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ETHNIC TERRORISM AND ETHNIC AND POLITICAL CONFLICTS OF THE XIX-XX CENTURIES: ANALYSIS OF SOCIO-POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL FACTORS

The article considers the processes of evolution of ethnic terrorism during the XIX-XX centuries. It is noted that the emergence of ethnic terrorism is associated with the growth of nationalism and the rise of national movements. The article shows the relationship between ethno-political conflicts and ethnic terrorism. It is emphasized that ethnic conflicts are often intertwined with socio-political conflicts. The article considers the influence of left-wing revolutionary terrorism on ethnic terrorism both when it only began and in the subsequent historical periods. The article analyzes the impact of left-and right-wing ideological trends on ethnic terrorism. The article considers the ideological and political platform and activities of various ethnic terrorist organizations. It is stated that the specific forms and ideological and political orientations of ethnic terrorism depend on the socio-political situation in a particular country and on the trends that dominate the world politics at various historical periods.

Key words: *ethno-political conflicts, ethnic terrorism, nationalism, left-wing radicalism, right-wing radicalism.*

Ethnic terrorism is one of the main types of modern terrorism, along with left-wing, right-wing and religious terrorism. It can be described as “an inadequate form of struggle against actual or perceived infringement of the rights and interests of an individual nation or ethnic group.” [9. P. 25]. In recent decades, ethnic terrorism has shown the highest degree of activity. The share of national separatist groups accounted for 31% of terrorist acts committed in the world from 1968 to 2016, which exceeds the number of terrorist attacks committed by left-wing, right-wing and religious organizations [7. P. 47]. Ethnic terrorism is generated by ethno-political conflicts, and its forms and manifestations depend on the influence of various socio-political and ideological-political factors specific to each country and historical epoch.

The era of the formation of nations and national states gave rise to nationalism [3. P. 320], which became the ideological basis of the first manifestations of ethnic terrorism. American ethno-politologist L. Snyder saw the first manifestations of “integrating nationalism” in European political life in 1815-1871. The scientist used this term to characterize nationalism as an ideological platform that was supposed to consolidate politically divided ethnic groups [13. P. 48].

In the first half of the XIX century, Italians and Germans were scattered across the territory of many medium and small states in Western Europe and the processes of modernization created an objective basis for uniting them in ethno-nation. The Great French Revolution put into practice the idea of national unity and provided the ideological basis for such a union. While fighting for the unification of his homeland, Garibaldi also fought for the establishment of the republican form of government. The ethno-political conflict in the Italian lands was characterized by a complex structure. If in the territories under the rule of the Italian monarchical dynasties and the Vatican, the struggle for the national idea was intertwined with the struggle for anti-monarchical and anti-clerical goals, in the territory of Northern Italy, which was part of the Austrian Empire, the goals of the national liberation struggle prevailed over all others. It's here that the phenomenon that is now commonly called ethnic terrorism took shape. Subsequently, the Italian experience was borrowed by European anarchists and Russian narodovoltsy, who linked their ethnic and revolutionary terrorism. The specific feature of ethnic terrorism is that it occurs as a form of manifestation and development of ethno-political conflict. With the resolution of such conflict, the ground for it disappears. This happened in Italy along with the unification of the Italian lands not “from below,” in a revolutionary way, but “from above,” under the rule of the Savoy dynasty.

At the end of the XIX century, a new wave of ethno-terrorism rose in Europe. It was caused by a different type of nationalism that L. Snyder called “dividing” or disintegrating nationalism [13. P. 48]. This type of ethno-nationalism was associated with ethno-political conflicts that originated in the Eastern part of the European continent. In the second half of the XIX century, the territory of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe with a few exceptions belonged to three continental empires: the Austro-Hungarian, Russian and Ottoman (Turkish). Dozens of peoples who lived here differed in culture, religion, language and the level of economic development. In the second half of the XIX century, Eastern Europe gradually embarked on the path of modernization and felt its consequences, such as urbanization, industrialization, the development of education, science and mass communications. The ethnic self-identification was manifested in the most acute way among the intelligentsia, which formulated its own national ideology. The first task of almost all national movements in East European countries was to study, preserve and develop national culture in general, and the national literary language in particular. The authorities were distrustful of such activity of national

movements and hindered it, encouraging political nationalism, the main goal of which was formation of national states. The transition of nationalism into a political form was accompanied by an increase in its aggressiveness and the formation of an ethnocentric vision of the world. This was the ground for the appearance and development of ethno-political conflicts in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe in the late XIX – early XX centuries. In some cases, the severity of ethnic and political conflicts pushed participants and activists of national movements to the path of terrorism.

