



# THE SCIENCE AND EDUCATION ROLE IN UKRAINE'S SUBJECTIVITY FORMATION IN THE PROCESS OF ENTERING THE EUROPEAN SPACE

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## Abstract.

*Relevance:* the study of scientific-educational factors in the formation of Ukraine subjectivity is a necessary precondition for its integration into the European economic, scientific and educational space.

*Purpose:* systematic generalization of the historical mission of Ukrainian scientists and educators in the formation of Ukrainian subjectivity.

*Methods:* theoretical, historical, path dependence, statistical, macroeconomic, comparative and retrospective analysis.

*Results:* the division into periods of Ukraine historical changes in the path dependence categories from 1648 to the present time was carried out; the stages of each period are considered through the prism of the role of science and education in the formation of Ukrainian civilizational subjectivity; the hypothesis that the imperial principles of state-building are doomed to decline is put forward and analyzed; determined the relationship and mutual influence between the oppression of the Ukrainian scientific-educational space and the subjugation of Ukraine; the current economic and political state of Ukraine was analyzed in the path dependence categories; the historical origins of those troubles that prevent the formation of the of modern Ukrainian science and education subjectivity are specified.

*Conclusions:* it is proved that mastering political and territorial independence is the main, but not sufficient, prerequisite for mastering subjectivity for entering the European economic, scientific, and educational space; according to the research results, it is stated that the development of guiding principles for the creation of future path dependence depends on science and education; an algorithm for realizing the role of science and education in the formation of Ukraine's subjectivity for entering the European space is proposed.

**Keywords:** *European space, science, education, path dependence, subjectivity.*

**Introduction.** World Bank analysts have concluded that there are clear social and economic disparities, shallow roots, and weak political will for institutional reforms in modern Ukraine (World Bank Group, 2021). The more these conclusions correspond to the real state of affairs, the greater the paradox of their discrepancy with the independent status of our country. This paradox demonstrates the ability of Ukraine's institutional authorities to manage natural and human resources.

It also points to the distance that Ukrainian science, education, and economy must overcome for

Ukraine to become a full-fledged European subject. The study of scientific-educational factors in Ukraine's subjectivity formation is a necessary precondition for its integration into the European economic, scientific and educational space.

**Sources.** There is a widespread assertion in the scientific literature that the ability to use one's resources is significantly limited when the economy is subject to external – foreign – management.

Based on the study of historical examples, F. List (1885, p. 180) states: «History knows not a single rich, not a single trading and industrial nation, which

at the same time would not be a free nation». A similar opinion was expressed by B. Vynar (1964, pp. 27-28): Political and economic colonialism: a certain nation or state by several purposeful measures deprives the population of a foreign country of political and economic independence and reveals in this territory the full rights of the subject of political and economic action (India's position in the British Empire, Ukraine in the Russian Empire). In modern international law, the concept of subjectivity means the ability to own international rights and obligations to defend one's rights (Slomanson, 2011, p. 128; Brierly & Clapham, 2012, pp. 128-129). Accordingly, a nation or state deprived of its subjectivity turns into a political and economic object of control by another nation or state.

Modern studies pay attention to the reasons for the current state of the Ukrainian scientific environment: «... national historical thought, which always developed in the unfavorable conditions of foreign Ukrainian enslavement, and therefore in the conditions of foreign censorship, simply could not in many cases take an impartial look at one or the other personality of national history» (Bondaryev, 1993, p. 3). The inert attraction to the corresponding rudimentary positions is noticeable not only in historical science. Ukrainian science and education are being integrated into the global humanitarian space through the prism of Russian authorities. Foreign scientists are cited not according to their original texts, but according to Russian translations (eg: Geets, 2018). This scientific apparatus does not notice the harm caused by the pro-Soviet and pro-Russian understanding of Ukraine (Vidnyanskyi & Martynov, 2013). This scientific apparatus promotes doubts about the colonial past and its remnants in the present (Kulchytskyi, 2020, p. 585). And finally, this scientific apparatus is determined to cooperate with apologists of imperial views on Ukraine's past, present, and future (Eurasian Development Bank, 2012).

