

# §1 АКТУАЛЬНЫЕ ПРОБЛЕМЫ И НАПРАВЛЕНИЯ РАЗВИТИЯ СОВРЕМЕННОЙ КОНФЛИКТОЛОГИИ

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## SEPARATISM: GLOBAL EXPERIENCE AND RUSSIAN REALITIES

**Review.** *In today's political and legal practices, the term "separatism" is understood rather broadly. It is defined as: demands for self-determination by territories within states, their following separation and independence (secessionism); employment of illegal (violent) means for expanding the power of an autonomy, or a subject within federations and confederations. In some cases, separatist movements (groups) may work in adjacent countries towards unification with their neighbor country, or its part (irredentism). Separatist movements create political parties (which are often of nationalist in nature), military (terrorist) organizations, and "governments in exile", when possible. Currently, separatist movements grow in strength all around the world, becoming a global ethnopolitical problem. The main goal of separatism is the secession of territories of multinational states and creating independent national governments. In the modern world, the destructive influence of separatism affects almost all countries. It manifests itself in several ways: as a phenomenon present in multinational and multiconfessional countries, and as means of realization for geopolitical interests of leading world powers. The latter case clearly suggests a far-reaching goal of structural transformation of existing world order.*

**Keywords:** *international relations, foreign politics, separatism, conflict, state, federalism, interests, values, politics, security.*

**Аннотация.** *Понятие «сепаратизм» трактуется в современной политико-правовой практике достаточно широко. Под этим понятием подразумеваются: выдвижение требований самоопределения части территорий государств, их последующего отделения и обретения независимости (сепсессионизм); применение противозаконных (силовых) методов борьбы*

за расширение автономных, федеративных, конфедеративных прав. В некоторых случаях сепаратистские движения (группы) могут действовать в сопредельных странах, выступая за объединения с соседней страной или ее частью (ирредентизм). Сепаратистские движения создают политические партии, как правило, националистической окраски, военные (террористические) формирования и, если это возможно, «правительства в изгнании». Сепаратистские движения сегодня набирают силу по всему миру. В настоящее время они представляют собой глобальную этнополитическую проблему. Сепаратизм ставит своей основной задачей отделение определенной территории от многонационального государства и создание на ней самостоятельного национально-государственного образования. В современном мире деструктивное влияние сепаратизма распространяется практически на все государства. Он выступает в нескольких ипостасях: как явление, присущее многонациональным и поликонфессиональным государствам, и как способ воплощения в реальность геополитических интересов ведущих мировых держав. В последнем случае целью является структурная трансформация существующего мирового порядка.

**Ключевые слова:** международные отношения, внешняя политика, сепаратизм, конфликт, государство, федерализм, интересы, ценности, политика, безопасность.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

In recent events, some regions of the world have shown that separatism becomes a solid political weight. This phenomenon is increasingly affecting the determination of the place and role of sovereign states in the current global political processes. In addition, separatist movements exert pressure on the integrity and national security. In this regard, there is a need for a system study of this problem and a development of a set of measures to combat separatism, in order to maintain stability as a nation-state, and political processes at the global level.

The duality in the public perception of this phenomenon is of particular interest. On the one hand, separatism undermines foundations of multinational states, on the other it serves as a tool of the right of nations to self-determination. Therefore, the evaluation of this phenomenon can be vague and ambiguous, which usually leads to new ethno-political conflicts.

One of the most controversial issues related to separatism is the involvement of separatist organizations in extremist groups. The latter tend to pursue radical goals, so there are terrorist methods in their arsenal. In ordinary consciousness, thus, the concepts of separatism and extremism begin to merge. As a result, most of the population unites these two phenomena into one — terrorism. This problem is compounded by the fact that there are no effective political and legal mechanisms in the world to resolve the contradictions that cause separatist sentiment. As a result, we can say that today the system resistance to the separatist processes is extremely low.

