

The article does not aspire to discuss the issue comprehensively, but constitutes an attempt at outlining the problem, indicating characteristics of the information war (information war as an element of hybrid warfare). The consolidated Russian information space is subordinated to the interests of authorities and draws heavily from the tools characteristic for propaganda, frequently relying upon the Soviet model. In addition, this is done with the view of re-establishing the «Russian World», which would be wholly subject to Russia's political interests. Moreover, Russian propaganda goes hand in hand with military actions — a war in Eastern Ukraine.

Key words: hybrid warfare; Russian-Ukrainian war; hybrid warfare; information warfare; psychological war; European security; geopolitics.

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SEPARATISM AGAINST THE STATE: THE CASE OF CATALONIA

The primary purpose of the article is to correlate a predominant position of some regions with the intensity of separatist movements there. Two tendencies of peripheral separatism have been discovered in Europe. The role of the European continent is confirmed in representing different independent regional and interregional organisations, i.e. through the Assembly of European Regions comprising roughly 300 regional entities. A brief analysis has been made of several regions facing the most evident separatist tendencies and ethnic turbulence. Coincidence factor and prosperity syndrome as accelerant of separatist tendencies have been noted in the Western and Eastern parts of Europe, pointing out different surroundings and the same triggering motivation. And finally, some of most effective instruments to withstand separatist pressure, backed by external powers in proxy-war environments, have been suggested.

The article is devoted to the study of the problem of separatism in Spain – a country with the hottest cell manifestation of this phenomenon in modern Europe. Among the 19 autonomous regions of the country during the last time, the separatist movement has gained particular activity in Catalonia.

At the heart of the study is the study of the historical peculiarities of the development of separatism in Catalonia and the reasons that led to the emergence of separatist sentiments in this autonomy.

In the course of the study, the main causes of Catalan separatism – economic, ethno-political and political – were considered, an analysis of the intensity of the influence of each of these reasons, the degree of their significance as being conducive to separatism. The dominant role in shaping the manifestations of separatism in Catalonia is due to economic factors, in particular, the reluctance to finance the more backward regions, and in the form and intensity of its manifestation, Catalan separatism is regarded as active, secessional.

The possible consequences of the intensification of separatism in Catalonia for Spain and Europe as a whole have been identified. This situation is a serious threat to the unity of the kingdom, as it can cause a chain reaction and stir up separatism in other autonomous communities where it is in a moderate or passive state, especially in the Basque Country and Galicia, Andalusia, Aragon, Asturias, Cantabria, Castile, Leoni, Balearic islands. The activation of the separatist movement in Catalonia may also intensify the movement for the separation of certain regions from other European countries and create a threat to Europe's unity.

Considered measures to combat separatism in Catalonia, in particular, the effectiveness of combating the active separatism of force methods.

Key words: separatism; Catalonia; secession; causes of separatism; consequences of separatism; methods of counteracting separatism.

1. INTRODUCTION

Problem statement. Recent developments relating to ethnic conflicts and separatist movements around the world are similar to the effect of a seething cauldron that has not reached its boiling point yet. In this sense, Europe is no exception. New foci of instability emerged as a result of separatism sentiments. Europe, after two dramatic world wars, started a new regional strategy through a unified diversity concept. Thus, geopolitical changes, proxy-war conflicts, immigration crisis, etc., seem a clear attempt to open Pandora's Box. The most evident examples of the separatist developments on the European stage recall the regions of Catalonia (Spain), Scotland (the United Kingdom), Corsica (France) in Western Europe and Transnistria (Moldova) in Eastern Europe.

Analysis of recent research and publications. The problem of separatism in Spain and Catalonia in particular has been studied by many researchers, who have dedicated a number of works to this problem: V. Dobrynin, G. Kukhaleishvili, V. Kulik, O. Karpets, A. Mucha, and others. They investigated the root causes and its impact on the activity of separatist movements, the intensity of separatism in Spain and its consequences, methods of counteracting separatism and peculiarities of its application in the main separatist centers of the country.

Purpose of the article. The main objective of this research is to study and systematize materials concerning the study of the causes and intensity of separatism in Catalonia, its possible implications for Spain and Europe and methods for solving the problem of separatism.

