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SEPARATIST ETHNO-POLITICAL CONFLICTS AS A THREAT TO GLOBAL SECURITY AND A CHALLENGE FOR INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

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Separatist ethno-political conflict as the main threat to global security is considered. The phenomenon of self-determination and peculiarities of its interpretation are investigated. The characteristics of the nation are examined. The possibility of a positive impact of the satisfaction of nations' desire for self-determination on ethno-political conflicts settlement is analyzed. The important role of international organizations in ethno-political conflicts settlement and the necessity to expand their competence in resolving such issues are emphasized.

Key words: ethno-political conflict, separatism, self-determination, international organization, security.

Ensuring peace and security, combating threats and conflict prevention are the major tasks of mankind today. Security threats and overcoming them are of paramount importance among the global problems because global security is a prerequisite for the existence of mankind and, therefore, a prerequisite for other global problems solving. That's why at the present stage joint efforts of states are so important for overcoming threats to peace and security, preventing and resolving conflicts. These efforts can be more effective if they are made within the framework of the activities of international organizations.

One of the most urgent problems in today's global security environment is a large number of ethno-political conflicts. The problem of ethnic conflicts exists for centuries, but in today's world it become more threatening due to many factors. The processes of globalization contribute to the intensification of ethnic conflicts, nationalism causes their aggravation, nuclear weapons and terrorism make them dangerous for all mankind. They have become one of the most important issues in the activities of global and regional international organizations.

The most dangerous ethnic conflicts, in our opinion, are ethno-political ones. Ethno-political conflict is an extremely complex phenomenon. The complexity of such conflict due to the fact that being international it also includes a political component – the desire of ethnic groups to have access to power in order to achieve positive results in solving their own problems and to resolve disputes by peaceful political means. Recently an increasing number of ethnic conflicts acquire political characteristics. Unlike ethnic conflict ethno-political one is characterized by a higher level, larger scope, severity, area of origin and difficulty of settlement.

Therefore, creating a serious threat to global security ethno-political conflicts need to be comprehensively studied in order to find ways to settle them and to reduce tension, to overcome differences and to establish relationships among parties to the conflict. Among the many possible causes of modern ethno-political conflicts – economic, political, cultural, social ones, etc. – we should highlight the desire of stateless nations for self-determination (separatism) as the most difficult and typical for such conflicts factor that arises at the intersection of all reasons listed above and stands out from them with its inconsistency. This inconsistency lies in the fact that at present the interpretations of the concept of self-determination vary considerably causing a constant debate among researchers, and contradiction between the principles of self-determination of nations and territorial integrity remains unsolved till now. In general, separatist ethno-political conflict – ethno-political conflict caused primarily by the desire for self-determination of one party to the conflict, implementation of which is contrary to the interests of the other party – is a feature of modern international relations and a potential threat to global security, therefore, such conflicts require special attention.

With this in mind the main objectives of the article are: to consider ethno-political conflicts and the prospects for their settlement involving international organizations; to investigate the phenomenon of self-determination and peculiarities of its interpretation; to examine the characteristics of the nation; to analyze the possibility of a positive impact of the satisfaction of nations' desire for self-determination on the ethno-political conflicts settlement; to explore the possibility of expanding the competence of international organizations in the sphere of ethno-political conflicts settlement.

An important factor complicating the settlement of separatist ethno-political conflicts is the fact that today the world community does not consider the phenomenon of separatism objectively – as a stateless nations' desire to secede and create their own state, as a need that is caused by certain preconditions and has the right to exist in certain circumstances, – and regard it in terms of possible negative consequences for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of states. Therefore, separatism is seen as a negative phenomenon that if it turned into a trend could threaten peaceful coexistence of peoples.

This prejudice arises from the fact that the basis for the understanding of separatist processes is formed by the state interests that cause biased and one-sided assessment of the phenomenon of separatism. In our opinion, such issues should be resolved under the jurisdiction of international organizations because they are unbiased and objective basing their opinion on the universal values and norms. Thus, the role of international organizations in addressing such issues should be extended, moreover, it's necessary for them to have the key, not intermediary functions in conflict settlement.

