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SOME NON-MILITARY CHALLENGES TO EUROPEAN SECURITY

Розглянуто низку чинників невійськового характеру, які протягом вже доволі довгого періоду часу становлять як потенційну, так і реальну загрозу європейській безпеці та стабільності. Особливий акцент зроблено на проблеми неконтрольованої міграції та міжетнічних стосунків.

***Ключові слова:** європейська безпека, міграція, міжетнічні стосунки.*

A number of non-military factors that are considered for a long period of time as a potential and real threat to European security and stability were determined. Particular emphasis is placed on the problem of uncontrolled migration and ethnic relations.

***Keywords:** European security, migration, ethnic relations.*

Рассмотрен ряд факторов невоенного характера, которые на протяжении уже довольно длительного периода времени представляют собой как потенциальную, так и реальную угрозу европейской безопасности и стабильности. Особый акцент сделан на проблемах неконтролируемой миграции и межэтнических отношений.

***Ключевые слова:** европейская безопасность, миграция, межэтнические отношения.*

Threats undermining stability in Europe nowadays are coming from the periphery of the global politics of great countries. In fact, many of the conflicts which could be prevented or stopped at the initial stage, are getting to the focus of European politicians only when they outgrow into wars, and engage hundreds of

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thousands people. Before this they mostly were ignored by the leading international and European actors. No doubt that in these conditions the role and functions of international and European security structures must be strengthened, their activities intensified, and their mechanisms are to be improved. One have to take into account that on the one hand, we are witnessing globalisation and further development of inter-state relations on the multilateral basis, and on the other hand, the traditional system of international relations based on unconditional respect of a state sovereignty is being destroyed. Usual model of the European security was hold up by a balance of power among great nations, and particular countries in particular historical periods were considered as a sort of guarantors of stability and security. It has changed dramatically now.

After the ruin of bipolarity we see distinctly the process of erosion of state power in different parts of Europe, when the practical role and significance of non-governmental subjects are growing, and they are becoming more and more influential. This factor can be also considered as one of the basic reasons of the fundamental changes in traditional list of challenges and threats for the European security.

It was as far as in the early 90s when it was acknowledged by the majority of experts and politicians that international (or inter-state) conflict is not the main challenge for the European security any more. Generally known notion "security", which seemed to be so clear and unambiguous, turned out to be much more complicated either for understanding or for explanation.

Principally new feature of contemporary European security is that it doesn't have common clear and unambiguous external threat. Basic challenges come from the internal area, and are the consequences of socio-economic problems. That's why the significance of non-military aspects of stability is growing, when not military structures are to be responsible for peace and stability in Europe, but more universal by their character (transformation of NATO in that respect gives a good example of following the right path).

And what is also important, in our opinion, is that it's not worth waiting for some kind of a single, all-embracing document (treaty or act) which will fix a new security system in Europe. It will arise not as a result of any negotiations, even on a highest level, but as a result of permanent, gradual and complicated process.

At the same time, it was recognised, as for the basic challenges that they lie mainly in the internal sphere, and are caused, first of all, by the factors of ethnic and religious origin. That's why we are going to allocate the second part of the article to such phenomena as uncontrolled migration and nationalism as they constitute one of the most real menaces to the European security nowadays.

Whereas the very essence of security had changed, the necessity of elaboration of its new, broader concept emerged. Rather new problems have become its integral parts - caused to quite a great extent by political instability and social and economic tension. In particular, we have mention among them ethnic and confessional conflicts, terrorism, organised crime, massive (and often uncontrolled) migration flows, pollution of the environment, etc. Of course, we can continue such a list, but this will only complicate defining the category of security. Moreover, being too broad it may lose its conceptual sense. So, it's important, in our opinion, to single out really fundamental and long-term challenges and threats.

