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THE BASIC CAUSES OF THE CONTEMPORARY SEPARATISM

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Abstract

The article is devoted to such a pressing problem as separatism. It is revealed that separatism is a problem of the past, but the author emphasizes that the XXI st century will be the century of identification factor increasing that will influence the nationalistic issues. It is underlined that nationalism is the basis of the separatism movements that can lead to military conflicts and genocide. It is emphasized that the separatism could be catalyzed not only by inner factors but also by outside ones, especially nowadays, when the structure of the world is being changed by the influential actors of the foreign affairs.

Key words

separatism, nationalism, conflict, national minority, Donbass, genocide, state.

1. Introduction

Nowadays there are more than 180 states in the world and only at least 20 are ethnically homogeneous. In more than 40% of states there could be found five or more national minorities. In general there are about 8 thousands peoples and each of them pretend for independence.

In contemporary political discourse there is an opinion that such issues as separatism, nationalism, minorities' groups problems are not actual any more that is why there is no necessity to analyze them thoroughly. But as we can see on the example of some separatism movements the issues of national minorities are getting harsh.

After the end of WWII the world has been divided by the states-winners. In some cases the new borders were set up by those countries without taking into consideration the peculiarities of the areas

where national minorities lived. Besides inside some states (the USSR, Yugoslavia) the areas were taken from one republic and given to the other. As a result a huge part of a particular people had to live in one republic with another people that sometimes even was hostile to this one. During the cold war, that existed in terms of bipolar system on international relations, the national minorities didn't have an opportunity to protect their rights in a military way or at least aggressively. So after the collapse of the USSR and when the cold war was over we started to observe cruel ethnical fights for the independence.

According to the opinion of the experts the world has gone through three waves of ethnical conflicts during the XX century. The first wave took place after the WWI and collapse of colonial states, collapse of Austria and Hungary empire, Russian empire,

Ottoman empire on the territory of which new states were formed. The second wave was initiated by the WWII and collapse of colonial states. The third wave started after the collapse of the USSR and is still going on (Соин, 1998).

In the end of the cold war when the global architecture of international security started to ruin, the USSR was not as powerful as it used to be and its authorities cared only about internal problems cause they were not interested in controlling the countries that were in the sphere of Soviet interest and control, so the national minorities saw an opportunity to get the independence sometimes even using weaponry.

S. Huntington (Хантингтон, 2007) emphasizes that in the world after the cold war culture and realizing that you belong to different identity determines the model of uniting, disintegration and conflict.

2. Contemporary separatism

Some experts believe that the contemporary world is in the state of the end of the third wave that gives them right to say that ethnical conflict will take place very seldom (Gurr, 1993). In the author's opinion the world is in the state of the final stage of international security architecture construction due to which not only each state but also each people must decide which role it wants to play in the future international affairs. It can influence the stability of any country cause ethnical minorities can have different opinion as for the priorities of the foreign policy course of the country. Such a bright example is Ukraine in which the society has been divided for 25 years into two groups, the first believes that Ukraine should integrate into EU and NATO and the second part considers close cooperation with Russia as the most profitable policy. Catalonia also announced about the process of disintegration from Spain as it prevents this region from developing. Taking into account these facts we can say that the world can be absorbed by the fourth wave of ethnic conflicts that would be caused by the final stage of political, economic, ideological and civilizational structuring of the world.

As it was already mentioned the issue of identity is going to become the integral part of the process of formation of borders in the XXI century. Today we already observe how some countries try to leave the unions and organizations (Great Britain) or states (Catalonia, Donbass).

So today a great number of countries can face a problem of separatism movement due to activation of ethnic minorities.

3. Nationalism as a catalyst for separatism

There is no doubt that separatism is based on nationalism that is driving force of such processes and events. There is such an opinion that in the epoch of globalization when the borders disappear there wouldn't be such a problem as nationalism and it will be a part of the past. But as we can see nationalism is becoming again the determining element of the political processes that take place in this or that region. Especially it could be seen in Europe and post-Soviet space countries where right-wing radical politicians or parties win the elections to the national parliaments or succeed during the elections to the European parliament. The radicalization of the European political system is connected with the immigration crises that EU fails to solve. It influenced such events as Brexit, the Hungarian referendum, the desire of France, the Netherlands, Hungary, Greece to leave EU. Besides the population of the Western Europe has negative attitude not only to the immigrants for the Middle East countries but also from the Central and Eastern Europe states such as Poland, Bulgaria, Romania. In Ukraine it is getting harder for the Russians to protect their rights because the radical political parties demand total ukrainization of the whole country that presupposes the demand to speak only Ukrainian, recognize UPA as the fighters for freedom of Ukraine during the WWII, restriction of freedom of speech. In Russia we can observe negative attitude of the Russians towards the people from the North Caucuses. So we can make a conclusion that the separatism movements are fed by the identity factor that in its turn is based on the nationalism. In my opinion nationalism could be only negative and aggressive as it can be the reason for conflict between different groups of people. As E. Smith (Смир, 2009) says nationalism appears on the ruins of the states and those who can't develop anymore. It could be popular because it can provide alternative for unstable status-quo and it will be more viable because it corresponds to the people's hopes. The example could be the USSR that collapsed and we could/can observe severe conflicts on the nationalism ground – Chechen republic, Abkhazia, S. Ossetia, Pridnestrovie, Donbass, Nagorny Karabakh.