It can be argued that such changes could lead to unpredictable consequences, but we believe that changes, particularly in the world politics, are natural phenomena and arise from changes in thinking and consciousness of people. And trying to resist the separatist movements states can get as a result chaotic destruction of the existing

system.

Changes are inevitable, that's why states should be interested in those changes occurring gradually and with their participation. Of course, this requires them to be flexible and make concessions, but only in such a way they can hold their positions. And maintaining the existing status quo by force could lead to undesired and uncontrolled explosive changes resulting for states in losing much more than they can lose in consequence of voluntary concessions.

Of course, changes have to be controlled in order to avoid their negative consequences such as violation of international legal norms, in particular those relating to human rights and universal values. However, the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action adopted by the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna on 25 June 1993 states that «World Conference on Human Rights considers denial of the right of self-determination as a violation of human rights and underlines the importance of the effective realization of this right» [9]. That is, the principle of self-determination and human rights are interrelated, and the right to self-determination doesn't make a threat to human rights. On the contrary, the implementation of the right to self-determination is a prerequisite for the fulfilment of human rights. The same is stated in the Final report and recommendations of the International Meeting of Experts on further study of the concept of the rights of peoples (1989, Paris):

- «peoples' rights may not be used to derogate from individual human rights;
- peoples' rights, to the contrary, provide the pre-conditions necessary to the fulfilment of individual human rights;
- peoples' rights ... assert and protect peoples from anti-democratic actions against them by the State, where it is undemocratic or otherwise illegitimate» [6, p. 20].

Study of international documents, for example, the UN Charter [1] and declarations, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights [7] and other documents relating to human rights and the right to self-determination is very important for researching the influence of international organizations on the solving of the problem of self-determination of nations and ethno-political conflicts settlement.

An extremely important event for the final strengthening of self-determination's positions was the proclaiming of the 14 points of W. Wilson in 1918. Wilson, in particular, noted that «peoples and provinces must not be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were chattels or pawns in a game» [8]. This statement was one of the principles of post-war settlement in the world.

Later the principle of self-determination of nations was enshrined in the UN Charter, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (1960) [4], the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security (1970) [5], the Declaration on Principles of International Law (1970) [2], the Declaration on the Enhancement of the Effectiveness of the Principle of Refraining from the Threat or Use of Force in International Relations (1987) [3], etc.

The above-mentioned international instruments have played a very important role in the process of decolonization and granting of independence to former colonies. However, in the modern political map are a large number of disputed territories

inhabited by stateless nations that continue to demand their independence. Neglect of national diversity within the colonial empires contributed to the development of national liberation movements that led to the overthrow of the colonial system and to the building of a new world order on the principles of human rights and decolonization. In our opinion, the right of nations to self-determination is based on these two points.

Some researchers try to use the term «minority» for stateless ethnic groups or nations. However, this point of view is very controversial and has no logical basis. We share the opinion of such scholars as, for example, D. Turk and T. Veiter who prefer to define a minority as a group of people belonging to any nation that has its own state but lives in another, usually, adjacent state [10]. That is, some groups living in a state and having not their own one are not ethnic minorities. They are stateless nations, of course, only if they have national and political consciousness, reach a high level of consolidation and so on.

Indeed, most of these ethnic groups didn't join states willingly but were captured by force by empires that had arisen due to their conquests, therefore, were created artificially.

And when after the collapse of empires in the process of creation of new independent states these ethnic groups (nations) have remained stateless, besides objective reasons for this (the inability of some ethnic groups to build a state, lack of political and national consciousness) there were biased (subjective) ones such as geopolitical interests of great powers, because of which the aspirations of nations simply were not taken into account. However, over time the objective reasons can disappear because each ethnic group continues to develop, gains new characteristics and becomes mature to build a state.

And the harassment and persecution of stateless nations by the dominant ethnic groups intensify their feeling of isolation, thus preventing their assimilation and homogenization of the state's population.