## 2. IDEOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS AND SEPARATISM MANIFESTATION

Today, there is no generally accepted interpretation of the term «separatism.» In general, separatism can be defined as a political movement that occurs in a geographically, ethnically, religiously, and economically inhomogeneous states. In fact, it is aimed at a specific way of separation of a territory from a single state and the creation of a new state. In some cases, the separatists consider the possibility of this territory becoming a part of another country. These phenomena are called secession and irredentism, respectively.

According to the specialists of the Institute of Far Eastern Studies of the Russian Academy of Science, modern separatism, as a political movement, is based on falsely interpreted principle of self-determination. Each ethnic group should have its own state designed territory. Its foundation is the compact residence of ethnic groups in the territory of another nationality.<sup>[1]</sup>

Separatism is a late stage of the process of political disintegration. At this stage, its high activity and dynamism of the changes that are taking place may be noted. Earlier stages of this process are regionalism and autonomism, but they usually do not lead to the separation of the territory.

Extremism can act as an application of the separatist conflict. In fact extremism is an activity that aims at violent seizure of power or its retention. Separately, it should be noted that the actions of extremists are aimed at changing the constitu-

tional system of the state. This is a direct attack on public safety, which gives way to the formation of illegal armed groups.

The concept of «separatism» covers a wide range of political movements aimed at the legal isolation of a state territory. Seeking isolation may take the form as secession, i.e. a complete political separation and expansion of independence (autonomy) of a territory without changing the state borders. It is only in the first case that the motion is a direct threat to the territorial integrity of a state. Here, the term «secessionism» is used, denoting extreme separatism.

The declared purpose of secessionists is usually the creation of a new sovereign state within the borders of the breakaway territory, though occasionally secession is seen as an intermediate step on the road to accession to another state.<sup>[2]</sup> The nature of the objectives pursued by the separatists allows this phenomenon to be divided into two subspecies: regional and ethnic.

Secessionists can lead terrorist activities of varying intensity. Sometimes terrorism activities is accompanied by the activities of political parties (the movement in Northern Ireland, the Basque Country), but more often it is used as the main method of fighting.

Separatist movements have regional specificity. This is reflected in the features of the struggle that can take on an extremist or a terrorist character. The experts of the Moscow State University, named after M. V. Lomonosov, highlight six varieties of regional separatism, where terrorist components can be separately identified as:<sup>[3]</sup>

1) The Western European separatism (regions of Northern Ireland, the Basque Country, Catalonia, and Corsica). Its main characteristic is the leading role of ethno-religious and socio-economic factors. It is commonly thought that the centers of separatism in the regions of Western Europe are in a state of stable balance. With that in mind, the separatists' requirements seem limited. In recent decades, however, the influence of separatist movements became extremist in character. For example, in the Basque Country and in Corsica, there has been an increase in the number of terrorist attacks, which forced the government of Spain and France to make certain concessions, in order to avoid deterioration of the situation in these regions.

2) The Eastern European separatism (the Caucasus region of Transnistria, Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Kosovo). Separatist movements in modern form appeared here recently. A distinctive feature is that the demands of the separatists have a clear focus on the attainment of independence. In comparison with the situation in Western Europe, elevated levels of ethnic and religious intolerance may be noted. There is an extremely high connection with criminal structures. Here, terrorism is far-reaching, although its spread is limited to the immediate region and border states;

3) The Middle East separatism (regions of Algeria, Palestine, Turkish Kurdistan, Iraq, Pakistan and Afghanistan). Most of the opponent groups adhere to the Islamic religion. The activities Islamic extremist groups are actively developing in this region interfere with the separatist conflicts in pursuit of their own goals. Terrorist acts are systemic in nature and cover virtually the entire region. Due to the relatively large number of existing groups it is difficult to ascertain who actually orders these terrorist attacks or their real purpose. The fact that the ethnic minorities in the region have high self-awareness has additional importance. This often leads to the selection of a radical version of the struggle for ethnic self-determination. Examples include the fight against the Kurds in Turkey and Iraq, the Berbers in Algeria, and the Uzbeks in Afghanistan.