Modern Ukrainian scientists also demonstrate progress towards the opposite guides: «An important task remains to analyze the causes and factors that hinder the establishment of the geopolitical and geo-economic Ukraine subjectivity» (Maiboroda, 2020, p. 5). The concretization of the signs of national stability as a strategy for achieving Ukraine's civilizational subjectivity is focused on disclosing this potential (Pirozhkov et al., 2022, pp. 12-18). Enlightenment scientists consider the issues of Ukraine's economic prosperity through the prism of the deep historical stability of its identity, and vocational education as the basis of economic security (Yershova, 2018, p. 163).

The modern state policy for post-war reconstruction contains guidelines for the consolidation of Ukrainian subjectivity (President of Ukraine, 2022). The developments of the relevant working group indicate the need to ensure the implementation of European principles, approaches, practices, and tools in the educational and scientific fields by synchronizing them with the European educational and research area.

**The purpose** of this study is a systematic generalization of the historical mission of Ukrainian scientists and educators in Ukrainian subjectivity formation.

**Methods:** A review of literary sources makes it possible to outline the theoretical and methodological coordinates of science and education in Ukrainian subjectivity formation. The research categorical apparatus covers the «objectivity - subjectivity» dilemma using methodological techniques of revealing historical dependencies.

To achieve the goal, the modern tools of the historical approach are used. Subject-object dependencies in Ukraine are studied in the coordinates of the «path dependency» paradigm, that is, in those categories that are: «...recognized scientific achievements, which for a certain time provide a model for posing problems and solving them to the scientific community» (Kuhn, 2001, c. p. 9). The use of new approaches is prompted by the need to find those patterns that are hidden in such different fragments of Ukrainian history that, at first glance, are not suitable for comparison. In our case: «To assert that «history matters» is insufficient; social scientists want to know why, where, how, and for what» (Pierson, 2004, p. 6).

The social-historical process is considered as dialectical changes in the stages: pre-formation, creation, and lock-in of the path dependence (Sydow et al., 2009, pp. 691-692). The stage of pre-formation is preceded by the dissolution of the existing path dependence as unviable, or one whose development has been exhausted. Such dissolution is the boundary of the transition from one path dependency to another.

At the pre-formation stage, the principles of future path dependence are determined. The complexity of this stage is determined by the lack of certain specifics in the patterns of choosing and achieving societal benchmarks for the future: «A path-dependent sequence of economic changes is one of which important influences upon the eventual outcome can be exerted by temporally remote events, including happenings dominated by chance elements rather than systematic forces» (David, 1985, p. 332).

The pre-formation stage ends with a critical moment when the final version of the future path dependency is chosen. The decision taken at a critical juncture is the starting point for future path creation and constructing the appropriate institutional and economic system. Decisions approved at a critical juncture begin to be implemented only when this path dependency is lock-in.

We examine the course of Ukraine's path dependence in the context of the above definition by B. Vynar. This work is a supplement to an international comparative study (Popova & Popov, 2022) in terms of identifying the influence of science and education on who is the subject of political and economic action in Ukraine. Methods of statistical and economic analysis are used as starting points for theoretical generalizations.

The currently known research illuminates predominantly the patterns of change in such social systems that are subjects of their path dependence. The field of our research is supplemented by the case when a social system is an object, that is, not the creator, but only the executor of the path dependence imposed on it from the outside.

**Results and discussion.** Ukrainian history of the 17th-21st centuries is determined by a certain periodicity of path dependence. According to the chosen systematization methodology, the following completed periods have been identified: I period 1654 – 1917 – as part of tsarist Russia, II period 1917 –

1991 – as part of the USSR (Fig. 1). The path dependence of the III period - from 1991 to the present time - is in the pre-formation stage.

