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## THE DECLINE OF LIBERAL POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY AS ONE OF THE REASONS OF CRISIS OF MIGRATION AND MULTICULTURALISM IN THE WESTERN SOCIETY

**Abstract.** In recent years, a number of scientific and political circles have formed the view that liberalism, which proclaimed itself as a doctrine that stands in opposition to conservatism, is failing and has no prospects.

As a basis for this approach, the failure of the liberal world order of the end of the 20th and early 21st centuries is shown. As is known, liberalism, like political philosophy and ideology, especially after the collapse of the bipolar world, was accepted as the only acceptable true model. Its manifestations can be observed in the way in which the great powers do not observe the generally accepted international law, increasingly try to impose their ambitions on the policy of hegemony. It is believed that further weakening of the role of the US and Europe in world politics, deepening the migration crisis means the departure of liberal values to the background. Some observers identify this trend as well as the collapse of liberal political philosophy as a whole.

The topic of the article is devoted to the processes of the decline of liberal political philosophy in the aspect of the migration crisis and the rejection of the policy of multiculturalism in Western society.

At present, the phenomenon of migration is the main factor of geopolitical changes in the system of international relations. One of the negative consequences and manifestations of the global migration crisis was the collapse of the policy of multiculturalism in some Western countries.

Last years, the political elite of Western countries have called into question the adequacy of the model of the neo-liberal world order, implemented in recent decades. Some researchers note that liberal philosophy is not an exclusive paradigm. On the other hand, it is emphasized that, on the contrary, the liberal world order is weakening under the pressure of extreme right ideologies.

The situation is aggravated by the fact that at present a system alternative to the liberal world order has not yet been formed. In addition, there are differences between the liberal theories of the twentieth century and the global liberal order.

The article argues that an updated migration policy and a rethinking of liberal political philosophy can become an important factor in the stability of a multicultural society and one of the ways out of the present state of deep crisis in Western countries.

**Key words:** liberalism, political philosophy, decline, migration crisis, the collapse of multiculturalism, Western society

### *Introduction*

In each phase of historical development some issues come out that fill critical roles in shaping of global order and define nature of international relations. In the second decade of XXI century such a major problem was migration processes characterizing the system of international relations system. Currently humanitarian crisis related evidences arrive where migrant catastrophes occur of, thus shedding light on as major news through mass media tools. Refugee migrants, children and women who were forcibly

displaced of their motherlands perish in the Mediterranean Sea on the way to Europe they set out for stable and peaceful life.

For all phases in a globalised world of economic relations and information expansion human movement reasons, fault-finding and conversion of migrant crisis into humanitarian disaster have smashed the up-to-now perceptible bridges in the inter-civilizational dialogue and shaped chasm instead. While migration crisis had already dashed entire hopes to shaping of novel order based on multipolarization as of cold war, double standard position of the global political elite converted its prospects into ambiguity as well.

Fallout of existing international law and conversion of double standard application into norm further deepens the case. Thus the second decade of XXI century is up to end and nowadays, one of the most challenging and greatest following transformation is befalling in respect to scale and time through the history.

"The boat has become a symbol of the crisis in the Mediterranean: a creaky fishing boat, crowded with refugees seeking a better life on a new shore. It's a powerful symbol, a marker for the thousands of men, women, and children who have died in recent years taking that risk. More than 5,000 people died trying to cross the Mediterranean last year, the deadliest on record. They came from the shelled neighborhoods of Syria, the desperate villages of Eritrea and Gambia. Somalia lost so many people to the sea that a warning . It's only one part of a crisis that now stretches across the Sahara Desert, through the lawless towns of North Africa, deep into organized crime rings in Europe. Border patrols can't stop it. The problems facing the region, reach far deeper than Western governments have been willing to acknowledge. The grinding poverty of West Africa, the unrest of North Africa, and the terrorist threat of ISIS can no longer be treated as unrelated challenges. Those problems now all seem "to literally spill into the Mediterranean Sea, threatening the security and stability of the two continents that share its shores. The future of Europe has become inextricably linked by sea to the future of the Middle East and North Africa." [Migrant Crisis in the Mediterranean. 2017]

Creation and development chronicle of humankind is-as well as history of migration flow through continent, country by country. The influx of migrants has happened in every period of history, creation and development of not only different countries, ("as immigrant countries" due to migration processes in USA, Australia, New Zealand and Canada), but also of whole continents (the Northern America in the case of USA and Canada), has shown up by virtue of migration phenomenon. Migration influx that had begun in the ancient times and lasted through the Great Age of Explorations, "The Migration Period", the decline of the Roman Empire and foundation of 5 states (France, Bulgaria, Hungary etc.) was accepted as objective natural historical process.

