# ISSUES OF NATIONAL AND FEDERATIVE RELATIONS

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# **ISSUES OF NATIONAL** AND FEDERATIVE RELATIONS

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The scientific journal is published since 2011 at the "Publishing House "Science Today". Translated (eng.) version of the journal is published since 2018. Since its inception, the journal was guided by high scientific and ethical standards and today it is one of the leading political science journals in Russia.

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The journal is intended for the publication of the results of fundamental and applied scientific research. Thematic focus of the journal is reflected in the following permanent headings: "Domestic history, ethnology and ethnography", "History of international relations and world politics", "History and philosophy of politics", "Political institutions, processes and technologies", "Political culture, ethnopolitics and ideologies", "Political problems of international relations and globalization."

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## MANIFESTATIONS OF ETHNOPOLITICAL CONFLICT IN THE POST-COLD WAR REGIONS OF EAST AND SOUTH-EAST AFRICA (ON THE EXAMPLES OF SOMALIA, ETHIOPIA AND MOZAMBIQUE)

The article considers the essence and specifics of the development of the ethnopolitical conflicts based on interethnic contradictions. Most of the world's countries are multi-ethnic, which creates many problems regarding the internal stability and democratic stability of the state. Democracy aimed at creating homogeneous national societies is doomed to failure because it does not take into account the needs of the various ethnic groups constituting the population of the countries, which is especially important for the countries of Eastern and South-Eastern Africa whose populations are closely tied together by the historical unity of territories, but was separated by borders in the process of colonization and imposition of contradictions, based on economic interests of the metropolises.

In addition, the article examines the main aspects of the emergence and development of ideas of political regionalism in East and South-East Africa, related to the factors of historical, ethnic, religious, natural resource and socio-economic origin. The article also examines the relationship between the aggravation of internal ethnic contradictions, the strengthening of manifestations of separatism and irredentism with foreign intervention, formally aimed at resolving such contradictions

Key words: ethnopolitical conflict, political regionalism, transnational relations, ethnic minority, interstate relations, strategic intervention, ethnic irredentism policy.

The relevance of this issue does not raise any objections, because in the vast majority of countries, there are numerous national minorities. The specific distribution of the population in the regions of East and South-East Africa leads to the aggravation of the problem of political regionalism, which in this work will be defined as a set of ideas and aspirations that exists in the form of ideological constructs and requirements and reflects attempts by individual regions to get greater

autonomy in the matters of economic, social and cultural-educational life as well as the resulting behaviour of political actors which corresponds to the worldwide trend in the public political development. The practical implementation of the ideas of political regionalism can be the achievement of a fairly wide range of political transformations – from the expanding powers of the regions without radical institutionalization or an escalation of the confrontation between the center (capital) and the regions to an open confrontation in the form of demands for a radical change in the political and administrative structure of the country and even open separatism as an extreme manifestation of the ethno-political conflict.

The topic of ethno-political conflicts and their development in connection with the activation of the processes of political regionalism is widely covered in foreign studies and in particular in the works of such famous scientists as R. Aron, J. Ziller, J. Loughlin, M. Kiting, A. Paas, Denis de Rougemont, and many others. The works of Russian authors [2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 10. P. 124-128], published in recent years, are focused on a wide range of issues in this subject area. However, there are not many researches of the essence of ethno-political conflicts and processes of political regionalism in the today countries of Africa despite the fact that there is a successfully running Institute of Africa of the Russian Academy of Sciences and periodic scientific magazine "Asia and Africa today," still there are insufficient scientific publications on this issue. Given the growing interest in East and South-East Africa, the presence of our military in the international peacekeeping units in hot spots in Africa, as well as an expansion of economic contacts with individual countries, the topic of resolution of ethnic and political conflicts and the issues of political regionalism will be relevant for many years to come.

Political regionalism as an ideology and political process in the last decades of the twentieth century has spread over the countries of Europe, but with the formation of the European Union, it has become predictable and relatively manageable. In the world of today, the trends of political regionalism are very clearly manifested in the Muslim world, and in recent years, the aggravation of contradictions between individual regions and capitals has become characteristic of the African continent, where these processes are quite complex and unmanageable and the external impact is quite significant. Such influence, however, does not pursue the interests of the population of African countries, but the interests of major actors of the world politics that affect the government and socio-political structures in the countries of the African continent.

The emergence and periodic escalation of ethnopolitical conflicts is associated with the trends of political regionalism in African countries caused by the characteristic features of the neocolonial policy of the world powers in respect of the African countries, the general poverty and political instability of the latter. At the same time, it should be noted that among the countries interested in the new redistribution of spheres of influence we see not only European state, former metropolises and the United States. The list of such countries evidently includes

China and Russia (interested in the deployment of military bases in the African region and currently conducting negotiations on the topic with Djibouti and neighboring states) and in the future, it will include India and some states of the Persian Gulf.