This is even more important in view of the so called "fragmentation of security" in Europe, the process which has been taken place since the middle of the nineties of the 20th century. It is accompanied also by a "renationalisation" of the security policy when one can hardly name a really common threat for entire Europe. Although there is no bipolar division of Europe, its dissociation is not overcome yet. Unprecedented enlargement of the EU does not rescind this thesis, in our opinion. Moreover, the new political and socio-economic "division lines" occurred despite many optimistic statements of Western European leaders. And that is one of the characteristic features of the European geopolitical landscape nowadays, and there is a serious risk that such a reality can become a long-term factor in European politics.

Given drastic changes happened to the configuration of European security and is essence, certain adjustments are to be made also regarding some basic norms and principles of the European politics fixed in fundamental multilateral agreements, including Helsinki Final Act, 1975 and the European Security Charter, 1999.

Thus, the principle of state sovereignty must be further developed and complemented by the firm obligation of all states to build their sovereignty on the grounds of democracy and political pluralism. But as even more important we consider transformation of the 6th principle of Helsinki Final Act which says about non-intervention into internal affairs of the sovereign state. In fact, many principal decisions directed on strengthening of the European security which have been adopted during the last ten years on multilateral or even pan-European level seriously contradict it from the formal point of view. We totally share the idea of introduction of the principle of solidarity which will allow balancing somehow those rather "atavistic" provisions which demand to abstain from any interference, direct or indirect, individual or collective into both internal and external affairs of a state, which fall under its domestic jurisdiction. The experience of the last decade proves that Europe needs something different. Moreover, it would be useful to adopt a principle of a justified international intervention. It doesn't mean, of course, that such things as NATO aggression against Yugoslavia could be legalised antedate. Speaking about the principle of a justified international intervention, first of all, we have in mind non-violent ways of influence on the country (or groupings inside the country) which may constitute real menace for continental or regional security. Quite important thing here is that in this case European community will have a legal way of dealing with non-governmental structures and organisations *inside* the country, but not only the country itself, as a formal subject of international law. As to the military intervention, it may be used as well, but only as a common decision of both NATO and non-NATO countries taken by consensus (it doesn't matter whether such a decision will be reached within OSCE

format or a kind of working meeting on the ministerial level will be held *ad hoc*). If the North-Atlantic Council be the body eligible to take the above decisions, then we'll have other tensions, and conflict situations will not be resolved effectively and correctly.

Some other items in normative sphere need certain revision, too. Thus, we consider the correlation between the principle of territorial integrity of states and the principle of right of nations to self-determination as really contradictory. If the latter principle will be active further on, it needs, at least, another interpretation, in which special emphasis should be made on the fact that right to self-determination is not identical to the right to separation. Self-determination of nation can be carried out in other different forms and, first of all, in a form of wider autonomy (ethnic, territorial, etc.) provided by a sovereign state. Being more radical, we can propose to cancel this principle at all, and to substitute it by a principle of right of nation to free development. This idea is not very new, but there is a good time now to put it into practice.

As it has been happening in the past quite often, Europe nowadays is again finds herself looking for a new security system, the one which is to satisfy her contemporary needs and can respond effectively to most dangerous challenges, including non-military ones. The particular purpose is not simply to revise the old version of balance of power on the continent, but to create something principally new, adequate as much as possible, to the present-day security environment. In previous history such attempts have been made usually as a result of big wars – we may recall Westphalian Peace Treaty of 1648 and creation of Holy Union after the series of Napoleon wars. In the 20th century, after the World War I, the so called "Versailles-Washington system" was created, and the League of Nations was set up. Finally, the World War II, which caused crucial changes in both world and European politics, resulted in "Yalta-Potsdam" system with UNO as its institutional core. In the early 90s of XX century the so called "cold war" (which is considered by many experts as the World War III, in fact) finished. It ruined

"Yalta-Potsdam" security system in Europe but didn't give anything instead. The necessity to create a new security system is clear for all but still we are quite far from the consensus as its configuration and content. One of very few clear things is that a new system must be based on the common European values, such as primacy of law and democracy, respect of human rights and market economy.

Switching to a short revision of some non-military challenges of today, we have mentioned already the ecological one.