As a consequence of migration crisis, transformation of the geopolitical relations system emerges as a symbolic markers and focal point in of XXI centuries which the globe advanced to novel historical stage unambiguously.

In one side shaping of the later stage for historical international relations and new novel global order stipulated reasons such as the Great Geographical Discoveries, natural disasters, fundamental scientific discoveries. On the flip side as of new erathis process designated great and bloody wars for intergovernmental relations in the global arena, fall of one state and coalitions in the fighting, triumph of others. Then configuration

of powers has changed in the international arena. Thus as arbiter in shaping new international relations system, triumphants dictated their 'principles defined global game rules' both in geopolitical and interstate bonds.

Foreign officials' heat discussion are on the global political agenda for assuaging migrant flow, how to prevent it, where to place them and distribute. The question "Migrants must come or not?" converted into the factor evoking dissimulation in the internal policy, secession in the society and triggering political campaign, phobias in every kind, intolerance. Increase of radicalism and popularization against unprecedented migrant flow conditioned the decline of the liberal having been considered as ideal values until recently.

Currently socio-economic and political changes in the globe, migration crisis as a result of confrontation between geopolitical power centers humanitarian disaster and refugee flow in millions reached initial record rate as of II World War, these are on the forefront as the most austere issue.

Nowadays one out of 7 in population is a migrant. The overall number of international migrants has increased in the last few years from the estimated 152 million in 1990 to 173 million in 2000 and to 258 million in the present. The number of persons migrated to foreign countries surged by 49% (85 million) in the last 17 years (2000–2017). The migrants would constitute the fifth most populous country in the world. If international migrants lived in one state, they would constitute the fifth most populous country in the world, after China, India, the United States and Indonesia. One out of 29 persons in the world is currently a migrant who lives abroad; in 1990, one out of every 35 persons was considered a migrant. The percentage of migrants in the global population increased from 2.9% in 1990 to 3.4% in 2017. The percentage of migrants in each country varies considerably. The countries with the highest percentage are the United Arab Emirates (88.4%), Kuwait (75.5%), Qatar (65.2%), Liechtenstein (65%), Monaco (54.9%), Bahrain (46%) and Luxembourg (45.3%). [Migration in the world; 2017.]

The Mediterranean Sea standing in the scope of analysis for migration crisis is adequate and proper, adopted political decisions are in conflict with it. Thus according to researchers new migration policy is non-alternative component to respond towards challenges about migration and solve the problems.

The hardship of modern migration process in the level of crisis is tied with its historical roots and sources indirectly that bear double nature. In order to understand the causes of migration crisis historical roots of the problem should be taken into consideration. Some of historical parallels, role of so called "Colonial Legacy", should be conducted. Wiener Martin J. 2013 .Only in this case it can be feasible to find out causes problems transforming from crisis to chaos, real causes turning ever-lasting migration flow into disaster.

"It is crucial to study migration history. This was framed parallel to colonialism, its fluxion and remainder. Policy of leading countries conducted modern migration. Migration policy was used to strengthen and facilitate colonialism in the initial phase, dispose sovereign countries in the second phase. Migration policy served to interests of colonial states in both stages. Now the third stage is coming. Currently this stage is considered as hazard for these states. In this stage migrants are called illegal aliens." [Mammadov N.2016].

As a descriptive term, "multiculturalism refers to cultural diversity where two or more groups with distinctive beliefs/cultures co-exist in a society. It can also refer to

government policy as a formal recognition of the cultural distinctiveness of particular groups. Interestingly, in some States where multiculturalism had been part of society for a long time, there is now a tendency to retreat from multiculturalism. This has been observed over the past years in some European countries, where nationalism and xenophobia have increased". [T.Allahyarova, N.Schouwey and S.Zurich.2015. p.9]

The transformation of multi-ethnic, demographically multicultural societies has created a major challenge for policy makers seeking to manage ethnic diversity without exacerbating violence and conflict.

