

DOI: 10.26565/2220-8089-2019-35-09
УДК 327.8

Yuriy Danyk

Prof., Dr. Techn. Sc.
National Defence University of Ukraine
named after Ivan Cherniakhovskyi
28, Povitroflotskyi av., Kyiv, 03049
7104285@ukr.net,
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6990-8656>

Maryna Semenкова

Lecturer
National Defence University of Ukraine
named after Ivan Cherniakhovskyi
28, Povitroflotskyi av., Kyiv, 03049
7104285@ukr.net
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4143-5671>

DIRECTED MIGRATION AS THE MEANS TO ACHIEVE THE HYBRID WAR GOALS

The need to study the contemporary migration processes inter alia taking into account the feasibility of using them as the means of the domestic and foreign policy, for example to achieve the goals of the hybrid war was substantiated. On the one hand it can be explained by the changing approaches to the realization of political interests, particularly to the waging of war; on the other hand – by the peculiarities of the contemporary migration processes. It was shown that for the migration processes to be used they have to be eligible to external influence, besides they can be influenced in a hidden way or their use can be explained by the acceptable purposes. They must also be effective enough that means their use can help actor to achieve its political goal. The concept of the directed migration was introduced and the ways the directing of migration processes can be executed at the different stages of the migration process were shown as well as the role of the informatization and mass communication. Particularly, the assumption was made that the hybrid conflict in a particular region can be waged just to initiate and stimulate migration in order to destabilize the situation in the region where the migration flows are directed to. Possibilities of using directed migration by a political actor to destabilize the political, socio-economic and ideological spheres of the target country or region from within were also analyzed. Given that, both the country of origin and the host country can be regarded as the target one. The increasing of conflictogenity of the society due to the horizontal inequality transformation between migrants and host community was presented as an example.

Key words: directed migration, hybrid warfare, manipulative influence, conflictogenity, mass communication means.

© Danyk Y., Semenкова M., 2019.

Даник Юрій Григорович

Професор, д. техн. наук
Національний університет оборони України
ім. Івана Черняховського
пр. Повітрофлотський, 28, Київ, 03049
zhvinau@ukr.net
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6990-8656>

Семенкова Марина Анатоліївна

Викладач
Національний університет оборони України
ім. Івана Черняховського
пр. Повітрофлотський, 28, Київ, 03049
7104285@ukr.net
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4143-5671>

КЕРОВАНА МІГРАЦІЯ ЯК ЗАСІБ ДОСЯГНЕННЯ ЦІЛЕЙ ГІБРИДНОЇ ВІЙНИ

Обґрунтовано необхідність дослідження сучасних міграційних процесів в тому числі з точки зору доцільності їх використання як засобу внутрішньої і зовнішньої політики, зокрема для досягнення агресором цілей гібридної війни. Це пояснюється з одного боку зміною підходів до реалізації політичних інтересів, зокрема до ведення війн, а з іншого - особливостями сучасних міграційних процесів. Зокрема, показано, що для цього вони, по-перше, піддаються зовнішньому управлінню, по-друге, таке управління актор може здійснювати приховано або пояснюючи свої дії іншими, більш прийнятними цілями, по-третє їхнє використання є ефективним, тобто сприяє досягненню цілей агресора. Введено поняття керованої міграції, з'ясовано яким чином може здійснюватися зовнішнє керування міграцією, причому на всіх її етапах, визначена роль в цьому сучасних засобів інформатизації і масової комунікації. Висловлено припущення, що розв'язання гібридного конфлікту в певному регіоні може бути здійснено в тому числі з метою ініціювання і стимулювання міграції з подальшим використанням її для дестабілізації іншого цільового регіону або країни. Проаналізовано конкретні можливості використання політичним актором керованої міграції в умовах гібридної війни для дестабілізації політичної, соціально-економічної і культурно-ідеологічної сфер. При цьому в якості цільової країни може виступати як країна походження мігрантів, так і країна спрямування міграційних потоків. Як приклад створення умов для дестабілізації країни прибуття мігрантів наведено підвищення конфліктогенності суспільства у зв'язку з трансформацією горизонтальної нерівності між мігрантами і приймаючою спільнотою.

Ключові слова: керована міграція, гібридна війна, маніпулятивний вплив, конфліктогенність, засоби масової комунікації.

