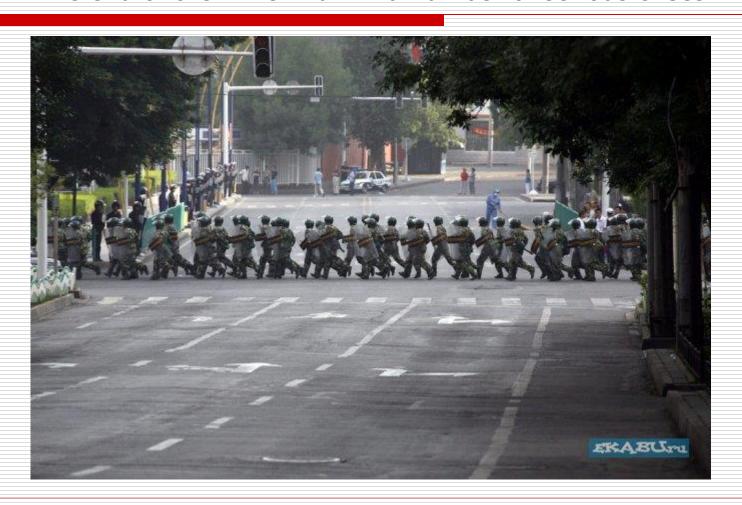
# Ethnic conflicts in the turn of the XX-XXIth century

Voronezh State University Prof. Irina Foret

### The end of the millennium – a number of serious crises



1989 - 36 major armed conflicts

1994 - 32

1995 - 30

BUT! the problem of ethnic conflict



## ethnic conflict – one of the most serious threats to humanity?

- the erosion of the Westphalian system
   globalization national boundaries are becoming more transparent
   autonomization of regions
   identity formation not on the state basis but the ethnic, linguistic, religious
   modern conflicts almost all domestic ("conflicts of identity")
- poor handling, many participants, the weakness of the central government, etc.
- the end of the Cold War crisis restructuring of the international system
- disappearance of the bipolar world local conflicts are "living their own lives" without control

# the main problem how and in what form, armed or peaceful, conflicts will be resolved



why some conflicts escalate into armed violence?

# two directions in the research on conflict

- 1. <u>structural factors</u>
- 2. <u>procedural factors</u>
- Western Europe (Belgium and Northern Ireland)
- Central Europe (Czechoslovakia andYugoslavia)
- Russia (Tatarstan and Chechnya)

peaceful means - armed confrontation

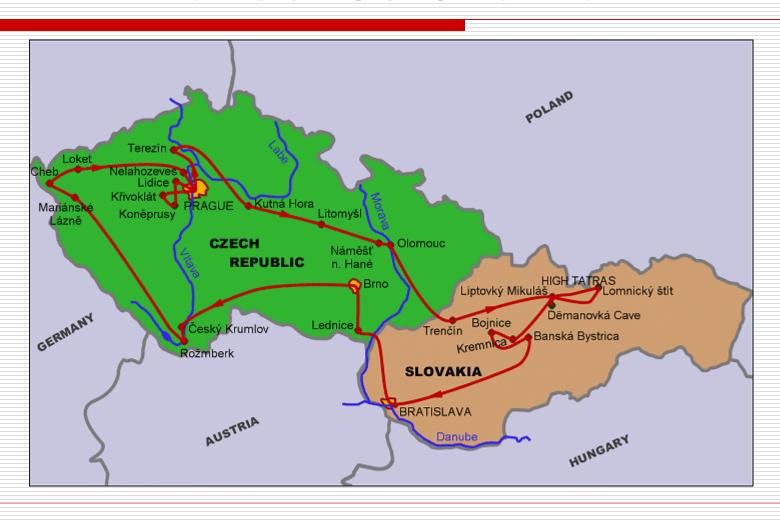
### structural (independent) variables

- different ethnic groups
- regional differences and a high level of centralization of the country
- significant social and political change, emergence of new political and / or economic elites
- weak institutions for solving conflicts, poor legal system
- lack of cultural consent in the society

### In all countries - presence of the first two structural factors

- ☐ Great Britain, Belgium, Czechoslovakia and Russia not uniform in the ethnic and religious sense
- centralization of power BUT! The degree of centralization of the state not the same

## Czechoslovakia



### the factor of economic differentiation

influence of economic differentiation - Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, - Tatarstan and Chechnya

#### growth of separatism.

Yugoslavia and Russia - for independence leaders of both developed and resource-rich regions: Yugoslavia - Slovenia, Croatia, Russia -Chechnya and Tatarstan

- <u>Czechoslovakia</u> for independence less economically developed Slovakia
- Northern Ireland in economic terms is also not the strongest region in the UK, but unlike the former Czechoslovakia are developing armed conflict has taken shape