4) The Asian separatism (regions of Jammu and Kashmir, Sri Lanka, Southern Philippines, and East Timor). The movement is caused by ethnic and religious contradictions that were brewing as early as pre-colonial era. After the collapse of the colonial regime, the conflict escalated. Now, there is a large-scale nature of terrorism in this region.

5) The African separatism (regions of South Sudan, Angola, Somalia, etc.) is very similar to the Asian separatism, but the groups are less institutionalized and do not have a cohesive character. The movements exhibit cruelty to the opponents. The methods of fighting are bloody, thus, a peaceful settlement is not possible without the intervention of the international community.

6) American separatism (Quebec, Canada, the State of Chiapas, Mexico, the province of Greenland, and the Island of Nevis). It is the most calm, comparing with the above regions. The indigenous

population is scattered and sparse. Violence is rarely used or not used at all. <sup>[4]</sup>

Separatism is a consequence of a highly centralized power in the state. The central state apparatus is not willing or able to solve problems in the field. A socio-economic crisis and the imbalance of power in society appears, leading to the emergence of a separatist sentiment. Regional separatism is intended to create an optimal political-territorial system; ethnic separatism is fighting for the creation of a separate state. The latter, as a rule, is based on the manifestations of the first. Ideological overtones of ethnic separatism is nationalism. There are a fairly large number of different nations in the world, which exceeds the number of possible viable states.

The main features of separatism remain unchanged throughout the period of its existence: a radical and self-centeredness, a tendency to violent opposition. Over time, separatism has been growing ever closer to terrorism, and now these two phenomena are deeply intertwined. They occur on the same soil of instability, of the contrast between «their own» and «foreign.» The most aggressive forms of separatism always use the terrorist attacks as a method of fight against the authorities. The policy of «double standards» implies that the governments of different countries support separatism, if such movements originate in areas representing geopolitical interest.

### 3. FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE GROWTH OF SEPARATIST TENDENCIES

There are numerous reasons that lead to separatism. <sup>[5]</sup> There are some basic prerequisites of separatist sentiment and trends: regional development disparities, political and ethnic discrimination, intolerance, demographic change, socio-economic changes, and historical characteristics of the region. The main causes of separatism are the existence of the state that is divided into a plurality of regions, a centralized power, a weak local government, a political crisis, and acute social and economic problems. The migration of the population and a different ethnic composition of the regions give the birth of separatism a bigger chance.

The development of separatism comes from the following sources:

1) ethnic and confessional: hotbeds of separatism are developed mainly by ethnic and cultural borders.

2) socio-economic: disparities in social and economic policy in different regions.

3) the natural border: the majority of the centers of separatism have natural boundaries that separate regions with separatist tendencies from the rest of the state

4) geopolitics: the interest of external forces to a particular territory and the desire to intervene in the conflict.

5) social mobilization activity of the population in the social and political issues; rallies, pickets, and terrorist attacks.

6) the existence of a potential leader: the existence of political organizations or structures that support secession and separatist sentiment.

7) historical experience: the existence of the individual in the history of state formations in the area.

The overcoming of separatism lies in the construction and understanding of the intercultural dialogue. At the same time, there are different views on the right to self-determination. Separatism is a logical consequence of nationalism, so the perception of separatism, as a form of nationalist ideology, is justified.

Separatism is an essential element of national ideology of various ethno-regional parties, and can be regarded both positively and negatively by a population of a territory. It depends on how much radical solutions to the problems and prospects for further development of the state are supported in society. According to the results of the analysis of the data, the mood of the region can be accurately identified and it can be concluded that separatism does not appear there as an abstract theory, but as a daily practice that affects the ethno-regional development.

### 4. CONFLICT AND MOBILIZATION OF POTENTIAL SEPARATISM

According to the Institute of Europe of the RAS, the strength of separatist tendencies in Europe quite incommensurate with the powerful potential of separatism that faces almost the majority of Asian and African states. In Europe, the list of the much less pronounced ethnic conflicts remains unchanged for many years. The list of problem

areas, where there are threats of separatism is much more narrow. The following are usually always present: Ulster and Scotland — in the UK, the Basque Country and Catalonia in Spain, Corsica in France, Flanders and Wallonia in Belgium, north of the country in Italy.