At the same time, revolutionary terrorism, inspired by the Russian Empire, became more active in Eastern Europe in general and in the Russian Empire in particular, inspired by left-wing, non-Marxist ideas. The example of Russian terrorists from among the *narodovoltsy*, and then the social revolutionaries, had an impact not only on national movements that originated on the outskirts of the Russian Empire, but also on the national liberation movement of the Slavic peoples of the Balkan Peninsula, who were united with Russia by their civilizational identity and similarity of languages. Students from Bulgaria, Serbia, Macedonia, and Montenegro sought education in Russia and learned there not only professional knowledge, but also social ideas, including revolutionary. This happened not only in Russia, but also in the territories of West European states, where young people from the Balkan Peninsula maintained contacts with Russian revolutionaries in exile. American historian S. Fey noted: “In the 60s and 70s of the XIX century, many Serbian revolutionaries were in Switzerland and there came under the influence of Russian revolutionaries, such as Bakunin, Kropotkin and Herzen. They adopted a revolutionary program that was supposed to be implemented through anarchic acts of violence and terror.” [2. P. 75]

After the Russian-Turkish war of 1877-1878 and the Berlin Congress of 1879, Serbian territory was liberated from Turkish rule, but some parts remained under the control of the Austrian Empire. Bosnia and Herzegovina became a new hotbed of ethnic terrorism. The hopes of the Serbs for reunification of their historical homeland were destroyed by the annexation of the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary in 1907. The aim of “*Mlada Bosnia*,” an organization which emerged in Bosnia and Herzegovina, was reunification with Serbia. Members of that organization switched to the tactic of individual terror against representatives of the Austrian authorities. Members of “*Mlada Bosnia*” followed the example of the Russian revolutionaries of the nineteenth century, they were also inspired by the more recent example of the First Russian revolution of 1905-1907. In the end, it was a member of “*Mlada Bosnia*” G. Princip who committed the terrorist attack, which became trigger for the beginning of the crisis that led to the First World War.

The plans for a post-war peace settlement assumed the solution of the national question on the basis of the principles of self-determination of peoples. But it was very difficult to implement the right of nations to self determination

in practice. New borders appeared on the political map of the world, and with them new centers of ethno-political conflicts, even though previously existing conflicts had not been completely resolved. The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes can serve an example of the intertwining of old and new ethno-political conflicts. It emerged after the First World War and was renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929. However, the basis of the national policy of the Yugoslav authorities was not the idea of unity of the South Slavic peoples, but the nationalist idea of Greater Serbia, which in practice meant imposing the Serbian language and culture on the entire population of the Kingdom. In the Yugoslav part of Macedonia, the policy of the royal authorities encountered resistance from the Bulgarian nationalist and separatist VMORO. Macedonian nationalist terrorists established contacts with other nationalist and separatist groups operating in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, most notably the Rebel Croatian Revolutionary Organization, whose members were known as the Ustashi. This organization set as its goal the creation of an independent Croatian state. Receiving support from fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, together with Macedonian terrorists from VMORO, Ustashi organized the murder of king Alexander of Yugoslavia and the French foreign Minister L. Bart in Marseille in 1934. This action is recognized as the starting point of the process of internationalization of terrorism that began in the 30s of the XX century.

After the murder of Alexander Karageorgievich and L. Bartu, the history of VMORO and the Ustashi developed differently. At the same time, in 1934, the VMORO declared self-dissolution, although some of its members continued their political and terrorist activities. The evolution of the Ustashi went in the direction of open fascist ideology. During World War II, the Ustashi collaborated with Nazi Germany and committed numerous crimes against the civilian population.

Ukrainian nationalists, just as the Croatian Ustashi, evolved towards fascist ideology and practice in the 20-30s of the XX century. Ukrainian nationalism was formed before the First World War. At that time, it often covered itself by liberal and socialist slogans. After the First World War, a new type of Ukrainian nationalism emerged, influenced by the ideas and practices of the fascist movements in Italy and Germany. In the first half of the 1920s, several groups of radically oriented people emerged from among the Ukrainian emigration and in 1929 they became part of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). The OUN's ideological platform was the concept of "integral nationalism" put forward by D. Dontsov. In 1926, he published a book under an explicit title of "Nationalism," in which, guided by the thesis of social Darwinism about the eternal enmity between the "strong" and "weak" nations, he proposed a new ideological platform for the Ukrainian movement. In the spirit of fascist ideology, D. Dontsov determined that the driving force of the new Ukrainian nationalism should be "strong will, strength, violence, racism, fanaticism, ruthlessness and hatred, voluntarism and romanticism, immorality and anti-intellectualism" [12. P. 32].

