FEATURES OF THE MANIFESTATION OF TERRORISM IN THE ASIAN PACIFIC REGION

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Eklaterina A. Knyazeva
Natalia A. Knyazeva
Alexey A. Shirshov
Nguyen Hung

ABSTRACT

The target of research is discussing the terrorism and its manifestation in some countries of the Asia-Pacific region. The authors used the following research methods: systemic, complex, historical, logical-legal, statistical, etc. The main conclusions of the study are: 1. after the end of the cold war, problems of ethnicity, religion and separatism emerged again. 2. The restructuring of power institutions on a global scale, as well as the expansion of international socio-political and democratic life are one of the main reasons that led to ethnic and religious conflicts around the world, as well as in the Asia-Pacific region. The novelty of the study lies in the fact that the analysis concerning the features of manifestation of terrorism in the countries of the Asia-Pacific region was carried out by studying ethnic, religious, interethnic and separatist conflicts in the APR countries, their causes and impact on the terrorist situation in the region.

Keywords: Terrorism in the APR. Separatism. Globalization. Ethnic and religious conflicts.

RESUMEN

El objetivo de la investigación es discutir el terrorismo y su manifestación en algunos países de la región Asia-Pacífico. Los autores utilizaron los siguientes métodos de investigación: sistemático, complejo, histórico, lógico-legal, estadístico, etc. Las principales conclusiones del estudio son: 1 después del final de la guerra fría, volvieron a surgir problemas de etnia, religión y separatismo. 2. La reestructuración de las instituciones de poder a escala mundial, así como la expansión de la vida sociopolítica y democrática internacional son una de las principales razones que llevaron a conflictos étnicos y religiosos en todo el mundo, así como en Asia y el Pacífico. La novedad del estudio radica en que el análisis sobre las características de la manifestación del terrorismo en los países de la región Asia-Pacífico se realizó mediante el estudio de los conflictos étnicos, religiosos, interétnicos y separatistas en los países de la APR, sus causas y impactos sobre la situación terrorista en la región como un todo.

Palavras-chave: Terrorismo no APR. Separatismo. Globalização. Conflitos étnicos e religiosos.
Introduction

Terrorism is becoming more and more widespread, going beyond the framework of a single state, and, turning into a global problem that poses a serious threat to international peace, and the security of many countries. In recent years, especially after the events of September 11, 2001 in the United States, terrorism has acquired not only a more complex character, but also the status of a threat to peace, national and regional security. According to incomplete statistics from the date in 2001 to December 2014, more than 7,920 terrorist attacks occurred in the world, the victims of which were 63,645 people; 127,436 people were injured (ANH, 2002, HUONG, 2015). Terrorism has produced economic, political and social instability, caused serious damage to infrastructure and left a deep imprint on the spiritual state of society in many countries, mainly concentrated in the Middle East, South Asia and Africa. In several European countries such as Great Britain, France, Spain, Germany, Denmark, the Netherlands and Russia, the level of terrorist activity is always at a high level.

National and separatist conflicts are troubling and having a strong impact on the terrorist situation in the countries of the Asia-Pacific region. The countries of the region are faced with big problems in terms of political security, national independence, national sovereignty, and the possibility of cooperation. All of this requires policymakers in the region to pay attention to clarifying the reasons of those phenomena and to propose effective solutions to issues of ethnicity, religion and separatism. As part of our research, we, first, studied the term and concepts of the Asia-Pacific region, and analysed the concept and nature of terrorism in international society. Next, we focused on the study of ethnic, religious, interethnic and separatist conflicts in the countries of the Asia-Pacific region, their causes and impact on the terrorist situation in the region.

Methodology and Research Materials

Studying terrorism activities and counterterrorism work, we see that due to the dangerous nature of terrorism and the complexity of the fight against terrorism in recent years, especially after the events of September 11, 2001 in the United States, many works have been written around the world on the prevention of terrorism from different points of view. Looking through the scientific works and literature on terrorism, we can see that most authors approach the issue of terrorism from the point of view of criminology, political science and jurisprudence. As part of our research, we were interested in works devoted to the study of terrorism in the criminological aspect, that is, in which the reasons, origin, nature and forms of manifestation of terrorism are explained. Analysing the current world order divided into two civilizations, Western civilization and non-Western civilization, some authors put forward the idea that Western civilization will face the fundamentalist extremism of other civilizations and it must be ready for new challenges of history. The authors deny economic and political reasons that can lead to conflict, since terrorism is a confrontation between civilization and religion (HUNTING, 2003).

Other authors analyse and explain the origin of terrorism and terrorist activities ideologically and also explain the types of ideology (ethnic, religious extremism, separatism, political extremism, spiritual extremism, and environmental extremism) in connection with terrorism. In their opinion, the general basic idea of extremism is the denial of other opinions, the desire to firmly assert their point of view, to impose opposition on opponents. Proving their position, the followers of extremism rely not on reason, but on the emotions and prejudices of people, putting forward slogans and appeals directed not to knowledge, but to the primitive instincts of the crowd. People are required to blindly obey the ideas of extremism, thereby forming a new type of personality prone to motivation, loss of the ability to control their behaviour and actions, including violating social norms with the motto “all or nothing”, “down to zero”, and this is the nature of the emergence of terrorism and terrorist activities (AFANASYEV, 2001).

