DOI https://doi.org/10.32837/app.v0i68.1277 УДК 32.019.52: 519.2

> M. A. Polovyi orcid.org/0000-0001-7283-3528 Doctor of Political Science, Professor, Professor at the Department of Political Science and Public Administration Vasyl' Stus Donetsk National University

Amiran Khevtsuriani orcid.org/0000-0002-7739-7232 Ph.D. of International Relations, Professor at Academic Department of Politics and International Relations Georgian Technical University, Academician (Georgia)

THE NATURE AND VARIETIES OF SEPARATISM IN THE MODERN WORLD

Modern states are increasingly characterized by the policy of granting potentially separatist minorities territorial autonomy and broad cultural and linguistic rights, creating conditions for them under which their aspirations can be satisfied within a single (or even formally single) state, which makes it possible to avoid conflicts and problems associated with the territorial office (Kireev, 2004, p. 50).

The effectiveness of such a solution to the extremely complex issue of the territorial integrity of the state is confirmed by a number of historical examples. The first of these may be Spain, which after the Franco period took the path of granting autonomy to national territories. A similar tactic has been undertaken by Britain for Scotland and Wales. Canadian federalism presupposes the right of Quebec to pursue a policy of limiting the scope of the use of the English language. The Aland Islands have an autonomous status in Finland (Ostsrud, 2004, p. 16).

Separatism can be conditionally divided into two main types: peaceful and violent. In the XX century, its armed-terrorist form was typical. Moreover, it was in Europe during that period that ethnopolitical radicalism most often took a terrorist form (Narochnitskaya, 2003). The organization of the Basque separatists (ETA) also contributed to this wave of terrorist attacks, which only by 2013 announced (however, not for the first time) about the cessation of the armed struggle.

In addition to these forms, there are also various manifestations of separatism. For example, if you look from the point of view of ideas that have not received a political form, then you can distinguish mental separatism, that is, ideas of separation, spread by non-political methods, but remaining in the public space of discourse. This vision of separatism reflects an approach that appeals to the process of socio-political construction of images and a special discursive reality (Kudryashova, 2013). The level of its public support largely depends on the intensity and direction of the constructed ideas of "mental separatism". The indicators of the latter are the electoral results of the activities of political parties and public opinion polls (Kandel (ed.), 2015). They can show clearly whether such ideas are really influential or still marginal.

There is also a typology of geographic separatism. So, there are six geographical types of separatism:

- 1) Western European variety of separatism (Northern Cyprus, Faroe Islands, Flanders and Wallonia, Corsica, Catalonia, Basque Country, Northern Ireland), which is characterized by the predominance of socio-economic and ethno-confessional factors.
- 2) Eastern European variety separatism which includes former the socialist countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the states that have arisen after the collapse of the USSR. This is different variety from Western European aspirations of separatist groups gain full territorial independence (Makoshev, 2006, p. 14).
- 3) The Islamic variety of separatism (Afghanistan, Algeria, Bangladesh, Yemen, Pakistan, Tajikistan, Kurdistan) is characteristic of the Islamic countries of the Middle and Near East, South and Central Asia, North Africa. This type is characterized by belonging to one cultural and religious

community based on Islam. The main role in this case belongs to the ethnic identity of minorities, which are suppressed in nation states (Zelenkov, 2006, p. 174).

- 4) Asian variety (China, Indonesia, Philippines, Myanmar (Burma), Sri Lanka, Assam, Nagoland, Punjab, India) This type of separatism is limited to South, Southeast and East Asia. National and religious conflicts appeared in this region after the states gained independence, but they have their origins in pre-colonial times,
- 5) African variety. (Rwanda and Burundi, Kwazu-Natal province in South Africa, Comoros, North Somalia, Cabinda Province in Angola, South Sudan) Much what was said in relation to the Asian, corresponds to this variety separatism. The differences lie in the time of occurrence of foci conflicts that unfolded after these countries gained independence in the post-colonial period.
- 6) American variety. This includes the status of the island Nevis within the Federation of Saint Quite, a self-governing territory Denmark Greenland, Mexican state Whose pass, Canadian province Quebec (Zelenkov, 2006, p. 177).

