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РОЗКОЛ СУСПІЛЬСТВА ЯК ЧИННИК ЗМІНИ ВЛАДИ ПІД ЧАС ГРОМАДЯНСЬКОЇ ВІЙНИ

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THE SPLIT OF SOCIETY AS A FACTOR OF CHANGE OF POWER DURING THE CIVIL WAR

The article analyzes the territorial, geographical, economic, socio-political, religious, confessional and ethnic factors, determining horizontal and vertical splitting of society (between "tops" and "bottoms", between "tops", and splitting of the whole society) on the eve of civil war.

In a civil war, there is a violent change of the dominating elite power through the transition from one layer / group into another, contrary to the existing legal mechanisms, on condition that the power was seized by a party which had no carrier status and turned into the dominating elite from the beginning of the armed struggle. Therefore, the cyclic nature of elite development after the civil war is shown, on the one hand, as the transition of one social group to the layer which possesses the power and has domination function, and on the other – the destruction of the competing forces in the political arena.

Keywords: change of power, horizontal and vertical split of society, civil war, circulation of elites.

The civil war is not only a period of large-scale confrontation of alternative models of social development but also a period of acute political struggle, which is essentially a struggle for the supreme state power. The opposing forces seek to seize state structures in order to change the direction of development of society or to obtain direct economic benefits through the mechanism of state power. Consequently, the civil war acts as a model of illegal change of power, the transition of the latter from one carrier of the supreme power (the ruling elite) to another as a result of political struggle for power or in accordance with the existing mechanisms in the state and the regulatory framework, or in violation of existing legislation.

Any illegal change of power is connected with the split of society, which leads to the struggle between the individual layers of social groups. Political history proves that the split of society has several types: 1) the horizontal split of society into "top-bottom", which generates a war between the layers that have different socio-economic, political status or political ideology, religious and confessional affiliation; 2) the split of elites, the conflict between the elites, which affects all layers, but the weakness of the crack does not destroy the latter; 3) the split of society through all layers – the whole society is in vertical split; 4) the division of the lower social classes, where they struggle between each other and it does not affect the interests of other groups of the state[1].

The struggle for power during the civil war is due to the split of society, which actualized by territorial-geographical, economic, socio-political, religious-confessional and ethnic factors.

The territorial-geographical type includes factors originating from the history of the formation of the country's borders, administrative-territorial units and peculiarities of the state structure, which is reflected through the imperfection of the legal mechanisms of interaction of power structures in States with a complex national-state structure. There is a violation of the principle of equal representation and,

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accordingly, the fundamental principle of equality of all citizens. In turn, the establishment of state borders in the past without taking into account the factor of ethnic groups 'residence or contrary to the geographical, landscape-climatic and historical conditionality of ethnic groups' settlement leads to the aggravation of the problem of ethnic groups ' access to water, fertile land and energy resources.

The borders of modern African States are based on the formula "*uti possidetis juris*", according to which colonial borders were recognized as legitimate. The formula was adopted unanimously at a meeting of the Organization of African States, only two countries announced a special position – Morocco and Somalia. However, history has found a contradiction between the formula and the reality: the artificial division of ethnic peoples has led to an aggravation of territorial claims. As a result, there are a number of confrontations caused by the desire to achieve ethnic unity. As an example, irredentist movement of Somalis, who, seeking to unite all Somalis in one state, accuses Ethiopia's occupation of Somali territories.

The economic type includes factors based on the difference in economic development of different population groups or territories, wealth or lack of materials or food resources, differences in climatic and economic-geographical conditions. This type includes a different standard of living of the population and the gap in the quality of life of the population of the state, the ability to meet the consumption and out consumption, that is, satisfaction in various life benefits: food, clothing, housing, transport, utilities and household services, education, health care, cultural, educational and leisure activities. In the country, the gap grows between social groups, which differ from one another by such criteria: the presence of private property, the state of professional activity (employees, managers, unemployed, etc.), income level, the distribution of the total amount of cash income. As a result, there is an accumulation of social discontent caused by the socio-economic distress of a certain part of the population.

The socio-political factors include factors based on the clash of interests of political actors, the desire to overcome social inequality, to gain access to government, to change its political system. So, there should be a social class or several social classes that are dissatisfied with the existing distribution of political power; this is usually due to a mismatch of their real significance and their legitimized political position feel illegally restricted in their economic activity or in their participation in political decision-making[1].

This group includes the following factors: a) the contradiction between the status of social groups and claims to the ruling status, the ability to gain access to the distribution of wealth; b) the desire of counter-elite groups to create new or modernize old power structures; c) the introduction of democratic models of governance incompatible with the remnants of the traditional social order; d) the repressive policy of the political regime; e) political and ideological confrontation between political forces.

Confessional and religious factors include those based on identity and unity in the approach to the world model, moral values, and a certain religion. There is a politicization of religion; the latter is in the social, political, cultural sphere of life in the form of an idiom that directs the forces of "good" against "evil". Religion penetrates vigorously into the sphere of ideology, politics, social and political institutions[2].

To the factors of this group we can include: a) the government of the state discriminatory policy against certain religious or confessional groups; b) the uneven representation of religious groups in the public authorities, as well as the promotion by the government of political irregularity to representatives of individual religions or confessions; c) the desire of a particular religious group to political domination in the state; d) imposition by the ruling elite of a negative religious stereotype in the form of a schematized image of "one's" and "another's" religion or denomination, the content of which is purposefully laid certain models of behavior with representatives of another religion in a certain situation.

To the society division factors in Lebanon on the eve of the war in the 70-ies of the XX century we can include the attempt of right-orthodox political forces to establish relations with Western Europe and Israel, its performances against the Palestinian presence in the country. Muslim communities supported the idea of Arab integration and supported the Palestinian resistance movement in the Arab-Israeli conflict. The situation was complicated by the confessional principle of separation of powers and the preservation of the traditional communal structure in the country.

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[1] Гарр, Т.Р. (2005). *Почему люди бунтуют*. Санкт-Петербург: Питер.

[2] Малышева, Д.Б. (1991). *Религиозный фактор в вооруженных конфликтах современности: Развивающиеся страны Азии и Африки в 70-80 гг.* Москва: Наука, 11.

The racial, ethnic and national type includes factors that are based on the fact that an individual feels belonging to one ethnic group, which for an individual is the highest achievement, the best people on earth. All people of the same nationality for him were brothers and sisters. People of other nationalities cannot be equal to him, they are different[1]. There is a situation in which the ethnic group is closed exclusively to internal communication and begins to conflict with other ethnic groups. The factors of this group can be called, firstly, a protective reaction of the ethnic community to the superiority of the values of the dominant or ethnic enemy, and secondly, the formation of a sense of second-class or representation of national inequality.

These groups of reasons include: a) mental or real violation of the quantitate and qualitative composition of ethnic groups and national groups; b) violent or natural assimilation; c) displacement of persons of non-indigenous nationality from the state administration, armed service; infringement of national dignity; d) restriction of rights on national grounds; e) the presence of tension or conflict between certain ethnic groups field of multiethnic state; f) manifestations of domestic nationalism; g) irrational xenophobia caused by differences in ethnic culture; h) focus on the "historical injustice" regarding the fate of the ethnic group.

Factors of this type construct two dimensions: horizontal, reflecting the relationship between individual ethnic groups; vertical, reflecting the relationship between an ethnic group and a state headed by a particular ethnic group. Most of the factors of this species have historical roots associated with the subconscious and historical memory of man. The main reason is uneven access to social benefits of different ethnic groups and matures over time.

Ethnic and religious factors are often intertwined. Dogmatic and religious differences in interaction with ethno-cultural has led to an increase in the elements of irrational behavior of members of society. The level of tension depends on the extent to which religious and ethnic differences are linked to the economic and political or other important interests of the political elite and enter into armed struggle.

Consequently, the action of factors should be considered in a holistic manner, firstly, on the principle of a systematic approach, according to which all elements of the system are complementary and interdependent and lead to the rejection of existing political relations, the political regime as a whole by various social, ethnic, religious groups. The energy of the opposing side is provided by the anticipation of obtaining political power, access to the resources of the state, obtaining the appropriate prestige, for the representatives of the old government, the restoration of the opposing side, the energy is given to the fear of losing power, power, the upcoming harm.

In Nigeria, the split factors in the second half of 60-ies of XX century were intensified by the social and economic competition between industrial groups and intellectuals living in different parts of the country. The issue of the new administrative division of the state became a factor of aggravation. With the new division of the Eastern region, states of Nigeria that were rich in oil would be outside the borders of the Igbo people, that is, within the borders of other ethnic groups. Without oil, a small overpopulated state of the Igbo people would be doomed to a miserable existence entirely dependent on the Federal government; Igbo Industrialists, in the end, did not want to give up their "oil money"[2].

The line of the fundamental political, social, economic or social split at the group or individual level of society is directly determined by the prevalence of one of the outlined types of factors that affect the primary, fundamental values and interests, the degree of satisfaction/violation of which the majority of belonging to a particular segment will be determined with their loyalty to the further identification of themselves with the society of the state concerned. In addition, it is worth noting that for the split that leads to civil war, the presence of certain factors is not enough, a necessary condition is a high level of antagonism between the divided parts of society. Objective deeply antagonistic contradictions lead to the fact that armed violence is perceived as the most acceptable way to achieve the goal (to seize power), and the parties of the divided society are sure that they have enough strength for this.

The split factors lead us to the conclusion that before the civil war there was a horizontal split of society between the "top" and "bottom" (the civil war in Russia in 1917–1921), the split of the "top" (the civil war in the Dominican Republic in 1965) and the split of society across all strata (the civil war in Lebanon in 1975-1990). At the same time it is the structuring of elements into certain segments separated from each other, whose members confidently identify themselves with belonging to this segment; secondly,

[1] Антонян, Ю.М. (2004). *Этнорелигиозные конфликты: проблемы, решения.* Москва: ЩИТ-М, 26.

[2] Глущенко, Е. (1993). *Первая республика в Нигерии.* Москва: Наука, 143-144.

the "demarcation" of social boundaries between different segments took place. Consequently, political parties, interest groups, means of communication, schools, voluntary associations tend to organize along lines that repeat the existing borders within the society[1].

As a result of the civil war the change of power occurs when the power was won by a party which at the beginning of the armed struggle did not have the status of its carrier, but sought to possess this power. In this case, there is not only a change of administrative power but also the transformation of the "winner" into the elite, which has a dominant force. The latter corresponds to the cyclical nature of the development of elites.

The process of origin and formation of the elite has three internal periods:

1. The transformation of any social groups into a force capable of fighting for power, then the transition to a state of the ruling power, the formation of an elite group as a consolidated layer.

2. The development of the elite, characterized by the deployment of the essence of the elite and the achievement of maximum potential opportunities.

3. Degradation of the elite, the stage of "death" of the elite, perceived as a rapid loss of systemic qualities.

Thus, the end of the civil war marks, on the one hand, the transition of a social group into a stratum that wields power and exercises the function of domination, and on the other – the destruction on the political arena of competing social forces with which it is somehow necessary to share power or whose interests must be taken into account in their policies.

Taking into account the peculiarities of the split of society and the cyclical development of elites, the civil war as a way of changing power can be described as follows.

In the case of a horizontal split of society, the transition of state power comes from one class, layer, social group to another. For example, after the English bourgeois revolution of the XVI century during the civil war, when the struggle took place between the bourgeoisie and the feudal lords, and each camp had its own government, its governing bodies, the army, the result of the struggle was the transition of state power from the feudal to the bourgeois class.

In the case of a vertical split, the division of society in a civil war is not based only on socio-economic grounds, but on ethnic, religious and confessional grounds.

According to the circulation of elites in both cases, there is a social circulation, which is a change in the social substrate of the elite. Elites as a subject of social process are changed qualitatively or significantly modified under the influence of political changes[2]. Social circulation reflects the change in the recruitment pool of the ruling elite. For a new elite group, a new philosophical and ideological justification is being formed, new social practices are emerging, taking into account the new system of moral coordinates. The former power elites after the civil war are completely removed from the system of power relations.

The Spanish civil war (1936-1939) led to the transition of state power from a socio-political force (Republicans and socialists) that represented democracy and the freedom of dictatorship that established a military regime. The civil war in Spain is a transition of power from one to another carrier, it is a historical struggle between the right and left forces in Spain, which still has a tense character[3].