In fact, anthropogenic pressure on the nature has reached the level, when its started loosing is ability for self-reproduction, in the second half of the 90s of XX century. Degradation of the environment is compared with the so called "ecological stress" nowadays. Although some positive changes in ecological sphere in Europe have been taken place during the last decade (joining efforts of scientists, governments and international structures in fighting ecological problems; elaboration of "ecological law", etc.), the real threat coming from this area still exists.

Environmental protection activities are still beyond the needs in renewal of natural resources. Intensively growing population and high pace of economic development become the reasons of unprecedented pressure on biosphere. The level of atmospheric pollution is still growing because of noxious gases exhausted by industrial plants. Condition of water resources has grown worse since the middle of the nineties as well.

The problem of nuclear power stations (both in Western and Eastern Europe) which do not demonstrate any common approach to its resolution is of special importance for the whole continent. Speaking about this here, in Ukraine, there is no need to recall Chernobyl, the most dramatic technogenic accident in the history of Europe.

All this constitutes the core of ecological dimension of European security which lies beyond the military and strategic area.

In the last decade European community – in a broader sense - made a big step towards democracy, protection of human rights and freedoms, improving living standards of the population. But still, there are no any outstanding achievements in preventing violence and crimes, including even highly developed democratic states. Starting from the 80s, indexes of crime are growing at the average for 5% annually.

The distinctive feature of today crime is its organised character. Crimes are thoroughly pre-planned and are initiated and committed by well-organised groupings which have the most up-to-date weapons, means of communication, alarm and eavesdropping devices, radio-, tele- and computer networks, qualified staff , etc. Besides, we are witnessing quick progress of transnationalisation of crime. It means creation of criminal groupings which include citizens of different countries, carrying out their activities on the territory of two or more countries, committing crimes which violate international obligations and norms of international law.

It goes without saying that international terrorism must be considered as a special challenge for the European security nowadays. But we still do not have generally recognised legal definition of "international terrorism", therefore sometimes it's quite difficult to define whether it belongs to military or non-military sphere.

Since 9/11 it may be considered as a kind of relatively familiar phenomenon which has taken principally new shape. In fact, it follows several goals at the same time, and among them we can single out such strategic and tactical tasks (in order to simplify defining it as a category, as well):

a) changing political system existing in certain state;

b) overthrow of legal leadership of the particular country;

c) change of official ideology, substitution of democratic grounds and rules for fundamentalist, clerical or nationalist ones;

d) undermining stability in the society and creation of atmosphere of fear and insecurity;

e) provocation of military actions in response;

f) ransom.

The range of practical means which are used can be also defined, and the basic of them are mass murders and assassination of political leaders and capture of hostages.

It's necessary to create favourable conditions for normal and even development of different ethnoses to prevent basic reasons of ethnic or ethnoconfessional conflicts. Theoretically, ethnic consciousness of all groups and minorities, living in the country, is to be subordinate to the feeling of affiliation to this country.

Besides, preventive activity aimed at localisation and neutralisation of terrorist tendencies has to be launched, and such measures as tightening of border control and control over the activity of foreign organisations are to be undertaken. This will enable to bring down possibilities of exporting extremism.

Of course, holding different meetings and signing treaties it's not enough do defeat terrorism. Elaboration and implementation of a complex programme in this field is extremely important. And it may be co-ordinated by a special multilateral body created under OSCE auspices, for instance.

Now we are going to dwell on two non-military challenges to European security which we consider as the most real – illegal migration and nationalism. In our opinion, they are giving rise to other challenges and threats, including terrorism and political and ethnic violence. It's worth mentioning also that in spite of this the above threats to European security are underestimated sometimes either by politicians, or some scholars.

During last ten years illegal immigration has become an integral part of development of European countries, in spite of adoption of a series of laws, forbidding illegal stay and employment of foreigners. For many years Europe has

been interested in illegal labour immigration, which considered profitable either for employers, or the state itself. It was because of this that the Western European governments prevented penetration of illegal labour force from outside not very actively. Thus, Germany, in fact, encouraged semi-legal immigration of Kurdish and Turkish workers, France - of Algerians, and the United Kingdom - illegal mass hiring of Indian and Pakistani workers.