*Period I: 1654 – 1917*

The National Liberation War of 1648-1654, or Khmel'nychchyna, was of decisive importance for Ukraine's subjectivity formation at that time (Muzychuk et al., 2008). At the beginning of the XVII century. Poland purposefully approached complete dominance in Ukraine, but: «The era of Bohdan Khmelnytsky returned the old dispute in the opposite direction» (Kostomarov, 2004, p. 23). Before the signing of the Pereyaslav Agreements, Ukraine «... was factually and legally a completely independent state ... Ukraine did not recognize any other authority over itself, except that of its hetman, and the Tsar of Moscow interpreted Ukraine as a free, independent state. In fact, Ukraine became free even before the specified agreements» (Yakovliv, 2003, p. 119).

B. Khmelnytskyi agreed to the Pereyaslav Agreements with Muscovy for the final dissolution of Ukraine's path dependence on Poland. These were the prerequisites for the next stages – the pre-formation and the critical moment of 1654. The Pereyaslav agreements moved the center of Ukraine's path dependence creation to Moscow. This stage lasted for 132 years (1654 – 1786) because Ukrainians did not want to voluntarily give up their subjectivity. However, they did not have a coherent vision of the future state structure and were unable to consolidate their efforts.

Stages of «path dependence» formation	Tsarist Russia 263 years (1648-1917)	Soviet authority 69 years (1917-1991)	Ukraine 1991- ...
			
Path pre-formation	1648-1654	1917-1922	1991- ...
Critical juncture	1654	1922	?
Path creation	1654-1786	1922-1953	?
Path lock-in	1786-1917	1953-1991	?
Path dissolution	1917	1991	?

Fig. 1. Historical parallels of Ukraine's «path dependence» in the Tsarist and Soviet empires to the present

As a result, Ukraine's subjectivity was fought not by Ukrainians, but by their numerous «allies»: between the Polish kingdom and Muscovy (Andrusovo truce of 1667); between the Polish king and the Turkish sultan (Bucach peace treaty of 1672); between the Turkish sultan, Muscovy, and the Crimean Tatars (Bakhchisarai Peace, 1681); between Muscovy, the Commonwealth, and Turkey (Eternal peace 1686); between Turkey, Muscovy, and Cossack Ukraine (Adrianople Agreement of 1712); between the Ottoman and Russian empires (Kainarji peace treaty of 1774).

Catherine II decree of 1786 confirmed the completion of this stage and finally lock-in Ukraine's path dependence as a political and economic object of Moscow's subjugation. By this decree, the Little Russian Collegium was liquidated. It fulfilled its task: spreading the all-Russian system of administrative and political management to the Ukrainian territory. Moscow reoriented Ukraine's foreign trade with Europe towards itself and practically destroyed the Ukrainian manufacturing industry in 1754 – 1822: «The subordination of the (Ukrainian) manufacture to the needs of the state economy of the empire, the competition of the Russian industry were the reasons for the demise of the manufactures in Ukraine» (Sadovskyi, 1931, p. 129). As a result, by the end of 1908, the Ukrainian manufacturing industry was ten times smaller than the Russian one, the products of which were almost the only source of meeting the corresponding needs in Ukraine (Volobuev, 1962, p. 169-171).

Numerous decrees banned the Ukrainian language, education, and literature, and destroyed the heritage of the national culture. Even though the cells of the Ukrainian intelligentsia were banned, they gave impetus to several areas of national revival (Hrytsyk, 2014). Moscow authorities supported only that science that distorted and appropriated Ukrainian history, and only that education that shunned the Ukrainian language. The consistent displacement of Ukrainians from their own cultural, educational, and scientific spaces was the decisive factor in turning Ukraine into an object of Moscow's economic management. At that time, there were only 28.7% of Ukrainians among factory owners, and only 22.2% among merchants (Vynar, 1958, p. 23).

Thus, during this period, tsarist Russia established itself as the subject of Ukraine's path dependence, but it proved unable to become the subject of its politics and economy. Radical reforms of the mid-18th – early 19th centuries did not produce the expected results (Shevchenko, 2007; Shevchenko, 2013).