Studying terrorism in the countries of the Asia-Pacific region, the authors emphasize the significant impact of ethnic conflicts and relations with arms trafficking activities associated with the terrorist activities of international terrorist groups (KYONG, 2004). During the analysis concerning the features of the manifestation of terrorism in the Asia-Pacific region, the authors used the following research methods: systemic, complex, historical, logical-legal, statistical, etc.

The concept of the Asia-Pacific region

The concept of the Asia-Pacific region first appeared in 1943 in US military documents on the Asia-Pacific front during World War II (1939-1945). Since then, the term “Asia-Pacific” has gradually become widely used in international documents. The dynamic and diverse development of regional economies over the past decades has made the Asia-Pacific region the largest economic centre in the world, the role and position of which is...
constantly growing, with attracting more and more attention from the whole world. The Asia-Pacific region concept is closely related to political instability, which varies widely depending on economic geography, geopolitics and geostrategy, or according to the advantages of states in defining the boundaries of this region. Nowadays, due to different approaches, the concept of the Asia-Pacific region is also understood in different ways. There are broad, narrow and varied concepts. Some Russian scientists adhere to the following concept of the Asia-Pacific region:

- The first concept: The Asia-Pacific region includes the countries and territories of Northeast Asia, Southeast Asia, Central Asia, South Asia, North America and the South Pacific (PETROVSKY, 1998);
- The second concept: The Asia-Pacific region coincides with the northern part of the Pacific Ocean, including such countries and territories: Russia, China, Japan, Korea, North Korea, USA, Canada, Taiwan and Mongolia (PETROVSKY, 1998);
- The third concept: The Asia-Pacific region is the Far East, including the Eastern part of Russia, China, Japan, Korea, North Korea, Taiwan, Mongolia and the Philippines.

The above ideas reflect the point of view of the Asia-Pacific region from the standpoint of Russian scientists, namely, they correspond to the interests of Russia. In world literature, the Asia-Pacific region is usually understood as follows:

- In a broad sense: The Asia-Pacific region includes all countries in Asia, countries and territories in and along the Pacific coast (about 80 countries and territories, with a population of 3.94 billion people, which is 68.4% of the world's population). 44 million km² = 2/5 of the world land.
- In a narrow sense: The Asia-Pacific region includes countries and territories with a dynamically developing economy since the 80s (XXth century) to the present. These are mainly the countries of East Asia (located on the west coast of the Pacific Ocean), namely: Japan, North Korea, China, Southeast Asia, Eastern Europe, Australia and New Zealand.

Thus, there is no single concept of the Asia-Pacific region. We believe that the Asia-Pacific region should be considered in a general sense: it includes all countries and territories on and along the Pacific coast (50 countries and territories with a population of 2.514 billion, 43.8% of the world population). In this sense, the APR is also called the "Pacific Ocean region".

**The Concept of Terrorism**

**Definition of terrorism by the international community**

At the international level, the concept of terrorism was firstly used at an international conference on the unification of criminal law in 1927. At this international conference, countries were informed about the problem of combating international terrorism. In 1934 in Madrid (Spain) an international conference on the unification of criminal law was held, which ended with the definition of terrorism. According to this definition, terrorism is the use of any measures aimed at destroying the entire social structure and against the population.

In 1934, the assassination of the King of Yugoslavia and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of France on French territory caused a wave of protests around the world and, at the suggestion of France, the League of Nations (an international organization that played a similar role to the modern UN) took responsibility concerning combating against terrorism in order to maintain peace and international security. The League of Nations created a special committee to develop a convention on the prevention and punishment of terrorism. This convention was adopted by twenty participant-states in Geneva on 11 November 1937. According to the first article of the convention, terrorism is "criminal acts aimed at frightening states and countries to intimidate certain people or their groups. These actions are acts of encroachment on the life, health, physical freedom of people, individuals with privileges and diplomatic immunity, such as heads of state or their spouses and children; persons performing social duty or public figures, as well as the preparation, storage or supply of weapons, explosives, poisons to carry out the above crimes." However, due to some controversy that arose, the convention did not receive enough ratification required for its implementation (KOVRIK, 1976).

The second unsuccessful attempt to consolidate the definition of "terrorism" at the international level was made at the 1948 Geneva Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. According to this
Convention, terrorism is "any criminal act directed against a state and aimed or intended to cause fear in certain individuals, or a group of individuals, or in the general public" (GENEVA CONVENTION... on December 9, 1948). This definition was severely criticized for inaccuracy and the convention itself was never ratified by the required number of states. Currently, the concept of terrorism is indirectly referred to in the following international treaties:

1. UN Convention of 1999 for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism. According to the second article of the Convention, terrorism is "Any act that is a crime within the framework and defined in a number of agreements listed in the annex to the Convention, or any other act, the intent of which is to kill or cause serious harm to civilians or other people not participating in hostilities in the context of an armed conflict, if due to the nature or situation, the purpose of the action is to intimidate the masses or to compel a government / international organization to carry out or not to carry out any activity" (INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE FINANCING OF TERRORISM - CONCLUDED IN NEW YORK ON 9 DECEMBER, 1999);

2. Shanghai Convention for the Suppression of Terrorism, Separatism and Extremism concluded in Shanghai on 15 June 2001. In the first article of the Convention, the concept of terrorism is defined as "any act recognized as a crime in one of the treaties listed in the Appendix to this Convention, and (as defined in this treaty) any other act aimed at causing the death of a civilian not taking an active part in hostilities in a situation of armed conflict, or causing them serious bodily harm, as well as causing significant damage to any material object, as well as an organization or the planning of such an act, complicity in its commission, or incitement to it, when the purpose of such an act (by its nature or context) is to intimidate the population, violate public safety or force the authorities or an international organization to take any action or refrain from its fulfillment" (SHANGHAI CONVENTION ON THE SUPPRESSION OF TERRORISM, SEPARATISM AND EXTREMISM CONCLUDED IN SHANGHAI ON 15 JUNE, 2001);

3. UN Security Council Declaration on Global Efforts to Combat Terrorism adopted on 12 November 2001 by Resolution 1377 (2001) at the 443th meeting of the UN Security Council. Article 1 of this declaration duplicates the concept of terrorism given in the Shanghai Convention.