There are about 150 million migrants in the world now [1], and Europe with her 56 million of them is in the first place. It's worth stressing that since the early nineties the official immigration flows to Europe have not decreased, but a number of foreign population practically hasn't grown short, at the same time. Such situation is stipulated by high percentage of illegal immigrants, refugees and forced migrants in general migratory flow. If in 1975 there were about 2.5 million refugees in the world, then by the year 2001 their number grew almost in ten times. As to the illegal migrants, more than 500 thousand of them arrive annually to the EU countries (not to count thousands of hundreds of refugees). Total number of illegal immigrants in Europe, according to different calculations, is from 3 to 5 million people [2]. Unfortunately, it is scarcely possible to estimate the real scales of illegal migration more precisely. A majority of illegal immigrants is concentrated in France, Germany, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. More and more illegals nowadays are coming to Europe through her south regions. For example, there are approximately 1 million of illegal foreigners in Italy, and their number grows permanently, especially due to the emigrants from North Africa, who try to get farther – namely to Spain, France or Portugal. A number of illegal immigrants in Spain ranges from 300 to 500 thousand people, in France - from 200 thousand to 1 million, in the United Kingdom there are more than 100 thousand illegals, the lion's share of who are the foreigners with expired visas.

Rash grow and geographical expansion of illegal immigration can be explained by different factors, first of all, of economic and political nature. Tightening of immigration control in European countries concerning all categories

of migrants has limited sufficiently the possibility of legal entrance, foremost to the EU countries, and has become a reason for more active use of illegal channels. One of the key factors facilitating illegal migration, is quite liberal legislation in that area in the neighbour countries, such as Turkey, Bulgaria, Albania, Romania, and Ukraine, as well as some of the EU "neophytes" – Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary and Slovakia.

Considerable part of immigrants still enter on legal grounds - having private invitations, tourist, educational or even labour visas; after the date of expiry they usually remain in the country, getting into the category of illegal immigrants. During the last decade the so called "transit migration" has increased noticeably. Together with traditional trespassing methods illegal migrants frequently use now some more sophisticated ways. Fictitious marriage to immigration country citizens remains one of widespread methods of entrance to the European countries. However a number of foreigners who use unofficial channels of crossing the border is growing during the last years - they try to trespass either without documents at all, or using forged documents, provided by different illegal organisations which specialise on this kind of service. Normally such firms are used by "economic migrants" and refugees, who have very little chances to get their visas legally. Cost of such a service varies from a few hundred dollars to tens thousands, depending on the particular country of destination, distance and duration of travel. Business on illegal migration is facing a real boom now. Transnational criminal groupings convey about 1 million of illegal migrants annually. According to some assessments, migrant trafficking brings about $4-7 billion income annually in the world, and therefore exceeds the incomes from drug trafficking and arms trade [3].

The attempts of Western Europeans to stop the entrance flows of illegal migrants in the 90s have led to the occurring of new routes of illegal migration. Thus, the "Balkan route which is used mainly by illegal migrants from the Middle East, Asia and non-EU Eastern European countries" is becoming more and more

active now. Great number of illegal migrants comes from Turkey to Bulgaria, Macedonia and Albania. Only in the year 2000 more than 50 thousand people illegally migrated to Western Europe via Bosnia and Herzegovina. Migrants from the CIS countries, looking for refuge in Turkey or Greece, are using Bulgarian border more often during last years. The other way of illegal migration is the "Mediterranean" one which allows illegal migrants from North Africa and the Middle East to get to Greece, Italy, Spain, Portugal or France by the sea. The third way lies through Scandinavian countries, and used mainly by migrants from developing countries, many of whom penetrate primarily to Russia or Belarus and then – to the Baltic states, Sweden or Finland. Last decade of the 20th century was marked by beginning of large-scale migration from the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and newly independent republics of the former USSR. Nowadays it is this direction which becomes the major channel for illegal migration to the Western Europe and, first of all, to Germany.

Western European countries are realising further on the real threat of illegal immigration for continental security [4]. It's happening because of a series of factors.