In Serbia, a considerable part of the population (and not only of Hungarian origin) in Vojvodina constantly exhibits autonomist tendencies. Albanians that inhabit three southern communities of Serbia, are demanding the same rights that are given to Kosovo Serbs by the Brussels Agreement (2013) between the authorities of Serbia and Kosovo. Outbreaks of tensions occur periodically between the Macedonians and the Albanians in Macedonia, and the «Great Albanian» mood (the desire to unite all Albanian lands into a single state) dominate the polls, and among the Albanians in Albania and Kosovo, and Macedonia. Integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina, supported by an external pressure from the EU and NATO, and the continued commitment of the Serbs to the separation and reunification of the Serbian Republic with the motherland is not realized because the authorities of Serbia are obsessed with the idea of joining the EU.

In the Scottish Parliament elections in spring of 2011, the separatist Scottish National Party received the majority vote (69 seats out of 129). On September 18, 2014 (with the consent of the Government of the United Kingdom) a referendum on Scottish independence was appointed.

The agreement of 1998 allowed to gradually stop the armed conflict in Ulster, and not to just transfer the aged Protestant and Catholic conflict of the Northern Ireland communities into a political process, but also to fix the collaboration of the former political opponents in management. However, riots are periodically erupting in the region even for minor issues. With the current dynamics of fertility, the Catholics in the region will be the majority in a few years. Since the political forces of the opposing camps have not given up on its strategic objectives (the union with Ireland for Catholics and the retention as part of the United Kingdom for the Protestants), further changes in the religious and political balance, or the independence of Scotland, if upheld, may re-actualize the question of the future of Ulster.

The economic crisis, especially experienced in Spain, puts the Spanish state to a new strength test. Currently, Spain has 17 autonomous regions, of which Catalonia and the Basque Country are most industrialized. Historical basis of autonomy are not the lost tradition of regional cultural and linguistic identity, which are widely distributed throughout Spain. Only three historical regions, however, enjoyed the extensive rights of autonomy over the centuries: the Basque Country, Navarre, and Catalonia.

According to the experts of the Institute of Latin American of the RAS, a powerful separatist trend has developed in Catalonia, where much of the population has traditionally demanded the recognition of their language and cultural differences from Spain. «The Catalans are not Spaniards and the Spaniards are not Catalans,» is a very common attitude of the inhabitants of the autonomous community.<sup>[6]</sup> Catalan nationalism fueled by the fact that until recently, their region gave a significant portion of earnings to the treasury, providing up to a quarter of all revenues. Catalans believe that as financial donors, they «provide for the entire country,» while some significant projects in the autonomy cannot be realized. At the same time, unlike the Basque separatists and their supporters, the Catalans prefer the unarmed methods of struggle with the central government, focusing on the peaceful coexistence of different political forces. This positive point does not negate the distinct aspiration for the attainment of national sovereignty, a characteristic of many Catalans.<sup>[7]</sup>

Due to the inability of Flemish and Walloon parties to agree, Belgium raises more doubts in their viability. The contradictions between Flanders and Wallonia were laid the foundation of the Belgian state initially. The main point of the dispute was Halle-Vilvoorde, the bilingual district of Brussels, which unites 19 communes in the region of Brussels and 35 municipalities of the province of Flemish Brabant. The district is a kind of «superstructure» over the «linguistic border,» separating the «monolingual» Flanders and the bilingual Brussels. The Flemish majority in the Belgian parliament is seeking the accession of the district, in order to achieve «linguistic homogeneity» on the Flemish territory. The difficult decision of the fate of the Brussels region is, perhaps, the last

barrier for the Flemish separatists to implement their plans.

