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NEOFEUDALISM: THE MAIN PROBLEM ON THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT OF UKRAINE**B. SINENKO**, Master, graduate of the Faculty of Plant Protection, Ecology and Biotechnology*National University of Life and Environmental Sciences of Ukraine**E-mail: bogdan.sinenko@gmail.com***V. KULTENKO**, PhD in Philosophy, Associate Professor of the Department of Philosophy and International Communication

ORCID 0000 0002 4313 8494

*National University of Life and Environmental Sciences of Ukraine**E-mail: kultenko@ukr.net*

Abstract. *An original approach to the analysis of problems development of modern Ukraine is offered. Possible ways to solve them for the country's transition from a state of transition to sustainable development are being clarified. The authors see the reasons for the instability of the current situation in Ukraine in the fact that its development is characterized by signs of neo-feudalism. Namely: the revival of feudal traditions of management, the dominance of socio-economic traditions of feudal societies. A typical feature of neo-feudalism in Ukraine is the localization of the population through the procedure of registration. This ensures the person's attachment to the place of residence, pressure, and hence control over it. In addition, the uncertainty of land ownership and the forced-militaristic system of state security are characteristic of modern Ukraine. These factors are a means of state pressure and coercion on the population of Ukraine, which are contrary to the principles of liberalism. Overcoming such outdated inhibitory factors, according to the authors, should have a positive impact on the further development of Ukraine, stabilization of its development and optimization of civil society institutions.*

Key words: *neo-feudalism, stable development, localization of the population, residence permit, forms of land ownership, coercion, military service.*

Introduction. At all times, people have obeyed a number of rules, laws and social customs that have developed under the influence of economic factors or historical precedents. Each of them to some extent influenced the choice of the path of further development of mankind. One of the most interesting phenomena of such ways of development of state systems is the development of the post-Soviet republics of the former USSR. Interest in them is due to the fact that development in these republics, including Ukraine, has acquired non-standard forms. After all, the socio-legal system in them is characterized by pronounced features of neo-feudal nature.

Analysis of recent researches and publications. As is well known,

feudalism is a historical formation of the development of medieval Europe. This was one of the most important stages in the formation of European society in the pre-industrial era. Feudalism originated in the late sixth century and disappeared under the influence of the revolutions of the nineteenth century (1848–1849), giving way to a capitalist formation in the historical arena of Europe. Its material basis was the land holdings – as the main driving element of economic relations. Localization of people in the field of production of their natural products, refusal of free movement and ownership of land, together with compulsory military service – were some of the prominent lines of medieval feudal policy [1, 2].

In Ukraine, as in the whole of Europe, the next historical stage in the development of the socio-political system was the capitalist formation. In the short period of historical calm between the revolutions in the Russian Empire, capitalism was characterized by signs of direct democracy. Later, the democratic form of government was replaced by the totalitarian dictatorship of the Soviet era, which continued from the 1920s until the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 [5].

As a result of the political and social destabilization of the 1990s, the authorities passed into the hands of several unreliable personalities, which led to the formation of a kleptocratic system of government, which, in the future, began to become a form of neo-feudalism [7].

“Neo-feudalism or new feudalism is a theorized contemporary rebirth of policies of governance, economy, and public life reminiscent of those present in many feudal societies, such as unequal rights and legal protections for common people and for nobility. The concept of “neofeudalism” may focus on economics” [12].

The first example of the use of the term “neofeudalism” is John Kenneth Galbraith's essay “Neofeudalism”, published in 1961 [13]. Jürgen Habermas also used the term *Refeudalisierung* (“referendum”) in his work “Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere” (1962) [14]. In this work, the author criticized the privatization of those forms of communication that, in his opinion, created the public sphere of the Enlightenment.

In 1992, Immanuel Wallerstein expressed his views on world development, listing neo-feudalism among the other three options. By neo-feudalism, Wallerstein meant regions of autarky with a localized hierarchy and high-tech goods available only to the elite [15]. Sighard Neckel has argued that the rise of financial-market-based capitalism in the later twentieth century

has represented a ‘refeudalisation’ of the economy [14].

The countries of the post-Soviet space are also characterized by certain features of neo-feudalism. “Regionalization, the rise of informal economy, actualization of violence and forced redistribution are the main dimensions and forms of the post-Soviet re-feudalized economies” [10]. Modern neo-Marxist economists believe that neo-feudalism is one of the inevitable economic processes. Interestingly, neo-feudalism is presented by them as a progressive historical phenomenon compared to the previous Soviet model of economic development.

Purpose. A typical feature of neo-feudalism – the widening gap in wealth – can be clearly seen in modern Ukraine. As a result, poor and marginalized people are excluded from state security. Neo-feudalism is, in a general sense, a revival of the feudal traditions of management and the socio-economic traditions of its medieval counterpart [9]. Depending on the type of connection with the “land issue”, there are three main features of Ukrainian neo-feudalism: localization of the population, uncertainty of land ownership and the forced-militaristic system of state security. Decipher the content of these figures.

Methods. The authors used cultural-historical and integrative approaches.