By factors of separatism, we mean conditions, causes, parameters, indicators that have an impact and impact on the process under study and the result of this process. In other words, the factor – it is the driving force behind this or that processa, which determines its character or individual traits.

The factors contributing to the development of ideas of separatism can be different. Among other things, in some cases, problems arising in adjacent spheres can also acquire ethnic overtones, for example, economic, environmental, confessional, moral and other contradictions and cause the movement of separatism (Egorova, 2009; Tishkov, 1993).

European separatism is not a new phenomenon; it has existed since the birth of modern European states. The separatists use both legal (for example, the creation of political parties aimed at representation in power structures) and illegal (direct action and terror) methods of political struggle.

The growth of separatist sentiments in almost all European countries has recently been caused by the influx of legal and illegal migrants, which quite reasonably causes an increase in tension in the host society. On the other hand, this is a kind of reaction to the processes of centralization and unification that took place in a number of European countries during several decades of the 20th century under the influence of authoritarian, dictatorial, nationalist regimes. After their fall (mainly as a result of the Second World War), the opposite movement began to gain strength. To date, the intersection of global and local processes has given rise to a kind of hybrid process called "glocalization" (Giddens, 2004; Kiting, 2003; Semenenko (ed.), 2014). Projecting this process into the future, one can expect a situation when the inhabitants of Europe will associate themselves not with their country, but with a region or even a city. It should be emphasized that such processes are already visible today (Egorova, 2009).

It should be noted that in general, socio-economic and ethno-confessional types of separatism prevail in Europe, that is, the creation of a sovereign state as the goal of the struggle is replaced by maximum political, economic and national-cultural autonomy within the borders of modern states, and the factors and methods of struggle remain within the political framework.

Very interesting opinion A.B. Krylov who identifies specific groups of reasons for separatism (Krylov, 2008, p. 50).

- 1) The factor of ethics (ethno-religious)The emergence of separatism is often based on ethnoreligious reasons that give rise to a conflict-prone situation. The features of such conflicts are the fast, "explosive" process of origin and development, the unlimited impact of force and the total mobilization of resources and the achievement of goals by the subjects using force and methods in which it is fundamentally impossible to conclude a compromise. Such conflicts are also characterized by "sinusoidal" dynamics (confrontation-dialogue), the active involvement of the subjects on their side of the ethnically related diaspora and close circles of other countries, as well as destructive consequences for all parties involved (Gluhova (ed.), 2010, p. 90).
- 2) The socio-economic factor of separatism means the manifestation of imbalances in the social and economic order on the territory of a single state. At the same time, the growing difference betweenmost and least developed regions.

This difference usually manifests itself in the fact that regions inhabited by national or ethnic minorities are usually poorer than others. and this turns them into an internal "colony".

- 3) The political factor. Political reasons also play an important role in the emergence of separatism. Relations between ethnic groups at the local and regional levels, the struggle of ethnic groups for political status within the state, the political struggle of inter-ethnic groups, as well as the struggle for political independence.
- 4) Foreign policy factors. Globalization, democratization, the formation of a new world order, the strengthening of the ethnic factor in world social development and others, have a huge impact on the problems of political separatism.
- 5) The factor of "historical memory". The factor of historical memory has always played and will play a decisive role in the life of an ethnic group. The heavier the historical past, the stronger the dependence on it.
- 6) Geographic factor. The development of ideas of separatism can be favored by geographic conditions, and in particular by the uneven development of individual territories of the country as a result of weak integration.
- 7) Language factor. Referring to the experience of European countries, it is worth noting the importance of the language factor. Thus, it is key for the Belgian society, where the possible division of Belgium into two parts is a real threat: the southern Walloon (French-speaking) and northern Flemish, whose inhabitants gravitate towards the Netherlands (Popov, 2020).
- 8) Demographic factor. It includes a relatively high population growth of certain ethnic groups (high demographic dynamics), as well as a lack of living space, overcrowded settlement, uneven distribution of the population in multinational states.