According to the Institute of African Studies of the RAS, African ethnic rivalries and the politicization of inter-confessional differences continue to be the basis of separatist aspirations. With very few exceptions, African states are multi-ethnic in character. 29 states of the continent are home to more than a dozen major ethnic groups.<sup>[8]</sup>

Today, the sectarian conflict in Africa is an important component of the ideological and organizational platform of separatism. Aggravation of contradictions between supporters of Shiite and Sunni version of Islam, secular and religious supporters of the development of the countries of North Africa and of the Middle East have led to a situation, where the consequences of these confrontations have become difficult to predict.<sup>[9]</sup>

According to the Institute of World Economy and International Relations, there has long been a boundary demarcating the continent into Christian and Islamic regions, passing all the borders of the African countries, as well as areas where traditional religions are saved. It became the front line in Sudan; it is the largest African country after the civil war in 2011 that was divided into North and South Sudan.

According to experts of the Institute of Archeology of the RAS, Islam in Africa is more tolerant in character, containing many elements of the traditional beliefs. Recently, however, the religious factor is to the amplified politicization. Interfaith relations are becoming antagonistic and sometimes aggressive. In many countries the extremist Islam has intensified with terrorist cells.<sup>[10]</sup>

The most serious conflicts in the regions of India are religious (Sikhs and Muslims in the states of Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir, respectively), as well as ethnic and religious (Christian Naga and Mizo), and ethnic (Assamese). Conflicts in Manipur and Tripura are more ethnic in character, although at certain stages, some anti-government groups here have adopted separatist slogans. These conflicts are complicated by the fact that we are talking about regions located at the external borders of India in the North-West and North-East, so their resolution depends on the state of relations with neighboring countries — China and Pakistan. In both directions India can count on maintaining

the status quo at best, i.e. the recognition of the actual boundaries as international borders. The willingness to accept this option as the solution to the problems should be based on the belief that this option will not damage national interests and territorial integrity of the country.<sup>[11]</sup>

The manifestations of national separatism in the PRC are present mainly in the western part of China, in Tibet and Xinjiang. They are part of the so-called Western economic region of China.<sup>[12]</sup> The most acute manifestations of separatism are observed in Xinjiang. In the Tibet Autonomous Region, they are relatively quiet in nature. However, periodically there have been bloody clashes in both places (XUAR — 2009, the number of deaths was 200, according to official figures; Lhasa — 2008, the number of deaths was about 100, according to official data). The purpose of the separatists is a reconstruction of East Turkestan and of Tibet's independence.<sup>[13]</sup>

The main problem for the integrity of the Iranian Kurdistan is associated with a set of similar problems throughout the area of the Kurds (in Iraq, Syria, and Turkey). An important factor in strengthening Kurdish separatism in Iran is the creation of the autonomous Iraqi Kurdistan. It leads to the development of ethnic identity of the Kurds living not only in Iraq but also in Iran, as well as in Turkey, which has long been faced with the growing problem of the separatist (secessionist) trends. The speeches of the Balochi in the far east of the country are a major concern for Tehran. In 2010, it led a successful operation against the leader of the Baloch Sunni militant organization called «Dzhandallah.» The Baloch problem often converge Iran's interests with the interests of Pakistan, where one can see an American footprint.<sup>[14]</sup>

## 5. METHODS OF COUNTERACTING SEPARATISM

Virtually all states face the problem of separatism in modern conditions, whose territories have enclaves that have ethnic, religious and cultural identity. At the same time, the manifestations of these problems and degree of their severity vary greatly in the regions of the world that are different in the level of development. Accordingly, methods and opportunities to counteract separatism are also different.<sup>[15]</sup>

According to the Moscow State Institute of International Relations of the MFA of Russia, the practice of fighting separatism allows the allocation of two basic directions of activities at the state level:

1) the adoption of special measures at the national level, aimed at preventing conflicts on national, racial and religious grounds;

2) the fight against crime of separatist direction.