At the moment, competition is unfolding for certain regions of East and South-East Africa, rich in natural resources, as well as the regions of special interest from the military and strategic point of view. Support for separatist movements in certain regions of African countries is becoming an effective tool for the achievement of greater political, military and economic influence in the world as a whole. It is easier to ensure political stability, contain tribalist confrontations and take care of economic growth in a newly separated territory, relatively small in area and population, where local leaders experience boundless gratitude to their benefectors, although the assistance they receive, often only declaratively, does not lead to the resolution of the ethnopolitical conflicts, but only to their temporary muting and subsequent escalation. In this regard, it is appropriate to identify the main elements of the inter-ethnic conflicts in East and South-East Africa and their current trend.

Causes and forms of manifestation of ethnic conflicts in East and South-East Africa. Historically, European states in their colonial policy took into account the ethnic structure of dependent territories in different ways. For example, an attitude to the ethnic characteristics of the local population in the British colonies was relatively tolerant and the areas of residence of ethnic communities were taken into consideration in the process of establishing administrative borders. At the same time, French colonial policy was aimed at the maximum erasure of ethnic differences among the enslaved Africans, so often one colony combined ethnic areas of several tribes often leading to an aggravation of ethnic contradictions and conflicts that some countries used in their own interests.

As the French researcher R. Roger noted, "44% of interstate borders on the African continent run along meridians and parallels, 30% – along other geometrically straight or arched lines, and only 26% – along natural and geographical borders that roughly coincide with the borders of settlement of ethnic groups." As indicated in the reference scientific literature, "40% of the entire length of state borders in Africa are generally under-marked and virtually unprotected due to the lack of funds, while 44% are drawn along parallels and meridians, 30% – along arched or curved lines, and only 26% – along natural borders, partially coinciding with ethnic borders [8. P. 117]". Under-marked borders and borders drawn without taking into account ethnic divisions are easily crossed by refugees who leave their homes and move due to the threat of famine, persecution in their countries on ethnic or religious grounds, due to the threats, devastating consequences of natural disasters or local armed conflicts.

The legacy of colonialism provoked an escalation of inter-ethnic conflicts in the post-bipolar period due to the redistribution of spheres of influence between the strongest actors of international politics. The legacy of colonialism is also manifested in the territorial and linguistic division and control of territories, at the moment, French is the official language in 17 African countries, English is the official language in 11 countries and in many countries official languages are still combined with local languages. The borders cut through 177 areas of settlement of the same people, which is especially acute where they hinder the usual ways of people's access to centuries-old roads, markets and civilizational centers, as well as sources of fresh water. For example, the border between Kenya and Ethiopia cuts through the settlement areas of 14 tribes, 13 landlocked African states are largely restricted in their relations with the outside world, which significantly increases their cost of imports and exports since customs tariffs in African countries are mostly arbitrary.

It's worth noting that after gaining independence, almost all African states were formally mono-national, except for the Arab states of North Africa, Somalia, Swaziland and Lesotho, at the same time many countries are still torn apart by internal contradictions related to the unsettled relations of the tribes inhabiting their territories.

The religious factor has long occupied a secondary place among the reasons for the aggravation of ethnopolitical conflicts and the strengthening of threats of separatism. In sub-Saharan Africa, the position of non-classical Islam has always been strong. Even major religious holidays are celebrated by Africans not so much with ceremonial prayers as with flamboyant actions, including singing and dancing to the drum. Faith in Allah does not prevent Africans from seeking the services of local marabout (healers) who protect from diseases and misfortunes. However, Islam is increasingly becoming an integral part of African countries' policies due to the temporary market benefits. Often, poor African states need financial assistance that they can get from rich Muslim Gulf states declaring religious allegiance with their leaders. Such assistance comes only in conjunction with frequent visits by Islamic preachers contributing to the imposition of fundamentalist religious ideas.

Thus, the joint life in the same state of considerably different ethnic communities, with racial religious and confessional differences leads to an increased tension in relations sometimes resulting in the outbreaks of armed conflicts, such as those that escalated due to political and socio-economic contradictions in 2017 and led to a political destabilization and seizure of a part of the territories of different countries by Islamist militants supported by nomadic tribes that differ significantly in their religious and ethnic beliefs from the Negroid ethnic groups which live to the south of them. Similarly, armed conflicts based on ethnic and national interests regularly break out in Somalia, where for almost three decades there have been internal armed clashes between militants and government forces, and clashes with Ethiopia.

It is important to keep in mind that Somalia appeared as a result of a unification of the former Italian colony-Italian Somalia and the former British colony-Somaliland. The civil war going on in Somalia required the African Union states to interfere at various stages of the confrontation, a regional peacekeeping mission was established to support the transitional Federal Government of Somalia (the mission was supported by such regional powers as: Kenya, Djibouti, Burundi, Uganda, Nigeria, Cameroon and others), as well as the US armed forces and UN peacekeepers. In order to counter the Somali pirates who hijack ships in the Gulf of Aden, operation Atalanta was established, its headquarters and operational center is located on the territory of Diibouti

The escalation of the conflict and the threat of its spread to the neighboring countries and East and South-East Africa, where individual tribes, torn apart by borders drawn without the consideration for the ethnic divisions, are in a state of permanent inter-ethnic conflicts and in particular the geostrategic interests of major players of the world politics, have forced an external intervention leading to a periodic relative stabilization of the conflict with the assistance of the UN peacekeepers.