Diversity, it may be argued, is one of the most important elements for States and their communities. States must be able to protect and develop this diversity. Today, in many countries democracy is based on unity and diversity. However, today an increasing number of supporters of a newly formed conception of "crisis of multiculturalism" are questioning this formula.

Some may argue that multiculturalism is more common in advanced democratic countries. At the same time, the declarations of some European political leaders about this issue show the views on the prospects of multiculturalism are diametrically opposed. Some believe that multiculturalism is a fundamental condition for the coexistence of cultures. Others argue that the idea of multiculturalism in principle carries with it a risk of a loss of cultural identity, while a third group believes that multiculturalism in modern conditions is a new type of modernised discrimination in the process of globalisation.

Others attempt to show how the integration of other religions into liberal Western societies does not give rise to a conflict between liberal values and other values, but rather a conflict within and between liberal values themselves. [Tariq Modood.2009].

### ***The existing crisis situation as an expression of degradation of liberal political philosophy***

Currently, the deep crisis of Western countries' migration policy has become the main of subject of scientific and political debates about liberalism.

It's true, that these discussions began at the end of the twentieth century. Immanuel Wallerstein, a distinguished historian and sociologist who teaches in Paris and New York calls for the rejection of liberalism, which he sees as a failed centrist tactic. He argues, that, rational reform on the basis of liberal assumptions of continued economic growth is no longer sustainable, some illusions having collapsed with the Berlin Wall. Collection of his articles between 1991 and 1995 details his ideas for a radically decentralized and democratized approach to replace liberalism. [Immanuel Wallerstein.1995 p.3.].

Recently, prominence of political factors among the reasons originating migration flow and its painful consequences has become an essential concerning point. Intensification of people not because of traditional objective and economic reasons of international migration, but because of political-ideological, cultural-moral, religious and geopolitical factors act as a turning point of transformation of modern international relations system and interstate conflicts. The reality is that currently, "integration and disintegration processes happening in world arena correspond to the interests of different political subjects and effects formation of geo-political balance and national security system by applying changes to the definition of political course." [Самойлов В.Д. 2015. с.164].

"We have trapped migrants between a foreign that drives them from home and a domestic policy that drives them back. A humane deal concerning the fate of the dreamers "who believe America dream" although unlikely, would be welcome. But the fundamental conflicts that poison our politics over this issue will remain. If we are ever finally going to resolve how we deal with them here we need to change what we are doing to them there".

These opinions were expressed by the founder and researcher of USA "Economic Policy Institute", Jeff Faux in his article called *"How US foreign policy helped create the immigration crisis"*. [2017]. He consider that the actions taken under the slogans such as neoliberal contradictions, ulterior support of oligarchs and fight against drugs impoverished millions and destabilized Latin America.

In recent years, the extreme right-wing parties in a lot of European countries who are in favour of the sharp reduction of the number of migrants have managed to achieve significant successes under the leadership of populist politicians. The extreme right ideology is essentially a mix of anti-immigrant ethnic nationalism and populism oriented against the dominating elites. Although the extreme right populist parties have different political strategies and platforms, they have some common points. So that, these parties definitely object to the migration flow and try to restrict this flow by every mean. Toughening of migration legislation and application of quotas on migrants are the priority issues for these parties. They think that mass migrant flow, especially flow of Muslim refugees from Middle East to the Europe is a serious obstacle to the stability and security of national governments, as well to the well-being of local population. The radical Islamic threat and the negative socio-economic impacts of mass migration from Muslim countries are an integral part of the political rhetoric of these parties.

One of the essential reasons of emerged migration crisis is the problem on integration of them in welcoming countries, impatience and refusal from the traditional rules of communal life. Recently, this sensitive issue has become atool of manipulation in different countries in accordance with political and geopolitical interests. Starting from migrant phobia, its results appear in the form of islamophobia, neo-nationalism and xenophobia.

Migration crisis has become driving force of political-ideological and social transformations in Western-European countries. It is phase of radical changes in migration policy of European countries. Problems emerging in socio-cultural adaptation of migrants to the society have reached to the level of contradiction and counteraction. Failure of migration policy available up to now - i. e, failure of assimilation, isolation, integration, multicultural and other models has been announced by the political leaders of Western countries.