The migration situation we are having now in Europe, at the beginning of a new millennium, is characterised by its unprecedented scale, and, what is very important in this respect, the same is about illegal migration, as well. The number of migrants who get to Europe through illegal ways is growing permanently. As a result of numerous armed conflicts, natural calamities and technogenic catastrophes which take place in the world, the influx of refugees is growing dramatically. The specific feature of contemporary migration is a high percentage of women (up to 47.5%) and children in migration flows. Trafficking of women and children with the purpose of sexual exploitation has become already a widespread phenomenon it a present-day Europe. By calculations of some experts, from 700 thousand to 4 million people annually get to the world market of intimate

services. Unfortunately, there is no more precise statistics because of still low-effective migration control.

Socio-economic consequences of illegal immigration for Europe are also worth mentioning. Illegal immigrants, who are ready to work on any conditions, undermine social guarantees (minimum wage level, maximum workday duration) in European countries, demand enormous financial expenses on border control, creation of refugee camps, on social and medical services, custody and deportation.

Mass influx of illegal immigrants we are witnessing now, is a challenge for the European security, and both real and potential threats are arising on different levels. Security threats which can be as real, and potential, arise on different levels. On the one hand, the question is a security of receiving communities and states, and, on the other, the security of those who are affected by these flows. In this case the most important integral parts are: a) personal or individual security, physical safety in wide word sense, protection against inauspicious effects, b) social security and, foremost, keeping of the adequate social status and guarantees, accumulated by social and cultural environment, c) economic security – having in mind employment, first of all.

Quite a specific feature of today is that illegal immigration constitutes a special threat for sanitary and epidemiological situation in receiving countries. Besides, illegals not having stable employment and wish to go back to much worse conditions in their mother countries, reinforce marginal groups of the "society outcasts" which become the sources of crime and terrorism.

As it is known, having reached the certain "critical mass" by number, immigrants give up attempts to assimilate and adapt themselves to the new way of life and language, but create a kind of "secluded zones", in order to preserve their identity, national traditions, religion and culture. National immigrants enclaves exist in most of European countries, and their interests contradict very often to the laws and traditions of the receiving country, and create a socio-political misbalance.

Illegal immigration creates the real and potential threats to practically any security aspect of the receiving society, deforming social, demographic and territorial structures, intensifyimg competition on local labour and housing markets, ethnic and sub-ethnic clashes, social and cultural marginalisation and criminalisation of a society, social tension, growth of xenophobia and destructive nationalism.

Overall migration situation in Europe, which is characterised by change of national, ethnic, religious composition of migrants, has aggravated during last years because of a mass influx of migrants-Moslems. The Moslem confession occupied firm positions in Europe, setting now the second place both in catholic and protestant countries.

This couldn't but provoke aggravation of social and ethnopolitical relations between native (autochthonous) population and immigrants facilitate growth of anti-immigration moods in society and, after all, lead to mass actions directed against official migration policy. It's worth mentioning in this connection that right-wing or ultra-right-wing forces with their xenophobous slogans have been quite successful lately in such European countries as Austria, Denmark, France, having created a definite threat to the positions of the ruling parties. This makes the governments of Western European countries which realise a necessity of balanced, complex and all-round approach to the management of migration processes look for some new ways of solving the existing problems more actively, with respect to all factors which cause illegal migration. Changes, taking place in immigration policy of European countries, are getting all more steady character and touch upon overall strategy, particular directions and means of implementation.

Today, when the creation of a "zone of freedom, security and law" in Europe is considered as one of the major tasks of a new millennium, reinforcement of criminal nature of illegal migration calls forth the necessity of elaboration of a common policy and undertaking of joint measures [5]. Any delay in resolving the problems of illegal migration is really dangerous, and it is especially evident after a

series of terrorist attacks in several European countries which took away hundreds of human lives. Illegal migration is considered all more often as one of the most real and effective ways of spreading international terrorism. Besides, the tragic events of the last decade have led to the necessity to chose between individual freedom and security. It's important to stress, that a tradition of freedom and security, developed by political ideology in the everyday consciousness of Europeans is so deeply engrained that the security has undoubtedly become one of the basic cultural values in Europe, which represents the type of society called by Paul Virillio, the well-known French culturologist, "société de securité" [6]. In fact, if in the early nineties a choice was usually made in favour of freedom, nowadays Europeans prefer security much more often. In other words, illegal immigration affects today rather seriously either a sphere of national or individual security.