Methods of research. The methodology and methods of research are based on papers that analyze the problems of separatism. In this article, various research methods have been used, which have been applied comprehensively. This made it possible to explore the problem of separatism in contemporary Spain from different theoretical and methodological points of view. The article used a number of scientific approaches and methods of analysis: firstly, it is a chronological method that allows to reflect the course of historical events in a temporal sequence, and, secondly, a historical-genetic method that allows to establish clear causes and consequences links between events and phenomena that are considered. The use of both methods allows us to trace the development of Spanish separatism in relation to the changing domestic political environment. The system method was used in the work, which allowed to analyze the complex of systemic links formed in the region in order to reveal the specifics of separatism in Catalonia most fully.

2. RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH

Today a great number of countries may face the problem of separatism due to the activation of self-awareness and identity by ethnic minorities, nationalism, and ambitions of local political elites, audacious interference of «good-willing» neighbour countries, etc. From Scotland to Flanders and beyond to Catalonia: separatist trends in the modern European Union is not an outrageous exception to the rules, but a certain trend, process, that is gradually gaining momentum. On the one hand, Europeans are well aware of

the rationality of the «Our power in unity» because only a united Europe can be heard by the USA, Russia, China and worthy answer today's global challenges. But, on the other hand, we are seeing a tendency towards growing separatist aspirations, a desire to transform the European Union from an inter-state union to a region of Europe. Therefore, the concept of building a united Europe on federalist principles is being combined today with regionalist and separatist tendencies.

In the regions of many EU Member States, we can observe not only the development of a spontaneous street protest movement, but also the deliberate activities of the regional elites, which result in referendums on independence. The question is why in the Member States and the European Union as a whole, that based on a system of democratic, legal values, separatism arises and successfully develops? What consequences will this tendency have for the legal development of the European states and the Union as a whole? What role does the European Union play in this process? An analysis of these and several other issues is addressed in this article [1, p. 90].

Separatist tendencies usually originate in prosperous, historically self-dominant regions, which feel underestimated and somehow prejudiced against by central powers, but that need not necessarily be the case. The situation may differ from region to region. Sometimes it proves that the most vulnerable regions to separatism are the areas with ethnic minorities in a cross-border or peripheral location. The presence of ambitious political elite who haven't realised their potential and a local community that gravitates to a mighty state across the border may lead to a logical follow-up of separatist trends. However, there are some instruments to withstand separatist movements inside the nation and imperial ambitions of «good-willing» neighbours, keeping the territorial integrity of the country.

Today a great number of countries may face the problem of separatism due to the activation of self-awareness and identity by ethnic minorities, nationalism, and ambitions of local political elites, audacious interference of «good-willing» neighbour countries, etc.

The development of separatism in a united Europe only seems paradoxical at first glance. The EU is considered to be a «post-sovereign» political and legal system, which, in case of successful development of the integration process, could serve as a model for the formation of different-power integration «cores» in South and Latin America, Asia and the CIS [2, p. 35] EU-led regional policy based on the principles of solidarity and subsidy, should remove the problem of separatism in the EU as such, as in regions arose a real opportunity legally along with national states to reach the interstate and supranational (within the EU) level when addressing issues in different spheres of public life [2, p. 60]. Nevertheless, separatist movements have not disappeared but are developing, destabilizing not only the Member States but also the European Union as a whole [1, p. 90].

K. Boyle and P. Englebert in their work «The Primacy of Politics in Separatist Dynamics»[3] described economic, cultural, political, and some other facilitating factors fostering separatism in the regions. The political elite and large segments of the local population in separatist regions feel somehow left out and underestimated by the rest of the country in terms of prosperity, physical or human capital, or natural resources endowment. Secession tendency is often argued to be promoted by ethnic, linguistic, and religious heterogeneity in the country. Ethnic diasporas may also contribute to secessionist sentiment as they tend to nurse grievances, promote elements of irredentism, exacerbate disaffection with the central authorities, intensify the feelings of ethnic purity, and provide some funding to local organisations.