Даник Юрій Григорьевич

Професор, д. техн. наук
Національний університет оборони України
ім. Івана Черняховського
пр. Воздухофлотский, 28, Киев, 03049
zhvinau@ukr.net
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6990-8656>

Семенкова Марина Анатольевна

Преподаватель
Національний університет оборони України
ім. Івана Черняховського
пр. Воздухофлотский, 28, Киев, 03049
7104285@ukr.net
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4143-5671>

УПРАВЛЯЕМАЯ МИГРАЦИЯ КАК СРЕДСТВО ДОСТИЖЕНИЯ ЦЕЛЕЙ ГИБРИДНОЙ ВОЙНЫ

Обоснована необходимость изучения миграционных процессов в том числе с точки зрения целесообразности их использования как средства внутренней и внешней политики, в частности для достижения агрессором целей гибридной войны. Это объясняется, с одной стороны, изменением подходов к реализации политических целей, в том числе к ведению войн, а с другой – особенностями современных миграционных процессов. В частности показано, что для этого они, во-первых, поддаются внешнему управлению, во-вторых, такое управление актор может осуществлять скрыто или оправдывать другими, более приемлемыми целями, в третьих, их использование является эффективным, то есть содействует достижению целей агрессора. Введено понятие управляемой миграции, определено каким образом может осуществляться внешнее управление миграцией, причем на всех ее этапах, определена роль в этом средств информатизации и массовой коммуникации. Высказано предположение о том, что гибридный конфликт может быть развязан в определенном регионе в том числе с целью инициирования и стимулирования миграции и ее последующего использования для дестабилизации целевого региона или страны. Проанализированы конкретные возможности использования политическим актором управляемой миграции в условиях гибридной войны для дестабилизации политической, социально-экономической и культурно-идеологической сфер. При этом в качестве целевой страны может выступать как страна происхождения мигрантов, так и страна прибытия. Как пример создания условий для дестабилизации страны прибытия мигрантов приведено повышение конфликтности общества в связи с трансформацией горизонтального неравенства между мигрантами и принимающим сообществом.

Ключевые слова: управляемая миграция, гибридная война, манипулятивное воздействие, конфликтность, средства массовой коммуникации.

The application of the certain processes as the means that undermine the situation in the country from within, destabilize its political, socio-economic and cultural sphere is the important and sometimes the main part of the hybrid conflicts. For these processes to be used in the most successful way they need to comply with the following criteria. Firstly, they have to be swayed by the external influence and control, that means they have to be directed. Secondly, it is very important for the actor to control and influence these processes clandestinely, that means these processes have to look like the spontaneous ones. Thirdly, these processes have to be effective, their application must lead to the desired result.

To our mind the migration processes that are getting more large-scaled and are having an increasing impact on the international relations and international security can be used as the means of the hybrid warfare. However, the scholars have relatively recently started realizing the importance of migration processes. Before that the migration was treated as the internal affair of the state and the security was considered in rather narrow context. But eventually the so-called «soft» security risks such as criminal activity, environmental problems, drug trafficking and, actually,

migration begun to be considered as the study matter. But in spite of the increasing topicality of the nexus between migration and security the studies mostly cover the issue of negative impact of migration on the security situation and vice versa (Reuveny 2007; Massey 2015; Dancigier 2010; Humphrey 2013; Crawford and Campbell 2012; Gibney et al. 1996).

At the same time the scientists who deal with the issue are sometimes blamed for excessive securitization of the «soft» risks so that they are only presented as the security problems not being the ones. For example it can be done by the political leaders who are interested in strengthening the state policy in certain sphere, when making the society perceive it as the threat (Bigo 2002: 72). Sometimes actors, including the internal ones, can resort to them striving to divert attention of people from the actual problems or failures of authorities, to present themselves as the advocates of the needs of citizens, etc. (Malinovska 2015: 63). From time to time we have on the political leaders use migration issue in order to influence the voters, to exert influence over the other states, etc.