At the regional level, one can point out to the convention of the organization of the Islamic Conference on Combating International Terrorism adopted at the Muslim Conference on 1 July 1999. It decides: "Terrorism is an act of violence, the threat of violence by an organization or a private person, for the implementation of a criminal plan for terrorist purposes, the threat of harm to citizens or threat of harm to life, honour, freedom, security and interests of civilians, private or collective property" (CONVENTION OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE ISLAMIC CONFERENCE ON THE FIGHT AGAINST INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM ADOPTED AT THE MUSLIM CONFERENCE ON 1 JULY 1999). The UN is currently considering a draft comprehensive convention on terrorism. Article 2 of this draft defines terrorism as follows: "Any person commits an offense in accordance with the meaning of this Convention if he/she, in any way, unlawfully and willfully causes:

a. Death or grievous bodily harm to any person; or
b. Serious damage to public or private property, including a place of public use, public or government building, public transport system, infrastructure, or the environment; or
c. Damage to property, places, facilities or systems referred to in paragraph 1(b) of this section, which entails or is likely to entail major economic losses when the purpose of such act, by its nature or context, is to intimidate the public, or force a government or an international organization to take any action or refrain from taking any action" (UN General Assembly, Report of the Ad Hoc Committee established by General Assembly resolution 51/212 of 17 December, 1996 at its 6th session (28 J anuary - 1February, 2002), document A / 57/37).

However, a broad definition of terrorism has been criticized for being inaccurate. There is no threat of committing any of the specified crimes in the definition itself. In addition, in the event of armed conflicts, the project does not protect those who lead a legitimate liberation struggle, but at the same time provides legal protection to those who illegally use force (ANDREU-GUZMAN F., 2003). Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation V.I. Trubnikov once noted that:

Indeed, the world community has not yet succeeded in working out a generally acceptable definition of terrorism. The reason is not simply that terrorism as a phenomenon is constantly changing, turning to
new slogans, using ever more sophisticated means and technologies in its practice. There are a number of political, social, psychological, and finally, historical factors that, despite the general understanding of the scale of the threat posed by modern terrorism, still determine significant differences in approaches to the content of this phenomenon (TRUBNIKOV, 2003).

In the scientific environment, the majority of scientists tend to the impossibility and absence of the need to create a text definition (FEDYANIN, 1998; MOISEEV, 2015) based on the study of many factors such as differences in mentality (DREMLIUGA, 2014), issues of politics and emotional coloring of specific events, the influence of foreign and domestic policies of countries, the existence of armed conflicts in different regions (PLOTNIKOV, 2009), analysis of global political change (KUSHNER, 1998), the existence of a large number of different causes, conditions and manifestations of terrorism (LAQUEUR; ALEXANDER, 1987), at least for the time being. We are inclined to believe that terrorism is a global phenomenon; therefore, international cooperation is necessary to combat it. International cooperation in the combating against terrorism begins with the development of a common definition. An objective definition of terrorism is necessary not only for its existence, but also for any serious anti-terrorist effort. Without the concept of terrorism, in fact, it is very difficult to interact in the combatting against terrorism anywhere in the world.

**ETHNIC, RELIGIOUS, SEPARATIST PROBLEMS AND THEIR CAUSES**

Ethnic characteristics of the population in some countries of the Asia-Pacific region

**Ethnic peculiarities in China**

China is a multinational, multi-religious country with many potential conflicts leading to instability in political security. There are ethnic issues (Xinjiang, Tibet, Inner Mongolia) and religious issues such as Tibetan Buddhism, Muslims of East Turkestan, Falun Gong, etc. Since the end of the Cold War, two important developments have been taken place that had made China easy to lose political security in the face of national and religious separatism. First, it is the collapse of the Soviet Union, which led to the formation of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) neighbouring with China. Second, after September 11, 2001, the United States took advantage of the war on terror to deploy military forces to countries bordering China.

The first event awakened separatism among ethnic minorities. The second event helped the United States to gain an advantage in the implementation of “peace events” with China, which also created favourable conditions for China in confronting the problems of ethnic and religious separatism.

China faces major ethnic and religious challenges. Autonomous regions and religious organizations have strong international support; there are strong political parties with a clear separatist movement, and significant military and financial resources. On the other hand, they are supported by nationalities, religious movements from neighbouring countries or from imperialist countries, which have their own political goals against China. Therefore, the issue of ethnicity and religion in China is a big, sensitive and easily exploited problem by international reactionary forces. This is one of the main challenges that China must face in order to maintain the political security of the nation, as well as the entire region for their joint development.