In many cases, the politics of neighbouring states have a keen interest in continuing insurgencies across the border in nextdoor countries and gaining benefits of separatist activities there. Sometimes political developments and transitions make states vulnerable and can create a situation that triggers the separatist process. In their study, K. Boyle and P. Englebert, defining separatism as «the expression of aspiration for statehood» and «a deeply political statement», made a very interesting conclusion, describing the range of dependence between the state and separatism. They described the latter as «an act of state formation, which is more likely to occur the more communities are discriminated against, the more the states in which they live fail to provide any form of social compact and restrain violence, and the more they can rely on the remembrance of a once autonomous life» [3].

Therefore, «separatism in the political sphere could have adverse consequences, e.g. reduction of state sovereignty, destabilization of the situation in the country, etc.»[4, p. 692].

Separatism may differ according to its objectives as «...secession (i.e. to secede from the existing state and to establish a new independent one), irredentism (to separate from the existing state and to join another

state), and separatist movement (to strive for more autonomy power while remaining within the existing state)» [5]. Separatism as defined by Cambridge Dictionary means «the belief held by people of a particular race, religion, or other groups within a country that they should be independent and have their government or in some way live apart from other people: e.g. Basque separatism» [6].

The European continent, as referring to the UN official data, is represented by 44 (excluding dependencies, mini-states, etc.) independent countries. Almost all of them have in their territories ethnic minorities, which have been or may potentially be involved in separatist movements.

What contributes to the development of separatism in the European Union? It is the desire of the separatist movements to preserve and develop their identity in accordance with Art. 3 of the EU Treaty, which proclaims that the Union respects its rich cultural and linguistic diversity and protects and further enriches Europe's cultural heritage [7]. The identity of separatist movements is generally based on shared history, culture, language and social unity. Based on these identities and disputes in relations with the central authorities of the Member States, separatists make good use of communication technologies and transnational networks for organizing political actions and attracting support from diaspora groups and foreign sympathizers. The role of identity in the development of separatist movements can be seen in the example of the Basque Country and Catalonia in Spain, for which memories of repression, violations of cultural and linguistic rights (as is known, the Spanish government has blocked the recognition of Catalans as a nation and favored Catalan in the region) is an important factor in maintaining the viability of separatist sentiment.

At the same time, it should be noted that cultural and linguistic identity is not always used by separatist movements in their struggle. Yes, although Scotland has a distinct cultural and linguistic identity from the rest of the UK, modern Scottish separatists do not use this factor. Moreover, they emphasize that in the case of withdrawal from the United Kingdom Scotland will maintain close cultural ties with England: English will remain the official language, just as the British pound will be the official currency of an independent Scotland [1, p. 90].

Catalonia is one of the most obvious European regions in its tremendous tendency for secession. The region has gained unique historical experience in its confronting Madrid Central Authorities either during the dictatorship of Francisco Franco or during 1,5 million demonstrations in 2012 while demanding independence from the Spanish monarchy. The Catalonians consider themselves a self-sustaining minority with tenuous dependence on the central establishment in Madrid. Current statistic data and reviews of numerous international observers indicate that «[a]s the most prosperous of Spain's 17 regions, Catalonia houses roughly 19 % of Spain's economy, benefiting from tourism, exports, manufacturing, and industry». This wealthy region has not only the 1000-year distinct history but also a 7,5-million-strong population with their language, parliament, flag, and anthem, and even their police force and some public controls.

Nonetheless, Catalan nationalists and radical groups have long considered that Madrid allocates too much money to poorer parts of Spain at the expense of their region through tax control. From their point of view, a 2010 constitutional court decision to lessen Catalonia's sovereignty undermined the Catalan identity. In a referendum held finally on 01 October 2017, «about 90 % of Catalan voters backed independence». But the turnout of the voters was only 43 % and Spain's Constitutional Court declared it illegal.

Unfortunately, some serious factors are affecting Catalonia's aspiration to secession. One of the obstacles on its way to separation is the national public debt of Spain, which constituted in 2016 approximately \$1,18 trillion, according to the Bank of Spain and before the Catalan independence referendum of 2017. Catalonia accumulated in 2016 one of the largest debts among Spanish regions, i.e. \$86,9 billion. Consequently, further success of Catalonia depends heavily on «whether or not they would assume a percentage of the Spanish debt and if they would be required to pay off their debt». 13 In such a case, the situation with the region's debt burden could prove to be detrimental to a new Catalan nation and would cause real damage to the development of their economic potential.