### *Period II: 1917 – 1991*

The reasons for the dissolution and liberation of Ukraine from the path, which was formed after 1654, look paradoxical. After all, according to the plan of the Moscow tsar, its power was supposed to increase, and Ukraine, as an object of its subjugation, was to disappear from the world map. This paradoxical case was not a single one. As a result of the First World War, the dynastic empires fell apart: Ottoman, Habsburg, and Russian. The former objects of these empires became independent states – Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Romania, etc. They became the subjects of their path dependence – a crucial prerequisite for the construction of the modern European space. The massive break in path dependence built on imperial principles gives reason to put forward a hypothesis, not about the paradox, but the regularity of this phenomenon.

The Ukrainians of that time also aspired to become subjects of their own destiny: «Ukrainian Revolution 1917 – 1921 – a landmark phenomenon in the recent history of the Ukrainian people, associated with a powerful rise in the national liberation struggle of Ukrainians, the revival of independent statehood, and the formation of a political nation» (Pyrih, 2018, p. 45). The Ukrainian national movement passed through the academic (circles, secret organizations, educational activities, collecting ancient monuments, national literature; historical, ethnographic, folklore studies) and cultural (going among the people) levels to the political level.

Ukrainian scientific opinion of that time actively influenced the preparatory stage of future path dependence. In April 1917, M. Hrushevsky asserted: «Ukrainians in political affairs want to create a broad national-territorial autonomy of Ukraine as part of the federal Russian Republic» (Hrushevskyi, 1991, p. 121). Such a vision was contrary to the aspirations of Ukrainians not to submit to alien subjugation. Such a vision meant the removal of Ukraine from the process of state creation as the future subject of the European community.

But it suited the Russian Bolsheviks quite well, who realized that their existence without Ukraine was impossible. H. Pyatakov, who headed the Ukrainian «independent», declared: «We don't have to support the Ukrainians, because this movement is useless for the proletariat. Russia cannot exist without the Ukrainian sugar industry, the same can be said about coal (Donbas), bread, etc.» (Subtelný, 1991, p. 305).

The famine of 1921 – 1922 put an end to this confrontation: «The more than the three-year period of the struggle of the Ukrainian people for national and

social liberation, in the form of armed resistance to all occupiers, was stopped by hunger, leaving the victory in the hands of the last occupier - Bolshevik Russia» (Kononenko, 1965, p. 111). M. Hrushevskiy's statement was embodied, but not in the development of Ukrainian subjectivity, but in its barbaric subjugation: «The Russian Revolution produced no institutional hiatus as concerns the continuity of Russian imperialism and colonialism» (Kononenko, 1958, p. ix).

December 30, 1922, became a critical moment, from which the formalization of Ukrainian objectivity within the USSR began. «Voluntary» deprivation of subjectivity is similar to that observed after 1654. In fact: «All the power [in Ukraine] was seized by a small handful, not even of industrial production, but a handful of people from the Russian Communist Party. This power relied on the military armed force of the Russian regiments of the Red Army imported from Russia» (Vynnychenko, 1920, p. 315).

As noted by I. Stalin (1989, p. 199), the real goal of the creation of the USSR was to stop the «game of independence». The Ukrainian Bolshevik leader of that time Kh. Rakovsky stated that institutional centralization in the USSR is necessary: «... for a more correct distribution of all benefits between the center and the working masses of the entire federation» (Rakovsky, 1989, p. 211).

Such were the prerequisites for the stage of path dependence creation 1922 – 1953. Ukrainian objectivity within the USSR was introduced in the form of «an exploitative system unknown in history» (Ukrainian lawyers on trial by the KGB, 1968 p. 20). The humanitarian sphere was destroyed: «Stalin has eliminated every independent, critical mind, even when it is sympathetic in general outlook. He has produced an environment in which the processes of the mind are atrophied» (Keynes, 1933, p. 769).

It seems problematic to call what remained in Ukraine after 1923 national institutions. Ukrainian state planning and people's commissariats of agriculture and finance were liquidated and subordinated to Moscow. Ukrainian statistical indicators ceased to be published, and the Research Institute of Economics and Organization of Agriculture ceased to exist. Ukrainians were exhausted by famines, war, repressions, and deportations and were deprived of the opportunity to create their authorities.