**Ethnic characteristics in the countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)**

All ASEAN countries are multinational. Speaking about the level of ethnic distribution in Southeast Asia, Professor G. Kondominas noted the following: “Ethnic groups in Southeast Asia are distributed in such a way that the structure of ethnic groups here is so complex that a large number of nationalities cannot reflect the ethnic structure even in a narrow valley” (KING, WILDER, 2003). Myanmar is home to over 40 million people, but according to local scholars there are about 70 ethnic groups in the country. Thailand is home to over 60 million people and about 40 different ethnic groups. Everything is much simpler in Cambodia, but dozens of different ethnic groups also live there. Ethnic structure is especially complex in Laos, which is home to about 8 million people, but there are over 820 ethnic groups with their own language, culture and customs. The ethnic picture in Vietnam is also complex: there are over 80 million people living there, while there are 54 ethnic groups. Indonesia has 3,000 (actually 13,667) islands with up to 300 nationalities. There are over 90 ethnic groups in the Philippines. As for Malaysia, the ethnic structure there is also extremely complex: hundreds of indigenous groups are scattered across the islands (THIỆU, 2001).

Each country has a major ethnic group. This is a characteristic feature of ethnic groups in the countries of Southeast Asia. The main ethnic group constitutes the dominant part of the country’s population: for example,
Burmese make up 70% of the population of Myanmar, Thais make up 74% of the population of Thailand. Khmers make up 88.9% of Cambodia's population. Lao people make up 70% of the population of Laos, and the Kinh make up more than 80% of the population of Vietnam. Javanese account for 46.2% of the Indonesian population. The population of Singapore is 78% Chinese. In Malaysia and the Philippines, major ethnic groups also make up a significant proportion of the population in each country (THIẾU, 2001). The main ethnic groups not only constitute most of the population, but also live-in areas with the most favourable conditions for socio-economic development. They played once a key role in shaping the ancient states that is the prototype of today's South-East Asian countries. Today, most leaders, politicians and political system administrators of the countries belong to the major ethnic groups. As a result, strategies, policies and programs for economic, political and social development are usually created and implemented according to the perceptions of the major ethnic group representatives.

However, ethnic groups develop unevenly and thus create inequality among them. While the main ethnic groups live in favorable areas and have a high level of development in all aspects, ethnic minorities live in disadvantaged areas, mainly in mountainous ones, where harsh climatic conditions and limited communication conditions prevail. They live in small communities, are underdeveloped, and are not economically self-sufficient. These ethnic and religious characteristics are potential causes of ethnic, religious and separatist conflicts in the APR countries. These problems seriously threaten the emergence of terrorism in each state and in the whole of the Asia-Pacific region.

ETHNIC SEPARATISM, RELIGIOUS AND INTERETHNIC CONFLICTS AS THE MAIN FEATURES OF THE ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS PICTURE OF THE APR

Separatist forces use a wide variety of extremist methods, such as: conducting military hostilities of religious and ethnic nature, carrying out terrorist acts and pressuring the government apparatus to negotiate, forcing the central government to recognise them and meet their demands (SHIRSHOV et al., 2018). The relationship between ethnic separatism, national and religious conflicts and terrorist activities is very clear in China and several Southeast Asian countries.

China

In China, 3 autonomous regions are strongly influenced by this phenomenon:

1. The Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR) is located along the border with Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Mongolia and Russia;
2. Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region (IMAR) borders on the Mongolian People's Republic;
3. Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) although not bordered by other countries in the region, is largely influenced by the new democratic freedoms that have emerged in Mongolia since the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Tibetan Buddhism, which was reborn in Mongolia, has had a major impact on the secular life and spirit of the Tibetan people. Dozens of demonstrations by students, schoolchildren, small nations, workers, etc. took place in the three Autonomous Regions against the Chinese government policy towards the Autonomous Regions. The seriousness of separatist activities grows when people in autonomous regions coordinate their actions among themselves. A number of political parties have been established to participate in the fight against the masses. The East Turkestan Islamic Party called for a holy war in order to overthrow Chinese rule in Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, 2010).

It is of great concern that these separatist actions have begun to show signs of outside interference and the unification of religious organisations. The event of 11 September 2001 enabled the United States to send troops "legitimately" to Central Asia to fight terrorism. This began to have a major impact on ethnic separatist groups in China. Military separatist actions took place with new content and form. The struggle for human rights (DREMLIUGA, KOROBEEV, FEDOROV, 2017), public disclosure and opposition to the mistreatment of national minorities by the Chinese central government have drawn international attention to their plight. Although the Chinese central government is actively developing the economy of the western part of the country by adjusting its policies in the autonomous regions, separatist activities, ethnic and religion clashes continue to pose a threat to China's political security. The end of the Cold War, the globalisation process and the restructuring of the global...
legal system have created a favourable environment for ethnic, religious and separatist movements of small nations in the countries of South-East Asia.

Indonesia

The beginning of a new period of ethnic conflict in the region was the successful struggle of East Timorese people, including some small islands around (Atauro, Jaco). The area of East Timor is 18,898 km² with a population of approximately 800,000 people. The population structure is not very diverse: the main population are Indonesians, who make up 98.4%; Chinese take 3%; Portuguese - 0.2%; and a mixed population (Arabs, Indians and African Americans) make up 0.3% of the total population.