Catalonia's intention to obtain complete independence from Spain may cause negative feedback from the European Union due to institutional reasons. Such a situation had arisen following the referendum on Scottish independence from the United Kingdom held on 18 September 2014. The voters were supposed to give a «Yes» or «No» answer to the single question: «Should Scotland become an independent country?» A majority of 55,3 % (2,001,926 votes), against 44,7 % (1,617,989 votes), decided that Scotland would remain part of the United Kingdom.¹⁴ It should be noted that the voter turnout rate of 84,6 % was the highest in the

UK since the introduction of universal suffrage. The problem is that neither Scotland nor Catalonia possesses an automatic right to the EU membership. It means that Catalonia must receive a unanimous «Yes» from the EU members, including Spain and its allies, which are difficult to predict. If the European Union declines the new nation's membership or makes things difficult, the Catalan economy will bear a heavy transition burden and may not only lose its current trading partners but also encounter a trade boycott by the rest of the Kingdom of Spain [8].

Oddly enough, the European Union itself gives a certain impetus, at least indirectly, to the separatist tendencies. The implementation of EU regional policy has contributed to the further decentralization of power, both in federal and regional states, as well as in unitary states. The delegation of powers from the central government to the lower levels gives the subregions greater autonomy, and therefore the opportunity to pursue own interests, which not always coincide with national interests. On the other hand, especially in an economic crisis, national governments are not always able to ensure that national and regional objectives. As the regional community and its elite dissatisfied with the failure of the central government ensure their needs and interests, they became vulnerable to greater autonomy or even independence [1, p. 90].

Despite the fact that Catalan and Basque nationalism appeal to the same nature – historical right to own state, cultural, linguistic and political features, it is wrong to believe that the scenario to seek independence will be the same for both regions. The only way to make these processes more centrally controlled and more predictable is to create a legal framework for reviewing the status of the region. With a high probability, this decision carries with it a number of risks for the state unity of Spain, however nationalist movements in Catalonia and in the Basque (especially after the transition of ETA to the political field) only grow stronger and harden in response to the prohibitions of Madrid. However, the existence of a legal framework for referenda on the status of the region, firstly, it will ensure the proper level of organization of voting, and secondly, it will contribute to the adoption of more informed decisions by both politicians and citizens, since it will be clear that decisions made in the new legal context will inevitably have to be held accountable, and the consequences of such decisions can be very serious. At the moment, the center has been able to calm the pockets of nationalist separatist discontent, however, this does not solve the problem and nationalism in certain regions of the country is similar to a time bomb, which cannot be cleared only by the use of force [9].

3. CONCLUSIONS AND PROSPECTS OF FURTHER RESEARCH

Separatist movements continue unabated throughout the world, especially in the trans-border and peripheral regions, where ethnic minorities have a certain ethnic, linguistic, or historical attraction to their vis-à-vis across the border.

Most cases of separatist tendencies are caused by ethnic and linguistic reasons, as well as the underestimation of economic prosperity and self-sustainment of some regions. Nevertheless, declining post-Soviet or uncompetitive economy, growing poverty, and the increasing number of pensioners create some extra motivation for separatism, especially in Eastern Europe.

External factors may have the effect of scaling up and scaling down the intensity of separatism. History knows a lot of examples when separatist disturbances were initiated and further used for annexing the territories of a smaller neighbour, e.g. the Anschluss of Austria by Nazi Germany in 1938 or annexing of the Ukrainian Crimea by the Russian Federation in 2014. It often happens as a result of proxy conflicts, or hybrid wars, or even tense interstate relations, especially if the neighbour possesses unilateral superiority related to the military, economic, and human resources.

This situation requires that we look for the most effective instruments to withstand the separatist movements, which may include the involvement of international organisations and mediating countries, peace talks, economic and political sanctions, recourse to the International Court of Justice, appeal to international isolation, use of coercive force by police or even by units of armed forces or peacekeeping troops assigned by international community.

Definitely, Catalonia issue is a problematic for Spain. It will take some time for the relations between Spain and its region Catalonia to stabilize and heal. Probably Catalonia will not get the independence because it is actually a separatist movement that does not express the view of the majority of the Catalans. Already, many banks, like Caixa and Sabadell, and multinational corporations have fled Barcelona because, without Spain and EU, Catalonia will not have access to the markets and to financial supply from Europe.