There are a number of reasons for separatism arising from the influence of the demographic factor, for example (Sakaev, 2012):

- a) As a result of numerous migrations of the population, the boundaries of the settlement of ethnic groups and states changed;
- b) The asymmetric nature of the entire ethnic system, when there is a dominant ethnic group that controls power structures and privileged social niches (management, industrial production, etc.), which causes discontent among minorities;
- c) Modernization and intellectualization of peoples leads to the fact that in prestigious activities there is competition between titular and other ethnic groups: representatives of titular ethnic groups begin to claim prestigious and privileged positions, including in power;
- d) Correlation of the social stratification of society and the division of labor with the ethnic characteristics of the population of a particular region.

Thus, the demographic factor, together with all the others, has a significant impact on the development of separatist sentiments.

- 9) Socio-cultural factor. It implies contradictions associated with differences in traditions, customs, religion, as well as infringement of other values of the ethnos. (Landabaso, Konovalov, 2004).
- 10. Geopolitical factor. In the 21st century, in the post-confrontational, postmodern era, separatism acquired a completely different content compared to the 19th and 20th centuries. In the past, the disintegration of the country's territorial integrity could have been exploited by hostile external or internal anti-system forces, which made participation in separatist movements or organizations a rather risky undertaking (Migel, 1985, p. 341). However, under current conditions, such a threat as the danger of overt external intervention is practically non-existent. Moreover, the world community and European structures do not see sufficient grounds for any of the current separatist formations in Europe to gain international recognition. "The international community supports alternatives to secession, in which it will be possible to correct any injustices and prevent them in the future. Multilevel forms of government, in which power is distributed between different levels and each level of government carries out certain functions of self-government according to the federal model, is one of these alternatives," believe the participants of the international project to study regional conflicts in Europe. This can be combined with other forms of distribution of powers between different national communities or with guarantees of minority rights. suppose the participants of the international project on the study of regional conflicts in Europe. This can be combined with

other forms of distribution of powers between different national communities or with guarantees of minority rights. – suppose the participants of the international project on the study of regional conflicts in Europe. This can be combined with other forms of distribution of powers between different national communities or with guarantees of minority rights.

The factors of separatism are inextricably interconnected with each other. The interaction of factors can "muffle" their overall effect or increase the destructive consequences. From the point of view of regional studies, all factors of separatism are refracted and aggregated in the form of center-peripheral relations.

Many examples of separatism remain little known. Thus, Denmark has a semi-autonomous territory – the Faroe Islands. The Danish government annually allocates subsidies from the state budget in the amount of almost \$ 170 million to finance them. It is this circumstance that serves as a deterrent for local representatives of the separatist movement in the issue of holding a referendum on independence, although ten years ago the separatists tried to do this.

In Switzerland, there is a separatist movement – the Jura Liberation Front, which has been advocating the proclamation of the independence of the canton of Jura from the Confederation for over 30 years.

In Romanian Transylvania, the share of the Hungarian population in the total population is currently over 45%. Note that historically Transylvania first belonged to Austria-Hungary, in 1919–1939 – to Romania and in 1940–1945 – to Hungary. During the socialist period, N. Ceausescu created the Union for the Revival of Hungarian Transylvania. At the end of March 2007, the organization held referendums on territorial autonomy in three Transylvanian counties. Moreover, during the referendums, the Hungarian minority of Transylvania spoke out for independent relations between the region and Budapest and for maximum autonomy from Bucharest (Hotbeds of separatism..., 2007).

From all of the above, it follows that the problems of nationalism and separatism can be aggravated by the economic crisis, unemployment, impoverishment of the population, interethnic barriers to communication, negative forms of national self-assertion, open nationalism, ambitions of national leaders, territorial and other reasons.