According to the Institute of Europe of the RAS, most Western governments generally follows the path of satisfaction of the cultural, linguistic, ethnic, and regional identities in opposition to the separatist forces, implementing the decentralization of power and increasing the independence in management of the regions, even creating autonomy or federalization of a previously unitary state. In this case, the separatist terrorist activity is severely suppressed. The most eloquent examples are Belgium, Spain, and United Kingdom. Even France, the most centralized unitary state that is tired of fighting against Corsican separatism, eventually decided to make an exception to the rule and agreed to provide some degree of autonomy to the island. Basque ETA and the IRA in Ulster were forced to abandon the armed struggle in these conditions. Even the terrorist attacks in Corsica went into decline.

However, the policy of compromise has its natural limit, the preservation of the integrity of the state. Recently, the United Kingdom, Belgium and Spain came dangerously close to it. With the economic crisis, regional separatism of the «rich» that do not want to «feed» the poorer regions, found the material basis it was lacking before. The reduced role of the nation state in the EU and its regional policy objectively raised the profile of the regions. Finally, the new realities of international politics, when Kosovo, Abkhazia and South Ossetia, and not to mention Eritrea, South Sudan and East Timor gained their independence gave such examples and precedents when independence ceased to seem distant. It would be simpler to assume the «domino effect» in all conflict zones, but the list of EU member states, who stubbornly oppose the recognition of Kosovo's independence is rather indicative: Spain, Greece, Cyprus, Romania and Slovakia. They see these examples and precedents as a serious challenge.

European countries widely use political methods of influence on the supporters of the separatist enclaves. A dialogue with the moderates has been established. They urged the possibility of solving problems of the region by expanding the powers of local authorities, the recognition of the local language (dialect) as a state one on the territory they control, the submission of additional subsidies, and creating a more favorable investment climate. Along with the ideological and political methods, the developed countries of Europe apply power impact tools and search methods. In addition, there are opportunities to monitor external financial flows that support separatism.

Separatism is an urgent problem and a serious challenge to national security in such countries of Southeast Asia, as Indonesia, Philippines, Thailand and Myanmar. Southeast Asian countries, where there is a threat of separatism, often seek the help of their neighbors. Malaysia is one of them, whose mediation caused the Philippine government and the leaders of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front<sup>[16]</sup> to sign a peace agreement (October 2012). Somewhat later, when active operations between Malaysia National Security Council of Thailand and the National Revolutionary Front<sup>[17]</sup> was concluded, an Agreement of willingness to negotiate was signed (February 2013). However, the Southeast Asian countries prefer to deal with the sovereignty and territorial integrity on their own.

China's experience of the struggle against separatism is also of some interest.<sup>[18]</sup> The main features of the struggle between China and the Tibetan Uyghur («East Turkestan») regional separatism are:

1) a combination of hard power and non-power (economic, cultural, political, and diplomatic) methods;

2) the integration and assimilation, rather than a confrontational policy towards the respective ethnic groups and nationalities, the gradual formation of a single Chinese nation;

3) opposition to Islam of the Arab ethnicity and Buddhism (Lamaism) by contrasting them to national traditions and national (ethnic) specificity of leveling influence;

4) active diplomatic, political, and other pressure on the neighboring countries, where the Uyghur (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan) or Tibetan (India) diaspora live.

The integration policy of China implies a forceful inclusion of the Uyghurs and the Tibetans in the general Chinese cultural and economic space, in promoting the ideas that only the integration will bring these nations economic and social prosperity, rather than separatism. The attempts of the main ethnic group of China, Hans, to oppose other ethnic groups are curbed.<sup>[19]</sup> However, China is actively pursuing cultural policy in Tibet and Xinjiang, aimed at the integration of Tibetans and Uyghurs. In diplomatic terms, China's prohibition of all Uyghur organizations that are fighting for secession and the creation of «East Turkestan» has succeeded in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan.<sup>[20]</sup> Within the framework of the SCO, China is developing cooperation with Russia in the fight against separatism.

