from the third estate became famous and gained a large number of different privileges. There was a whole layer of people who also wanted such opportunities. However, without success in their aspirations, such people found themselves outside the class structure. In France, the term "Rousseau from the sewers" has even appeared, referring to those who sought but did not find their place in the Enlightenment. It is these trends prevailed in France on the eve of the convening of the States General on May 5, 1789 [5].

On July 9, 1789, the National Assembly was renamed the Constituent Assembly and their first decision was the abolition of duties from the peasants. On August 26, 1789, the Constituent Assembly adopted the first constitutional act of this revolutionary period, the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. It was an extremely important, system-forming document of indirect action. He pointed out the directions of state reform, which were adopted by the Constituent Assembly.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen proclaimed: the principle of national supremacy, according to which the nation is the only source of power; inviolability of inalienable natural human rights equality of people before the law; the principle of separation of powers (legislative, executive and judicial);

responsibility and accountability of officials; the principle of the presumption of innocence; freedom of speech, conscience and press [7].

This document has impressed public opinion, both in France and throughout Europe. Since the beginning of July, the country has been in a turbulent and unstable socio-political situation. Mass peasant uprisings begin. Peasants are actively protesting against outdated feudal relations. On August 4, 1789, at a famous night meeting, Viscount Noil proposed, in order to appease the country, to declare all feudal rights to be redeemed, except for seigneurial serfdom, the right of the dead hand and other remnants of personal dependence, which should be eliminated without ransom. This proposal was supported by the Duke d'Egion, who demanded, however, the redemption of all without the removal of feudal rights [2].

Then a number of other proposals were made, and the National Assembly adopted the following articles: the abolition of serfdom and the dead hand, the possibility of redemption of seigneurial rights, the abolition of seigneurial jurisdiction, all monetary privileges and immunities, the exclusive right to hunt, the replacement of tithes and the possibility of redemption of all tithes (later the tithe was simply abolished), equality of taxes, admission of all citizens to all military positions, the establishment of gift laws, the elimination of the sale of positions and privileges of individual provinces and cities, the reform of shops.

Social upheaval swept not only the peasantry but also other segments of the population. The urban lower classes and various declassed elements realized that they could influence revolutionary events. These people were originally contemptuously called *sanculots* (translated from French *sans* - without and French *culotte* - shorts). In contrast to aristocrats who wore shorts, *sanculots* were those who wore long pants, i.e. the poorest sections of the population [5].

Later, the term, originally used as a derogatory one, became the pride of the movement, pointing to the absence of aristocratic origins. It was under the influence of the *Sanculots* that the king and his family were transported from Versailles to Paris, where they were in fact held hostage. Throughout the revolution, the *sanculots* put pressure on all political decision-makers.

On June 20, 1791, the royal family made an unsuccessful attempt to escape from Paris, and Louis XVI was captured [8.p.308].

In these circumstances, the king was forced to approve the constitution adopted by the Constituent Assembly on September 3, 1791, which established the foundations of the bourgeois state, established a constitutional monarchy as a form of state power.

The Constitution consisted of an Introduction (preamble), which reaffirmed the foundations of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, and seven chapters divided into chapters. The document proclaimed the principles of people's sovereignty, equality before the law, and political freedoms. The right of ownership was recognized as sacred and inviolable [7].

The main provisions of the Constitution reflected the efforts of the big bourgeoisie to consolidate their

domination and remove the masses from participation in political life. All citizens were divided into "active" (who had the right to participate in elections) and "passive". The former included persons who paid direct tax in the amount of not less than three days' wages, reached 25 years of age and lived in one place for at least one year. Servants were deprived of the right to vote. Therefore, only about 15% of the French population was allowed to vote. The elections were two-stage ("active" citizens at the initial meeting had to first elect voters, and then the voters elected deputies) [7].

The principle of separation of powers was enshrined. The supreme legislative power belonged to the unicameral National Assembly, which was responsible for legislation, the establishment of new government positions, supreme financial policy, and the resolution of issues of war and peace. Executive power was exercised by the king and the minister. The king was given the right to suspend the approval of the law, but not more than twice (the bill, adopted by the National Assembly for the third time, came into force regardless of the consent of the king). The king had no right to dissolve the National Assembly. Local governments were elected. The court declared itself independent of the legislature and the executive.

Special sections of the Constitution were devoted to the military forces of the state, the procedure for establishing state taxes. The peaceful nature of foreign policy was proclaimed. However, the Constitution did not apply to the French colonies. The constitution was in effect until the overthrow of the monarchy (August 10, 1792).