Thus, summing up the results of the first chapter, we note that mankind encountered the phenomenon of separatism already in the process of the emergence of the first state formations.

Separatism itself is interpreted as a struggle and other (institutional or extra-institutional) activity to isolate a part of the territory in order to create an independent state or obtain a new status of autonomy. Separatism is in conflict with the principle of territorial unity and the integrity of state borders. Therefore, it is a source of protracted and complex interstate and interethnic conflicts.

Література

Гидденс Э. Ускользающий мир: как глобализация меняет нашу жизнь / пер. с англ. Москва : Изд-во «Весь Мир», 2004. 312 с.

Егорова М. Малые народы Европы и новые вызовы времени. Вестник Российского университета дружбы народов: Серия: Политология. Москва: 2009. № 2. С. 94–101.

Зеленков М.Ю. Межнациональные конфликты: проблемы и пути их решения: правовой аспект. Воронеж : Воронежский госуниверситет, 2006. С. 174.

Киреев Р.С. Феномен сепаратизма и его опасность. Москва : ООО «Центр Полиграфических услуг "Радуга"», 2004. С. 50.

Китинг М. Новый регионализм в Западной Европе. *Логос. Журнал по философии и прагматике культуры.* 2003. № 6. С. 81–86.

Крылов А.Б. Сепаратизм: истоки и тенденции развития. Москва: Знание, 2008. С. 50.

Кудряшова И.В. Мир воображаемых границ. URL: http://mssiancounci1.ru/1ibrary/?id_4=91#1

Ландабасо Ангуло А.И., Коновалов А.М. Терроризм и этнополитические конфликты. Москва : Огни. 2004. Книга 1. Из истории Басков. $384 \, \mathrm{c}$.

Макошев А.П. Политическая география и геополитика. Горно-Алтайск : РИО ГАГУ, 2006. С. 14.

Мигель А. 40 миллионов испанцев 40 лет спустя. Москва: Прогресс, 1985. С. 341.

Нарочницкая Е.А. Терроризм и демократия. На примере этнического терроризма в странах Запада. *Актуальные проблемы Европы.* 2003. № 1. С. 27–59.

Остсруд О. Суверенная государственность и национальное самоопределение // Этнографическое обозрение. 2004. № 2. С. 16.

Очаги сепаратизма в странах современной. *PИА Новости*. 17.12.2007. URL: http://www.spain.com.ua/news/separatizm_v_europe_17122007

Политическая конфликтология перед новыми вызовами / под ред. А.В. Глуховой. Воронеж: Воронежский госуниверситет, 2010. С. 87-96.

Политические изменения в глобальном мире: теоретико-методологические проблемы анализа и прогнозирования / под ред. И.С. Семененко, В.В. Лапкин, В.И. Пантин. Москва : ИМЭМО РАН, 2014. 218 с.

Попов А. 2020 Национализм и сепаратизм в единой Европе. *Космополис.* URL: http://www.politnauka.org/librars/nation/popov.php

Сакаев В.Т. Демографический фактор в этнополитических конфликтах: методологические аспекты анализа. *PolitBook.* 2012. № 3. URL: http://cyberleninka.ru/article/ii/demograficheskiy-taktor-vetnopoliticheskih-konfliktah-metodologicheskie-aspekty-analiza/

Сепаратизм в политической жизни современной Европы / под ред. П.Е. Канделя. Москва : Ин-т Европы РАН, 2015. 88 с.

Тишков В.А. О природе этнического конфликта. Свободная мысль. 1993. № 4. С. 4–15.

References

Giddens, Je. (2004). *Uskol'zajushhij mir: kak globalizacija menjaet nashu zhizn'* [An elusive world: how globalization is changing our lives]. Moscow: Izd-vo "Ves' Mir". [in Russsian].

Egorova, M. (2009). Malye narody Evropy i novye vyzovy vremeni [An elusive world: how globalization is changing our lives]. *Vestnik Rossijskogo universiteta druzhby narodov: Serija: Politologija* [Bulletin of Peoples' Friendship University of Russia: Series: Political Science], *no.* 2, 94–101. [in Russsian].