European states mostly involved in the ethno-political conflicts in East and South-East Africa are: France, whose colony in the past was also the Republic of Diibouti (currently trying to maintain neutrality and relative stability by providing its territory for the deployment of military bases of a number of major countries), Italy and Great Britain, involved in the inter-African political regional conflicts in connection with the armed confrontation in Somalia, and also Portugal, whose former colony Mozambique is also in a state of permanent armed conflict.

Interethnic cooperation as a condition for the implementation of the conflict. The contents of ethno-political conflicts can be adequately considered only in the context of interethnic interaction, since it is implemented as a phenomenon in interaction of different components of ethnonational structure of the polyethnic population of the state, so it worth to at least represent the structure of inter-ethnic interaction in general terms, and determine the field of implementation of the structural elements of the conflict as a whole, it's also worth finding out at what stage of such interaction the conflict occurs.

In the analysis of these points, the paradigm of relations of the American sociologist P. J. Rose, expressed in the formula "we and they," is significant for the understanding of the essence of the modern ethno-political conflict [9. P. 72]. The essence of this theory is that people, entering into contacts and relationships with other people, distinguish themselves from others (sometimes contrasting and more often not contrasting themselves against the others), compare themselves with the others and build their relationships, especially at the individual level, based on their experience.

Thus, the concept of "inter-ethnic interaction" means an interaction of representatives of various ethnic groups living within a single ethno-political organism (state), who through direct and indirect contacts at the individual level in all spheres of public life exchange ethnic information and under the influence of such information form images of the others (ethnic stereotypes), adjust images of themselves (ethnic auto-stereotypes) and develop corresponding ethno-national situation in the country.

At the same time, interethnic interaction, according to the concept of many Western researchers [1; 9. P. 83] (which can be accepted) is an interaction in the context of ethnic differences, and many researchers of inter-ethnic conflicts connect them with such differences.

However, it seems that ethnic differences do not always generate conflicts. They become a generating factor in certain circumstances for example, when negative stereotypes in respect of a particular community are formed artificially. In addition, interested actors can create conditions for turning such factors into influential factors. Proceeding from this concept we can trace two opposite trends of inter-ethnic interaction:

- 1) ethnic segmentation and ethnic isolation;
- 2) ethnic homogenization (homogeneity).

Given the great importance of primary contacts, which, of course, occur in the presence of ethnic differences, it is worth considering that, in the course of its development, the socio-economic and political conditions of a particular country have a decisive influence on the nature of ethnic interaction. This is also relevant in a situation when we consider ethnopolitical conflicts as the embodiment of negative interethnic interaction.

Accordingly, it is reasonable to deduce such a structure of inter-ethnic interaction: contacts of an inter-ethnic nature, communication at the inter-ethnic level, inter-ethnic links and inter-ethnic relations. Since ethno-political conflicts occur exclusively within the framework of inter-ethnic interaction, which includes the above stages, it seems appropriate in order to prevent ethno-political conflicts to turn to the practice of ethno-political management, which in the narrow sense is the management of such conflicts. Such practice can be studied on the example of the analyzed situation in the countries of East and South-East Africa. Traditionally inter-ethnic conflicts develop at two levels: 1) majority – minority, as a rule, the authorities – ethnic communities; and 2) minority – minority. The system of their prevention should be formulated taking into account these features.

However, there are general conditions on which the possibility of preventing ethnopolitical conflicts and resolving them depend. They include, first of all, the existence of an effective legislative framework that presupposes the concept of ethnic and national development, effective laws and regulations. No wonder, for example, that at the beginning of mass migrations to the United States and Canada (the end of the XIX – first half of the XX century), these countries adopted laws regulating migration flows and formed a policy for the adaptation of newcomers to the new societies. As a rule, such laws were drawn in such a way that prevented the situation of "inconvenience" for the dominant majority in the American or Canadian societies (even for a certain period of time), and we cannot

find any situation that could be characterized as an ethnopolitical conflict in these countries. Moreover, in the XIX and XX centuries, the concepts of ethno-national development of the United States and Canada were formed for the adaptation and integration of new immigrants and ethnic communities. Their content, in particular in the XIX – early XX century, was aimed at a conflict-free (trouble-free) integration of new immigrants into the society.

It cannot be said that these concepts were officially approved at the government level, but they became official doctrines of the US and Canadian governments in the sphere of ethnic and national development even without such approval. They include, for example, "Anglo-conformism" and "melting pot" (which can be classified as assimilation concepts), "cultural pluralism," "multiculturalism," "ethnicity," etc., which can be classified as the concepts of pluralistic development of a multi-ethnic society.

In conclusion, it should be noted that it is possible to build an adequate management of an ethnopolitical conflict within the framework of political regionalism, provided that the structure of such a conflict is clarified and the laws and features of interaction of its individual elements are understood. To a certain extent. the analysis conducted above forms the basis for both understanding the phenomenon itself and resolving situations that arise in the context of the functioning of an ethnopolitical conflict.

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