At the end of September 1791, the Constituent Assembly disbanded and, in accordance with the Constitution, elections were called to the Legislative National Assembly. 745 deputies were elected, some of whom were dissatisfied with the results of the revolution. These deputies rallied around elected officials from the Gironde department (Bordeaux and the surrounding area). Some of them were Republicans and advocated the formation of a republic. Another, more radical part advocated the continuation of the revolution. In April 1792, under pressure from these deputies, who began to be called Girondists, France declared war on Austria. Thus began the war, which lasted until 1815 and caused significant damage to France. The poor are beginning to revolt in the cities, and a number of publicists are appearing to influence these sections of the population, urging them to assert their rights. All these events led to an aggravation of the situation in Paris [4].

On September 21, 1792, an angry mob stormed the royal palace. The old monarchical government was abolished and the First French Republic was proclaimed, headed by a National Convention dominated by the Jacobins (opponents of the existence of royal power).

The period of the Jacobin dictatorship came, which was one of the most acute stages of the French Revolution. The Jacobin Political Club was founded in Versailles under the name of the Breton Club, as most of its members were natives of Brittany, united around the lawyer Le Chapelier. Bringing together representa-

tives of other regions of France, the Breton club renamed itself the Society of Friends of the Constitution. In October 1789, the deputies moved to Paris, where they met in the monastery of St. James, from whose name the term "Jacobins" comes.

It was a well-known society in which the affluent sections of the population and the political elite took part, as a sufficiently high payment had to be made for participation in the society. Over time, branches of the Jacobin Political Club began to emerge throughout the country. They did not report directly to the central Jacobin political club, but sent their speeches, speeches and information about what was happening on the ground. In return, such branches also received the latest news from Paris.

Thus, the Jacobin political club gained immense popularity and became one of the most numerous during the French Revolution. The Jacobins experienced several splits in their ranks. At first, they advocated first a monarchy, then a republic. After the fall of the monarchy in 1792 and elections were announced to the National Convention, which was to write a new constitution, 113 Jacobins joined its ranks. They usually sat on the left side of the upper benches of the boardroom, so they began to be called "Montagnards" (from the French. Montagne - "mountain"). The right wing of the National Convention was represented by the Girondins, who were supported in the province. The center of the National Convention was occupied by deputies without a clear political position [9].

At the first meeting of the Convention, a republic was proclaimed. Under pressure from the revolutionary masses, the National Convention sentenced Louis XVI to death by 387 votes to 334.

One of the leaders of the Montagnards was a lawyer, Maximilian Robespierre. He was once elected a member of the General Staff and positioned himself as a defender of the disadvantaged. He delivered well-verified speeches that resonated among the representatives of the third estate, because in them he spoke out against the abuses of the ruling classes and defended the people. Thanks to these speeches, he became extremely popular. Especially in Paris. Along with Jean-Paul Marat and Georges Danton, Maximilian Robespierre became one of the leaders of the Montagnards. They seek to gain power in the National Convention based on the Paris grassroots. From May 31 to June 2, 1793, the Montagnards staged a coup d'état, which led them to take a leading role in the Convention and thus throughout France, establishing a period of Jacobin dictatorship that began mass terror in the country.

The Convention proclaimed a temporary, revolutionary order of government. The National Convention took over all power. Committees of the public good were formed, the Committee of Public Safety and the revolutionary tribunal, the decisions of which were not subject to appeal. Over time, the Convention repealed the principle of election of officials. The deputies of the convention were sent to the places endowed with extraordinary powers, who concentrated all power in their hands, arguing that with their status as representatives of the people. They began to be called commissioners, and in the people - proconsuls [9].

The Jacobins explained the need for a dictatorship by the need to establish order in the difficult conditions of the civil war and the war with Austria. The Committee of Public Salvation was able to establish state regulation of the economy, to pass decrees on agrarian issues, promising land to the peasants, to set fixed prices for bread, to organize conscription into the army. However, the Jacobins did not have answers to the question of what the future of the republic should be after overcoming the crisis, because they generally did not have a political program [2].

Along with positive steps to resolve the crisis, the death penalty for speculation was introduced and freedom of the press was abolished. The chairman of the Public Salvation Committee, M. Robespierre, stressed that the government should be guided not by the interests of individuals, but by the interests of society as a whole. Mass terror began in the country. Of the total number of registered victims, only 9% were indeed enemies of the revolution. The Jacobins continued to attack the Catholic Church and introduced a republican calendar. In 1793, the Jacobins adopted a new constitution, consisting of the text of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen and the actual text of the constitution [9].