Religion in East Timor is rather complex. East Timor is one of the three centres of Christianity located in the middle of the Muslim world of Southeast Asia. In addition, East Timor has an important strategic position controlling the waterways from the Pacific to the Indian Ocean, so the West, especially the United States, is very interested in East Timor (THIỂU, 2001; PHAM VĂN LỘI (CHỦ BIÊN) et. al., 2005). In late 1999, the East Timor separatist movement succeeded in making the country the 192nd member of the United Nations and the 11th state in Southeast Asia. Aceh is the richest province in Indonesia (gas alone accounts for 10% of the country’s total income). However, the resources produced by indigenous peoples are cheap and unevenly distributed. For this reason, there was an uprising against the central state demanding a fair distribution of resources.

Between 1998 and 2000, a major religious conflict arose between Muslims and Catholics in Maluku province (now North Maluku). Indonesians are predominantly Muslim and the majority of Maluku residents are Roman Catholics. Despite the efforts of the government and international organizations, the war took the lives of thousands of people, and thousands more had to leave the place. At the present time, the situation is still tense; there is still no effective solution to this situation. The separatist movement in Indonesia is ethnic and growing. According to a 2000 survey, more than half of the 26 provinces intended to secede or were dissatisfied with the central government (PHAM VĂN LỘI (CHỦ BIÊN) et. al., 2005). In the era of the colonial expansion of Christian states in the Philippines, a traditional source of tension and conflict emerged there and has always existed since then, i.e. the Muslim sultanates located in the south of the archipelago. Central and southern Mindanao, the Sulu archipelago, the islands of Palawan, Basilan, Tawi-Tawi inhabited by Islamized peoples (collectively Moro - i.e. the Moors) and retained their independence until the second half of the 19th century (LEVTONOVA, 2011).

Moro Muslims in the Philippines are a religious minority in the Christian state. After the Second World War, the most painful problem in the relationship of Muslims with the central government intensified due to the resettlement of Christian Filipinos from the Central and Northern provinces to the southern territories. By the early 1960s, the number of Christian migrants into south-western Mindanao and the Sulu Islands has doubled. Most of the local conflicts of the 1950s - 1960s are Moro protests the seizure of their land (DIKAREV, 2017). But already at the end of the 1960s, the Muslim movement is transforming into a long-term bloody sectarian conflict inherited by the Philippines in the 21st century. For the first time, extremist leaders came out with separatist slogans. Separatism was largely provoked by the government policy of rigid state unitarianism enshrined in the constitution, adopted back in 1935. In the late 1960s, several separatist organizations emerged in the southern Philippines. The largest of these was the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF). The MNLF program was the separation of the southern regions of the Philippines and the creation of the independent Muslim state of Bangsamoro on their territory (DIKAREV, 2017).

In the 1970s, a more moderate autonomist wing emerged within the MNLF, but at the same time the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) emerged, being a radical organization that launched terrorist attacks against the local Christian population (DIKAREV, 2017). The process of national development of the Philippines is proceeding in such a way that one major titular nation of the most developed Christian peoples is being formed. Small nationalities and tribes inhabiting mountainous areas undergo assimilation and are doomed to stagnation and assimilation or extinction. Therefore, the only serious manifestation of interethnic contradictions in the Philippines takes the form of a confrontation between two confessional groups. The development of market relations in Muslim regions proceeded much more slowly than in the Christian centre, and thus, according to experts, contributed to the growth of Muslim nationalism, and an orientation towards the system of common Islamic values. The centralization of power and the strengthening of the principle of unitarianism opposed (and at the same time objectively contributed) to the separatist movement for an Islamic republic (DIKAREV, 2017).

At the end of the 80s, decisive measures were taken to resolve the Mindanao problems through negotiations with the MNLF. In August 1989, President C. Aquino signed the Restrictive Act for Muslims of Mindanao, which resulted in the creation of the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM). As a result of the referendum, it
included four provinces of Mindanao: Magindanao, South Lanao, Tawi-tawi and Sulu. In late 1996, a peace agreement was signed between the government of the Philippines and the MNLF. The creation of the Southern Philippines Special Peace and Development Zone and its Development Council were announced. In this zone, Islamic legislation and an education system based on Islamic principles were introduced. At the same time, citizens had the right to choose between secular and Islamic schools.

However, MILF opposed the autonomy and continued its armed struggle against government forces. The failed military campaign of then President Joseph Estrada led to a massive guerrilla war and the revitalization of the extremist Abu Sayyaf organization. The situation has more or less changed only in 2001 with the coming to power of Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo. In September 2001, as a result of a referendum, the Act on the Expansion of the Autonomous Territory was ratified. The province of Basilan and the Muslim city of Marawi (South Lanao province) were not included. Negotiations between Manila and MILF were also resumed (DIKAREV, 2017).

In 2012, a framework agreement was signed between the government of the Philippines and the leader of the MILF, setting out how to reach a “final” comprehensive peace agreement (signed on 27 March 2014) (NOTICIAS RCN, MARZO 27 DE 2014). According to the new agreement, after its entry into force, the ARMM will be abolished, and a larger autonomy of Bangsamoro will be created in its place, which, in addition to the five old provinces, will include six settlements of the provinces of North Davao and North Cotabato, as well as the large cities of Isabela and Cotabato located in the south Mindanao. The agreement significantly expanded the powers of the Sharia courts already operating in the ARMM and outlined plans for the construction of new mosques and madrassas. In fact, the Moro will be returned to their historical lands (the so-called hereditary territories), although, there is no question of the forced eviction of Christians, of course: a special commission is being created to resolve interfaith problems. As a result of the work of this commission, recommendations were to be developed, which were supposed to form the basis of a full-fledged agreement planned to be signed no later than in 2016, by the end of the term of President B. Aquino. The agreement also outlined economic concessions to the Muslim population: for the first time in history, it will receive equal profits from the mineral and energy resources mined in Bangsamoro, which previously went entirely to the state budget. This agreement was named historical, not least, because this time the central government made maximum concessions, despite the traditional opposition of the Catholic Church (DIKAREV, 2017; KABEEV, 2014).