However, there were many cases so far when the migration resulted in the escalation of the existing conflict or the emergence of

the new one. As one of the most striking and well-known example we can present the Great Lakes region in Africa, where the movement of Hutu and Tutsi over the frontier because of the internal conflict in Rwanda (and Burundi) caused the series of conflicts in Congo (Zaire) and, after Hutu and Tutsi returned, – the repeated emergence and intensification of conflict in Rwanda. The majority of refugees move within their own countries or to other ones that are fragile too. However, even in relatively stable countries refugees and migrants are able to create the situations that are threatening to the social and political stability. Based on the quantitative research the conclusion was made that after the conflict brakes out the possibility of emergence the new one in countries that are closest to the conflict-affected zone is three times higher than in the countries that are far enough from the primary conflict zone (Chauvet and Collier 2005). On the other hand there is another example of the awareness of the security dependence from the migration – the policy of Israel. It encourages immigration considering it as the security factor of the state while facing the constant confrontation with the Arab World (Malinovska 2015: 88).

Besides, at the current stage more and more conflicts are considered as the hybrid ones, when military actions are combined with others – mostly political, economical, diplomatic, informational, psychological, cybernetic, cognitive and other actions. When acting in complex, they lead to the systemic destabilization in all spheres of functioning of the target state. In such conditions any large-scale social processes including the migration can be used in order to unravel the social and political situation in the target country or region.

Given that the significant number of scientific works are devoted to migration, its positive and negative consequences (Crawford and Campbell 2012; Gibney et al. 1996; Poznjak and Libanova 2010), as well as to the hybrid warfare (Hoffman 2007; Hoffman 2009; Murray and Mansoor 2012; Mattis 2005; McCuen 2008) we did not manage to find any scientific paper where the issue of the targeted use of migration as the means to achieve the goals in the hybrid conflict was investigated. That's why we think that due to the increased actuality it is not only the consequences of the migration but the possibility to direct it in order to use its consequences to achieve the political

interests in the hybrid war context that should be thoroughly studied.

In view of the above-mentioned the **objective of the article** is to determine in what way the migration can be used by the political actors to achieve their goals in the hybrid war context, particularly to destabilize the target country from within. To achieve this objective we need to meet the following tasks:

- to substantiate the feasibility for the actors to direct the migration processes in order to realize their political interests in the context of the hybrid warfare;
- to define the directed migration, to find out in what way the migration can be directed;
- to work out in what way the spheres of the state functioning can be destabilized using the directed migration

We cannot study the trends of the migration processes and their role without the simultaneous study of the contemporary political situation in the world, current international relations and current international security situation. These in turn are significantly influenced by the new phenomena in the philosophy of war, military strategy and the practice of war. For instance, it also refers to the new type of military conflict based on the innovative technologies, the modified or substantially new forms, methods and means to reach political, particularly foreign-policy goals.

In fact, the new development characterizes the international policy nowadays – the possibility to achieve political goals, to change the legitimate governments and to subjugate politically, economically and spiritually the states and the peoples even without the military force. That's why the special technologies of influencing the mass consciousness and the cyber wars technologies are being actively developed (Danyk et al., 2006; Danyk and Pitchugin 2008).

Such perception of migration processes is made possible not only by changing approaches as for the setting of political and military-political goals and as for the methods of their achievement, but also by other changes that are taking place in the world. In particular, it is the globalization and development of mass media. In the context of increasing globalization trends, the simplification of border crossing procedures, the establishment of visa-free regimes between countries, the reduction of transport costs, the intensive information impact

contribute to the increasing the scale of the migration processes.

Due to the dissemination of information through television and the Internet about economic opportunities in other countries the potential migrants not only realize their predicament comparing to residents of more prosperous regions. They also realize that they can improve their situation due to their migration to these prosperous countries. Besides the development of the means of informatization and mass communication creates the new opportunities and as a whole makes it easier to disseminate certain messages and narratives, to influence the consciousness of people, and to impose them the views and ideas that are advantageous for the external actor.

Since it is recognized that in the context of the hybrid conflict the aggressor is interested in weakening the target state, its destabilization, so the feasibility of application the migration flows is explained by the negative implications, that are natural for the spontaneous migration, but not necessary critical and do not necessary lead to the destabilization of the state; but in case of the external influence on the migration process it can be turned into the fully destructive process. At the same time we have to point out that the target country itself, where the migration flows are directed, is limited in its possibilities to react on the situation in migration sphere because of the necessity to follow the principles of the human rights and its international commitments.