Therefore, the advantage of a strong economy that Catalonia has will become a strong drawback once this region decides that it will live outside of Spain. Moreover, EU does not support this movement, as the nationalists thought, thus making them look weak at the eyes of the local people and Madrid. The insecurity and uncertainty of such a scenario is the catalyst factor for the Catalans and that is why they want to stay with Spain. Secession has never been the main goal for the society but only a new discussion with the central government about the economic model of Catalonia is what matters to them the most.

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СЕПАРАТИЗМ ПРОТИ ДЕРЖАВИ: СПРАВА КАТАЛОНІЇ

У Європі виявлено дві тенденції периферійного сепаратизму. Роль європейського континенту підтверджується в представленні різних незалежних регіональних та міжрегіональних організацій, тобто через Асамблею європейських регіонів, що включає близько 300 регіональних утворень. Зроблено короткий аналіз кількох регіонів, які стикаються з найбільш очевидними сепаратистськими тенденціями та етнічною турбулентністю. Коефіцієнт випадковості й синдром процвітання як прискорення сепаратистських тенденцій відзначено в західних і східних частинах Європи, що вказує на різне оточення та ту саму мотивацію. І нарешті, запропоновано деякі найефективніші інструменти протистояння сепаратистському тиску, підкріплені зовнішніми силами в умовах проксі-війни.

У статті досліджено проблему сепаратизму в Іспанії – країні з найгарячішим проявом цього явища в сучасній Європі. Серед 19 автономних регіонів країни протягом останнього часу сепаратистський рух набув особливої активності в Каталонії. В основу дослідження покладено вивчення історичних особливостей розвитку сепаратизму в Каталонії та причин, що призвели до появи сепаратистських настроїв у цій автономії.

У процесі дослідження розглянуто основні причини каталонського сепаратизму – економічні, етнонаціональні та політичні, – проведено аналіз інтенсивності впливу кожної з указаних причин, ступеня їх значимості як таких, що сприяють сепаратизму. Домінуюча роль у формуванні проявів сепаратизму в Каталонії належить економічним чинникам, зокрема небажанням фінансувати відсталіші регіони, а за формою та інтенсивністю свого прояву Каталонський сепаратизм розцінюється, як активний, сецесійний. Визначено можливі наслідки активізації сепаратизму в Каталонії для Іспанії та Європи в цілому. Така ситуація є серйозною загрозою єдності королівства, оскільки може викликати ланцюгову реакцію й збудити сепаратизм в інших автономних спільнотах, де він перебуває в поміркованому або пасивному стані, особливо в Країні Басків та Галісії, Андалусії, Арагоні, Астурії, Кантабрії, Кастилії, Леоні, Балеарських островах. Активізація сепаратистського руху в Каталонії також може посилити рух за відокремлення деяких регіонів від інших європейських країн і створити загрозу єдності Європи.

Розглянуто заходи протидії сепаратизму в Каталонії, зокрема зазначена ефективність у боротьбі з активним сепаратизмом силових методів.

Ключові слова: сепаратизм; Каталонія; сецесія; причини сепаратизму; наслідки сепаратизму; методи протидії сепаратизму.

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СУЧАСНІ НАЙВПЛИВОВІШІ ТЕРОРИСТИЧНІ ОРГАНІЗАЦІЇ АФРИКИ

У цій статті стосовно діяльності найвпливовіших терористичних організацій на Африканському континенті основну увагу приділено проблемам, із якими стикаються держави континенту в боротьбі з поширенням і наслідками тероризму. Хоча проведено численні дослідження для пояснення причин, динаміки та наслідків діяльності терористичних груп, у цій роботі особливо зауважено на тому, як ці групи здійснюють свої операції та які їх наслідки для мирних жителів. Крім того, проведено аналіз документів задля вивчення проблем, пов'язаних із діяльністю організацій «Аш-Шабаб», «Аль-Каїда ісламського Магрибу», «Армія опору Господа» й «Боко Харам» в Африці. У статті також зазначено, що основою виживання терористів є високоорганізована військова стратегія, чітко визначено цілі та добре організовані, хоча іноді й незадекларовані командні структури. Уникаючи прямого бою, групи терористів