In the current context, Moro residents are increasingly advocating the struggle, undermining political and public security in the Philippines. Although the Philippine government has repeatedly negotiated with Abu Sayyaf forces and has strengthened government military and police forces in the region to combat separatism from Islamic groups, the religious nature of the Moro problem in the Philippines remains complex and will continue for years to come.

**Thailand**

The Muslim movement in southern Thailand creates an equally tense atmosphere. The southern provinces of Thailand such as Satun, Songkhla, Yala and Narathiwat are mainly inhabited by Malays and Thais practicing Islam (Thailand Islamic Insurgency). Some of them are immigrants who came from Pakistan and the Persian Gulf countries, and are settled in rural and suburban areas, as well as Muslims who moved from China. The Muslim majority devoutly follows their traditions and the precepts of their religion. In addition, places inhabited by Muslims have a low standard of living, poverty and a significant level of crime. These circumstances served as the main conditions for the formation of organized groups opposing the state policy of Thailand (FILIPPOV, 2019).

New organizations have emerged among the separatist groups in southern Thailand, especially two of them are worth highlighting: the Pattani United Liberation Organization [28] founded in Messa, Saudi Arabia in 1968. Its main goal was to fight for the creation of an independent Muslim state in the south of Thailand; and the Pattani Islamic Mujahidin Group (Pattani United Liberation Organization), an Islamic rebel movement that has spread its influence in southern Thailand. Both organizations are led by young leaders who have trained and fought in Afghanistan and are therefore characterized by violent extremism. They advocate the creation of separatist Islamic states in the region. Their activities have always been directed against Thai government, military and civilian targets, what undermines the country's political security. In addition, ethnic, religious and separatist conflicts are also taking place in Myanmar. The Karen, Shan and Kachin movements have always undermined Burma's political security. In the context of globalization after the end of the Cold War, the problem of separatism, ethnic and religious conflicts in the APR countries is becoming more serious, affecting the political security of individual countries and the entire region.
Ethnic and religious problems, as well as separatism affect the political security of the APR at three levels:

The first level is the impact on the independence of states in the APR.

The origin and the true nature of national and religious issues in China, as well as in the countries of Southeast Asia, are rooted in history. Resistance, ethnic and religious separatist tendencies in these countries have almost the same characteristics: they occur in areas far from the central government; there are such problems as a low level of economic development of society, poverty, unemployment, religious persecution, unfair treatment of citizens. The problem of separatism, ethnicity and religious conflicts has historical causes, and also stems from the consequences of colonial policies, economic development policies, social inequality, as well as the intervention and sabotage of external hostile forces. Extreme nationalist forces claiming to represent their own national interests demand the implementation of national self-determination, thereby creating obstacles to the territorial integrity of the state. The struggle did not lead to any results. Ethnic separatist forces engage in military unrest, violent sabotage, destabilizing society, creating political pressure to achieve claims, demanding negotiation and concessions from the central government.

The successful separatist movement in East Timor (1999) has had a strong impact, encouraging separatist movements in other parts of the region to become more active, threatening the political security and territorial integrity of many other countries. Malaysian Defense Minister Mr. Razak believes that "Indonesia is threatened by territorial tensions, war and division of the country, which is the biggest security problem in Southeast Asia" (GHOSHL, 2003). No neighboring state wants Indonesia to disintegrate, as this could foster ethnic separatist movements in other countries and increase political instability in the region. The prospect of Islamic governments in the Malacca Strait will be a "nightmare" for security planners. Malaysia and the Philippines are concerned that Islamic militants will use the southern islands as a base to create a "safe haven" for terrorist networks in the region.

The second level is the impact on the systems of goals, interests and values of states (the sovereignty of nationalities) in the region.

The fluctuations in the world community after the end of the Cold War had a strong impact on ethnic separatism, thereby increasing the ethnic and religious contradictions inherent in the APR and Southeast Asia, which in turn became fertile ground for the emergence and development of terrorism. National separatist groups related with international terrorist organizations complicate the resolution of ethnic and religious conflicts. Moreover, some ethnic, religious, and separatist groups in the region, as a rule, become organized criminal groups that engage in terrorist activities, hostage-taking, money laundering, and the sale of weapons and drugs. In recent years, it has been seen that many separatist organizations in the region are gradually moving away from political goals and switching to criminal activities, with their own selfish goals. Arms sales across national borders also generate enormous profits for these groups. In addition, crimes such as money laundering, drug trafficking, piracy are rapidly developing with the participation of a number of radical military organizations, which is one of the most serious threats to the political security of several countries, as well as the entire region.

The third level is the impact on the general cooperation of the region.