It's important to convince states in necessity of using the strategy of reconciliation and compromise concerning stateless ethnic groups residing in their territory. International organizations play an important role in this process. Often states use the policy of assimilation rather than compromise and reconciliation. Confrontation is more convenient for states because they do not want to make concessions and satisfy the interests of ethnic groups. However, in reality the pressure and forced assimilation aggravate relations. International organizations can influence the state policy, offer some mechanisms of settlement and oblige the state to choose one of them.

Also an important problem is to find answers to the question whether such ethnopolitical conflict is an internal one and have to be settled within the jurisdiction of a state or it is a problem of international importance and require the attention of the international community.

In practice states often can avoid the influence of international organizations and settle the conflict as an internal. Therefore, it is necessary to find mechanisms to influence the state and to identify those factors, by which the conflict may be classified as international rather than internal. In this case the official recognition or

non-recognition of the parties to the conflict should not be the main factor because non-recognition often excludes a stateless nation from negotiation as illegitimate party and makes its participation in conflict resolution impossible. And the threat to the international security should be such a factor that entitles international organizations to intervene in the conflict and to offer possible options for resolving the conflict.

In our opinion, it is impossible to solve such issues within internal policy of states, that's why, they should be considered by international organizations. This is an area where states should yield part of their sovereignty to international organizations because ethno-political conflicts if they aggravate would threaten the security of mankind, that's why the participation of the international community including international organizations in their settlement is absolutely legitimate.

Besides, globalization has led to reducing state's role and increasing the role of non-state actors in the world politics. This caused the idea of the archaism of a state (i.e. authorities, state apparatus) and its inhibitory effect on further development of mankind.

In our opinion, the principle of self-determination of nations in the modern world acquires a new meaning because after the liquidation of the colonial system and various types of occupation the remnants of colonial times still remain in the political map that is confirmed by the existence of stateless nations. Many of them had their own states in the past, but now they are considered to be minorities though they were able to maintain their national identity despite numerous attempts to assimilate them.

Among stateless nations are those who have reached the high level of political, legal, moral, national consciousness and can implement their ability to self govern and to build a state. However, the process of achieving their self-determination contradicts the desire of states to preserve their territorial integrity and resources. This contradiction is very difficult to solve. Its settlement is questionable if this problem is solved within the jurisdiction of states because in this case one party to the conflict has all the rights while the other remains in a subordinate and illegal status. Therefore, the participation of disinterested third party, such as international organization, is very important for a fair resolution of conflicts and finding new forms of interaction between states and stateless nations. Of course, the precedent of gaining independence by stateless nation does not meet the interests of those states whose territory is a potential area for future independent states created by modern stateless nations, that's why such issues should fall within the competence of international organizations. This would enable objective decision making for their settlement.

An important issue for the peaceful settlement of separatist ethno-political conflicts is the question what criteria should be used to provide the status of nation and the right to self-determination to such ethnic groups. In our opinion, the international organizations including the UN and its specialized agencies should be entitled to consider issues of such importance and also should be directly involved in decision-making. As for the criteria, we believe that the characteristics of a nation approved by the Final Report and Recommendations of the International Expert Meeting on further study of the concept of the rights of peoples are these criteria, by which the existence of a nation and its maturity should be determined. However, under the maturity we

mean the ability of a nation to build a state, to self govern, the high level of political, legal, moral and national consciousness.

The Final report and recommendations of the International Meeting of Experts on further study of the concept of the rights of peoples states that a nation is «a group of individual human beings who enjoy some or all of the following common features: a common historical tradition; racial or ethnic identity; cultural homogeneity; linguistic unity; religious or ideological affinity; territorial connection, a common economic life» [6, p. 22; 1]. Another feature of the fully formed nation is the will of a group to be identified as a separate nation, its members' awareness of belonging to it [6, p. 22; 3]. The very important feature of a nation or precondition of its existence and the opportunity to be recognized is the existence of certain institutions or other means of expressing its common characteristics and will for identity [6, p. 22; 4].

