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Mrs. Moderator, Representatives of the Diplomatic Corpus, Dear Colleagues,

As an academician I am strongly concerned with issues relating to the problematics of the civil societies evolution in the frame of statehood crisis occurring for the last thirty maybe forty years. As cooperation at the international level increases dynamically, the role of states and their impact on their own populations diminishes, there is no doubt nowadays. The decrease of sovereignty and resulting from this governing capacities of states cause a sense of worthlessness of national institutions and their incapacity of ruling. This process is strengthened with mismatches in the legal framework of public institutions activity. The result of that phenomenon is the crisis of the civil society in most of the Central and Eastern European countries. The reasons of the forementioned problems are of course much more complex and diverse and I have no possibility to develop them in this statement, but I would like to stress on national and ethnic minorities functioning in the region.

The civil society crisis generates thus non-participation in the political life of the country, mistrust towards political institutions of the country, finally a crisis in the national values and identity. What is then the place and role of national and ethnic minorities in such society? What kind of rights can they enjoy and what obligations to the state shall they fulfill? The answer to this question is vital to understand the difficulties that states encounter to manage minorities within their competencies on the one hand and steps that minorities take to fight for their civil rights on the other hand.

This problem is strictly related to matters of the national security, especially the social security. It encompasses a varied range of political, economic and social issues that states have to deal with. The core problem for the national security is to keep the unity, continuity, integrity and public order within the national society. Minorities often feel omitted in this process judging their particular interests unfulfilled and not even taken into account in the national policy. That is partly true. As we heard representatives of the Turkish minority in Germany, we could also hear the same claims from Poles living in Ireland, Netherlands and the UK. Not only do they not participate in the local political life but they are often persecuted by citizens of the localities they live in.

The crisis of the national security is not necessarily generated by national and ethnic minorities as it is stipulated in a number of academic papers; it is more the case of the permanent changes in the global strategic security environment encompassing such problems as worldwide armed conflicts on ethnic basis, economic crisis, international migration and its impact on national societies, but

also political impact of the greatest world economies. The significance of such conflicts provides to misunderstanding in the notion of national and ethnic minorities within the national society and provokes antagonisms, hate and aggressive nationalism or even intolerance and racism.

The point is to understand that politics are made with the participation of all stakeholders, minorities as well. Transferring all the blame about the political discrimination of minorities on states would be exaggerated and false. As the states duties are to protect the security of the majority and keep the *raison d'etat*, a consensus between the majority and minority question is simply difficult to achieve.

Further more, little voices during this meeting raised the problematics of violence between the minorities within states, as in France, UK for example. These exactions of criminal origin are not only the expression of powerlessness, helplessness, lack of prospects in the development of individuals but also of the antagonisms between minorities that can constitute threats difficult to measure and to manage for the authorities. In such circumstances, these will tend to restraint minority rights to ensure the security of the nation.

On the other hand there is a substantial problem of stigmatization of minorities, poorly stressed in this meeting. Stigmatization concerning violence, criminal acts generating, dumping in wages of migrant and minorities labour force are the most common ones. Rejection of minorities by the national majority and migrant population is also one of the most delicate problems in social management in the internal policy.

We have also heard statements about local participation of minorities in democratic regimes. For instance how much this participation can constitute a threat to the national security? What are the arguments in favour of the non-extension of political rights to minorities? To answer this question it is vital to considerate two issues. Firstly, how much impact on national security policy the local authorities have and how much participation of the minorities would disturb the balance between the *raison d'etat* and minorities interests. Secondly, what the linkages between the central government and the local authorities are and how much their participation to the central rule would change the national interests.

Obviously when minorities constitute only a small percentage of the national society, the problem is minimal, however the more their part grows, the problem tends to be more complex and difficult to solve. Unfortunately there haven't been made any studies nor research on financial, social and political costs of these changes. Though we cannot be give certified evidence on negative or positive impact of minorities participation in the local authorities, this is an upcoming challenge for the practice and theory.

Thank you for your attention.