This period includes the liquidation of all Ukrainian socio-economic research centers in Kyiv, Odesa, and Kharkiv. The All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, the Ukrainian Academy of Agriculture, the Scientific Research Institute of Economics and Organization of Agriculture, the Ukrainian People's Commissariat of Agriculture, the State Planning

Commission, and the People's Commissariat of Finance were completely subordinate to Moscow. Proceedings of the People's Commissariat of Finance of the USSR, Statistical Yearbook «Ukraine», collection «Statistics of Ukraine»; the thematic collection «Ukraine in figures», the monthly magazine «Socialist Industry»; statistical compilation «Socialist Ukraine», respectively, stopped printing. «Many talented Ukrainians voluntarily or forcibly went to the metropolis and contributed to the development of Russian science, education and culture there» (Danylenko, 2018, p. 143).

Thus, from 1953 – 1985, the foundation was created to lock in path dependence, built on the principles of the anti-market theory. In the early 50s of the last century, the Kremlin party elite proclaimed that the proletarian dictatorship has fulfilled its functions, and now it was possible to build a state of the whole people. The 21st Congress of the CPSU (1959) proclaimed the entry of the USSR into the «period of extensive construction of communism».

However, even after the death of Stalin (who was blamed for all the atrocities of the communist regime), the inefficiency of the Soviet economy was increasingly evident: even the shortage of food and consumer goods was not eliminated. Ukrainian researchers claimed that this was the result of an attempt to build a society based on archaic imperial principles: «This colonialism far exceeds in exploitation and tyranny anything that might be associated with past Western colonialism» (Kononenko, 1958, p. ix).

In the early 1960s, Khrushchev's reforms were introduced, but they did not reduce the helplessness of the command-administrative economy. After 1963, Moscow had to export gas and diamonds to buy grain abroad to prevent mass starvation. The failure of Y. Andropov's reforms (1982) confirmed that the USSR authorities were unable to use the resource base even to eliminate food dependence on imports.

The central science of that time could not explain the causes of the emergence and indicate reasonable ways to overcome those problems that make the USSR unviable. During 1985 – 1991, the final subjugation of Ukraine's path dependence ended again with an unexpected result. «The phenomenon that the multinational Soviet empire disintegrated and independent Ukraine appeared on the historical map of the world ... is a thing of study for many generations of historians. ... This requires a lot of time and many volumes of scientific papers. But it must be done because the less will understand the experience of the past, the more utopian the projects for the future will look» (Danylenko, 2018, pp. 9-10).

A historical parallel can be traced between the paradoxical cases of Ukraine's path dissolution in tsarist Russia and the USSR. Both of them were started with the target set to subjugate the state through its denationalization. They both ended in destruction (disruption of path dependence) under the same circumstances – economic helplessness. Such their identity confirms our hypothesis that social systems whose path dependence is built on imperial principles are unsustainable. According to our periods, the corresponding pattern was observed in 1654 – 1917 in different empires, that is, in parallel, and after 1654, on the territory of the former Russian Empire, that is, sequentially.

The USSR is a unique example because, unlike other empires, it started to implement a theoretical concept. But this theoretical basis did not ensure either the viability or improvement of the imperial system. The path dependency break occurred despite the institutional innovations of «perestroika» and «glasnost» similar to the «New Economic Policy» (NEP) 1921. In the 80s market relations were nipped in the bud by rigid mechanisms of creation path dependence (1922 – 1953) and its lock-in (1953 – 1985).

Science in this case was the leading, but not a progressive factor. It was determined to hide imperial ambitions. It was unable to detect their destructive nature. Education built on this theory led a significant part of society into the barbarism trap.

#### *Period III: 1991 – 2022*

The Verkhovna Rada (August 24, 1991) and the All-Ukrainian referendum (December 1, 1991) determined the prerequisites for preparing the future Ukraine path dependence. But the most sincere intentions of asserting subjectivity were not backed up either by the experience of independent creation of the state or by the possession of scientific methods of management. The Ukrainian authorities were dominated by the ability to use Moscow's instructions. The absence of Muscovy's direct military intervention did not mean its rejection of imperial encroachments.