In our opinion, international organizations in such cases are the only stateless nations' hope and possibility to gain independence peacefully or at least express such a desire, that's why it's necessary to expand the competence of organizations in resolving such issues. Today international organizations do not have supranational functions. Having derivative legal personality they can, usually, make recommendations and can't force the state to act in a certain way. This means that the activity of international organizations is effective only where it coincides with the interests of the great powers. We believe that in today's conditions of increasing globalization processes and reducing the role of the state when global issues and global society in general go to the fore international organizations should have a much broader competence in order to act effectively in the interests of the global community, and their powers, particularly in ethno-political conflicts settlement including those of separatist character, should be extended. Modern functions of international organizations may not provide solutions to existing problems and meet the needs of both nations and humanity as a whole.

This does not mean that there is no need in the nation state, and national culture should be displaced by cosmopolitan culture. On the contrary, today national identity, language and culture need protection more than ever. However, separatist ethno-political conflicts, as usual, arise in multi-ethnic states where it is difficult to build a nation-state in its classical sense. The process of expanding the autonomy of stateless nations or gaining their independence is in line with the idea of a nation-state and doesn't contradict it. For example, A. Smith writing about ethnic groups mobilizing under the banner of nationalism after suffering persecution from ethnic majority within states noted that such a kind of national mobilization not only breaks the old empires and nation-states but also creates more new nation-states, each of which is based on one dominant ethnic group.

Experience shows that a nation is able to withstand considerable pressure and persecution, and efforts aiming at destroying national identity often become useless that confirms the incredible ability of national identity to survive. However, to hold few national identities within a single state by force is to provoke confrontation and conflict. In our opinion, such a policy is contrary to universal values and human rights and does not meet the demands of modern times.

Thus, in contemporary international relations the problem of ethno-political conflicts are extremely dangerous and urgent because creating a potential threat to global security it could result in serious negative consequences in the future. Therefore, international organizations should devote considerable attention to ethno-political conflicts, finding their solutions and concrete practical actions aiming at reducing tensions and resolving disputes peacefully.

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СЕПАРАТИСТСЬКІ ЕТНОПОЛІТИЧНІ КОНФЛІКТИ ЯК ЗАГРОЗА ГЛОБАЛЬНІЙ БЕЗПЕЦІ ТА ВИКЛИК МІЖНАРОДНИМ ОРГАНІЗАЦІЯМ

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Розглянуто сепаратистський етнополітичний конфлікт як головну загрозу глобальній безпеці. Досліджено явище самовизначення та особливості його інтерпретації, а також необхідність його переосмислення у зв'язку зі змінами в сучасній світовій політиці. Розглянуто поняття нація та його характерні ознаки. Проаналізовано можливість позитивного впливу на врегулювання етнополітичних конфліктів задоволення прагнення націй до самовизначення. Наголошено на важливій ролі міжнародних організацій у врегулюванні етнополітичних конфліктів і необхідності розширення їх компетенції у вирішенні питань такого роду з метою підвищення ефективності їх діяльності у сфері забезпечення миру та безпеки.

Ключові слова: етнополітичний конфлікт, сепаратизм, самовизначення, міжнародна організація, глобальна безпека.

СЕПАРАТИСТСКИЕ ЭТНОПОЛИТИЧЕСКИЕ КОНФЛИКТЫ КАК УГРОЗА ГЛОБАЛЬНОЙ БЕЗОПАСНОСТИ И ВЫЗОВ МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫМ ОРГАНИЗАЦИЯМ

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Рассматривается сепаратистский этнополитический конфликт как главная угроза глобальной безопасности. Исследуется феномен самоопределения и особенности его интерпретации, а также необходимость его переосмысления в связи с изменениями в современной мировой политике. Рассматривается понятие нация и его характерные признаки. Анализируется возможность положительного влияния на урегулирование этнополитических конфликтов удовлетворения стремления наций к самоопределению. Отмечается важная роль международных организаций в урегулировании этнополитических конфликтов и необходимость расширения их компетенции в решении вопросов такого рода с целью повышения эффективности их деятельности в сфере обеспечения мира и безопасности .

Ключевые слова: этнополитический конфликт, сепаратизм, самоопределение, международная организация, глобальная безопасность.