# The presence of significant social and political change and the emergence of new political and / or economic elites

#### Northern Ireland

- Protestant settlers, unionists
- the Catholics, the indigenous people, the nationalists
- Belgium ethnic differentiation creation of the national parties in Chechnya and Tatarstan. For example, in Tatarstan was established nationalist party "Ittifak"
- 1968-69 in <u>Ulster</u> the mass protests of the Catholic minority-British regular troops
- Belgium the first reforms fixation of linguistic borders 1962 1966-68 protests

# The presence of significant social and political change and the emergence of new political and / or economic elites



- Belgium reforms to decentralize the state conflict peaceful development
- □ **Tatarstan -** similar process contract in 1994 the power were transferred to the local level
- ☐ Czechoslovakia quick talks on the division of the state
- ☐ **Chechnya** another group of factors procedural factors



## the presence of the developed democratic institutions and mechanisms

catholics in **Northern Ireland** – long way to the government

**socialist countries** - democratic institutions existed more on paper



## the presence of the developed democratic institutions and mechanisms

- Northern Ireland high level of cultural harmony within each community, but not between them (due to the long-term division of society)
- Czechoslovakia the lack of serious conflict between the Czechs and Slovaks, impact of European democratic institutions
- Chechnya and Tatarstan (area of Tatarstan − Tatarstan annexed by Russia in the 16th century, Chechnya - only in 19<sup>th,</sup> - long resistance of Chechens)





## the impact of structural factors on the development of peaceful or armed conflict

# their existence - necessary condition for the development of the conflict situation

BUT! does not determine the form of its solution

Not all factors are needed for the conflict

BUT! the stronger the impact of each of the factors

- more critical is the conflict situation
- more it tends to escalate to violent means of resolution

### procedural factors

policies pursued by both parties of the conflict and third party

# why it is more difficult to analyze procedural factors than the structural?



# 1. different policies may lead to the same results

### **Example**

the Soviet Union - South Africa during apartheid **USSR** - erase ethnic differences and the creation of a "new historical community - the Soviet people" (an ideological basis)

**South Africa** - preservation and enhancement of the differences based on race (heterogeneous society)
THE RESULT- sharp intensification of national and racial differences

# why it is more difficult to analyze procedural factors than the structural

2. the process of political decision-making is subject to various, poorly calculable influence



### unilateral action - joint action

parties of the conflict may act either unilaterally or coordinate their decisions and actions to each other

focus on the joint or unilateral actions - unit in the analysis of procedural factors

- ☐ In all analyzed situations before the emergence of conflict
- policy aimed to the assimilation of ethnic minorities, forcing the other national languages and traditions, strengthening one ethnic or religious group, as opposit to the other
- in all cases parties wanted to act unilaterallyto restore "their roots" national origins, strengthening national identity

# in the conflicts that was resolved **peacefully**unilateral actions were not the dominant political action

- Czechoslovakia Czech and Slovak party moved on to discuss the issues of what relations will be between the two countries in the future and how to split the country
- the decision itself on the disintegration of the country was made by the legislature of a unified state -Czechoslovakia

- <u>Belgium</u> extreme views also found no support among the political leaders
- ☐ <u>Tatarstan</u> balance of ethnic, political, religious interests and the course of building a multicultural, multi-ethnic, multi-confessional society

# Unilateral actions - dominant in the armed conflicts

- Yugoslav conflict Serb population (in response to the restriction of their rights) unilaterally declared Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina within Croatia
- Orientation to the unilateral action was typical in the case of Bosnia

## Unilateral actions - dominant in the armed conflicts

<u>Chechen conflict</u> at the end of 1990 - the first Chechen National Congress - creation of the independent Chechen state

### Chechnya

At the beginning - <u>unilateral action</u>
federal authorities ignored conflict
"Moscow tried not to talk about Chechnya, as if it did not exist."



## Unilateral actions - dominant in the armed conflicts

- Northern Ireland at certain stages of the conflict central government tried to move to the economic development and the dialogue (joint action)
- to develop programs aimed at overcoming the economic backwardness of Northern Ireland and the fight against unemployment

### the role of the individual politician

- □ the Chechen conflict personal factor.
- " J. Dudayev from the start took a tough stance, declaring an independent state, demanding the withdrawal of Russian troops from the territory of Chechnya".

### the development of the conflict

- Thus, the unilateral and joint actions of the parties are always present during the development of the conflict.
- At the same time, the primary analysis of the results suggests that in the event of armed conflict, the development of unilateral steps predominate.
- Obviously, this statement needs further confirmation. What exactly determines the orientation of the participants in the joint or unilateral action is not easy to say, but in a situation of Chechnya and Tatarstan personal factor in choosing the orientation played probably essential.

## The first phase of conflict

structural factors determine the development potential of the armed conflict

## The first phase of conflict

procedural factors contribute to the formation of the conflict threshold

### The second phase

- a special role is played mainly by procedural factors
- the orientation of the political leaders of unilateral or joint action to overcome the conflict

### The second phase

- structural factors shape the conflict situations
- procedural determine the form of its solution

### The third phase of conflict

- ☐ The third phase of the culminating phase is over, the conflict is solved building peace
- structural and procedural factors interrelated

## Thank you for your attention!