In the scientific literature, migration is classified by the direction of flows (external and internal), by duration (short-term, seasonal, long-term, irreversible, the commuting), by forms of organization (organized and unorganized, voluntary and forced, legal and illegal), etc. But in view of the material presented in the article, we consider it necessary to distinguish between directed and spontaneous migration as the forms of organization of migration. Unlike spontaneous the directed migration is the movement of people not because of objective circumstances, but because of the imposed and purposefully formed people's expectations through the means of manipulative influence, agitation, etc. Moreover, the dichotomy Spontaneous - Directed has a semantic content different from Voluntary - Forced, because the latter indicates that a person makes a decision about moving, focusing on those benefits and prospects that are waiting for him in a new place or because of the difficult situation in

which the person lives and that makes him to leave the place of permanent residence.

It should be noted that external influence on the migration, actually the directing, in particular in the form of manipulative influences on consciousness, agitation, etc. can occur at all stages of migration. For example, at the initial stage of the formation of a motivation for migration, when migrants decide to leave their country of residence. People are encouraged to move by the expected benefits, so at this stage the influence on consciousness can be very effective. For example, the TV programs, the posts in the social networks with the photos of the good life of those who have already migrated abroad can either encourage to migrate the people, who hesitate to go or make people think about leaving the country if they didn't use to think previously about it.

In order to initiate and stimulate the migration from the certain region or the country the special conditions can be made to force or to encourage people to leave the place of permanent residence. We can even assume that the hybrid conflict in one region or country can be deliberately waged to initiate migration flows with the aim to destabilize the situation in another country or region. Actors can do that in case the other methods were not effective enough. Another reason is connected with the peculiarities of the migration from the regions, affected by the hybrid conflict. Such peculiarities can contribute to the formation of the conflict potential in the country or region where the migration flows are directed to (Danyk and Semenкова 2019).

Then due to the deliberate informational policy the flows of migrants can be directed to the certain country or region. It can be achieved through the emigrants' networks, through the organizations that assist migrants, through the mass media, social networks, etc. According to the theory of cumulative causation by D. Massey each act of migration changes the social context that in its turn promotes the further migrations (Massey 1990), so it is possible to assume that eventually the migration will not require the external influence to be continued because of the processes of sustainable self-development and self-reproduction of migration.

During the migrants stay in the new country they also can be influenced externally. The objective of such influence is to create the centers of the social tension. For example, the tension can result from the

transformation of horizontal inequality in the country or region. The horizontal inequality transforms because of the new social and economic conditions the migrants get to. Eventually, their social status as well as the economic one becomes higher than the status of locals or vice versa their status in general becomes worse. In any case the horizontal inequality transformation is accompanied by the resentment and frustration among migrants or among locals, the emergence of contradictions.

To our opinion, the directing of the migration in the context of the hybrid warfare also lies in the creation of protest or conflict potential based on the contradictions that emerge between migrants and host community. But it is not always necessary for the intergroup contradictions to arise from the socio-economic differences that really exist. Very often they are formed due to the interpretations of socio-economic inequality in the consciousness of people. In the context of the hybrid conflicts it is often supposed to be done deliberately. The tension is artificially produced for instance due to the distorted perception of the existing state of affairs, when the achievements of people of certain social groups are perceived as the undeserved ones. The use of special technologies provides the opportunity to create and artificially untangle the chaos situation. At the beginning it can result in the peaceful protest actions and

then turn them into a means to achieve the specific goal. In a context of the hybrid war, it can become a significant destabilizing factor (Rushchenko 2015: 13).

The quite important aspect is that actors while using information technologies and the technologies of influence on the mass consciousness to direct migration can hide their real interests behind the commendable goals or hide their involvement at all.

The sustainable development of the country depends on the stability of all the spheres of its functioning, but to our mind the political, socio-economic and cultural sphere can be affected by the negative consequences of migration in the most significant way. At the same time these spheres are the key ones for the development of the state and the destabilization of any of them can lead to the destabilization of the country as the whole.

The examples of using migration deliberately by political actors in order to achieve their goals in the hybrid war context are given in the table. It should be emphasized again that the migration itself does not lead to the following consequences, because it falls within the scope of the regulation and self-regulation mechanisms. However, in the hybrid war context the conditions for the migration to result in the following negative consequences are created. Moreover these consequences are artificially reinforced.