The radicalization of conflicts in former USSR republics is connected with collapse of totalitarian system that controlled all the processes in the country.

Nationalism contains such a point as imposing identity. It is done in my opinion in order to avoid problems in future that can occur from the side of ethnic minority that doesn't consider itself to be a part of the people that is a titular nation. So Catalonians don't consider themselves to be Spaniards, the

Rusins or Hungarians don't consider themselves to be Ukrainians, the same situation with the Russians in Donbass region.

Imposing new holidays, traditions, language, history on the Russians has the adverse reaction – the more severe Ukrainian radicals impose their politics and values the more the Russians don't want to accept it.

So nationalism is the basic ground for separatism. Let's consider this phenomenon more thoroughly.

According to the definition that is given by "Politicalological encyclopedic dictionary" (Політологічний енциклопедичний словник, 1997) separatism is the movement for territorial secession of this or that part of the country with the purpose of formation of a new state or receiving a certain degree of autonomy as for language, religion and national issues. As I have already mentioned the majority of states are polyethnic that can cause social and ethnic conflicts. Separatism also can be considered to be a certain form of political opposition the subject of which is ethnic unit that is a minority of population and object is the states government that at the same time represents the dominating majority.

The beginning of separatism movement can start under two conditions: firstly, the discrimination of ethnic minority, secondly active national political elite. One of the forms of discrimination is cultural imperialism the essence of which is that culture of so-called great nation is represented as progressive, modern and culture of the ethnic minority is considered to be primitive.

There are several opinions as for the basic reasons that cause separatism – economical disbalance, cultural contradictions or different political preferences. It is necessary to emphasize that there is not just one reason of separatism movement. There are some cases when more economically developed regions don't want to donate less developed regions. And on the contrary less developed regions say that if they leave the country they could develop their economy because the current government doesn't finance them as it should be.

K. Boyle and P. Englebert in their book "The Primacy of Politics in Separatist Dynamics" (Boyle, Englebert 2006) think that separatism today is the reaction as for political conditions than the manifestation of cultural differences or exploitation of economic opportunities. We can agree with this opinion because dissatisfaction with economic situation is the first reason why regions especially those which have ethnic minorities start to rebel.

The political activity is the only sphere in terms of which it is possible to draw attention to the problems of the ethnic minority. Conducting some

cultural events it is impossible to prove its originality but if to politicize the identity emphasizing that the central authorities press on this region it is possible not just to attract attention but also to head antigovernmental movement on ethnic ground.

The authors also say that the younger the country is the more active the separatism movements could be. It can be seen on the example of post-Soviet countries where we could observe a lot of separatism movements due to the weakness of the central government, its impossibility to provide efficient economic policy, its orientation on nationalism as tool of uniting the country.

Also it is necessary to emphasize that the bigger the country is geographically the more separatism movements it can have (Boyle, Englebert 2006).

Besides the authors also single out such reasons as political regime, process of democratization and economic transformation and international atmosphere or the geopolitical situation in the region (Boyle, Englebert 2006).

Taking into account all above-mentioned facts it is necessary to say that it is impossible to say uniquely whether separatism is positive or negative phenomenon. We must say that on the one hand it leads to destruction of the country, but on the other hand it leads to the creation of another country that can be more successful and developed. If separatism movement is not accompanied with bloodshed of civil war but only in a democratic way (e.g. Czechoslovakia) it is a right way of solution to the problem.

4. Classification of separatism

Separatism according to the author's opinion could base on different integral parts, i.e. cultural, religious, economic, ideological, ethnic, civilizational. As for the degree of activity it could be active when the ethnic group actively supports the idea of secession; moderate – when ethnic group demands only autonomy status; passive – when ethnic group is dissatisfied with its position in the country but doesn't proclaim any demands.

It could also be open, when the ethnic group openly says about its desire to leave the country; and closed – it can be only under conditions when the government strictly forbids to discuss and speak about the possibility of secession.

Each case of separatism could go through several stages of its development such as (1) imposing of identity; (2) prohibition of language, culture, history; (3) criminal prosecution; (4) absorption of ethnic group by the titular group; (5) genocide.

There is an opinion that separatism is a phenomenon that could develop from within. There are several domestic factors that work as a catalyst for the strengthening of ethno/separatist processes in this or that region. But besides domestic factors it is necessary to single out external factors too. Due to it an important role is played by the neighboring states or "great powers" (state-subjects) which are interested in weakening or even collapse of the country in order to improve their position in the region or to increase its territory if it has borders with the state-object.

External processes have an important influence on the domestic development of the country. That is the reason and character of conflicts are connected with the peculiarities of the geopolitical and geosocial system and its dynamics.

Ethno/separatist conflicts occur within one state no matter what kind of territorial structure it has. In some cases they develop without intrusion of the third party, in another cases – with the support of the state that is interested in the development of this conflict.