Southeast Asia has an important geostrategic location. Coherence among ASEAN countries is the core that further enhances the stability of the APR by integrating small states into the organization, which balances them with the major regional powers. ASEAN and the security mechanism established by the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) are the foundation for the unity and preservation of security in the region. The ASEAN countries are trying to do everything to narrow the gap between the participating countries by creating conditions for closer cooperation between the members of the Association.

However, ASEAN's efforts face formidable challenges. Increasingly, ethnic, religious and separatist conflicts in some communities are undermining the overall security environment in the region, leaving investors and businesspeople feeling insecure, which makes ASEAN less attractive as a dynamic, unified economic sector that maintains a dominant role in regional cooperation. This may be due to the fact that in ASEAN there is still a large difference in the level of economic development and competitiveness, weak cooperation and decentralization, legal differences, different national interests, along with the escalation of unrest due to religious, separatist and
ethnic conflicts, terrorism, depletion of natural resources, natural disasters and increased risk of disease.

**Review of the problem of terrorism in some countries of the region**

After September 11, ASEAN countries and the United States confirmed that there are transnational Islamic terrorist networks in Southeast Asia having links to Al-Qaeda (an organization recognized as terrorist under Russian law) but not dependent on it. The US National Counter Terrorism Centre currently maintains information on 786 terrorist organizations, including 36 organizations operating in Southeast Asia and Oceania. Organizations such as Abu Sayyaf, Alex Bonkayo Brigade (BAB), Local People's Army, J emaa Islamiyya (Islamic Society (JI)), Kumpulan Mujahid Malaysia (KMM, or Malaysian Mujahideen Movement), Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MLF), Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), and the New People's Army (NPA), etc. could be noted. Among these terrorist organizations, the most prominent groups are Abu Sayyaf, JI and NPA.

**Philippines**

In the late 1960s, separatist slogans became very popular among the Muslim masses in the south of the Philippines. This was due to, first of all, the deterioration of the life of the Muslim inhabitants of the Philippines caused by the migration of Christians. The development of market relations in Muslim regions proceeded much more slowly than in the Christian centre, and thus, according to experts, contributed to the growth of Muslim nationalism, an orientation towards the system of common Islamic values. The centralization of power and the strengthening of the principle of unitarianism opposed (and at the same time objectively contributed) to the separatist movement for an Islamic republic (DIKAREV, 2017).

The Philippines has the largest number of terrorist groups in Southeast Asia, with about 10 well-known organizations based there, primarily Abu Sayyaf and J emaa Islamiyya.

J emaa Islamiyya has been responsible for a series of attacks in Southeast Asia since 1999, including the Bali bombing in 2002. Its current goal is to eliminate all states in Southeast Asia and create a unified state based on Sharia law, which would cover the entire territory of the region (Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Brunei, Philippines).

Armed Islamic groups in Southeast Asia associated with separatist organizations and led by J emaa Islamiyya are often based on both sides of national borders crossing from one country to another. International Anti-Terrorism Conference officials and experts said that although J emaa Islamiyya has weakened markedly, the organization is still very dangerous, and now J emaa Islamiyya is very different from the time it was the organizer of the terrorist attacks in Bali in 2002 and in Jakarta.

The Abu Sayyaf group was founded and led by Abdurajak Ajalani (killed in a clash with the Philippine police in December 1998), who fought together with bin Laden in Afghanistan, then worked closely with Yamal Khalifa, a former adviser to bin Laden. The organization began its activities in the early 1990s through conventional terrorist operations in the province of Mindanao in the southern Philippines. During the first five months of 2005, there were at least 25 attacks against citizens and government organizations in the Philippines, with participants suspected of being linked to terrorist forces. The organization is currently headed by Yasir Igsasan.

**Indonesia and Malaysia**

In Malaysia and Indonesia, the situation is more complicated, because there moderate Islamic circles, quite agreeing with secular rule, are a serious counterweight to Islamic radicals and their demands for the creation of a state based on Sharia law. So far, the moderates manage to keep the situation under their control, but they are under permanent pressure from radicals who use every opportunity to promote their plans (SAFIN, 2008).

The terrorist group J emaa Islamiyya is still operating in their territories. Its program, which was published in the book "The Strategic Line of Struggle of J emaa Islamiyya" in 1996, states that its main goal was the creation of a Sharia state in Indonesia followed by the creation of a "new Asian caliphate."

In early 2002 in Indonesia, a terrorist training camp was found in forests near the port of Poso. This (closed) training camp was run by al-Qaeda members and was home to hundreds of militants from Europe, Pakistan and the Middle East. Other Indonesian armed groups, such as Laskar J ihad and Laskar Mujahid, have also been found to have links with Al-Qaeda. Both organizations are accused of committing the massacres of Christian residents in the Moluccas.

In Malaysia, more than half of all citizens are Muslim; there are more than 16 million people of them. At the same time, a large number of nationalities live in this state; they differ greatly culturally and religiously from each other.
60s and 70s of XX century characterized by numerous interethnic clashes here. The largest happened on 1 July, 1964 in Singapore between the Chinese and the Malays, after which Singapore seceded from Malaysia in 1965 (KOROBEEV, DREMLIUGA, 2014).