Table 1.

The application of the directed migration in order to destabilize the spheres of functioning of the state

Sphere of state functioning	Task, the aggressor is supposed to met using the directed migration	
	In the country where migration is directed from	In the country where migration is directed to
Political	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The transformation of the ethnodemographic structure of population for creating the prerequisites for the political destabilization of the state; • The reducing the proportion of the certain group in the population of the country in order to influence the electoral behavior of people; • The reducing the number of people, that can be called up in order to decrease the defense capabilities of the state. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The increasing of the proportion of certain cultural group in the population of the country for creating the prerequisites for separatist ambitions in a specific region of the country; • The transformation of the ethnodemographic structure for the further political destabilization in the country; • The formation of the ceratin quantity of migrants – the representatives of specific country in order to influence on the policy of the host state.
Socio-economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The reducing of the economic growth rate due to the massive exodus of 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The increasing of social expenditures of the host country, the diversion of

	<p>proactive and educated working-age people;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The deterioration of the state of science and technology in the country as a whole because of the significant number of students that go to study abroad; ● The decrease in the money supply that is resulted from the large-scale emigration of the rich citizens. 	<p>resources from the economy because of the arrival of the significant number of migrants for the relatively short period of time;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The increasing of the regional disparities of the country because of settling the migrants in mostly economically attractive regions; ● The transformation of the horizontal inequality leads to the growing social contradictions.
Cultural and ideological	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The threat of losing the cultural distinctiveness by the country or region. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The emergence and exacerbation of cultural contradictions due to the arrival of migrants – the representatives of another religious or ethnic group.

As the table shows, the directed migration can be applied either for the country of origin or the country they are directed to. In some cases the particular migration flow can lead to the same consequences for both country of origin and the host country. We can provide as an example the transformation of the ethnodemographic structure of the population that is resulted from the both mass exodus and mass arrival of the representatives of a particular cultural group. However, the migration of the qualified and skilled persons has the negative effect on the country of their origin and positive effect on the host country. For example, the aspiration of the western countries to encourage well-educated and skilled migrants to immigrate threatens the development of the less developed countries. Besides given that all the spheres of the state functioning are interconnected, the destabilization of one of them can cause the destabilization of the others. For instance, when the large quantity of students leaves the country it negatively influences the science and education system. In its turn it has the negative

impact on the economy of the country and then on the defense capabilities on the state.

Therefore, if the countries encourage migration in order to use its positive consequences to solve their domestic problems so in the same way its negative consequences can be used by the external actors to create or to exacerbate the domestic problems of the target country. But in the hybrid war context the political actors aiming to use the migration's capacity to weaken the adversary have to exercise the directing of migration at any stage. Taking into account the tasks as for the destabilization of the country using the directed migration, that we have defined in the article, it is reasonable for the political actors to resort to it in the hybrid war context. Accordingly, such possibility must be taken into account while analyzing the current political and security situation as well as while predicting the possible course of events.

REFERENCES

- Reuveny, R. 2007. "Climate change-induced migration and violent conflict", *Political Geography*, 26: 656-673.
- Massey, D. 2015. "Theory of migration". In: *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 2nd ed.
- Dancygier, R. 2010. *Immigration and Conflict in Europe*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Humphrey, M. 2013. "Migration, security and insecurity". *Intercultural Studies* 34: 178-195.
- Crawford, M., Campbell, B. 2012. *Causes and Consequences of Human Migration. An Evolutionary Perspective*. New York.
- Gibney, M., Apodaca, C, McCann, J. 1996. *Refugee Flows, the Internally Displaced and Political Violence*

(1908-1993): An Exploratory Analysis.

- Bigo, D. 2002. "Security and immigration: toward a critique of governmentality of unease", *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 1: 63-92.
- Malinovska, O.A. 2015. *Migration policy: global context and Ukrainian reality: monography*. K., National Institute of Strategic Studies.
- Chauvet, L., Collier, P. 2005. *Development Effectiveness in Fragile States: Spillovers and Turnarounds*. URL: <http://www.eldis.org/static/DOC16180.htm>.
- Crawford, M., Campbell, B. 2012. *Causes and Consequences of Human Migration. An Evolutionary Perspective*. New York.
- Poznjak, O., Libanova, Y. 2010. *The population of Ukraine. Labour emigration in Ukraine*. K.: Institute of Demography and Social studies n.a. M. Ptukha.