Against this background, the presidency was headed not by a figure of resistance against national discrimination against Ukrainians, but by a member of the CPSU (1958) and the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Ukraine Communist Party (1991). The next president expresses his views on Ukraine's history in a book published by a Moscow publishing house (Kuchma, 2003). Only the third Ukraine President demonstrates that Ukraine is not so helpless that it cannot even publish its President's book (Yushchenko, 2014). The state of the Ukrainian authorities of this period is similar to the state of the last years of Khmelnytskyi.

The Muscovite authorities planned to take advantage of this uncertainty to easily regain the lost imperial positions. The uncertainty of politicians clashed with the certainty of the «revolution on granite» and the «orange revolution».

The «Revolution of Dignity» put an end to the attempt to use the puppet government to return Ukraine to Moscow's hands. After the pro-Russian president fled, direct intervention in the Ukraine territory was added to the bribery of politicians and energy blackmail. Muscovy finally threw off the virtue mask: «As a result, instead of having a government with a secret police, Russia became a country with a secret police that had a government» (Velychenko, 2022).

The degree of inconsistency of Moscow's government claims, statements, and actions shows the degree of its detachment from scientific credibility and the morality of humanity. On July 12, 2021, President V. Putin stated in the Ukrainian language: «We respect the Ukrainian language and traditions. To the Ukrainians desire to see their state free, safe, prosperous» (President of Russia, 2021). On February 24, 2022, the rhetoric changed to the opposite – the Russian language: «But Russia cannot feel safe, develop, and exist with a constant threat emanating from the modern Ukraine territory. ... I have decided to conduct a special military operation. ... And for this, we will strive for the demilitarization and denazification of Ukraine» (President of Russia, 2022). These quotations are contradictory not only among themselves but also in their internal content. The argument that Ukraine with a non-aligned status, without nuclear weapons, and with a much weaker economy threatens the Russian Federation looks extremely dubious. But there is no doubt that behind the sophisticated rhetorical maneuvers modern Muscovy hides crude barbarism.

The current period of path dependence is in the pre-formation stage. The progress of this stage is influenced by *socioeconomic* and *scientific-educational* retrospectives. We consider the *socio-economic* retrospective in short-term *international* and long-term *historical* comparison.

The *international comparisons* indicate a decline in the Ukrainian economy. Ukraine's share in the world GDP decreased by 2.4 times – from 0.3596% to 0.1523% (Fig. 2).

The *historical comparison* shows that during 1912-2012, the structure of the Ukrainian industry hardly changed (Vynar, 1964, pp. 173-174; Zhuk, 2016, p. 270). Light industry in 1912 was one of the most neglected branches, its share in the total structure was 2.6%. In 2012, the share of the Ukrainian

light industry in the total production structure, compared to 1912, decreased by 3.7 times, to 0.7% (Zhuk, 2016, pp. 183-184). The share of extractive industries in 1912 was 46% (the sum of mining and processing of mineral substances and mining and industrial-mining industry and others), and the share of processing industries, respectively, was 54%. The share of the

mining and energy industries in 2012 was 36.5%, and the share in the processing industry, respectively, was 63.5%. The increase in the share of manufacturing industries against the background of a decrease in the share of the light industry indicates that the modern Ukrainian economy is even further removed from self-sufficiency than 100 years ago.