Western Ukraine, which after the First World War became part of the newly recreated Polish state became the main place for the activity of the organization of Ukrainian nationalists. As in the case of the Balkan Peninsula, attempts to solve national problems within the framework of the Versailles peace settlement have created new ethno-political conflicts in Poland. During the XIX – early XX centuries, Polish nationalists actively supported the Ukrainian national movement, viewing it as a means of fighting the Russian Empire. But after the formation of an independent Polish state, the goals of Polish and Ukrainian nationalists diverged. Polish settlers were moved to the West Ukrainian and West Belarusian lands and non-Polish languages and culture were restricted and oppressed. The discontent of national minorities was suppressed by punitive actions called “pacification.” This policy of the authorities of interwar Poland provoked outbreaks of ethnic terrorism, the main subject of which was the OUN. The right-wing ideological platform of the OUN allowed an active use of methods of individual terror. The most high-profile terrorist act committed by the OUN was the murder of the Polish Minister of Internal Affairs B. Pyeratskiy. The future leader of the OUN S. Bandera organized this crime. Bandera guerillas, like the Ustashi, tainted themselves with the mass killings of innocent people during the Second World War. A well-known example of their brutality is the so-called “Volyn massacre,” during which several tens of thousands of Poles were killed and tortured.

In contrast to the ethnic terrorism of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which had much in common with left-wing revolutionary terrorism, ethnic terrorism between the two world wars was more closely associated with the right-wing fascist terrorism. There are several explanations for this. First, all ethnic terrorism is based on the ideas of nationalism, and it was extreme nationalism and chauvinism that served as the basic ideology of the fascist movements of the interwar period. Second, after the First World War, the influence of the left-wing, non-Marxist ideas declined. The left flank of the world political spectrum was occupied by the Communist movement. Marxism rejected the tactics of individual terror as ineffective, although in the 20-30s of the XX century attempts were made, even if unsuccessful to use ethnic terrorists in the interests of the “world revolution.” [15. P. 95-96]

After the Second World War, ethnic and national problems in the world worsened. The process of decolonization began, accompanied by the rise of national movements, the emergence of many ethno-political conflicts and the spread of ethnic terrorism. Most often, the ideological basis of the activities of terrorist organizations of an ethnic nature was nationalism, as it was, for example, in Palestine in the 40s of the XX century or in Cyprus in the 50s of the XX century. [4. P. 67].

The second half of the XX century was marked by an increase in terrorist activity in many regions of the world. The most common type of terrorism in that period was again left-wing, revolutionary terrorism. But, unlike in the past, when revolutionary terrorism was based on the non-Marxist left-wing ideas, the revo-

lutionary terrorism of the 1960s and 80s was mainly represented by organizations and movements that positioned themselves as Marxist. What is the reason for such self-identification? As has already been noted, Marxists officially rejected the tactics of individual terror. The change in their position was due to the peculiarities of the development of the international Communist movement after the Second World War. Because of the dissolution of the Comintern, it lost its former organizational unity. When Stalin's cult was criticized in the USSR and new approaches to a number of issues of strategy and tactics of the Communist movement were determined at the XX Congress of the CPSU, its ranks began to wobble. Not all Communists agreed with the thesis about the possibility of a peaceful path to socialism, considering it a departure from Marxist-Leninist teachings. The differences that emerged among the Communists were intensified by the Soviet-Chinese conflict. As a result, parallel Communist parties appeared in a number of countries, they called themselves "Marxist" or "Marxist-Leninist." Their members interpreted the Communist doctrine in a radical way and recognized terrorist methods as acceptable and necessary in the struggle for the socialist revolution. The left-wing version of Marxism became the ideological basis for the activities of such well-known terrorist organizations as the RAF in Germany, the RENGO Sekigun in Japan and the Red Brigades in Italy. Former member of the Central Committee of the Peruvian Communist party K. Marighella published a book titled "Mini manual of the Urban Guerrilla" [10], which became a manual for terrorists of all kinds.

Although left-wing extremist terrorist organizations and groups dissociated themselves from the Soviet-oriented Communist movement, the success of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in the 60s and 70s of the XX century contributed to the growing popularity of the left-wing ideas around the world. Since there is often a social component in the ethno-political conflicts, ethnic terrorism may also be partly motivated by the left-wing ideas. One of the most well-known ethnic terrorist organizations, the Kurdistan workers ' party, both in its name and in its documents, openly proclaims its commitment to the Communist values as it understands them. In the program of action adopted at the founding Congress of the PKK in 1978, it was "declared a party of the working class of Kurdistan, armed with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the ultimate goal of which is to build a classless society in Kurdistan" [16. P. 231]. The PKK leaders were not confused by the fact that official Marxism-Leninism condemned the terrorist methods of struggle practiced by their party. However, realizing the incompatibility of Communist principles and nationalism, they emphasized their negative attitude to it, although in reality the goals of the PKK coincided with the goals of other openly nationalist Kurdish parties.