Results. The localization of the population can be expressed in the form of a strict geographical reference to the so-called “residence permit”. Health care, kindergarten, school – all of the above social facilities favor a population with a strong geographical affinity to the place of residence. In particular, people who do not have a document that can certify their place of residence may be denied service.

The next characteristic is uncertainty in the form of land ownership. Uncertainty in the form of land ownership

is one of the main problems of Ukraine in the nineteenth century. Formally, any citizen of Ukraine who owns a land plot and has a notarized right of ownership of it, is free to transfer it, sell and use it for the intended purpose [4].

However, at the same time, Article 79 of the Land Code of Ukraine states: "The ownership of a land plot extends within its boundaries to the surface (soil) layer" [4]. Also, the land owner cannot arbitrarily extract or use minerals and groundwater – this is state property [4]. At the same time as Article 13 of the Constitution of Ukraine dictates: "Earth, its subsoil, atmospheric air, water and other natural resources that are within the territory of Ukraine, the natural resources of its continental shelf, exclusive (maritime) economic zone are objects property rights of the Ukrainian people" [6].

The next, coercive-militaristic feature of Ukrainian neo-feudalism is expressed in compulsory military service. Its purpose is to protect the borders and territorial integrity of Ukraine, to protect the native land from enemies. The noble goal is realized by dubious means. After all, conscription applies to the entire male population of the country, regardless of the presence or absence of military talents of conscripts. Evasion of compulsory military service implies criminal liability [3].

Discussion. Thus, the characteristic features of neo-feudalism of Ukraine in the early nineteenth century are the granting of land plots without the possibility of full ownership and freedom of use, social localization of the population in certain areas, and forced use of citizens as elements of property protection, the ownership of which they have purely nominal.

This creates significant problems for the implementation of sustainable management policy in Ukraine and the development of social institutions of civil society.

According to some foreign observers, Ukraine is increasingly legitimizing neo-feudalism. The land market will create regional landowners who will become nobles with serfs and titles. Central overlocks will be located outside Ukraine. Therefore, Ukraine will return to a situation similar to the periods of Polish history, when the nobles had a fairly wide range of powers, and the king had no real power [8]. Another researcher – M. Kirchanov, on the contrary, believes that theory of neofeudalism pretends to methodological universality as it provides scholars with a mechanism for explanations and interpretations of unique economic conditions emerged in the post-Soviet economies of Russia and Ukraine. The author insists that the concept of neo-feudalism is an integral element of the critical and revisionist approach in actual economic theories that develop in general uncertainty of methodological backgrounds of modern economic processes [10].

The following actions are the most significant for overcoming this ambivalent situation today and the formation of Ukraine on the path of sustainable development. First, it is necessary to abandon the practice of admission to national service facilities (hospitals, kindergartens, schools), depending on the place of registration. Service should only take place in a live or electronic queue. Secondly, the problem of restricting land ownership rights should be solved and an open land market should be created for the citizens of Ukraine. Third, the compulsory form of conscription and the transfer to the contract army should be abandoned. This will not only save budget funds, but also get an armed force based on military professionals, who have the desire and are morally prepared to fight. "In Western Europe, the middle class put an end to the omnipotence of the aristocracy. But bourgeoisie itself sprang from city guilds, organizations of free

men who united to stand up for their personal, quite pragmatic interests. In today's Ukraine, protests against illegal construction, the tyranny of local princes, or any infringement of individual or community rights must be accompanied by the constant self-organization of citizens who care and who keep an eye on the policies of government in every single sphere. This is how the civil society of the West grew up" [11].

Thus, by performing a number of the above actions, it is possible to return Ukraine from neo-feudal capitalism to the path of sustainable development of economy and institute of social relations in the country with the further prospect of introducing aspects of social models of other European states.

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НЕОФЕОДАЛІЗМ ЯК ОСНОВНА ПЕРЕШКОДА ДО СТАЛОГО РОЗВИТКУ УКРАЇНИ

Б. В. Сіненко, В. П. Культенко

Анотація. Пропонується оригінальний підхід до аналізу проблем розвитку сучасної України, можливих шляхів їхнього розв'язання для переходу країни від стану транзитивності до сталого розвитку. Автори вбачають причини нестабільності теперішньої ситуації в Україні в тому, що її розвиток характеризується ознаками неофеодалізму. А саме: відродження феодальних традицій господарювання, панування соціально-економічних традицій суспільств феодального типу. Типовими рисами неофеодалізму в Україні є: локалізація населення через процедуру приписки, чим забезпечується прив'язаність людини до місця проживання, а значить і контроль за нею. Крім того, характерною для сучасної України є невизначеність форм власності на землю та примусово-мілітаристична система державної безпеки. Ці фактори являються засобами державного тиску та примусу на населення України, які суперечать принципам лібералізму. Подолання цих застарілих гальмівних факторів, на переконання авторів, має позитивно позначитись на подальшому розвитку України, стабілізації

її розвитку та оптимізації інститутів громадянського суспільства.

Ключові слова: *неофеодалізм, стабільний розвиток, локалізація населення, прописка, форми власності на землю, примус, військовий обов'язок.*