

INTERNATIONAL CHALLENGES OF EMPOWERING MINORITIES IN THE POST-SOVIET SATELLITE STATES OF EASTERN EUROPE

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Abstract:-

The present paper deals with the challenges of minorities in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) of the former Union of the Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) following its disintegration in 1991. It begins by outlining the origins of what constitute the politics of empowerment as ushered by the two main international organizations of the 20th Century as the League of Nations and the United Nations Organisations which were created in the aftermaths of the First and Second World Wars of 1914-18 and 1939-45 respectively witnessed failures due to the arbitrary demarcations and redrawing the Map of Eastern and Western Europe as well as those of Africa and Asian Continents suitable for the colonial ambitions of European imperialist actors. The article traces three different phases of interventions before the end of the Cold War, a clear statistical table of the composition of the newly independent states confronted with varieties of crisis which can link to the blink of another World War especially the cases of Moldova and Ukraine as case studies in this study having sporadic National Liberation Movements. In order to properly tackle this situation, a historical approach was deemed necessary by linking the question of empowering national minorities to the question of National Liberation Movements in Eastern Europe with specific cases indicated. This study ends by bringing out the estimated population of each of the newly independent states which was left behind with multi-ethnic and multi-racial in nature till the present 21st Century. That multi-culturally of the fifteen CIS have been the main causes of some of the sporadic social and political uprisings which the hyper-powers of the century uses it as an advantage to gain more preeminence which likely acts as dangerous threat to the blink of another global escalation as the cases of the Balkans and Poland during the first half of the 20th Century.

Keywords:-

Challenges, Empowering Minorities, Post-Soviet, Eastern Europe, blink; unforeseen war

INTRODUCTION

The creation of nation-states during the Westphalia System of 1648 was intensified by main European great powers namely; France, Prussia, Russia, United Kingdom, Belgium, Portugal and Italy after the defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte of France during the Battle of Waterloo and the convocation of the Vienna Congress 1815 was too remarkable in European history so far as the challenges concerning human hegemony over other men of the World. This was preceded with the formation of the League of Nations (LONs) in 1919 and United Nations Organisation (UNO) in 1945 as consequences of the First and second World Wars, which started as European wars and later spreads to other continents in the World. From then henceforth, the problem of the protection of minority rights under human rights instruments became a fundamental issues and challenges to the very existing states created out of these international arenas due to the anachronism, inconsistent and unjust nature of the Paris Peace Conference which instead created more international problems, fuelled more conflicts and crises in the minds and in deep heart of aggressive statesmen of the first half of the century and beyond. Therefore, the implementations of various international conventions both bilateral and multilateral in their natures became practically frustrated from the 1930s. The period ranging from the 1960s and beyond which characterized the post-independent period in the case of Asian and African countries and Intensive suppression of minorities in the satellite states of USSR called for the attention of the international community to revisit her strategies in the matter of protecting those national minorities as the new methods of National Liberation Movements (NLM) began to surface not to attack the neo-colonial actors but to in all attempts to liberate themselves from other forms of internal subjugation and radical domination especially in the newly independent states of Eastern Europe.

However, the effective practices of neo-colonial ambitions set different patterns of defining and developing some specific Charters pertaining to the policy and politics of empowerment of minorities during the late 20th and beginning of the 21st Centuries. Therefore, this paper aims to bring out different phases of those development with examples from five countries namely, Moldavia and Estonia using ahistorical comparative approach illustrated in a table form indicating the percentages and proportions of those national minorities in the specific selected countries of the former Soviet Union. To properly, tackle this issues, it is important to know what entails minority and characteristics which embodied them. The realization of this paper has been through the exploitation of some important reports, seminar papers, specialized books and consultation of important international conventions dealing with this question through the internet sources as properly quoted in the present article.

1 What Entails Empowerment of Minority within a Nation and Foundation of Protective Measures 1919-1960

1.1 Empowerment of Minority

According to Jeffrey A. Karp, the minority empowerment thesis, minority representation strengthens representational links, fosters more positive attitudes toward government and encourages political participation. Jeffrey examined this theory from a crossnational perspective, making use of surveys that sampled minorities in countries like United States of America and New Zealand. He outlined that both countries incorporate structures into their electoral systems that make it possible for minority groups to elect representatives of their choice thereby making descriptive representation to be very important in it increases knowledge about and contact with representatives in the U.S. and leads to more positive evaluations of governmental responsiveness and increased electoral participation in New Zealand. He further noted that these findings have broad implications for debates about minority representation.