Hoffman, F. 2007. *Conflict in the 21st century: The rise of hybrid wars*. Arlington: Potomac Institute for Policy Studies.

Hoffman, F. 2009. "Hybrid Warfare and Challenges". *Joint Force Quarterly*, 1st Quarter, 52: 34–39.

Murray, W., Mansoor, P. 2012. *Hybrid Warfare: Fighting Complex Opponents from the Ancient World to the Present*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Mattis, J. 2005. "Future Warfare: The Rise of Hybrid Wars", *Proceedings*, November: 18-19.

McCuen, J.J. 2008. "Hybrid Wars", *Military Review*, April-May: 107–113.

Danyk, Y., Katkov, Y., Pitchugin, M. 2006. *National security: the prevention of critical situations: Monography*, Zhynomyr: Ruta, 2006.

Danyk, Y., Pitchugin, M. 2008. "The problem of effective state management in the sphere of national security and defence in the conditions of the realization of strategy of "non-violent means", *The Collection of scientific works of ZMINAU*. Zhytomyr: ZMIRE, 1: 9-17.

Danyk, Y., Semenkova, M. 2019. "Migration within the context of hybrid warfare and its potential for conflict", *SDirect* 24, 3(8).

Massey, D.S. 1990. "Social structure, household strategies and the cumulative causation of migration", *Population index*, 56 (1): 3-26.

Rushchenko, I. 2015. "The undermining social technologies in the structure of the hybrid warfare". *Pravo i bezpeka*, 2 (57).

DOI: 10.26565/2220-8089-2019-35-10

УДК 323.2:329.12 (4)

Савон Владислав Вікторович

студент,

Харківський національний
університет імені В.Н. Каразіна,
майдан Свободи, 4, Харків, 61022,
savonwlad@gmail.com,

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7518-8341>

БРЕКЗІТ ЯК ПРОЯВ КРИЗИ ЛІБЕРАЛЬНОЇ ДЕМОКРАТІЇ У СПОЛУЧЕНОМУ КОРОЛІВСТВІ

Здійснено аналіз процесу виходу Сполученого Королівства з Європейського Союзу як прояв системної кризи моделі ліберальної демократії, виявлено причини та складнощі цього процесу в умовах неспроможності політичної системи до ухвалення політичних рішень.

Розглянуто проблемні питання ліберальної ідеології та моделі ліберальної демократії. Встановлено відмінності у ідеологічних переконаннях двох засновників лібералізму – Томаса Гоббса та Джона Локка та роль цих відмінностей у сучасному функціонуванні ліберальної демократії у Сполученому Королівстві. Проаналізовано роль глобалізаційних процесів у світі в контексті розвитку та функціонування ліберальної демократії. Виокремлені деякі особливості протікання глобалізаційних процесів у світі.

Розглянуто особливості Європейського Союзу, як міжнародної наднаціональної організації в контексті його впливу на функціонування та стабільність політичної системи Сполученого Королівства. Підкреслено особливості функціонування моделі ліберальної демократії в умовах посилення міжнародного способу прийняття політичних, економічних та юридичних рішень.

Особливу увагу приділено політичним мотивам організації початку процесу виходу Сполученого Королівства з Європейського Союзу, а також наслідкам прийняття такого рішення. З'ясовано роль популістських рухів у цьому процесі, що мають євроскептичні позиції. Виділено особливості функціонування популістичних рухів. Визначено сутність кризи моделі ліберальної демократії у Сполученому Королівстві.

Проаналізовано ризики виходу Сполученого Королівства з Європейського Союзу в розрізі миротворчого врегулювання конфлікту в Північній Ірландії в якості одного з індикаторів кризи ліберальної політичної системи. Розглянуто деякі результати референдуму про вихід Сполученого Королівства з Європейського Союзу.

Ключові слова: *криза ліберальної демократії, вихід Сполученого Королівства з Європейського Союзу, популістичні рухи, глобалізація.*