Zelenkov, M.Ju. (2006). *Mezhnacional'nye konflikty: problemy i puti ih reshenija pravovoj aspekt* [Interethnic conflicts: problems and ways to solve them legal aspect]. Voronezh: Voronezhskij gosuniversitet. [in Russsian].

Kireev, R.S. (2004). *Fenomen separatizma i ego opasnost'* [The phenomenon of separatism and its danger]. Moscow: OOO "Centr Poligraficheskih uslug "Raduga". [in Russsian].

Kiting, M. (2003). Novyj regionalizm v Zapadnoj Evrope [New regionalism in Western Europe]. *Logos. Zhurnal po filosofii i pragmatike kul'tury* [Logos. Journal of Philosophy and Pragmatics of Culture], *no. 6*, 81–86. [in Russsian].

Krylov, A.B. (2008). *Separatizm: istoki i tendencii razvitija* [Separatism: origins and development trends]. Moscow: Znanie. [in Russsian].

Kudrjashova, I.V. *Mir voobrazhaemyh granic* [A world of imaginary boundaries]. URL: http://mssiancounci1.ru/1ibgagu/?id_4=91#1 [in Russsian].

Landabaso Angulo, A.I., Konovalov, A.M. (2004). Terrorizm i jetnopoliticheskie konflikty [Terrorism and ethnopolitical conflicts]. Moscow: Ogni. *Kniga 1. Iz istorii Baskov* [Book 1. From the history of the Basques]. [in Russsian].

Makoshev, A.P. (2006). *Politicheskaja geografija i geopolitika* [Political geography and geopolitics]. Gorno-Altajsk: RIO GAGU. [in Russsian].

Migel', A. (1985). 40 millionov ispancev 40 let spustja [40 million Spaniards 40 years later]. Moscow: Progress. [in Russsian].

Narochnickaja, E.A. (2003). Terrorizm i demokratija. Na primere jetnicheskogo terrorizma v stranah Zapada [Terrorism and Democracy. On the example of ethnic terrorism in Western countries]. *Aktual'nye problemy Evropy* [Topical problems of Europe], *no.* 1, 27–59. [in Russsian].

Ostsrud, O. (2004). Suverennaja gosudarstvennost' i nacional'noe samoopredelenie [Sovereign statehood and national self-determination]. *Jetnograficheskoe obozrenie* [Ethnographic review], no. 2, 16. [in Russsian].

Ochagi separatizma v stranah sovremennoj (2007) [Hotbeds of separatism in the countries of modern]. *RIA Novosti* [RIA News]. URL: http://www.spain.com.ua/news/separatizm_v_europe_17122007 [in Russsian].

Gluhova, A.V. (ed.) (2010). *Politicheskaja konfliktologija pered novymi vyzovami* [Political conflictology facing new challenges]. Voronezh: Voronezhskij gosuniversitet. [in Russsian].

Semenenko, I.S., Lapkin, V.V., Pantin, V.I. (ed.) (2014). *Politicheskie izmenenija v global'nom mire: teoretiko-metodologicheskie problemy analiza i prognozirovanija* [Political changes in the global world: theoretical and methodological problems of analysis and forecasting]. Moscow: IMJeMO RAN. [in Russsian].

Popov, A. (2020). *Nacionalizm i separatizm v edinoj Evrope* [Nationalism and Separating in a United Europe]. URL: http://wvw.politnauka.org/librars/nation/popov.php [in Russsian].

Sakaev, V.T. (2012). Demograficheskij faktor v jetnopoliticheskih konfliktah: metodologicheskie aspekty analiza [The demographic factor in ethnopolitical conflicts: methodological aspects of the analysis]. *PolitBook, no.* 3. URL: http://cyberleninka.ru/article/ii/demograficheskiy-taktor-v-etnopoliticheskih-konfliktah-metodologicheskie-aspekty-analiza/ [in Russsian].