According to the Institute of African Studies, the following approaches are outlined in the fight against separatism on the African continent today:

1) suppressing separatism by force. This approach is more or less widely recognized as a deadlock that has no chance of success. It can prevent violation of territorial integrity, but will not solve the problem even by providing significant benefits to ethnic tops;

2) revision of the borders inherited from colonialism, based on recognition of the right to self-determination of ethnic groups. This approach is not very productive.

The most acceptable solution to the problem of separatism is in line with a gradual and mutually inter-ethnic rapprochement, as well as multi-ethnic national education units within federations or confederations on the basis of a broad democratic platform and a broad ethnic consensus.<sup>[21]</sup>

According to the experts of the Institute of the Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, it should be emphasized that almost all private claims supporting the secessionists' demands (supporters of the extreme forms of separatism), can be met without violating the territorial integrity. State sovereignty over the territory can be saved if local authorities recognize the supremacy of the center and do not lead an independent foreign policy, and the territory's population pays taxes to the general treasury. The autonomy of the region can be expanded to these limits without compromising the sovereignty of the state.

Attempts of forceful solutions usually do not lead to positive results. They only create additional

PR for the secessionists, transferring their struggle into a real political plane. Secessionists that are leading active public outreach activities and that are supported by the local population, are an excellent source of information on the prevailing sentiment in the group, which can be used in carrying out pre-emptive reforms. Preventing the development of secessionism is easier than fighting it.

If secessionism is represented by political parties participating in the elections of different levels, it is necessary to deal with them by the same methods as with any other opposition parties. The level of electoral support is the best indicator of the popularity of the ideas of secessionism.

If separatists break the law, use terrorist methods of struggle or unleash a guerrilla war, they become criminals and should be treated accordingly. It is possible to speak with them, and often necessary, but accepting even some of their conditions is rarely purely positive: concessions are perceived as a local victory, prompting new requirements.

If the center meets an opposition of an already formed quasi-state that has proved its viability over a relatively long period and that especially enjoys the support from a powerful «third force,» then a military solution is already difficult. In this case, it is advisable to maintain the status quo and, at the same time, establishing economic, social, and cultural ties with the population of the breakaway region. Often, over time, secessionist sentiment is weakened in the region, replaced with the desire to get closer to the «mainland.»

Foreign policy plays an important role in the struggle against separatism, aimed not only at normalizing relations with the powers providing protection to the rebels, but also at the provision of pressure on the diaspora, supporting fellow secessionists from abroad.<sup>[22]</sup>

In some states, separatist encroachment on the territorial integrity of a state is listed as one of the acts constituting an objective side of treason (Austria, Bolivia, Germany, Georgia) or other crimes (Armenia, Spain, Lithuania, Madagascar, Poland, Sudan, Tunisia, Uruguay, France, Estonia). The legislation of some countries criminalizes the creation and the activities of separatist organizations. In some countries, a violation of territorial integrity, as an element of the constitutional system of the state by violent or other unconstitutional means is a criminal offense (Italy, Netherlands, Norway,



Paraguay, San Marino, and Switzerland). As a general rule, these crimes are very serious, and therefore the maximum punishment varies in different countries from 5 to 30 years of imprisonment. In PRC (for organizers) and in the Netherlands the punishment is life imprisonment. <sup>[23]</sup>

## **6. THE POSSIBILITY OF USING FOREIGN EXPERIENCE IN FIGHTING SEPARATISM IN THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION**

In terms of socio-economic opportunities of opposition to the regional separatism, Russia holds an intermediate position between the developed and developing countries. Therefore, it can use the experience of both countries. In general, the whole complex of western methods of forceful confrontation of the separatists can also be used in Russia. With regard to the Russian regional policy, the experience of the Eastern countries, which only simulate the control of their own territory (Iraq, where its central government does not actually control the Kurdish north of the country), has de facto been used in Russia, where the Chechen Republic became a self-governing enclave. A number of other national regions of Russia seek the same status.