Consistent and radical for its era, the Jacobin democracy was manifested in the new Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen and in the constitution adopted by the Convention on July 24, 1793 and approved by an overwhelming majority of the people in a plebiscite. In these documents, which were strongly influenced by the views of J.-J. Rousseau, the idea of natural human rights, to which the Jacobins attributed equality, freedom, security, property, received the most revolutionary and democratic expression.

Declaration of 1793 in Art. 16 defined property rights in the traditionally individualist plan as "to use and dispose of their property, their income, the fruits of their labor and fishing." However, in resolving political issues, particularly in the area of citizens' rights, the Jacobins made a significant step forward compared to previous constitutional documents. For Art. 122 of the constitution guaranteed every Frenchman education, civic security, unrestricted freedom of the press, the right to petition, the right to unite in people's societies.

According to Art. 7 of the Declaration of 1793, the number of personal rights included the right to assemble with "observance of peace", the right to perform religious rites. The Jacobin Declaration paid special attention to guarantees against despotism and arbitrariness of state power. Any person with whom an illegal, ie arbitrary and tyrannical, act took place had the right to resist by force (Article 11) [7].

As resistance to oppression was seen as a consequence of other human rights, the Declaration of 1793 made the revolutionary conclusion that in cases of government violation of the people's rights, "revolt for the people and for each part of it is its sacred right and urgent duty" (Article 35) [7]. Thus, in contrast to the Declaration of 1789, which referred to national sovereignty, the Jacobins in their constitutional documents put forward the idea of people's sovereignty, which is conducted to J.-J. Rousseau.



The Jacobin constitution rejected the principle of separation of powers as contradictory, but the opinion of J.-J. Rousseau, the idea of people's sovereignty, which acts as a whole. The Constitution provided for a simple and democratic system of the state. In contrast to the federalist aspirations of the Girondists in Art. 1 emphasized that "the French republic is united and indivisible." By abolishing the division of citizens into active and passive as incompatible with the idea of equality, the constitution practically legalized universal suffrage for men (from the age of 21).

The peculiar desire of the Jacobins to combine representative bodies with direct democracy (the influence of J.-J. Rousseau) was reflected in the fact that the legislature (National Assembly) was elected for one year on a number of important issues (civil and criminal law, general management of current revenues and costs of the republic, etc.) could only propose laws. A bill passed by a national assembly came into force only if, 40 days after it was sent to the departments in most of them, 1/10 of the initial assembly did not reject it. Such a procedure was an attempt to implement the idea of people's sovereignty, which is manifested in this case in the fact that "the people discuss and pass laws" (Article 10). On less important issues, the National Assembly could issue decrees with final effect [7].

The executive council of the republic, consisting of 24 people, was to be elected by the National Assembly from the lists nominated by the primary departmental assembly. The Council was responsible to the National Assembly "in case of non-compliance with laws and decrees, as well as in case of failure to report abuse" (Article 72) [7].

The Jacobins postponed the implementation of the provisions of the constitution, in particular the part on universal suffrage, arguing that the critical situation of the republic. The Jacobin dictatorship, which successfully used the initiative of the lower classes, demonstrated a complete denial of liberal principles. Industrial production and agriculture, finance and trade, holidays and private life of citizens - everything was strictly regulated. However, this did not stop the further deepening of the economic and social crisis.

The causes of Jacobin terror are the subject of discussion by many generations of scientists from different countries. The term "terror" is understood as the undisguised violence of the authorities with the use of the state apparatus against the people in order to suppress not only the opposition but also the general public, in order to provoke terror and leave thoughts of resistance. In other words, terror is violence by those in power ("stronger").

It is worth noting that it was not the Jacobins who started violating human rights during the French Revolution, but only they put terror on the agenda. This took place in early autumn 1793 in response to a request from the lower classes of Paris. The Jacobins argued that the beginning of the bloody terror was that they, as representatives of the government, were the expression of the will of the people, and those who opposed the will of the people were its enemies. The phrase "enemy of the people" also appeared during the French Revolution.