Kandel', P.E. (ed.) (2015). *Separatizm v politicheskoj zhizni sovremennoj Evropy* [Separatism in the political life of modern Europe]. Moscow: In-t Evropy RAN. [in Russsian].

Tishkov, V.A. (1993). O prirode jetnicheskogo konflikta [On the nature of ethnic conflict]. *Svobodnaja mysl'* [Free thought], no. 4, 4–15. [in Russsian].

Summary

Polovyi M. A., Khevtsuriani A. The nature and varieties of separatism in the modern world. - Article.

Currently, the entire world community is entering a new era, which is characterized by the emergence of numerous and widespread phenomena and challenges of world civilization, such as international terrorism, progressive nationalism, religious intolerance, as well as increasingly persistent political separatism. The disintegration of a number of political states in Asia, Africa and Europe, the destructive potential of disintegration of peoples that have existed for a long time within the framework of a single statehood, give grounds to believe that political separatism goes beyond the framework of not only national, but also regional security, acquiring an increasingly international aspect. These separatist movements use not only peaceful demonstrations in their arsenal, but violent forms such as uprisings also carry terrorist threats. Extremist acts in this context represent a form of realizing a separatist goal, acquiring more and more new forms and methods. Separate political, nationalist, religious organizations of a separatist orientation use violent methods to achieve their goals.

Our era is an era of globalization of all aspects of social life, strengthening of interaction and mutual cooperation of different peoples, states, civilizations and cultures. But at the same time, it should be noted that at all times peoples exchanged material and spiritual values. Moreover, as mankind developed, this exchange intensified more and more. National sectors of the economy turned into international ones, trade, economic, cultural, social and political ties were strengthened.

Separatism as a phenomenon is studied from various positions: both at the level of political science itself and at the trans-scientific level. An important task in this study is the analysis of the origins of separatism and the mechanisms of its emergence in various historical and geographical conditions.

Key words: Separatism, secession, irredentism, regionalism, nationalism, federalism.

Анотація

Польовий М. А., Хевиџріані А. Природа та різновиди сепаратизму в сучасному світі. - Стаття.

Визначено, що сьогодні все світове співтовариство вступає в нову еру, яка характеризується появою численних і широко розповсюджених явищ та викликів світової цивілізації, таких як міжнародний тероризм, прогресивний націоналізм, релігійна нетерпимість, а також усе більш стійкий політичний сепаратизм. Розпад ряду політичних держав в Азії, Африці та Європі, руйнівний потенціал дезінтеграції народів, які тривалий час існували в рамках єдиної державності, дають підстави вважати, що політичний сепаратизм виходить за рамки лише національної, а й регіональної безпеки, набуваючи дедалі більше міжнародного аспекту. Ці сепаратистські рухи використовують у своєму арсеналі не лише мирні демонстрації, але й такі насильницькі форми, як повстання, а також несуть терористичні загрози. Екстремістські дії в цьому контексті являють собою форму реалізації сепаратистської мети, набуття все нових і нових форм і методів. Окремі політичні, націоналістичні, релігійні організації сепаратистської орієнтації використовують насильницькі методи для досягнення своєї мети.

Зазначено, що наша епоха – це епоха глобалізації всіх аспектів суспільного життя, посилення взаємодії та взаємної співпраці різних народів, держав, цивілізацій та культур. Зазначено, що в усі часи люди обмінювались матеріальними та духовними цінностями. Більш того, з розвитком людства цей обмін дедалі більше посилювався. Національні сектори економіки перетворилися на міжнародні, зміцнилися торговельно-економічні, культурні, соціальні та політичні зв'язки.

Сепаратизм як явище вивчається з різних позицій: як на рівні самої політології, так і на транснауковому рівні. Важливим завданням у цьому дослідженні є аналіз витоків сепаратизму та механізмів його виникнення в різних історико-географічних умовах.

Ключові слова: сепаратизм, відокремлення, іредентизм, регіоналізм, націоналізм, федералізм.