The EU summit in Seville of 2002 can be considered as an important step on the way of cutting uncontrolled migration and harmonisation of a common European migration policy. It defined basic directions of fighting illegal migration in Europe which is still interested in migration at all, but the legal one closely connected with the needs of economic development of the European countries. To counteract illegal migration successfully, it's necessary to use more effective mechanisms, allowing to stop or to limit an unprecedented flow of illegal migrants. To cut their number sufficiently (and the number of refugees, first of all), a complex of measures simplifying the procedure of illegal migrants deportation is to be elaborated.

It's worth mentioning that the countries with the highest influx rate of illegal migration (Spain, Italy, the United Kingdom,) are insisting on using quite severe sanctions against those countries which do not prevent emigration of their citizens to Europe [7]. There is a practical proposal to render economic aid to the underdeveloped or developing countries only in accordance with the effectiveness of measures taken by them in fighting illegal emigration. The other group of

countries, such as France, Sweden, Luxembourg, are confident that it will be impossible for Europe to keep the achieved living and social guarantee standards in the nearest future without "immigration factor", and therefore propose that the emphasis is to be made on regulative, but not prohibitive measures. In fact, European countries started introducing more tough measures limiting the influx of illegal immigrants as far as in the middle of the 90s [8]. Thus, a fine of 500 thousand francs (about EUR 11,000 now) for every illegal immigrant worker hired by any businessman was fixed in Belgium, while France, Germany and Luxembourg used penalty measures not only against employers, but illegals, as well (up to imprisonment and deportation).

So, what are the main directions of fighting illegal migration in Europe, to our mind? First, it must be introduction of more tough legislative acts and legal norms which regulate both entrance and stay of immigrants in receiving countries, including unification of standards for visa documents and terms of acquiring of refugee status. To reduce the influx of illegal immigrants, including those who pretend to be refugees, some European countries have already toughened the laws, which regulate obtaining by them an official status. The most considerable changes have happened in Germany, where, for instance, the automatic right to acquire a refugee status doesn't exist any more for all categories of foreigners. The same changes in legislation of some other European countries have also led to the substantial quantitative reduction of the potential asylum-seekers.

Secondly, the control over common borders is to be doubled, carrying out of joint operations along the borders must be envisaged, as well as creation of common consular system and boundary service. Common EU policy in the field of border control envisages also elaboration of a common code of laws as to the procedure of border crossing and practical guidance for boundary services. To make things more effective we would propose to go further, and co-ordinate at least some of the principle aspects with the "special neighbours", and primarily Ukraine.

A new plan of fighting illegal migration includes organisation of joint cost guard which is supposed to protect much more effectively quite long waters borders of such countries as Italy and Spain. More attention must be paid to strengthening border control in mountain and woodsy regions. It is a specific sign that some of the EU countries are restoring certain elements of border control, despite Schengen treaty norms. For example, this can be said about the internal EU frontier between France and Benelux countries, between Spain and Portugal.

As a whole, it may be admitted that the EU countries have managed to adopt a compromise plan as to the common actions in fighting illegal migration, including those cases when it takes place in a way of transit through the EU area. 930 million Euros are to be spent up to the year 2006 to help the "third countries" to fight illegal migration effectively [9]. To the greatest extent it concerns neighbour states, and Ukraine is among them. On the other hand, a special document called "Sevilla Declaration" is aimed at sufficient reduction of illegal migration flows in Europe. It envisages more tough measures to be undertaken against criminal groupings which specialise in migrant trafficking, and also possibility to exert pressure on those countries which do not wish to co-operate properly in illegal migration fighting and even refuse to receive back their citizens – illegal migrants (they are such countries as Morocco, Turkey, Albania, etc.). All the above measures are supposed to be integrated officially into the common foreign and security policy of the European Union.