Inclusive and representative democracies provide for the full and active participation of all of their citizens irrespective of race, gender, religion or ethnic identity. The rights of ethnic and religious minorities in particular need to be guaranteed by the majority, as they are groups most often under threat in transitional and emerging democracies. The International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) supports the effort to include ethnic and religious minority participation in the political process by proposing electoral systems conducive to diverse representation in elected bodies; by promoting tolerance and awareness through education on the equal rights of ethnic and religious minorities; through targeted advice on messaging, content and methodology to providers of voter and civic education programs; by offering training and professional development modules on minority rights to stakeholders in the electoral process; and through the provision of technical assistance and encouragement for minority participation in the drafting of election legislation and the sharing of comparative experiences.

In addition, Chris G. Sibley, View of Political representation is promising, because it demonstrably decreases minority groups' sense of injustice, because representation allows for the articulation of the aspirations of the separatist minority group (Iyer, Mani, Mishra; Topalova, 2011). As a consequence, political representation can increase feelings of empowerment, which encourages positive attitudes toward the majority (Banducci, Donovan, & Karp, 2004). Scholars of empowerment argue that electing officials who belong to a minority group leads to greater political participation among that group's members, without specifying whether these effects are limited to particular offices or are cumulative. Empirical support for increased minority turnout is mixed, while in recent decades, there has been growing interest across Western Europe concerning the political participation and representation of marginalized groups. All countries have witnessed debates and initiatives regarding the political incorporation of women, with political parties and legislatures across the region introducing candidate gender quota policies in the 1970s through 2000s (Krook 2009).

1.2 Minority Group

According to Barzilai Gad in 2010 minority group refers to a category of people differentiated from the social majority or those who holds the majority of positions of social power in a society. It may be defined by law to mean the differentiation based on one or more observable human characteristics, including ethnicity, race, religion, disability, gender, wealth, health or sexual orientation. But in the context of the present study, it is limited to the question of

ethnicity or racial groups having less or few numerical percentages in consideration of the total population of each selected countries listed in the table ahead of this paper. Although, Gad went further to situate the usage of minority to be applied to various situations and civilisations within history despite its popular mis-association with numerical, statistical minority in the social sciences, the term “minority” is sometimes used to describe social power relations between dominant and subordinate groups rather than simply indicating demographic variation within a population. Furthermore, from an intersectional sociological perspective, any given individual may simultaneously occupy both a majority identity and a minority identity depending on the intersection of different social categories like age, religion, gender among others. The term minority group often occurs alongside a discourse of civil rights and collective rights which gained prominence during the 20th Century. For example, members of minority groups are prone to different treatment in the countries and societies in which they live.

1.2 Identification of Minorities Characteristics and the First Phase of Foundation towards Policy of Protection 1919-1945

The word minority is an example which has an academic and colloquial usage as the latter refers to power differences among groups rather than differences in population size among groups. Therefore, the identification of five main characteristics inflicted on minorities are based on those proposed by Feagin Joe R. in 1984 which have so far been acting as serious challenges to the international community including regional and national mechanisms.

Minority group frequently suffers from discrimination and subordination, physical and or cultural traits that set them apart and which are disapproved by the dominant group, a shared sense of collective identity and common burdens; socially share rules about who belongs and who does not determine status and tendency to marry within the group. Historically, Excluded Groups (HEGs) is a term that points out the differences among different groups based on the degree of experiencing oppression and domination. The author's defining features are maintained and with the complications of using demographics overcome which the present study takes it as its main concern in relations to the policy of empowerment put forth by diverse actors.

Another author who identified some characteristics was Louis Wirth in 1945 using his sociological approach that membership of minority group is objectively ascribed by society, based on an individual's physical or behavioral characteristics. It is also subjectively applied by its members who may use their status as the basis of group identity or solidarity. In any case, minority group status is categorical in nature as an individual who exhibits the physical or behavioral characteristics of given minority group will be accorded the status of that group and subject to the same treatment as other members of that group. However, every large society contains ethnic and linguistic minorities with their style of life, language, culture and origin can be different from those of the majority. But, in most cases of the 20th and 21st Centuries, this has not been the case of origin differentiations but simply the consequences of slavery and slave trade-trans-Atlantic slave trade and later the ramification of European colonization of other races in the Asian and African continents specially.

Therefore, national minority can be theoretically and not legally defined a group of people within a given national state because members have the will to preserve their specificity and have a long term presence on the territory where they live¹ and only colonial actors could be charged for seriously inconsistent arbitrary partitioned of most recent Third World Countries during the Berlin colonial Conference from November 1884 to February 1885 concerning African Continent; and during the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 with the creation of the League of Nations (LONs) following the outbreak and the end of the First World War of 1914-1918 which started as European crisis in the Balkans then extended to other parts of the World with devastated effects, paved the way forward to the formation of the first ever recognized international organization during which the principal Great Powers United States, France and Britain dominated the show and facilitated the signing of Minorities Treaties (MTs) both bilateral and multilateral in their forms and declarations issued by some governments with minorities living in their territories. These MTs refers to the treaties signed by the main actors of LONs Mandates. The Polish treaty signed in June 1919 was the first MT and serving as the template for the subsequent ones often refers to as the Little Treaty of Versailles or the Polish Minority Treaty; The Austrian-Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavian treaty are referred to as the Treaty of St. Germaine-en-Laye in 1919; the Romanian treaty of as the Treaty of Paris in 1919; the Greek as the Treaty of Sèvres in 1920; the Hungarian as the Treaty of Trianon in 1920; the Bulgarian as the Treaty of Neuilly-sur-Seine in 1919 and the Turkish as the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923 with MTs as one of many articles of the aforementioned treaties.²⁰

Two bilateral treaties signed includes the Austrian-Czechoslovakia treaty concluded on June 7, 1920, then ratifications exchanged in Vienna on March 10, 1921, registered in the LONs Treaty Series on March 29, 1921 and supplemented by additional protocol relating to Carlsbad on August 1920. The second was the German-Polish Accord on East Silesia also known as Geneva Convention concluded on May 15, 1922. The treaty dealt with the constitutional and legal future of Upper Silesia which partly became Polish territory after the Upper Silesia Plebiscite of March 20, 1921²¹.

In addition, five multilateral treaties signed includes: the treaty between Principal Allied and Associated Powers and Poland on June 28, 1919; Principal Allied and Czechoslovakia on September 10, 1919; Principal Allied and Associated Powers and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes on September 10, 1919; Principal Allied and Associated Powers and Greece on August 10, 1920 and treaty between the Principal Allied and Associated Powers and Romania signed at Paris on 9, December 1919 and entered enforced on July 16, 1920. It was ratified by the British Government on January 12, 1921, Japanese Government on January 25, 1921 and by the Italian Government on March 3, 1921 then registered in

¹ United Nations, Capotorti Definition for the UN, Pan/Pfeil, 2003, p.XV.

LONs Treaty Series on July 21, 1921 There were also five unilateral declarations namely: declarations by the Albania Government of Albania issued on October 2, 1921; Government of Lithuania, issued on May 12, 1922; Government of Latvia, issued on July 23, 1923, heard by the Council of the League on September 11, 1923; Government of Bulgaria, issued on September 29, 1924 and the Government of Greece issued on September 29, 1924

The MTs were the basis of the LONs' system and aimed to protect minorities without alienating the majority of the country's population. Recognised as history first minority treaties were an important step in protection of minorities and recognitions of human rights, bringing the subject to an international forum. Here, states and international communities also recognized that there were people living outside legal protection and who required an additional guarantee of their elementary rights from an external body as protection within individual states itself may not be sufficient. Nonetheless, the treaties were subject to serious criticisms because the countries subject to those treaties saw it as limiting their sovereignty and infringing their rights for self-determination as the LONs was allowed by the Great Powers to influence national, religious and educational policies in those countries suggesting that they were not competent enough to deal with their internal affairs. More lapses were also attributed to the fact that those treaties were not obligatory for the established countries as principal colonial masters such as France, Germany, United Kingdom and Russia which had just become the Soviet Union out of the 1917 Bolshevik's Revolution. The Western European countries which dictated the treaties saw safeguards as unnecessary for themselves and trusted that they could fulfill the standard of civilization. Hence, it was the new Central and Eastern European countries that were not trusted to respect those minority rights and of course Bolshevik Russia still in the aftermaths of the Russian Revolution was a separate case. Nevertheless, the inequality mentioned above further offended the smaller countries to mean that minority rights were not seen as a universal right. Rather, it was exclusively a foreign policy issue and thus populations that had no state to back up their claims were relatively disadvantaged when compared to ones backed up by a powerful state or group of states. This marked the beginning of the failure of collective security to collective insecurity which cropped up during the 1930s as minority treaties were increasing considered unenforceable and useless due to the rise of aggressive statesmen who were ready to undo all the unjust terms of the treaty of Versailles and others thereby rendering the LONs impotent in all its activities with the policy of appeasement adopted by Britain and France towards aggressors and aggressive statesmen like Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini of Germany and Italy²⁷ respectively. To that effect, the Council of the League charged with enforcing the various minority treaties often failed to act upon complaints from minorities. There was an unwritten rule that state policies aimed at the cultural assimilation of minorities should be ignored as the "Minor Evil" with regard to the rights enshrined in the MTs when those policies were seen as guaranteeing the internal stability of the state concerned. The League lacked a standing army of its own and could not coerce any state to adhere to its recommendations

Although protection was tailored to particular circumstances, there were common features. The relevant instruments contained stipulations regarding the acquisition of the nationality of the newly created or enlarged state; the rights to equal treatment; against nondiscrimination; and protection of ethnic, religious, or linguistic minorities, including the right to use their mother tongue officially, to have their own schools, and to practice their religion. The LONs assumed the authority to agree to changes to these provisions and the power to intervene in the event of an infraction, taking action appropriate to each case. In addition, the Permanent Court of International Justice, the League's judicial body, was vested with compulsory jurisdiction to resolve certain cases involving disputes between minorities and the states in which they resided. This was evident because most European Governments continued to abuse minorities even before Hitler seized power to control Germany in 1933 as he protested loudly but their complaints were exploited by interested parties with ulterior motives and the League interfered as little as possible while the system suffered an apparent

²⁷Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini of Germany and Italy –Both aggressive Statesmen in the history of international relations of the first half of the 20th Century advocated their ambitions by condemning the then Great Powers who sat in the Paris Peace Conference and took decisions only into their favours, though have signed minority treaties which were never to be respected. Their actions during the 1930s which sparked out the Second World War of 1939-1945 were total justification of the injustice other Paris Peace Conference of 1919 and the unjust nature of the Treaty of Versailles among other Treaties signed between the victorious and vanquished powers of the 1914-1918 First World War. death blow with Poland's rejection of its treaty in 1934 thereby setting the final stage towards Hitler's radical aggressive manifestation of September 1939 thereby putting the whole world to plagued into another global war of 1939 - 1945. Hence putting the protection of minorities rights through MTs into total confusion which will be review in its own ways by the UN in 1945 as outlined ahead of this paper.

1.3 The Second Phase of Enforcement measures on the Question of Protection of Minorities 1946-1960

The second phase of identification and protective measures developed in favour of minorities around the world during the 20th Century covers the period from 1946 to 1960 classified in this study as the era of international Trusteeship System of the UN formed in the aftermath of World War Two. In fact, the creation of United Nations machinery known as the Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR) established by the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC in 1946 paved the way for the establishment of the Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities in 1947. The Sub-Committee is made up of twenty six members who serves as experts in their personal capacities and not as a state representatives as they meets annually. Originally, dedicated to the issues of discrimination and minority protection, over the years the sub-commission has greatly expanded its scope of concern to cover a broad

range of human rights issues. It has initiated many studies of human rights issues in collaboration with Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), particularly on the development of legal rules, and makes recommendations to the UNCHR.

One of the greater achievements of the UN was the creation of a comprehensive body of human rights law which for the first time in the World history provides human being with a universal and internationally protected code of human rights which all nations are obliged to subscribe ad to which all people can aspire. This was preceded with the adoption of Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. Since then numerous judicial and penal systems have been enhanced with UN training programmes and technical advice within the period although with minimal successes following the idea and practices of European domination and hegemony over colonial people all over the World under the cover of UN International Trusteeship System which partially elapsed in the 1960s.

2. Third Phase of International Engagement on the Question of Minority in the World Protection in the World during the Second Half of the 20th Century (1961-1999).

This third period was very crucial in the history of minorities in the World because of the new international configuration of power in the Cold War era and Post-Cold War period as more effective measures were developed due to increased membership of the UN by the newly independent states of Asia and Africa including the disintegration of the Soviet Union into Commonwealth of Independent States of Eastern Europe. It was actually clear that most victims of minorities were situated in those countries following arbitrary demarcation of their territories by separating people of same origin, same country into different forceful areas thereby setting up the foundation of minority and majority challenges. These challenges which at time broke into open confrontations or conflicts of diverse types became the main pre-occupations of international, regional and national actors in search of effective solutions. It has been in this background that new sets of regulations have been frequently initiated not just for the previously protective measures but towards more rapids policy of empowerment and integration of minorities wherever located by commissions and actors incharge with the UN taking the challenges at hand and extending to regional mechanisms and national policy makers of individual countries around the world.

2.1 The UN Monitoring Machineries and International Conventions

The UN machinery to monitor compliance with human rights covenants has acquired a remarkable cohesiveness and weight among member states as one of the Secretary General Kofi Annan made human rights the central theme that unifies the Organisation's work in the key areas of peace and security, development and humanitarian assistance. The UN engagement is guaranteed specifically in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and more generally in the principle of non-discrimination which is basic to all UN human rights law. The adoption by the UN General Assembly of the Declaration on the Rights of Person s Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities in 1992 gave impetus to the UN and in 1995, the Commission on Human Rights approved the establishment by its SUB-Commission of a Working Group on Minorities which recommends practical measures for the better promotion and protection of the rights of persons belonging to minorities

The protection that international human rights law accords to minority populations reflects this tenuous relationship between minority membership and universal value. International human rights law comprises a variety of sources and instruments, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, various international and regional treaties, principles of customary international law, and general principles of international law. These sources and instruments provide minorities with several avenues for challenging the exercise of state power, but these instruments have come to be understood in terms that display a deep ambivalence about the international legal significance of minority status. Some important guides for the protection of minorities includes the following: Part one deals with core documents as the text of the 1992 UN Declaration on the rights of persons belonging to national minority or ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities. The Right to Equality and Non Discrimination are also relevant as well as human rights treaties have been primordial to the UN whose Secretary Generals have been able to reinforce the enactment of specific international conventions through continental and regional mechanisms which encourages other member countries to insert into their national constitutions for implementations such as Articles 2 and 3 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

Other relevant instruments and documents includes Article 7 Universal Declaration on Human Rights; General Comment 18, adopted by the Human Rights Committee, Thirty seventh session, 1989; General Comment 29, adopted by the Human Rights Committee, Seventy-second session, 2001; General Comment 15, adopted by the Human Rights Committee, Twenty-seventh session, 1986; Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, UNGA Resolution 1904 (XVIII) of 20 November 1963; Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, UNGA Resolution 2263 (XXII) of 7 November 1967; Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief, UNGA Resolution 36/55 of 25 November 1981; Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious or Linguistic Minorities, UNGA Resolution 47/135 of 18 December 1992; Durban Declaration and Programme of Action, adopted at the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance on 8 September 2001; Article 1 The Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam, adopted at the Nineteenth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, 5 August 1990 ; Inter-American Court Advisory Opinion OC-4/84 of 19 January 1984; Inter-American Court Advisory Opinion OC-18/03 of 17 September 2003 and Charter of Paris for a New Europe. UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education; ILO 100 concerning Equal Remuneration for Men and Women Workers for Work of Equal

Value; ILO 111 Concerning Discrimination in respect of Employment and Occupation; International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid; International Convention against Apartheid in Sports.

2.2 Reflections of other Regional / Continental Mechanisms in Support of UN Empowerment Efforts

The African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (also known as the Banjul Charter) is an international human rights instrument that is intended to promote and protect human rights and basic freedoms in the African continent. Articles 2, 3, 18 and 28 African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights; Article IV OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa; Protocols Nos. 7 and 12 to the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms; Oversight and interpretation of the Charter is the task of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, which was set up in 1987 and is now headquartered in Banjul, Gambia. A protocol to the Charter was subsequently adopted in 1998 whereby an African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights was to be created. The protocol came into effect on 25 January 2005. In part I: rights and duties chapter I: human and peoples' rights³⁵.

The European Convention on Human Rights, perhaps the most significant regional human rights instrument in Europe, from the onset did not expressly enshrine minority rights since there were the principal violators through the forces of slavery and slave trade they practiced between the 17 and 19th (Article 4 Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities; Articles 20, 21 and 23 Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union; Article 3 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees). There are additional European institutions that oversee minority protection. These include the Council of Europe, which adopted the 1992 Framework Convention on the Protection of National Minorities and monitors the extent to which states parties to this convention comply with its terms. The Framework Convention provides a rich description of its ideological origins, noting that "the upheavals of European history have shown that the protection of national minorities is essential to stability, democratic security and peace," and that toleration and dialogue are necessary to enable "cultural diversity" to be a source of "enrichment" instead of "division".

However, articles 1.1 of the American Convention provides: "The States Parties to this Convention undertake to respect the rights and freedoms recognized herein and to ensure to all persons subject to their jurisdiction the free and full exercise of those rights and freedoms [...]". Two obligations follow from this article: 1) to respect and 2) to guarantee those rights. The latter is divided into four areas: prevention, investigation, punishment and reparation.

³⁵ African [Banjul] Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, adopted ... <http://library.umn.edu/ins/tree/z1afchar.htm> African [Banjul] Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, adopted June 27, 1981, OAU Doc. CAB/LEG/67/3 rev. 5, 21 I.L.M. 58 (1982), entered into force Oct. 21, 1986: [excerpts Part I: Rights and Duties - Chapter I: Human and ... - Chapter I: Establishment ... African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights www.achpr.org/ In accordance with Article 62 of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, States Parties to the Charter are required to submit every two years, a Norms contained in the ... - Civil and Political Rights - Economic, Social and ...

3. COMPOSITION OF THE SOVIET UNION: FORMER SATELITTE STATES OF EASTERN EUROPE LATER COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT STATES SINCE 1991 SHOWING DIFFERENT ETHNIC GROUPS WITH NEW NATIONAL CHALLENGES

The CIS countries includes: Armenia, Moldova, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Belarus, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Russian.

Countries	Total estimated population of each country in thousand inhabitants	Different ethnics and racial groups in percentages	Estimated population of each race or group in thousand inhabitants	
1. Moldova (2004)	3,547,539	Moldavian/Romanian	78,2	2,774,176
		Ukrainian	8,4	297,994
		Russian	5,8	205,758
		Gagauz	4,4	156,093
		Bulgarian	1,9	67,404
		Others	1,3	46,119
		----- TOTAL		
		= 100		
2. Estonia (2000)	133,000	Estonian	67.9	90,307
		Russian	25.6	340,480
		Ukrainian	2.1	27,930
		Belarusian	1.3	17,290
		Finn	0.9	11,970
		Others	2.2	29,260

		TOTAL= 100		

3. Russia (2002)	143,895,551	Russian	79,8	114,828,650		
		Tatar	3,8	5,468,031		
		Ukrainian	2	2,877,912		
		Bashkir	1,2	1,726,747		
		Chuvash	1,1	1,582,852		
		Other	12,1	17,411,362		
		----- TOTAL				
		=	100			
4. Armenia (2001)	3,016,000	Armenian	97,9	2,952,664		
		Russian	0,5	15,080		
		Kurds	1,3	39,208		
		<u>Others</u>	<u>0,3</u>	<u>9,048</u>		
		TOTAL =	100			
5. Azerbaijan (1999)	8,411,000	Azeri	90,6	7,620,366		
		Dagestani	2,2	185,042		
		Russian	1,8	151,398		
		Armenian	1,5	126,165		
		Others	3,9	328,029		
		----- TOTAL =		100		
6. Belarus (1999)	9,755,000	Belarusian	81,2	7,921,060		
		Russian	14,4	1,112,070		
		Polish	3,9	380,445		
		Ukrainian	2,4	234,120		
		Other	1,1	107,305		
		----- TOTAL =		100		
7. Kazakhstan (1999)	18,000,000	Kazak (Qazaq)	53,4	9,612,000		
		Russian	30	5,400,000		
		Ukrainian	3,7	666,000		
		Uzbek	2,5	450,000		
		German	2,4	432,000		
		Tatar	1,4	252,000		
		Uygur	1,4	252,000		
		Other	4,9	882,000		
				----- TOTAL =		100
8. Georgia (2002)	4,474,000	Georgian	83,8	3,749,219		
		Azeri	6,5	290,810		
		Armenian	5,7	255,018		
		Russian	1,5	67,110		
		<u>Other</u>	<u>2,5</u>	<u>11,850</u>		
		----- TOTAL =		100		
9. Tajikistan (2000)	9,107,211	Tajik	79	7,194,697		
		Uzbek	15,3	1,393,404		
		Russian	1,1	100,180		
		Kyrgyz	1,1	100,180		
		Other	2,6	236,788		
		----- TOTAL =		100		
10. Turkmenistan (2003)	5,851,466	Turkmen	85	4,973,747		
		Uzbek	5	292,574		
		Russian	4	234,059		
		Other	6	351,088		
		----- TOTAL =		100		
11. Ukraine (2001)	44,009,214	Ukrainian	77,8	34,239,169		
		Russian	17,3	7,613,595		
		Belarusian	0,6	264,056		
		Moldovan	0,5	220,047		
		Crimean Tatar	0,5	220,047		
		Bulgarian	0,4	176,037		
		Hungarian	0,3	132,028		

		Romanian	0,3	132,028
		Polish	0,3	132,028
		Jewish	0,2	88,018,428
		Other	1,8	792,166
		TOTAL =	100	
12.Kyrgyzstan (1999)	5,5000,000 (1999)	Kyrgyz	64,9	3,569,500
		Uzbek	13,8	759,000
		Russian	12,5	687,500
		Dungan	1,1	60,500
		Ukrainian	1	60,000
		Uygur	1	60,000
		Other	5,7	313,500
		TOTAL =	100	
13.Lithuania (2001)		Lithuanian	57,7	1,154,000
		Russian	29,6	592,000
		Belarusian	4,1	82,000
		Ukrainian	2,7	54,000
		Polish	2,5	50,000
		Other	2,4	48,000
		TOTAL =	100	
14.Latvia (2002)	1, 944,643 (2017)	Latvian	61,8	1,201,789
		Russian	25,6	497,829
		Belarusian	3,4	66,118
		Ukrainian	2,3	44,727
		Polish	2,5	48,616
		Lithuanian	1,4	27,225
		Other	3	58,339
		TOTAL =	100	
15.Uzbekistan (1996)		Uzbek	80	18,560,000
		Russian	5,5	237,000
		Tajik	5	216,000
		Kazak	3	129,000
		Karakalpak	2,5	108,000
		Tatar	1,5	65,000
		Other	2,5	108,000
		TOTAL =	100	

SOURCES: Statistics calculated by us with information from diverse sources through websites Ethnicity and Race by Countries/ Infoplease <https://www.infoplease.com/ethnicityand-race> countries, Sandbox Networks, Inc., Publishing as Infoplease, 2000-2018.; [WWW.worldometers.info.new-zealandpopulation](http://www.worldometers.info/new-zealandpopulation), Consulted, January 15, 2019 ; [Worldpopulationreview.com](http://www.africanews.com). Consulted, February 13, 2019 ; <http://www.africanews.com>, Consulted, January 15, 2019; [WWW.worldometers.info.new-zealandpopulation](http://www.worldometers.info/new-zealandpopulation)(Consulted, February 13, 2019 ; <https://www.worldatlas.com/as/am-where-is-armenia.html>. [com/webimage/countrys/asia/ht.htm](http://www.webimage/countrys/asia/ht.htm).; [Latvia Demographics Profile 2018 - IndexMundi](https://www.indexmundi.com/latvia/demographics_profile.html) https://www.indexmundi.com/latvia/demographics_profile.html 20 janv. 2018 - Birth rate, 9.7 births/1,000 population (2017 est.) ...Ethnic groups, Latvian 61.8%, Russian 25.6%, Belarusian 3.4%, Ukrainian 2.3%, Polish ... [Number of population in Latvia in 2017 | Central Statistical Bureau of](https://www.csb.gov.lv/.../population/.../2402-number-population-l...) ... <https://www.csb.gov.lv/.../population/.../2402-number-population-l...> Herman Blaise Ngameni, « Non-discrimination et droits des peuples minoritaires », Paris, Les Annales de droit, 2017 Consulted online March 3, 2019 .Laurence Deonna, Kazakhstan, Bourlinguer en Asie central post-Sovietique, editions Zoe, 2007; Dominique Auzias, Jean-Paul Labourdette, Le Guide de l'Asie Centrale: Kirghizistan, Quzbekistan, Tadjikistan, Nouvelles Ed. De L'Universite, Paris, 2001, P; 313 ; Suzanne Champonnois, Francois de Labriolle, Estoniens, Lituaniens, Histoire et destins, Crozon Editions Armeline, 2004.

Map 1: The Fifteen Independent States of the Former Soviet Union (USSR)



SOURCE: Soviet Union – HISTORY <https://www.history.com/topics/russia/history-of-the-soviet-union>

1 sept. 2017 - The *Soviet Union* by 1948 had installed communist-leaning governments in Eastern European *countries* that the USSR had liberated from Nazi.

3.1 The Disintegration of the Soviet Union and Effects on the Question of Minorities in the CIS

The USSR was a socialist state that was created by Vladimir Lenin in 1922. During its existence, the USSR was the largest country in the world. The USSR collapsed in 1991 and left in its place 15 independent states known as the CIS which are indicated in the map above. It instead fuelled series of Post-Soviet conflicts mostly in the form of violent political and ethnic conflicts in the countries of the Union shortly before its official breakup in December 1991. Some of these conflicts such as the 1993 Russian constitutional crisis or the 2013 Euromaidan protests in Ukraine were due to political crises in the successor states. Others involved separatist movements attempting to break away from one of the successor states. According to Gordon M. Hahn, between 1990 and 2013 the post-Soviet conflicts led to the death of at least 196,000 people, excluding pogroms and interethnic violence².

The fall of the Soviet Union can also be linked to the structure of the nation itself. The Soviet Union was a nation composed of 15 radically different republics. Across the nation there were dozens of ethnicities, languages, and cultures, many of which were incompatible with each other. Bullying of ethnic minorities by the Russian majority created tensions along the outlying provinces, especially those in continental Europe. In 1989, nationalist movements in Eastern Europe brought regime change in Poland, and the movement soon spread to Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and the Soviet satellites in Eastern Europe. Many of these former Soviet allies began to split along ethnic lines, which only fueled separatist movements in Ukraine, Belarus and the Baltic States. As these Soviet republics exerted their independence and pulled away from the Soviet Union, the power of the central state was fatally weakened, and by 1991, the Soviet Union was no more. While many factors led to the fall of the Soviet Union, the aforementioned ideological changes, foreign pressures, and economic decisions hastened the demise of this once powerful socialist state. Historians continue to analyze the internal and external factors at play during this rich portion of world history and use this knowledge for economic and political decisions in nations around the world.

Mikhail Gorbachev, the last leader of the Soviet Union, came to power in 1985 with a vision of reform. His plan for the future was led by two ideas: perestroika and glasnost. Under Gorbachev's plan for perestroika, the Soviet Union would begin to move towards a hybrid Communist-Capitalist system, much like modern China. The Politburo and the Central Planning Committee would still exert influence over the direction of the economy; however, the government would allow market forces to dictate some production and development decisions. The changes to the economy were coupled with a reorganization of the Party elite that would bring younger voices to the forefront. Eventually, Gorbachev envisioned a democratically elected Communist Party for the Soviet Union. The second part of Gorbachev's plan, glasnost, addressed the personal restrictions of the Soviet people. For decades, citizens lived without freedom of speech, the press or religion, and the State arrested millions of potential dissidents. Gorbachev's glasnost plan gave the Soviet people a voice they were free to express. Gorbachev's reforms did more to hasten the fall of the Soviet Union than they did to save it. By loosening controls over the people and making reforms to the political and economic elites, the Soviet government appeared weak and vulnerable to the Soviet people. They used their newfound powers to organize and critique the government, and in 1991, they successfully ended Soviet rule.

3.2 Radical Tension and Empowerment Strategies of Minorities in the CIS

Tensions remain and are especially evident in the predominately Russian Eastern edge of Estonia, near the Russian border, in working-class cities like Narva. Here, many people are part of what amounts to an underclass. Roughly 100,000

² Hahn, Gordon M., *Ukraine Over the Edge: Russia, the West and the "New Cold War"*. McFarland, 2017.

Estonian Russians, many concentrated in this region, carry a special gray passport, which labels them "aliens" -- legal, but not citizens of Estonia or anywhere. Sergei Zavyalov, stands in Narva, Estonia, with Russia across the river behind him. The 26-year-old was born in Narva in 1984. When Estonia gained independence, ethnic Russians like him were generally not granted citizenship. Today, Zavyalov has a gray passport, which means he's an "alien" with no citizenship. As he puts it, "I'm a nobody in this country." The Estonian government is now trying to change that. It is tightening its enforcement of a national language law, which will ultimately require secondary schools, even in almost uniformly Russian communities, to use Estonian in 60 percent of all classes. Around the country, language "inspectors" are empowered to roam schools and test teachers' fluency.

Ethnic minorities were over-represented in declining economic sectors, and faced larger obstacles when searching for new jobs in services and the public sector, partly because of their low Estonian language proficiency and their lack of Estonian citizenship (Lindemann 2009). This is reflected in changes in occupational structure—for example, we can observe a large decrease in minority employment in public administration (Tammaru and Kulu 2003). Such a decreased share occurred in most of the former satellite states of the Soviet Union in the beginning of the 1990s (Kaiser 1995) and is partly related to the nation-building processes that took place at that time. In the former satellite states of the Soviet Union live about 25 million Russians, which form the most important ethnic minority group in those countries (Poppe Tammaru and Kulu, 2003). The decreased share of minorities in public administration is quite characteristic of the former satellite states of the Soviet Union (Kaiser 1995) and is partly explained by the nation-building process and the requirement to speak Estonian in such occupations.

Since the early 2000s, Estonia and Latvia have adopted Integration Programs aimed at dealing with issues concerning their large Russian-speaking minorities. In both cases, the meaning of "integration"—originally meant to primarily indicate the Russian speakers' route to becoming part of the Estonian and Latvian societies—was redefined to include a socioeconomic dimension. This article explores the intersection between the socioeconomic and ethnic dimensions of integration policies through the analysis of the Integration Programs and related documents and process tracing of the decision making behind them. Intertwined issues of misdistributions and misrecognition are analyzed through the two competing hypotheses of response and displacement. The analysis shows the central role of mechanisms of displacement in furthering the states' (and majority elites') ethnocentric and neoliberal agendas. Such policies instead fuelled more NLM in the region of Eastern Europe as seen in the case of Ukraine.

National liberation movements aim to free a certain geographical territory and its population (nation) from a regime considered as suppressive and / or foreign-ruled. As the demand for national liberation radically puts the existing balances of power into question, the resulting encounters frequently take a violent course. Both the understanding of what a 'nation' is and that of what constitutes 'freedom' or 'liberation' are constructed discursively and are subject to historical and regional changes. Beginning from in the 18th and 19th centuries, the paradigm of the foundation of nation states by the colonies declaring their independence. In the 20th century, the combination of social and national liberation as an anti-imperialistic battle. Since the final decades of the 20th century, an increasing ethnic self-definition of sectors of population and their fight for a right to self-determination within the boundaries of a then plurinational state,⁴⁶ became more intensified.

Some Post-Soviet conflicts ended in a stalemate or without a peace treaty, and are referred to as frozen conflicts. This means that a number of former-Soviet states are left sovereign over the entirety of their territory in name only. In reality, they do not exercise full control over areas still under the control of rebel factions.⁴⁷ Rebel groups are essentially left independent over large chunks of the territories they claim. In many instances, they have created institutions which are similar to those of fully fledged independent states, albeit with little or no international recognition. Notable such cases include Abkhazia and South Ossetia in Georgia; Nagorno-Karabakh on the border between Azerbaijan and Armenia; Transnistria in land near to Moldova's eastern border with Ukraine; and Novorossiia (a confederation of the Donetsk People's Republic and the Luhansk People's Republic, breakaway areas in Ukraine).^[2] The Republic of Crimea is also arguably part of this group of unrecognized states, as the annexation of Crimea by the Russian Federation remains unrecognized by a majority of UN member states and is contested by the government of Ukraine

Recognition of these rebel groups vary. In some instances such as Transnistria, no UN-member state has given its recognition, including Russia. In the case of Georgia's Abkhazia and South Ossetia, Russia, Venezuela, