

Conceptual Bases of the Impact of Ethnic Conflicts on Regional and International Security

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Abstract:

The article examines the impact of ethnic conflicts on regional and international security. It is noted that during the Cold War, it was impossible to conduct serious research in this area. Because ethnic conflicts were seen as an internal affair of states. However, with the end of the Cold War, the collapse of absolute sovereignty intensified the interaction between the domestic life of the country and the international community. Such a development in the context of globalization has turned ethnic conflicts into a problem of international politics, taking them out of the context of the internal affairs of states. The globalization of ethnic conflicts has strengthened its impact on regional and international security and laid the groundwork for the "ethnicization of international relations". The impact of ethnic conflicts on regional and international security can be studied in the context of instrumentalism, neomondialism, the Brubaker's Triangle, ethno-political movements, and theories of protracted conflict. In the theory of instrumentalism, ethnic conflict is seen as a means of struggle by elites. Even this struggle serves the interests of the ruling forces not only within the country, but also abroad. In the theory of protracted social conflicts, the main processes revolve around internal conflicts and identities. The Brubaker's Triangle and theories of the ethnopolitical movement play an important role in the study of the external resources of separatism and its transformation into an interstate war. In the context of neomondialism, S. Huntington's theory of "clash of civilizations" tried to justify the fact that future conflicts will occur between religious and civilizational systems stemming from cultural factors.

Keywords:

geopolitics, globalization, ethnic conflicts, neomondialism, Brubaker's triangle, ethnopolitical movement, nationalism

I. Introduction

Numerous approaches and theories are used in the study of modern ethnic conflicts. The regularities of political, sociological, economic, socio-psychological and other relations between national minorities and the ruling majority in society are studied using these theories and approaches. In contrast to these approaches, it is difficult to say that there is a solid scientific basis in this area, as the issue of the impact of ethnic conflicts on international and regional security has not been the subject of serious research for a long time. The lack of necessary research in this area was due to some reasons. First, the main reason why experts studying the problems of peace, conflict and international relations in the West during the Cold War do not pay serious attention to this issue is that ethnic conflicts are an internal affair of the state, linked to dictatorial and repressive governments (Rodolfo, S. 1998).

The research conducted there has only brought international conflicts into its orbit. A similar situation prevailed in the USSR, of which we were a part for more than half a century, and no research was conducted in this direction at all (Mastenov, 1991).

Second, on the other hand, bias in many important areas of research such as conflictology and geopolitics, has made it impossible to conduct the necessary research. Thus, the taboo on a number of sciences that do not correspond to the "nature" of the political system made it impossible to study the interrelationships between ethnic conflicts and political, economic, military and another process which occur on an international scale.

However, the intensification of the interaction and interdependence between internal factors and external processes as a result of the collapse of the Cold War, especially the role of globalization in this direction, paved the way for a new approach to modern security problems rather than a traditional perspective. At present, the enrichment of security not only with military factors, but also with socio-economic, cultural, informational and other factors makes it important to refer to a wide range of interdisciplinary research methods in its study. Not surprisingly, such a research method is geopolitical.

The application of a geopolitical approach is very important in studying the potential impact of ethnic conflicts on international and regional processes. Thus, geopolitics has emerged as a purely scientific paradigm of war and conflict. "It emerged as a reaction to territorial disputes between states, and the global wars of the twentieth century played an important role in its formation as a system of knowledge" [Baburin, S.N. 1997]. In a broader sense, the geopolitical approach has highlighted the conflicting nature of international relations, the role of geography in the inevitability of armed conflicts and various expansions in world politics, and the relentless struggle of states for certain territories and waters.

In the XXI century, a number of crisis factors: economic, political, legal, ideological, socio-cultural influence the emergence of conflict in interethnic relations.

That is why it is impossible to come across pure ethnic, religious and territorial conflicts in the modern world. In the course of any conflict, ethnic contradictions are closely intertwined with political, social, territorial, religious problems and disputes, and seriously undermine international and regional stability. Only geopolitics is able to give a satisfactory explanation of the interrelationship of these factors. Because the advantage of geopolitics over other scientific approaches is measured by the fact that it is an intellectual method with interdisciplinary connections. The synthetic nature of geopolitics creates the basis for the addition of many additional disciplines - geography, history, demography, strategy, ethnography, sociology, political science, etc. (Nartov, N.A. 1999).

The modern meaning of geopolitics goes beyond a narrow territorial approach. Modern geopolitics is dynamic and has become a multidisciplinary complex subject, involving new problems in its field of research. Its important task can be seen in the comprehensive study of ethnic, religious, economic, political, military-strategic, environmental, resource and other issues that play an important role in maintaining and changing the balance of local and regional forces in internal conflicts.

In the era of globalization, the impact of modern armed conflicts on all systems is becoming more profound. Most internal ethnic conflicts affect the neighboring state in one way or another urges the neighboring state to take appropriate steps, constantly threatening regional stability. In this case, it is impossible to continue to look at ethnic conflicts as a separate local problem. Such a development of events allows geopolitics to descend from the continental way of thinking to the level of a narrow analytical method that studies local problems.

The "deglobalization" of geopolitics, along with the global and regional aspects of events that reflect the interests of the state, allows to analyze the development at the subregional and intra-state levels. For this reason, it is not accidental that theories that study the geopolitical aspects of ethnic conflicts, their relationship to international and regional security emerged in the post-Cold War period. Among them, it is expedient to mention instrumentalism, multi-level complex theories of ethnic conflicts, "neomondialism", "Brubaker's triangle", "ethno-political movement" and "nationalism".

II. Review of Literatures

In the theory of instrumentalism, ethno-national conflict is considered as a means of struggle of political elites for state power. In the context of this approach, the endogenous research model has evolved further. The endogenous model explores the role of internal environmental factors influencing the continuation of conflict. These reasons are located within the territorial boundaries of the social system and the state.

However, as local ethnic conflicts have become international and transcend national boundaries, an exogenous model is needed to study them. This model can be called an instrumental exogenous approach. The instrumental exogenous approach emphasizes the involvement of foreign forces in local confrontation who are interested in maintaining their hegemony in the region. The instrumental exogenous approach emphasizes the involvement of foreign forces in local confrontation who are interested in maintaining or maintaining their hegemony in the region.

The ethno-national confrontation within the state has a wide base of support due to the involvement of foreign forces, foreign states and private organizations in the struggle. T.Gurr and B.Harff point to three mechanisms for the internationalization of the local conflict: foreign humanitarian aid; external support to competitors; creation of international conditions that lead to a protracted conflict in a polyethnic region (Gurr, T.R. 1994).

At the altruistic level, foreign forces provide humanitarian assistance to refugees. If the refugees were servicemen who lost the local war, then this assistance is characterized as assistance to collaborate with criminal groups (cooperation of criminal groups). Foreign countries can provide various types of support to the warring parties. The following forms of external support are noted: oral propaganda and counseling; financial support; transfer of intelligence information; ensuring safe living conditions for military personnel among refugees; send economists and military advisers; transfer of weapons and ammunition. If the foreign government refuses to support the protracted conflict, private organizations of third countries can be active supporters of the resumption of the ethnic conflict.

Foreign countries can support the warring parties for various reasons. Support can be characterized by sympathy for one party due to ethnic affiliation, as well as a desire to weaken an unfriendly government in the neighborhood and increase its influence in the conflict zone.

Ethno-national confrontation draws the world powers into the struggle and becomes an instrument of their foreign policy. The support of one of the parties to the conflict by forces with high geopolitical status stems from the struggle to maintain or change the international order.

If all nations, peoples and ethnic groups in the modern world declare that they have created their own independent states, and try to implement these claims, instability in the world order will increase many times, and the existence of many states will be called into question (6, p.226). The outcome of a protracted interethnic confrontation will not be in the interests of the participants, but in the interests of the leading powers in the field of international relations. As a result, the resumption of fierce struggle in the ethno-national conflict is seen as a result of purposeful actions by foreign forces interested in spreading their influence in the strategic region.

Among the multilevel complex theories of modern internal conflicts, E. Azar's classical theory of "protracted social conflict" and the theory of "international social conflict" put forward by H. Miall and his colleagues as a modern form of this theory occupy a leading place. The main feature of these theories is that they explain the cause-and-effect mechanism of the emergence of severe intergroup conflicts as a result of conflictogenic factors operating at different levels of domestic and international systems. That is why these theories are called complex multilevel theories. E. Azar is the first researcher to express in the 70s of the last century the opinion that the main source of destructive conflicts and violent violence in the postwar period were not interstate conflicts, but internal (ethnic, clan, religious) conflicts. According to him, such conflicts (the author called protracted social conflicts) are a form of a protracted and more fierce struggle of groups to satisfy their basic needs.

In his research in the 1990s, Azar concluded that the new types of conflicts revolved around the problem of group identity, in contrast to traditional disputes over territorial and economic resources and competition in the West-East axis. According to the author, a new type of conflict occurs not between states, but rather within states. Most of these conflicts are characterized by the widening of boundaries between internal and external sources and actors, and it is very difficult to determine the beginning and end of such conflicts.

In the theory of "protracted social conflict", E. Azar pays special attention to the international dimensions of modern conflicts, emphasizing the understanding of interests beyond the state borders, the network of special relations, interdependence within world economic systems, as well as the formation of military-political relations and these dimensions, in turn, form the "global and regional patronage-client model." According to the author, the new states, especially the weak ones, are under the influence of international forces.

III. Discussion

Unlike Azar, Miall and his colleagues propose to call modern conflicts "international social conflicts" within the framework of a multi-level approach, but note that these conflicts are neither internal nor international, somewhere between these two poles. According to them, the "international lines" of modern conflicts are emerging at the global and regional levels. The following system processes are cited as sources of modern conflicts that threaten security at the global level: 1) geopolitical transit in connection with the collapse of the Cold War; 2) clash of civilizations; 3) global-systemic sources of conflicts related to the activity of three trends: a) increasing deepening of inequality in the process of distribution of economic power and wealth at the global level; b) environmental constraints on economic growth resulting from human

activities (excessive use of energy in the developed world and population growth in the developing world); (c) The continuation of armaments in the field of security relations, including the future proliferation of WMD.

As a result, three types of conflicts can arise: a) conflicts at the interstate level due to a lack of resources (primarily oil); b) conflicts of group identity, aggravated by large-scale population migration; c) conflicts caused by relative incompatibility at the domestic level (perception of the difference between the status and resources of different social groups) (7, p. 263-266).

The end of the Cold War highlighted the importance of regionalization and the explanation of modern conflicts at the regional level in world politics. In particular, the "confrontation of identities" that emerged after the end of the Cold War in Europe and Africa confirms the tendency of international diffusion in the form of ethnic conflicts. Of course, this trend poses new threats to regional stability.

Another consequence of ethnic conflicts at the regional level is the influx of refugees and internally displaced persons, as well as migrants forced to flee their homes as a result of bloody military operations. They create serious problems for neighboring countries by crossing international borders. In addition, there is an increasing role of regional international organizations in the settlement of internal conflicts.

Changes in the global security structure of the world in the last decade of the twentieth century have led to the emergence of modernized mondialist theories - neomondialism. The authors of this theory try to explain the ways of building a uniform world from different points of view.

The euphoria of the West's victory in the Cold War has found expression in Fukuyama's concept reflected in his book "The End of History and the Last Man" and in a number of geopolitical articles. According to him, in the twentieth century, humanity has moved from ignorance and irrational management of social reality to a more rational system - modern Western civilization, market economy and liberal-democratic ideology, reflected in capitalism. After the collapse of the USSR, the last pillar of "irrationalism", a special planetary existence was created, which will unite the world on the basis of Western values. Regions around the world will be gradually reorganized around more economically developed centers, such as the United States, in the spirit of the new model. The author describes this development as "the end of history", that is, a period of non-conflict and harmony based on coexistence.

The events of September 11, 2001 had no effect on Fukuyama's views on the prospects for the development of a "uniform world." "Is history starting again?" In the article, the author notes that the gradual modernization of the world community continues. The negative events we encounter - old and new types of threats - are only remnants of modernization. It is not expected to return to the past, to "history" (Dugin, A. 1997).

S.Huntington, the author of the theory of "clash of civilizations", saw the development prospects of the future world in a completely different way. The author bases his opinion on the theory that the conflicts of the XXI century will be cultural, not ideological, political and economic. In the new world, more contagious, fundamental, and dangerous conflicts will arise between peoples of different cultural backgrounds, rather than between rich and poor social classes or economically defined groups. Tribal wars and ethnic conflicts will take place within

civilizations. In the new world, local politics will be the politics of ethnicity, and global politics will be the politics of civilizations. Russia's diplomatic assistance to the Serbs in the Yugoslav conflict, and the fact that Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Iran and Libya have provided weapons and money to Bosnian Muslims, stem from cultural affiliation rather than ideological, power policy or economic interests.

According to the author, ideologically divided nations (Germans and Koreans) will merge with culture. Nations united by ideology will be torn apart by cultural values. The world will become a rivalry of seven or eight giant civilizations. In global politics, the dividing lines will focus only on cultural differences.

Huntington called the hotspots along the border lines separating Islamic states from their Orthodox, Indian, African and West-Christian neighbors "micro-level" and the dividing lines between the West and all other civilizations "macro-level." Tougher conflicts are expected between Islam and Asian societies on the one hand, and between Islam and the West on the other. These conflicts are likely to be due to Western skepticism, Islamic intolerance and Chinese stubbornness.

Paying special attention to the cultural differences of civilizations, S.Huntington considered that the differences between the civilizations based on religion are more important. These differences, formed over hundreds of years, are even stronger than the differences between political regimes. In the modern world, the role and influence of religion is growing, sometimes in the form of fundamentalist and chauvinist movements. Unlike economics and politics, cultural differences are less prone to change and therefore less likely to lead to compromise decisions. Cultural and religious similarities underlie most economic organizations and integration groups.

Huntington proposed a concrete action plan to the West to prevent the further strengthening of pro-Western civilizations and their unification in a single union:

- To ensure close cooperation and alliance between the United States and Europe;
- To support societies in Eastern Europe and Latin America whose cultures are close to the West, as well as groups inclined to Western values, and to integrate them into Western civilization;
- To limit the military expansion of the China (Confucian) and Islamic states and skillfully use the mutual difficulties and conflicts against them;
- To ensure military superiority in the Far East and South-West Asia.

Some influential statesmen of our time did not hide their solidarity with the views of S. Huntington. In his speeches, the former President of the Czech Republic V.Havel noted that cultural conflicts have never been more rapid and dangerous than today. J.Delor, one of the architects of the idea of a "United Europe", said that future conflicts that threaten security will be fueled by cultural factors rather than economic and ideological ones (Huntington, S.P. 1996).

However, there are many who oppose Huntington's views. C.R. Bowen, a professor at the University of Washington, wrote in his article, *The Myth of Global Ethnic Conflict*, that while some of these conflicts involve ethnic and cultural identity, most seek more power, land, and other resources. They are not the result of ethnic diversity, but ethnic thinking is the product of modern conflicts over power and resources in political life (Bowen, J.R. 1996).

Russian researcher E.B.Rashkovsky criticized Huntington's concept, noting that the American researcher did not take into account the fact that every civilization has a complex structure. In each of them there is an internal struggle for leadership, political and religious power, access to natural and human resources. In addition, civilizations are not limited to the strong influence of traditions, as well as exposed to pro-Western, liberal-minded groups.

For one reason or another, civilizations are dynamic, not inert. They are flexible and prone to change (Marichenko, A.V. 2009). Other members of European neomondialism have slightly different views on future global security. According to French researcher B.Varyusfel, two trends will prevail in the near future. The first is that political, economic and military reconstruction in Central and Eastern Europe and the former USSR has seriously affected many geopolitical parameters - the stability of the European space, geopolitical relations between Europe and Asia, the struggle for influence in the Islamic world, the new US role in the world.

Second, the development and proliferation of new types of weapons makes it even more impossible to curb modern internal armed (ethnic) conflicts, and promotes asymmetric challenges in world politics.

In addition to these trends, there are internal crises that have shaken the North and South. The collapse of economic modernization in the South has exacerbated demographic, food, and environmental problems in many parts of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. In the north, the economic, social and moral crisis is manifesting itself in the developed industrial countries (Ashenkampf, N.N. 2006).

The author believes that "state-nations" are leaving the international arena: they are exhausted by neoliberalism from the inside and attacks by powerful multinational companies from the outside. "States-nations" are not able to adapt quickly enough to two trends: the internationalization of exchanges and the emergence of small communities (associations, ethnic groups) at a low level.

In addition, the state loses its legitimacy due to its inability to cope with social problems - unemployment, poverty, new diseases, drug addiction, and threatens security not only within its own country and region, but also internationally. An example of this is the bitter consequences of the armed

A sharper view of the pessimistic situation with global security is reflected in the works of Italian Professor C.Santoro. According to him, the movement towards a united world will pass through the catastrophic stage of civilization. This is due to the fact that humanity, which is in a state of transition from a bipolar world to a monopoly world, is experiencing the collapse of previous existing states and traditional blocs, which significantly exacerbates nationalist tendencies (ethnic wars) in the former socialist countries and the Third World. As a result of small and medium-speed ethno-religious wars, new geopolitical structures are emerging. The world is facing the threat of planetary chaos, which, objectively, is leading to the emergence of new international institutions capable of combating that threat. The granting of enormous powers to these institutions by nation-states means the establishment of a world government (Dugin, A. 1997).

Modern ethnic conflicts can easily expand and multiply due to ethnic identity, involve a large number of participants, and pose a serious threat not only to the direct and indirect participants in the conflict, but also to the security of the entire region and humanity.

In the study of such processes, which are characteristic of some ethnic conflicts (internationalization or interstate nature of internal conflicts), R.Brubaker's "Brubaker's triangle" and T.Gurr's theory of "ethnopolitical movement" are very useful. Brubaker believes that "the internationalization of ethnic conflicts and the threat to regional and international security can be closely linked to three factors: a) a nationalized society in a new independent state; b) a minority fearing marginalization in the territory of the state of residence; c) "relatives" of this minority in other states - "ethnic homeland" (13. Zürcher, K., 1999).

Analyzing this theory, it can be concluded that the nationalized state is perceived as a national state, although not ethnically homogeneous. In such states, the ruling elite expands the language, culture, demographic superiority, economic prosperity and political hegemony of the leading nation. Leaders of national minorities demand cultural or territorial autonomy, or resist real or "allegedly existing" assimilation or discrimination. The ethnic elite of a foreign ethnic "homeland" closely monitors the situation of its citizens in new states, reacts immediately to violations of their rights, and believes that they have the right to defend their interests. Their policies include irredentist demands on the territory of foreign states, ranging from various attempts to influence the policy of other states in relation to the problems of their compatriots, to obtain citizenship for members of the ethnic diaspora and immigration concessions (Brubaker, R. 1996). With the help of a well-known theory, it is possible to analyze the conflicts in Kashmir, Cyprus and the Balkans.

American conflictologist T. Gurr notes the effects of "diffusion" (spread) and "contagious" (infection) among the factors that facilitate the political mobilization of ethnic groups. The process of diffusion of ethnic conflict is understood as the process of its departure from the country, as a result of which ethnic conflict in one country has a direct impact on the political situation and security in neighboring countries. For example, the spread of ethnic conflict found among ethnic groups settled along interstate borders. Activists of an ethnic movement in one country can find refuge and support from their ethnic compatriots living in another. If members of an ethnic group are considered a privileged and superior group in a neighboring state, the diaspora in another state can count on diplomatic, political, and sometimes military support. The Moros in the Philippines gained the political and material support of the Malaysian government in the early stages of the civil war against the Marcos regime (1970s). The Malays pursued this policy out of sympathy and strategic interest for their Muslim followers in order to prevent the Philippines from claiming the Malaysian province of Saba.

The term "contagious" refers to processes in which the political movement of an ethnic minority group in one country is an inspiring example of the political activity of an ethnic minority in another country (perhaps not a neighboring state), more can be strategic and tactical guidance. If the diffusion of ethnic conflict is direct, the contagious (infection) is indirect. Informal connections, communication networks, political support and financial aid channels may emerge between ethnic groups with similar situations and similar problems in different countries. The political success of one ethnic group drives other groups to a similar political action. Cooperation between the people's fronts of Georgia, Moldova and the Baltic republics in 1991-1992 can be shown.

In the study of the geopolitical risks posed by modern ethnopolitical conflicts to global and regional security nationalism occupies an important place as a theoretical-conceptual and socio-political direction.