Finally, the problem of illegal migration is getting more important and, probably, acquires rather new shape nowadays because of the last EU enlargement. Free movement of people and labour force which is used to be one of the EU "holy cows" may cause real socio-economic tensions between the "old" and "young" EU members [10]. And this is in the moment when Europe must be united in the face of the illegal migration threat coming from the East and South. Therefore we consider a certain "moratorium" on the automatic use of the above basic EU principle is rather reasonable in present-day conditions. Newly admitted EU

members from the East of Europe will have to play a role of a certain "gasket" (or "filter") on the way of illegal migration – in spite of their official status. It's rather hard to predict, in our opinion, when they will be able to dispose of today role. It depends on many factors of socio-economic and political character, some of which lie outside Europe.

Unprecedented scale of present-day migration, including the illegal one, is tightly connected with ethnic instability and raise of nationalism in Europe on the edge of the 20th century. Therefore we consider aggressive nationalism as another profound and long-term challenge of non-military character.

Actually, nationalism is one of the most contradictory, dangerous and very often inexplicable phenomenon of the social life. Suffice it to recall that twice in the 20th century nationalism became a reason and a driving force of world wars - to say nothing of numerous regional and local conflicts. The collapse of communism provoked new outbreak of nationalism, first of all in Europe, although in some cases communist elites only "played a nationalistic card". But even in this case their primarily "artificial" nationalism was leading to the real one.

As a rule, outbreaks of nationalism become a result of inability of ruling elite or society at large to react adequately and effectively to the security challenges in strategic, political, economic, cultural or information dimensions. Nationalism in this case becomes a tool of social mobilisation. Its ideological lines are very simple and clear for all strata of a society which can be quite easily manipulated by nationalistic leaders. Therefore nationalism may be considered also as both strategy and means of legitimisation of political activities in all spheres, either internal or external.

Speaking about nationalism in present-day Europe we cannot but mention a certain difference between two types of this phenomenon - depending on the geopolitical background of its manifestation. Unlike Western Europe with its traditionally liberal ideology and primacy of an individual citizen, national identity in Eastern Europe or the former Russian / Soviet empire is tightly connected with

the development of common ethnicity, language, religion and cultural traditions. In other words, nationality rights are very often considered here not as the rights of individual citizens (or "nationals"), but as a collective right of certain ethnonational group. In fact, this concept excludes those who don't belong to the dominating ethnic community, considering them as second-rate persons. Croatia is almost classical example. That country from the very beginning of her existence (i.e. 1992) has tried to exclude representatives of non-title ethnic group (Serbs, first of all) from active social life, but, at the same time, it provided suffrage to all ethnic Croats abroad [11].

Ethnically motivated nationalism doesn't leave any space for real pluralism and liberal values. Moreover, it has expansionist nature because resolution of many "national problems" is seen through territorial battles which must be won in the name of "renaissance of a great nation" or smth. Practically the same may be said about the attempts to protect "ethnic brothers and sisters" in other countries [12]. Latvian language policy has never been fully democratic - in the largest accounts; but it doesn't give right to Russia to interfere into the internal affairs of its neighbour and threaten "to protect Russian-speaking population" even by use of some forcible measures, especially taking into account that most of this population are not Russian citizens and have no wish to move back to their "mother country".

There are still real grounds for ethnic nationalism in Eastern Europe. In spite of its certain "westernisation", it's easy to find lots of historical prejudices among Eastern European and post-Soviet population, based primarily on ethnic discord. Great part of local population feels themselves uncomfortable in this sense. As far as these countries are poly-ethnic ones, efforts directed at ensuring the rights of ethnic minorities are interpreted quite often as a kind of threat of territorial claims. Another factor is a certain fear of the ordinary people in the face of radical reforms which facilitates development of different fundamentalist movements. Such movements concentrate on "old values" – religious habits, cultural and historical myths, traditional virtues which are clear and therefore attractive for substantial

segment of population. At the same time, liberalism, in their opinion, offers a set of uncertain and rather abstract rules and norms.