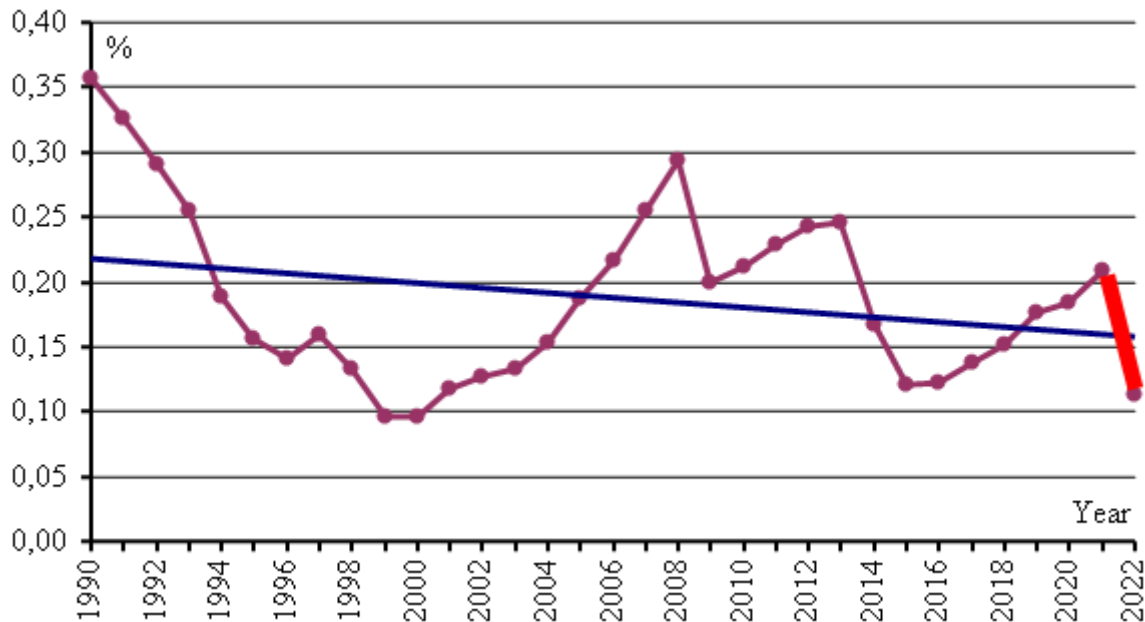


Fig. 2. Ukraine's share in the world GDP, %, 1990-2022 (2021 – 2022 – forecast)  
 Calculated according to data: World Bank

Changes in the Ukrainian economy have shown that independent political status and rich natural resources are necessary, but not sufficient, conditions for mastering civilizational subjectivity. Setting up the organizational and economic mechanism for managing the development of the national macro-system is a complex and costly process. Changes in the Ukrainian economy also showed that expectations for foreign recipes (to overcome complexity) and external borrowing (to cover costs) were futile.

The fiasco of foreign scientists' attainments in Ukraine is a confirmation of an elementary truth: conscious politicians and scientists are interested only in strengthening their country's subjectivity (Rodrik, 2006; Gore, 2000). This fiasco indicates that the complexity of Ukrainian problems is a matter exclusively for Ukrainian science. The cost of overcoming these problems is also a purely internal matter. The educator's mission is to direct powerful human capital to the implementation of that state policy, which is scientifically based.

But Ukrainian education is not ready to fulfill such a mission. For example, during 2002 – 2020, the number of vocational education institutions decreased by 1.35 times, and the number of students decreased by 2.03 times. During this period, the sum

of consolidated budget expenditures in comparable prices for this branch remained almost unchanged (+6.7%) (Popova, 2022). Such a state is largely determined by the fact that Ukrainian science and education were destroyed for several centuries. Current, as well as former, Muscovites, are well aware that science and education are obstacles to their plans to conquer Ukraine. The first thing they do during the occupation is to destroy archives and history books about the past and present Ukrainians' resistance. Intimidation and murders of Ukrainian teachers and educators precede the introduction of Moscow educational programs in the occupied territories in 2022 (Dratsky, 2022).

The scientific and educational retrospective shows signs that the pre-formation of path dependence on the future is influenced by the past. The USSR regime was established and maintained by an extensive system of physical coercion into submission. Science and education were transformed from carriers of knowledge into tools of intellectual despotism. The Russian language was transformed into a tool for the destruction of that original culture, which is the carrier and manifestation of subjectivity. To master a scientific or educational career, it

was enough to have primitive abilities: to study and develop the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

Ukrainian science and education are beginning to act ahead of schedule, preparing for their future: «During 1991 – 2021, the largest Ukraine humanitarian sphere – the sphere of education – consistently acted as a key subject of nation-building and state-building in the context of the becoming of an independent sovereign country» (Kremen et al., 2021). Being such a key subject is an extremely challenging task for educators. They have no power; they cannot invest not just in the economy but even in education. Perhaps that is why, only in August 2022, after six months of the Russian-Ukrainian war, the content of the educational programs include: «The list of terms/concepts has been updated, such as: «appropriation of sovereignty» (in the sense of appropriation, seizure of the sovereignty of the USSR by the Union center), «russian peace», «rashyzm»; ...» (Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine, 2022). This means that the generation of 1991 – 2021 grew up on an archaic conceptual apparatus, and overcoming the illusion of the historical subjectivity of Soviet Ukraine (USSR) is only the next task of the intellectual environment (Mironova & Buryannyk, 2020).