As the well-known researcher of multiculturalism, professor Ilham Mammedzadeh writes: "We live in a changing world, where chaotic elements grow, where hierarchies of norms and prohibitions are eroding, which opens new opportunities, of course, but also creates threats to cultural regions, communities and individuals. In conditions when military conflicts are mounting and waves of migration are rolling around the world, it may seem strange that one must turn to the philosophy of multiculturalism, the education of tolerance, dialogue and enlightenment. It is clear that where wars are already going on, and people are leaving their centers, becoming refugees, this idea is not relevant now. But for the regions where these migration flows are directed, the ideas of multiculturalism are important." [Мамедзаде И. Р. 2016].

In recent years, escalation of extreme radical ideologies, neo-fascism, new racism, populist nationalism, and coming to power of parties with these slogans is the indicator of deep crisis of liberal philosophy.

All these facts makes an impression that the liberal political values demonstrated by the Western countries to the world as an example, and challenges on human rights have turned to "empty slogans". "What about the rights of refugees drowned while trying to cross the Mediterranean Sea, or suffering in "penitentiary camps"? Why the EU officials are less interested in the rights of these refugees, while they are ready to write long reports each month on human rights in other countries? Maybe it would be more logical to start from the settlement of problems pushed by them?!" [Mauro F. Gullien.2017].

### ***Conclusion***

It becomes clear that the gap between the liberal political philosophy and reality at the level of global management is crushing. Another important issue is that as one of the most common problems it is pointed out that "liberal world order is under pressure and strike". Fukuyama who wrote about the end of history writes now about the end of liberalism. [F.Fukuyama]. 2015 .In the current state of liberalism and neo-liberal global governance paradigm to seek guilty only outside would be an unserious approach. What is happening in reality? Is the liberal discipline under the strike or it puts the world at stake by claiming wrong global political strategy?

Crisis and chaos, pass from abyss are the factors that push people to mobilize and think again. In this regard, it is necessary the international community to seek common solutions more resolutely in order to pass the strategic drift phase emerged in in global governance. The great artist Vincent van Gogh said: "Do not become the slave of your model."

Liberal political ideology claimed to be the sole true model especially after the collapse of bipolar world. But nowadays, political elite of Western countries has brought into question the defects of model of neoliberal world discipline realized during last decades.

Reach of current migration crisis to the level of humanitarian disaster requires the world community to take radical, flexible, and strategic decisions. For this end, a common policy determining the way out of the crisis should be implemented. The challenges before the national states and global society require implementation of flexible and scientifically justified policy oriented to address global migration and multiculturalism crisis.

Finally, note that, in today's interconnected and interdependent world, the interaction of culture and society and the interaction of different cultures play a crucial role. Culture, eventually forming a single socio-cultural body of modern society, is part of the process of integration. Despite the complexity of the issue, policy of multiculturalism founded on the respect of individual human rights and acivic definition of citizenship, rather than on ethnic and cultural communitarianism. With regards to the idea of a perceived collapse of multiculturalism, it should be noted that such crises often appear in societies; growth and decline cannot be perpetual and thus are characteristic in transitional processes. One can only hope that such crises eventually lead to new forms of coexistence.

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## **Падение политической философии как одна из причин кризиса миграции и мультикультурализма в западном обществе**

**Аннотация.** В последние годы в ряде научных и политических кругов сложилось мнение о том, что либерализм, провозгласившего себя учением, стоящим в оппозиции к консерватизму терпит крах и у него нет перспективы. В качестве основы для такого подхода показывают провал либерального мирового порядка конца XX начала XXI веков. Как известно, либерализм, как политическая философия и идеология особенно после крушения биполярного мира был принят как единственно приемлемый истинный модель. Его проявления можно наблюдать в том, как великие державы не соблюдают общепринятое международное право, все более пытаются навязать свои амбиции с позиции политики гегемонии. Считается, что дальнейшее ослабление роли США и Европы в мировой политике, углубление кризиса миграции означает отход либеральных ценностей на задний план. Некоторые наблюдатели отождествляют эту тенденцию также, как крах либеральной политической философии в целом.