During the cold war the relations of the main actors of foreign affairs, i.e. USSR and USA, had ideological basis. Especially ideological background was imposed by the USSR. If the disintegration of the country was profitable for the USSR such a conflict was considered to be a nationally liberation movement. And vice versa ideologically adverse processes were called separatist with negative meaning. Today politologists say that globalization makes the notion of sovereignty quite conditional and insist on the fact that it is necessary to support politically and legally the right of the peoples for self-determination including the secession of the regions from countries that are called failed-states (Баранов, 2006).

The same policy is supported by mainly Russia and USA. If the separatist conflict is profitable for them they support the rebellious region if not – they say that it violates the sovereignty principle of the country (Kosovo, S. Ossetia, Abkhazia).

V.A. Tishkov (Тишков, 2005) states that separatism would not have become a global problem, if it hadn't been an instrument of rivalry between states and a means of geopolitical engineering.

If separatist movement in Europe is developing due to the internal factors (Catalonia), in the third world or on the post-Soviet space we could observe the influence of the external factors. The brightest examples are observed in former Yugoslavia (Kosovo) and Ukraine (Donbass).

The external factor could be seen by different methods – soft and hard.

The hard one has one expression – military invasion and could be fulfilled in the following way:

- region is supplied with military support;
- interference of peacekeeping forces with the purpose of the further solution to the conflict but taking into account the interest either of rebellious region or the government of the state;
- conducting humanitarian intervention that presupposes the participation in hostilities on the side of the rebellious region.

The soft support could be divided into soft active and soft passive. Soft passive is showed just in existence of the neighboring country with ethnically close population and that wants the uniting of the peoples. Soft active support is showed in the following way: economical (financing the fight, financing NGOs), technical (supply of lethal weaponry), humanitarian (making the ties with ethnically close people in the sphere of culture, education and science, financing the educational programs, scientific projects, internships), the support of the rebellious region or the authorities in international organizations such as UN, OSCE, the construction of religious objects, informational (demonization of the rebellious region or the authorities of the state).

5. Separatism in Donbass

So let's analyze how all above-mentioned factors and principles work on the example of the Donbass conflict.

Some experts say that this conflict couldn't be considered to be ethnical because this region has a mixed population that consists mainly from the Russian and the Ukrainians. But the author of this article insists that this conflict has all features of the ethnoseparatist conflict, taking into account that this region during the whole period of Ukraine independence supported pro-Russian political parties and candidates for presidency and supported the idea of introduction of Russian language as the second state one. Some may not agree and provide the example of war in Yugoslavia but even there were some cases when Serbs fought on the side of Croatia and Croats who fought for Serbia.

As for this conflict we can see that two main geopolitical rivals supported different fighting sides: the USA support the government of Ukraine and Russia supports rebellious region diplomatically and military, providing the rebels with military equipment. Besides Russia provides the population of rebellious territories with humanitarian aid and textbooks for the school pupils. On the one hand both sides support the idea that the rebellious region must be within territory of Ukraine but Russia insists on providing this region with autonomous status and USA doesn't

officially participate in the negotiation process but its allies Germany and France do. Today the rhetoric has changed and European states make Kiev fulfill the Minsk agreement though some months ago such a pressure wasn't so harsh.

The contrary behavior of the USA and Russia could be seen in the Syrian conflict. The civil war started in Syria in 2011 after the wave of Arabic autumn and transformed into the ethical and confessional conflict that involved the main geopolitical actor of the world. Russia supports the government of Syria not only diplomatically but also military, having sent troops to fight the terrorists organization Islamic state. USA provides so-called moderate opposition with lethal weaponry and conducting special operation to help them leave the area that is totally bombed by the Russian military planes. Taking into account that Russia and USA have different geopolitical interests in Syria, we could observe the different attitude towards the essence of this conflict.

How can we explain the geopolitical clash between Russia and USA taking into account that there is no ideological conflict between them? In my opinion the explanation is very simple. According to the theory of geopolitics there are two types of states – thalassocratic (ground state – Russia) and thalassocratic (sea state – USA) and due to their nature they will always have conflict with each other for the influence on the zones of their interest. USA wants to control the rim-land or the territory that has common borders with Russia that is why they support the central government in Ukraine. Russia has the same direction in exposing its influence on the post-Soviet space and exactly on Ukraine to prevent it from having anti-Russian politicians at power. As for Syrian conflict here we have a mixture of geopolitical, military and economic factors that put USA and Russia into two different political camps.

6. Conclusion

So the processes of separatism can develop for a long period of time and can transform into civil wars that can cause genocide or humanitarian intervention from the side of main actors of international affairs. In the majority of cases separatism is the ethnic phenomenon that could be considered to be very complex and multiaspect phenomenon. And taking into account that each case has its own peculiarities there is no just one solution to all cases of separatism.

It is necessary to emphasize that influential actors of international affairs for the solution to their geopolitical tasks use ethnic and/or confessional

contradictions for stimulating separatist conflicts the basic objective of which setting the direct of control over the country or region. Under conditions of the transmission of the contemporary world from bipolar to multipolar system of international relations, above mentioned types of conflict will occur more often and the degree of such conflicts more severe.

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