Legislation to justify terror was to be adopted on September 17, 1793. The Decree "On Suspects", according to which the following are considered suspects: 2) those who cannot certify the sources of their existence and the fact of fulfillment of their civic duties; 3) those who have been denied a certificate of trustworthiness; 4) civil servants removed or removed from office by the National Convention or its commissioners and not reinstated; 5) those of the former nobles who are husbands, wives, fathers, mothers, sons or daughters, brothers, sisters or former employees of emigrants, if they have not constantly shown their commitment to the Republic; 6) those who emigrated in the period from July 1, 1789 to the promulgation of the law of April 8, 1792, even if they returned to France within the period prescribed by the last law or before the expiration of this period [7].

According to the text of the document, the concept of "suspects" went far beyond those who spoke with counter-revolutionary slogans. In fact, any persons who were unreliable in the opinion of the local authorities could be considered "suspicious". Mass arrests begin across the country. Those who carried out terror on the ground often acted outside the letter and spirit of the law, and within their own personal selfish ends.

Controversy continues over the exact numbers of victims and deaths during the Jacobin terror. Scientists indicate figures from 50 thousand to 500 thousand people. How many people died during the terror is better known. These calculations were actively conducted by historians in the XX century. The American historian Donald Greer estimates that approximately 35,000 to 40,000 people were executed, executed without trial or investigation. At the same time, Greer tried to find out from the surviving cases who these people were. Because there is such an image that the revolution is fighting against the counter-revolutionaries, with those who want to restore the monarchy, with the nobles, the priests in the first place.

And in this respect, the figures that Greer came up with were quite surprising, because four-fifths of all those executed during the terror are not nobles, not priests, but, as they were called before the revolution, the third estate, ie the urban lower classes. : merchants, artisans, wealthy peasants - they are four-fifths of the victims of terror.

The Jacobins themselves claimed that no one wanted to commit atrocities, did not want to impose terror, but there was no other way out. They sought to win on the fronts, to supply the army with bread so that the peasants would sell them this bread at fixed, fixed prices, but the peasants did not want it, the enemies intensified, some did not support the revolution, and some spoke directly for the king. And at that moment, terror was the only policy that could save the revolution.

This explanation is criticized by a large number of scholars, because by the winter of 1793-1794 France is already coming out of this emergency: the armies of the invaders are retreating, the uprisings are being suppressed, they are already saying that it would be good to make peace, but at this point the peak of terror.

In May 1794, one of Robespierre's associates, Georges Couton, addressed the Convention. He proposes the following decree: to simplify the proceedings, to abolish the adversarial process, ie no lawyers. The logic is: they do not celebrate with us, and we will not celebrate with them, the punishment is only one - the death penalty, no imprisonment, that is, or justified, or guilty. The sentence is made on the basis of "any moral or physical evidence, the understanding of which is available to every reasonable person." The basis for the verdict is the conscience of the jury, ie not the law, not the criminal code, not the presence of any formal crimes, but the conscience of the jury: if the jury believes that a person is worthy of execution, then he should be executed. Six weeks after the decree was passed, more were executed, especially in Paris, than in the previous 14 months. This, in fact, is called "great terror", which can not be explained by political or military expediency [4].

This terror was quite multifaceted, because it affected not only the counter-revolutionaries, those who opposed the republic, it affected a huge number of people throughout France. There were very bright names among these people, because many of those who made the revolution, not only in 1789, could go on the scaffold or otherwise be persecuted under this policy of terror (one could say: "They stood for the king, and now republic"), but also those who most actively contributed to the formation of the republic, those who opposed the Montagnards, but, of course, for the revolution.

An example is such a bright name as a relative of King Philip of Orleans, the Duke of Orleans, who accepted the revolution, renounced the title, took the surname Egalite ("equality"), that is, demanded that he be called Philip Egalite. He is a member of the Convention that established the republic, he voted for the execution of the king, and not all deputies voted for the execution of the king, and he also goes to the scaffold as part of this policy of terror, as well as the king and queen Marie Antoinette - they are all victims of a policy of terror.

If we move from the human dimension to the geographical, to the more global, then, of course, terror has affected the lives of people across the country, not only in Paris. When the revolt in Lyon was suppressed, the Convention decided that the city of Lyon had rebelled against freedom - the city of Lyon no longer existed. That is, Lyon was ordered to be destroyed, but this did not happen for various reasons, but the decree was passed.

In Nantes, one of the deputies of the Carrier Convention became famous for arranging so-called revolutionary "weddings", when people were taken on barges to the middle of the Loire, tied back to back men and women and thrown into the water - then in Nantes it was called "give a drink from a large cup. Another Convent member, Fouche, who would later become Napoleon's police minister, became famous for shooting about 800 people without trial or investigation as part of his trip around the country as a member of the Convention.