Тема статьи посвящена процессам упадка либеральной политической философии в аспекте миграционного кризиса и отказа от политики мультикультурализма на западном обществе.

В настоящее время явление миграции выступает в качестве основного фактора геополитических изменений в системе международных отношений. Одним из негативных последствий и проявлений глобального миграционного кризиса и стал крах политики мультикультурализма в некоторых западных странах.

В последние годы политическая элита западных стран поставила под вопрос адекватность модели неолиберального миропорядка, реализованной в последние десятилетия. Некоторые исследователи отмечают, что либеральная философия является не исключительной парадигмой. С другой стороны, подчеркивается, что наоборот, либеральный мировой порядок ослабевает под давлением крайне правых идеологий. Ситуация усугубляется тем, что в настоящее время еще не сформировалась система, альтернативная либеральному мировому порядку. Кроме того, существуют различия между либеральными теориями XX века и глобальным либеральным порядком.

В статье утверждается, что обновленная миграционная политика и переосмысление либеральной политической философии могут стать важным фактором стабильности многокультурного общества и одним из путей выхода от существующего состояния глубокого кризиса в западных странах.

**Ключевые слова:** либерализм, политическая философия, упадок, миграционный кризис, крах мультикультурализма, западное общество

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## **Либерал сиёсий фалсафасинингсусайиши гарб жамияти миграцияси ва мультикультурализмнинг сабабларидан бири сифатида**

**Аннотация.** Кейинги йилларда илмий сиёсий давраларда консерватизмга оппозицияда турган либерализм инқирозга учради ва унинг истиқболи йўқ деган фикр шаклланди. Бунинг исботини XX аср охири ва XXI аср бошларидаги дунёнинг либерал тартибининг инқирозида кўришимиз

мумкин. Маълумки, либерализм биполяр дунёнинг инқирозидан сўнг сиёсий фалсафа ва мафкура сифатида ягона ҳақиқий модель сифатида тан олинди. Унинг намоён бўлишини буюк давлатларнинг умумқабул қилинган халқаро ҳуқуқ нормаларига риоя қилмасликда, ўзларининг сиёсий гегемонликка мойиллигида кузатишимиз мумкин. Келгусида АҚШ ва Европанинг дунё сиёсатидаги мавқенинг пасайиши, миграция инқирозининг чуқурлашуви либерал қадриятларнинг иккинчи даражали бўлганлигидан далолатдир. Баъзи кузатувчилар бу тенденцияни умумий сиёсий фалсафанинг инқирози сифатида ҳам талқин қилади.

Мақоланинг мавзуси миграция инқирози жиҳатидан либерал сиёсий фалсафанинг пасайиши ва ғарб жамиятида мультимаданият сиёсатидан воз кечиш жараёнининг таҳлилига бағишланади.

Ҳозирги даврда миграция ҳодисаси халқаро муносабатлар тизимида геосиёсий ўзгаришларнинг асосий омили сифатида намоён бўлади. Глобал миграция инқирозининг салбий оқибати баъзи ғарб мамлакатларида мультимаданият сиёсатининг инқирозида намоён бўлди.

Сўнгги йилларда ғарб мамлакатлари сиёсий элитаси кейинги ўн йиллар давомида нолиберал дунёвий тартиб моделининг адекватлиги масаласини кўйди. Баъзи тадқиқотчилар либерал фалсафа ягона парадигма эмас деб таъкидламоқда. Бошқа томондан, либерал дунёвий тартиб кескин ўнг мафкуралар таъсирида кучсизланмоқда деган фикр ҳам илгари сурилмоқда. Вазият ҳозирги даврда либерал дунёвий тартибга муқобил тизим шаклланмаганлиги ҳисобига янада чуқурлашмоқда. Ундан ташқари, XX асрнинг либерал назариялари билан глобал либерал тартиб ўртасида фарқ бор. Мақолада янгиланган миграция сиёсати ва қайта анланган либерал сиёсат фалсафаси кўпмаданиятли жамият барқарорлигининг ва бу ғарб жамиятларидаги чуқур инқироздан чиқиш муҳим омили бўлиши мумкинлиги таъкидланади.

**Таянч сўзлар:** либерализм, сиёсий фалсафа, пасайиш, миграция инқирози, мультимаданият инқирози, ғарб жамияти, консерватизм