During the civil war in Cambodia (1967-1975), the Central government was overthrown and the forces came to power, which declared a course for a total change of society and the state in accordance with the principles of the Maoist concept to build a "Communist society". That was a transition of state power from the government headed by Lon Nol to the "Khmer Rouge", the ultra-left flow of the agrarian sense in the Communist movement, established in 1968.

The civil war in Laos (1960-1973), as a result of the struggle between the government of the state and the partisans Patet Lao, when the warring parties were supported by the USA and the USSR, led to the proclamation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the abdication of king Sawang Vathan in December 1973 and the resignation of Suvan Phum. State power as President was headed by Sufanuwong, and the actual ruler was Kaysone Phomvihane.

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[1] Лейпхарт, А. (1992). Многосоставные общества и демократические режимы. *Полис. Политические исследования*, *1-2,* 217-225.

[2] Мохов, В.П. (2014). Циркуляция элит: проблема критериев процесса. *Власть и элиты*, *1,* 8-19.

[3] Борик, А.И. (2014). Социалисты и консерваторы Испании как политические суперники. *Право и управление. XXI век, 2,* 147-151.

In the case of a split of the society elites the transition of power occurs within a single class (the struggle for power between separate factions, the struggle between Gaius Julius Caesar and Sula, and later between Pompey and Caesar in the years to 49-45 B. C.); one social stratum (the war between the dynasties of Lancaster and York in the years 1455-1485); the military elite (the civil war in Nigeria in 1967-1970 years).

The change of the elite, in this case, corresponds to the political circulation, which reflects the process of change of the group within the ruling elite. The political circulation does not concern the most social type of elites. The result is a change of the ruling elite group, a change in the role of subelite groups but usually there is no change in the form of domination in society, such as social practices, political regime.

After the change of power, the new bearer of power and the elite representing its interests seek to rebuild power and even the entire society on the principles enshrined in the programs and declarations. The restructuring of the entire society, in turn, leads to a break in the continuity of social development, all traditions and the abandonment of the former social order.

The struggle for power during the civil war is due to the split of society. Analysis of the determination of the civil war leads to the conclusion that during the civil war there is a horizontal split of society between the "top" and "bottom" (the civil war in Russia), the split of the "top" (the civil war in the Dominican Republic) and the split of society through all layers (the civil war in Lebanon).

The change of power occurs when the power as a result of the civil war was won by a party that at the beginning of the armed struggle did not have the status of the carrier but sought to possess this power. In this case, there is not only a change of power but also the transformation of the "winner" in the elite, which has a dominant force. The latter corresponds to the cyclical nature of the development of elites. In this case, the basis of the circulation of the elite is shifting in the system of governance, which are generated by the desire of social groups to seize power in order to create conditions conducive to their existence.

The process of origin and formation of the elite has three internal periods:

1. The transformation of any social groups into a force capable of fighting for power, then the transition to a state of the ruling power, the formation of an elite group as a consolidated layer.

2. The development of the elite, characterized by the deployment of the essence of the elite and the achievement of maximum potential opportunities.

3. Degradation of the elite, the stage of death of the elite, perceived as a rapid loss of systemic qualities. The period is characterized by the process of elite groups losing their status associated with global social dysfunction. The elite group cannot manage the previous methods, and also is not able to offer new methods.

Thus, the end of the civil war marks, on the one hand, the transition of a social group into a stratum that wields power and exercises the function of domination, and on the other – the destruction in the political arena of competing social forces with which it is somehow necessary to share power or whose interests must first be taken into account in their policies.

Given the peculiarities of the split of society and the cyclical development of elites, the civil war as a way of changing power can be described as follows.

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Social circulation reflects the change in the recruitment pool of the ruling elite. For a new elite group, a new philosophical and ideological justification is being formed, new social practices are emerging, taking into account the new system of moral coordinates. The former power elites after the civil war are completely removed from the system of power relations.

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[1] Мохов, В.П. (2014). Циркуляция элит: проблема критериев процесса. *Власть и элиты*, *1*, 8-19.

Thus, the change of power, which is caused by social contradictions and horizontal or vertical split of society, is characterized by neglecting of the state mechanism of continuity of power and regulatory framework, is a violent change of the ruling elite, which is not associated with any evolutionary changes in social and economic relations, as it leads to "artificial" transformation of social relations by means of actions of the citizens involved in the political struggle.

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