Nationalism is the most dangerous problem facing humanity today, but very poorly studied. Already in the twentieth century, nationalism sparked two world wars, and by the end of that century, the collapse of the Cold War had led to an increase in ethnic wars and nationalist sentiment in the former USSR and Eastern Europe with a new wave of nationalism.

Historically, nationalism has been either a means of mobilizing all necessary support for a constructive (integrative) goal or an inspiration for processes of a completely different destructive nature (separatism, ethnic cleansing, genocide, etc.). For this reason, in the political literature, nationalism is distinguished by the parameters of "civil" and "ethnic" (15, p.79-101). Civil (sometimes called the state, territory, Western nationalism) nationalism, which arose in the West since the XVIII century, was observed with the formation of the national state. From the first day, nationalism was politically motivated there and was closely connected with the concept of individual freedom. It was a consistent response to the problems that arose in the process of nation-building and sovereignty. This nationalism has made little reference to the past, has joined the political struggle and is aimed at achieving its goals. Equated with patriotism, which is the norm of human coexistence, this nationalism has served to consolidate the entire population of the state with the help of legal institutions, civil rights, culture and ideology.

This type of nationalism did not conflict with cosmopolitanism and enlightened rationalism, which highlighted the similarities between different peoples. The social base of the nationalist movement was represented by the economically strong and orderly middle class, and much later by the workers' movement organized in the trade unions under the leadership of the Social Democrats. Today, civil nationalism has played a leading role in transforming France, Britain, Spain, Italy, and other Western European countries into stable and strong civil societies.

Ethnic nationalism (in some literatures it is called the East, the periphery, or modern belligerent nationalism) promotes cultural differences in the struggle for social status in socio-political life. This nationalism emerged much later, in a completely different political context - as a result of disintegration in the national-state sphere, as well as the final disintegration of socialist polyethnic societies.

Ethnic nationalism extends more inward than outward: to the struggle for the expansion of separatism or to the occupation of territory envisioned as part of an "ideal homeland." In this type of nationalism, the mood of isolation and xenophobia is strong, associated with more negative events: genocide, ethnic exclusivity, forced assimilation, the sense of identity is based on belonging to ethnic groups. Assimilation is not seen as a method of national integration, but as the expulsion or physical destruction of a foreign ethnic group from its territory. Nationalism with such negative qualities is called "national-separatism" or "superethnism".

The development of modern ethnic nationalism manifests itself in various forms:

1. The tendency of large and small ethnolinguistic groups to become sovereign in order to create an independent statehood;
2. Increased intolerance of national minorities, depending on their attitude to the state in which they live;
3. Victims of refugees, internally displaced persons and foreign labor as a result of xenophobia;
4. More intensive resistance of the population to the process of globalization of international relations (Galkin, A. 1994).

IV. Conclusion

Ethnic nationalism is divided into political and cultural classifications. While political ethnic nationalism, based on the perception of the nation as an ethnic community, aims to achieve and maintain statehood, cultural ethnic nationalism serves to preserve the integrity of the people, the development of its language, culture and historical heritage.

The ethnic nationalism of the titular people in the most dangerous cases leads to discrimination against other nations, the occupation of state institutions and ideology. Ethnic nationalism of non-dominant ethnic groups is aimed at separatism in extreme cases.

Most of the destructive conflicts in the postsoviet space are the product of classical nationalism. The ideologues of this nationalism do not accept the previous status quo, and demand to break away from the state they belong to and become an independent entity or to unite with a neighboring state (according to ethnic identity).

Thus, at the end of the article, it can be concluded that a return to strategic stability during the Cold War will not be possible, and the modern security environment will remain chaotic, uncertain, dynamic and changeable.

It is not ruled out that separatist wars will prevail in the near future. Thus, ethnic groups will not hesitate to take steps to replace international legal borders with ethnic borders in order to establish political independence or an independent state. Weak and illegitimate states will become a source of political separatism. In societies where tolerant and multicultural values are violated, religious conflicts will lead to ruthless and depressing wars. There is no doubt that ethno-political and ethno-confessional clashes will export military violence to neighboring countries. The wave of migration resulting from these processes can create serious economic problems for neighboring countries.

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