**Conclusions.** The struggle of Ukrainians to become a subject of their path dependence is an invariable feature of Ukraine. As the study showed, military victory is the main, but not sufficient, prerequisite for mastering subjectivity. B. Khmelnytskyi in 1654, and M. Hrushevskiy in 1922 made a choice, not in favor of European subjectivity. They could not choose the path that would depend only on Ukrainians. Scientists, on par with politicians, should give strong support to the current choice of

Ukrainians – albeit with a delay of hundreds of years, to become a full-fledged subject of the European Union. To approve subjectivity, it is necessary to follow a certain algorithm for the activation of the humanitarian sphere:

- domestic science develops theoretical principles for choosing ways of pre-formation Ukraine subjectivity;

- education in general shapes every Ukrainian worldview for the practical implementation of these ways;

- professional education prepares professionals for the creation of Ukraine's subjectivity.

This algorithm is simple in form, but, as history shows, extremely difficult to execute. If the theoretical principles are borrowed or inspired from outside, then the humanitarian sphere nullifies the military victory. In this case, Ukrainian professional education returns to the archaic past: to the training of qualified serfs (as in the I period of 1654 – 1917) or collective farm workers (as in the II period of 1917 – 1991).

The direction of professional education to train qualified builders of independent Ukraine depends on the activation of the humanitarian sphere. The direction of prospective research also depends on compliance with this algorithm. By the chosen methodological approach, the issue of pre-formation for Ukraine's future path dependence is now being resolved. The principle here is the transition from command-administrative chains to a matrix scientific and educational system. The rigid administrative vertical should be subordinated to the horizontal priority of Ukrainian subjectivity. Solving these issues is only pre-formation for the scientific study of the next stages of path dependence.

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# РОЛЬ НАУКИ І ОСВІТИ У ФОРМУВАННІ СУБ'ЄКТНОСТІ УКРАЇНИ У ПРОЦЕСІ ВХОДЖЕННЯ В ЄВРОПЕЙСЬКИЙ ПРОСТІР

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## Реферат.

*Актуальність:* дослідження науково-освітянських чинників формування суб'єктності України є необхідною передумовою її інтеграції в європейський економічний, науковий і освітній простір.

*Мета:* системне узагальнення історичної місії українських науковців і освітян у формуванні суб'єктності України.

*Методи:* теоретичні, історичні, залежності шляху, статистичні; макроекономічного, порівняльного і ретроспективного аналізу.

*Результати:* здійснено періодизацію історичних змін у категоріях залежності шляху України з 1648 р. по теперішній час; етапи кожного періоду розглядаються крізь призму ролі науки і освіти у формуванні цивілізаційної суб'єктності України; висунуто і доведено гіпотезу про приреченість імперських принципів державотворення; визначений взаємозв'язок та взаємовплив між пригніченням українського науково-освітянського простору та підкоренням України; проаналізовано економічний і політичний стан сучасної України у категоріях залежності шляху; конкретизовано історичні витoki тих негараздів, які перешкоджають формуванню суб'єктності сучасної української науки і освіти.

*Висновки:* доведено, що незалежний політичний статус і багаті природні ресурси є необхідними, але недостатніми умовами формування цивілізаційної суб'єктності України; за результатами дослідження стверджується, що від науки й освіти залежить розроблення керівних принципів творення майбутньої залежності шляху; запропоновано алгоритм реалізації ролі науки і освіти у формуванні суб'єктності України для входження у європейський економічний, науковий і освітній простір.

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**Ключові слова:** європейський простір, наука, освіта, залежність шляху, суб'єктність.

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