**Thailand**

In Thailand, terrorist activities have recently increased in the southern provinces with large Muslim population. While these actions are mainly related to internal reasons, it is clear that the Patani United Liberation Organization (PULO) and the National Revolutionary Front of Thailand have a number of radical elements with traditional al-Qaeda jihadist ideology. The turmoil in southern Thailand provided opportunities for regional and inter-regional terrorist groups to strengthen ties with terrorists in Thailand. Assessment of the social composition of terrorist groups, in particular Jamaa Islamiyya, as the most widespread in Southeast Asia, showed the following:

1. The majority of their members come from the poor and poorest families. However, if not to a greater extent, the number of terrorists equally includes people who have received a certain education, mainly secondary;
2. Many experts on terrorist organizations in Southeast Asia note that terrorist groups do not pay enough attention to the role of women in their composition. In many cases, senior leaders of Jamaa Islamiyya forge ties by establishing family relationships, using sisters and other female relatives;
3. Involvement of criminals in terrorist actions, who are mainly engaged in robberies, banditry, kidnapping, murders, etc.;
4. The use of radical Islamist paramilitary groups in their activities (for example, the military group "Jihad Army" in Indonesia) (SAFIN, 2008).

It should be noted that the leadership of Jamaa Islamiyya did not manage to find the necessary support at the elections among the poor. They lack a serious social base and, accordingly, no success in the electorate. At the same time, the low level of social support does not reduce the activity of extremists. They are trying to have an effect on ordinary Muslims by extending their influence to nationalist and independent Muslim organizations of a radical persuasion, which operate independently (SAFIN, 2008).

The countries of the region are well aware of the global terrorist threat and the need to unite the efforts of the international community in the fight against terrorism. The fight against terrorism is associated with ethnic, religious, political problems. Therefore, on the one hand, the countries of Southeast Asia support international anti-terrorist organizations and strengthen cooperation to maintain peace and stability in the region, but, on the other hand, these countries also focus on the fact that they are self-reliant and resist too much rapprochement with other countries. From this position, the states of Southeast Asia unanimously condemn terrorist crimes, supporting the fight against terrorism, and improving and strengthening relations with many countries.

**CONCLUSIONS**

First, the issues of nationality and religion are closely related, while religion is always a part of a national problem. From ancient times to the present day, religion has never been separated from the national issue, did not exist independently; it is part of an ethnic group and inevitably reflects its national character, few religions accept the unique role for a certain people. Religion is a very important part of the national culture, and at the same time serves as the moral support of the nation; it cannot be ignored, since it inherently represents the way of life and kinship of the people. It covers political, social and moral activities, as well as literature and art, etc. So, the closer religion is to secular life, the more difficult it is for us to think about solving religious issues. Religion and ethnos are closely linked; the solution to the ethnic problem is the solution to the problem of religion, i.e. it is a very long and difficult work.

Second, after the end of the Cold War, problems of ethnicity, religion and separatism reappeared. After the Cold War, the process of globalization in terms of social and political institutions only contributed to the strengthening of the power of national unions and international organizations, not taking into account the system of power of individual states. This led to a weakening of the system of power in individual countries. In turn, at a lower level, national minorities have attracted the attention of the international community. This process is equal to pushing small communities to fight for their rights or, at a higher level of dissociation, to create their own states. This means that the restructuring of power institutions on a global scale, as well as the expansion of international socio-political democratic life is one of the main reasons that led to ethnic and religious conflicts around the
The contradictions between ethnic groups on the territory of a state are typical and widespread in China, in the countries of Southeast Asia, and in the APR region as a whole. These contradictions are still under the control of legitimate governments, but now there is no clear external interference in these conflicts, so they are easily resolved. However, there is a new type of national conflict in the APR, i.e. multinational separatism. A lot of nationalities live scattered in different countries due to the feeling of radicalism, which has generated a wave of transnational separatism creating a factor of instability in the region. Radicalism in the self-awareness of the people and the trend of international detente led to the emergence of multinational separatism, and the democratization of the political system created a situation of national separatism within a developed country. Moreover, some great powers practice despotism, using all sorts of violent measures to interfere in the national and religious issues of sovereign states. They incite and support national separatism, organize internal conflicts, even use military intervention and peaceful intervention, seriously affecting the political security of countries and the entire region.

The settlement of ethnic and religious problems to ensure the political security of the countries of South-East Asia in particular and the APR in general is a long-term overarching problem that must be combined with the eradication of poverty, reduction of the development gap between countries, the implementation of democratic and social justice in relation to national minorities, as well as all citizens in the APR countries.

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Department of Criminal Law and Criminology, Far Eastern Federal University (FEFU), Correspondence: 690922, Russia, Primorsky Territory, isl. Russky, FEFU’s campus, D corp., lev. 3, D341. E-mail: kniazeva.ea@dvfu.ru. ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4444-0545.

iiDepartment of Criminal Law and Criminology, Far Eastern Federal University (FEFU), Correspondence: 690922, Russia, Primorsky Territory, isl. Russky, FEFU’s campus, D corp., lev. 3, D341. E-mail: kniazeva.na@dvfu.ru. ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3584-1134.

iiiDepartment of Criminal Law and Criminology, Far Eastern Federal University (FEFU), Correspondence: 690922, Russia, Primorsky Territory, isl. Russky, FEFU’s campus, D corp., lev. 3, D341. E-mail: shirshov.aa@dvfu.ru. ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4540-1230.

ivFaculty of Law, Vietnam Youth Academy, Correspondence: 11512, Vietnam, Hanoi City, Lang Thuong Ward, Dong Da District, No. 3 Chua Lang Street. E-mail: hungnguen.vh@gmail.com. ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9353-1764.

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