An even greater degree of integration of left-wing ideas and national separatist goals can be noted in the European terrorist organizations that were very famous in the second half of the XX century – the Northern Irish IRA and the Basque

ETA. Ethnic terrorism in the Basque Country was triggered by an ethnic conflict that arose after the end of the Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939. The Basques first gained national autonomy after the establishment of the Republican system. It is no accident that the entire population of the Basque Country supported the Popular Front government during the Civil War. But while the Popular Front was generally dominated by the left-wing parties, the power in the Basque Country belonged to local nationalists. They did not conduct socialist experiments, but the Basque military units fought stoutly on the side of the Republicans [8. P. 69]. After the defeat of the Republic, the Francoists destroyed all traces of national autonomy, the Basque language and culture were banned. Discontent with this situation was severely suppressed. The socio-economic situation of the Basques also deteriorated, as the economic situation after the end of the Civil War remained difficult for a long time [1. P. 636]. The younger generation of Basques was particularly radical. These circumstances led to the creation of ETA in 1959, which adopted methods of individual terror. ETA declared itself "the Basque socialist movement for national liberation," considering its struggle as a "part of the international proletarian revolution." [5. P. 158] Nevertheless, the ideological platform of ETA remained eclectic, since, according to the participants of the organization, its socialist ideal was at various times embodied by "both Israeli kibbutzim, the Yugoslav self-government, Marxism-Leninism, vague Maoism and the Nicaraguan-Sandinista model of the new society." [5. P. 158]. But for the majority of ordinary ETA militants, the main idea was the struggle for national self-determination.

Despite their fascination with left-wing ideas, both ETA and IRA remained national separatist organizations. At the same time, they interacted with terrorists of various directions. Russian political scientist I. Khohlov noted: "In order to expand their own capabilities and for the sake of basic survival, IRA and ETA have established links with other terrorist organizations far beyond their regions." [6. P. 89]. Among these organizations, various Palestinian groups stood out.

The emergence of Palestinian terrorism was a consequence of the development of the Arab-Israeli conflict over Palestine. The Palestinian territories were divided between neighboring states and after 1967 they came under Israeli control. All the Palestinian organizations that emerged in the 1950s and 60s were based on a platform of non-recognition of Israel and the need for an armed struggle against it. But Palestinian organizations had no resources for an open armed struggle and they began to commit terrorist acts aimed at both state structures and the civilian population of Israel.

In 1964, the Palestine Liberation Organization was established. The members of the organization shared the same understanding of the ultimate goals and ways to achieve them, and their ideological attitudes reflected the main trends in the development of political processes in the Middle East and the world in the 60s and 70s of the XX century. Some organizations, in particular Fatah, were adher-

ents of the ideas of Arab nationalism and anti-imperialism, while others, such as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine or the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine were ideologically close to the left-wing extremist terrorist organizations in Europe and other regions. Over time, the influence of the left-wing and secular political ideas in the Middle East began to weaken. A large number of extremist organizations and movements appeared, guided by the ideas of “political Islam” or Islamism [11. P. 33-34]. Such an organization in Palestine was the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas), which emerged in 1987 on the basis of a local cell of the Muslim Brotherhood. There is a close relationship between ethnic and religious Islamist terrorism, since their ideological foundations – nationalism and Islamism – have a certain similarity. Russian researcher of political Islam Yu. I. Uspenskiy notes: “Nationalism smoothes out the contradictions within the society, but exacerbates the differences with other societies. Islamism exacerbates them both inside and outside of the society.” [14. P. 71].

Ethnic terrorism arises from conflicts of an ethno-political nature, but its specific forms are determined by socio-political conditions and prevailing ideological and political trends. Ethnic terrorism can be close to both left-wing and right-wing terrorism, and can almost merge with religious-type terrorism, as is happening today, when ethno-religious terrorism has become a noticeable phenomenon.

The growth of nationalist sentiments among certain ethnic groups is often provoked by violations of the rights of these groups, discrimination on national, racial and religious grounds. National intolerance contributes to the escalation of ethnic conflicts, which increases the risk of international terrorism, especially in its ethnic form.

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