When the "great terror" began in the spring of 1794, it was explained by the fact that at this time terror

became an essential element of the political struggle. Montagnards in general and Robespierre in particular use terror to fight political opponents. Georges Danton, a well-known revolutionary, an extremely popular orator, one of those who contributed to the fall of the monarchy, advocates for peace, advocates an end to terror and climbs the scaffold. The lower classes in Paris, on the other hand, are in favor of deepening terror and saying, "We have gained nothing from the revolution," and their leaders are also coming to the scaffold.

In the spring of 1794, Robespierre voices began to be heard in the Convention, saying that another, last effort was needed, the last wave of executions was needed, and that the Convention should be cleansed of all enemies of the revolution. This directly contributed to the fall of the Montagnard dictatorship, as the names of the deputies were not named, none of the deputies could feel safe, and then they agreed, opposed Robespierre, ended the Montagnard dictatorship and thus saved their lives. Yes, in fact, the terror ends [3].

On July 27, 1794, the Montagnard dictatorship fell. This period - until the fall of 1795 - is called the Thermidor or Thermidorian period. The coup of July 27-28, 1794, sent M. Robespierre and his closest associates under the guillotine. The coup was organized by moderate politicians and some members of the national convention. The Thermidorians put forward the slogan "Revolution against tyranny," called for the restoration of parliament, and condemned total revolutionary terror. Robespierre and his supporters were executed by guillotine. As a result of the coup, power passed to a new government - the Executive Directory (1795-1799) [2, p.312]

In 1795 a new Constitution of France was adopted. In August 1795, the Convention adopted a new constitution of France, known as the "Constitution of the Third Year of the Republic." It was a cumbersome in form, wordy (372 articles) and conservative in content constitution of the bourgeoisie, increasingly losing its former revolutionary character.

The Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man and Citizen of 1795 no longer contained articles imbued with a revolutionary spirit. The main emphasis in it was on consolidating bourgeois morality and the principles of bourgeois society. For example, it was emphasized that property, which meant private property, "underlies world culture, all production, all means of labor and all social order."

The constitution abolished universal suffrage and restored property qualifications. The legislature (parliament) consisted of the Council of Elders (250 members elected from under 40 years of age) and the Council of Five Hundred (from at least 30 years of age). Executive power was vested in a Directory of five people elected by secret ballot by the Legislature. The composition of the Directory was renewed annually: one of its members resigned, and a new one was elected instead. It was chaired by all members in turn for three months [7].

The social base of the new government was extremely narrow. Forced to fight both the noble reaction and the actions of the people, the Thermidorian bourgeoisie cleared the way for the establishment of a military dictatorship, which took place in November 1799.

French Revolution of the late XVIII century, became the largest social revolution in Europe at that time. The social upheavals initiated by it largely determined the European history of the XIX century. As a result of the revolution in France, the "old order" was abolished - absolutism, the remnants of feudal relations in agriculture and the division of society were destroyed.

Thanks to the French Revolution, the idea of the nation as a bearer of state power, which has the right to decide its own destiny, was formed. This contributed to the awakening of the national liberation struggle of the stateless peoples of Europe and the emergence of the direction of socio-political thought - nationalism. The French Revolution proclaimed the inalienable rights of man and citizen, initiated the formation of the rule of law and civil society.

The French revolutionaries did not stop at rebuilding their country according to their ideals: they also sought to free all of Europe from the tyranny of the monarchs. During the revolutionary wars, the slogan "Freedom, Equality, Brotherhood" gained many supporters among the peoples of other European countries. Despite slogans about the need to respect human rights during the revolution, they were often violated. In particular, during the Jacobin dictatorship, terror was transformed into a universal means of solving social problems.

As a result of the revolution in France, a republican form of government was established. Despite the constant struggle for power, the country gradually established the supremacy of representative authorities. Over time, France's parliamentary democracy won, and the state became the guarantor of the irreversibility of political, social and economic transformation.

The revolutionary ruling elite was convinced that writing the "right laws" would solve all the problems. However, this did not happen, because well-written laws do not mean good implementation. This was one of the important key lessons of the revolution, which was later voiced by the "father" of Germany, Otto von Bismarck: "It is better to have bad laws and good officials than good laws and bad officials." An important achievement of the French Revolution was the introduction of meritocracy, the principle that the best should govern: the best in ability, the best in talent. No European country has previously proclaimed this principle. A striking example of its embodiment were the

brilliant careers of Napoleon Marshal Ney and Marshal Murat.

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