In the Russian Far East there are no sharp conflicts caused by the actions of the separatist forces. However, even here, there are external catalysts of disintegration processes affecting the environment, not only near the borders of Russia, but also in the depth of its territory. The economy of Siberia and the Far East is focused on the neighboring countries — Kazakhstan, China, Japan and Korea. Barter is almost entirely done by the territories of neighboring countries. The fact that the reproduction of the infrastructure of Siberia and the Far East will continue to grow with the money generated from these goods. The infrastructure itself will be focused to foreign economic centers. The preservation of such trends can lead to the fact that the economic interests of the subjects of Russia beyond the Urals may be in conflict with the economic interests of the Center and with the interests of the state integrity.

The horizontal integration of territories is of a particular importance in the North-Caucasian Federal District. Integration processes in the North Caucasus have always been complex and burdened

with a load of historical grievances and claims, border disputes, and of the problem of divided nations. At this stage, ties between the regions are rather weak, and in some cases, there are conflicts requiring resolution (for example, between North Ossetia and Ingushetia). The problem of the Prigorodny district requires constant attention, affecting relations between North Ossetia and Ingushetia and the Ossetian-Ingush ethnic relations. There is a possibility of the emergence of new disputes between the Republic of Chechnya and Ingushetia, as well as Chechnya and Dagestan.

In modern conditions, separatism in the North Caucasus is strange in character. It is taken care of by local power elites that use the separatists to put pressure on the federal center to obtain new privileges, grants, and subsidies for «maintaining stability in the region,» while the elite is actively resisting the real attempts to split the region from the Russian Federation. Their goal is to hold all political power in the republics, simulating loyalty to the federal center (including a demonstration of the election results), and receiving a stream of grants and subventions. It uses terrorist methods and pressure on the federal government. The fight against this form of separatism is impossible without the reforming of the federal relations, the renouncing of the «subsidies in exchange for loyalty and stability» formula, and the return to the real forms of state control.

The big problem is the establishment of ideological and political dialogue with the supporters of the regional separatism in Russia. There is almost no moderate factions in their midst, especially since the possibility of their legalization is still very limited. The construction of a policy on a new basis is faced with the lack of a single, national idea, which, to a certain degree, is structuring the social life in the United States, Canada, and the European Union.

Features of the federal center to ensure fast economic growth are limited today in the regions, where the separatist sentiments exist (primarily, the North Caucasus region), creating for young people the opportunities of status and career, recruiting them into extremist structures. Allocation of additional funds to the appropriate target programs is hardly effective because of the high level of corruption and of the budget deficit.

Ideological and political impact on the given population of the Federation, because of their cul-

tural and civilizational features, is most expedient when provided through the use of the authority of the elders of moderate religious leaders, heads of clans, whose interests and positions can be significantly weakened in case of the growing influence of the separatists.

As for Russia, a successful struggle against separatism is possible with a combination of two main areas of impact: the strategy of violent suppression of the conflict potential of the separatist and the strategy to achieve a mutually acceptable compromise with various political forces, based on mutual concessions.

In the first case, the central government is seeking to build a system of government in the troubled region, based on strict centralization of power, building it using a vertical principle and giving it the control of the basic functions of the region, leaving the ethno-political elites with a limited set of functions of local importance, such as socio-cultural and representational activities.

In the second case, there are attempts to build a model of a concession to democracy in the region. The Swiss, Lebanese, and with some

justification, Belgian and Corsican are seen as the most successful models of concession democracy. Today, Dagestan attempts to construct a form of democratic governance, similar to the Swiss.

The prevention of an external stimulating effect on the separatists is of great importance. Legislative requirements for the non-governmental organizations, receiving financial support from abroad and engaging in political activity, to register as foreign agents will not solve the problem, because it requires an integrated approach. Humanitarian assistance from the outside (from the religious structures in Turkey or the monarchies of the Middle East) is not formally a form of political activity, but in fact is a form of training for the radical Islamic Jihad in Russia and the neighboring countries. Russia needs a comprehensive program to address the external impact on the regional development, neutralizing its effects. China's experience shows that without effective pressure on neighboring countries, that have the relevant diaspora and militant bases, it is impossible to achieve success in the fight against regional separatism.

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