Ethnic nationalism in Europe is complemented quite often by a religious factor. In many cases religion becomes the grounds of the so called "local identity" which may come in contradiction with another local identity and thus provoke a conflict. The role and place of religion in modern world doesn't reduce even under conditions of modernisation and globalisation of a society. It's explicable because they are religion and ethnicity which always constitute the core of ideology. Moreover, in less developed countries (especially of the "third world") national identity is a derivative of a religious affiliation. Religious nationalists proclaim populist struggle against Western culture and political ideology trying to substitute them by old-fashioned cultural symbols and moral values. In most cases, religious nationalism is destructive, dogmatic and hostile to secular way of life and, what is very important, it's always ready for confrontation and violence [13]. The same way as it was in times of the "cold war", confrontation between religious nationalism and modern secular society is global, but Europe nowadays is a permanent arena of this confrontation. It would be idealistic to believe that religious nationalism may be overcome in the nearest future. The appropriate moment is missed, and quantity has already transited to quality. Problem of wearing hedjabi in France, its interpretation and feedback is only one of numerous confirmations of that. Probably, it can be considered as a moot point, but we believe that developed modern societies in Europe will have to abandon some of their liberal norms for some time in order to fight religious nationalism successfully and to speak with its adherents the same language.

Nobody today can deny that aggressive nationalism with such its consequences as armed conflicts, hundreds of thousands of refugees, broad and often uncontrolled migration is one of the basic sources of the European "insecurity". Therefore, it's necessary to concentrate on searching for a balance between the conditions acceptable (and moreover – favourable) both for the title

nations, and ethnic minorities. It must be taken into account that certain limits must exist in both cases. Thus, it is preserving of national state for the title nations, and legal and socio-economic equality, free possibility to preserve their language, culture and social specificity – for ethnic minorities [14].

The main pre-requisite for effective balance here is a mutual interest in finding common measures aimed at overcoming existing contradictions. Another one is the readiness of a title nation to be a leading force in overcoming particular contradictions and, at the same time, readiness of ethnic minority to contribute adequately to the efforts of a title nation. Third, it's psychological, spiritual and cultural compatibility of the above nations. And finally, there is a revealing of "zones" of coincidence or mismatch of the interests and reactions of a title nation and ethnic minority as to the main directions of internal and external policy of the particular state.

In this context (and it have been partly mentioned before), the efforts of the European community should be directed at elaboration of the mechanism which would guarantee the rights of minorities and their appropriate status, and would not violate the principle of the territorial integrity, at the same time. Probably, such a mechanism could be a key to the settlement of many interethnic conflicts of today.

To withstand nationalism, it's necessary to develop regional co-operation despite formal "division lines" in Europe, the existence of which is hardly to deny nowadays. A split of "autochthonous Europe" provokes new insults and creates nutrient soil for new nationalisms. Instead, both EU and non-EU countries have to unite their efforts as close as possible in fighting such challenges as illegal migration, national and religious fundamentalism, as well as all other non-military challenges to European security.

There are several levels of identity in the present-day Europe: pan-European, Western European, Eastern European, ethnic and local. To realise this variety is to understand one of the fundamentals of the European political culture. At the same time, absolutisation of one level only, leads to the aggressive nationalism which

can bring Europe to the verge of catastrophe. Therefore, it's impossible to work out adequate and effective reprisals in the face of these non-military but extremely dangerous challenges without ability to combine our identity levels.

Thus, Europe, which covered a long path from ideological, military and political confrontation to all-European co-operation in the 20th century, is facing destabilising challenges again. Unlike in the "cold war" and bipolarity period, they are lying, to the great extent, in non-military dimension.

Until these challenges become irreversible, the European security actors have to be consistent in their positive co-operation and partnership. To keep this strategy, it's necessary to prevent quite serious erosion in collective security system, caused by ill-coordinated practical policy in settlement of the latest ethnic and territorial conflicts. Otherwise, Europe will be threatened by a chain reaction of new political extremism (or even adventurism) which is extremely dangerous, regardless of its formal starting point.

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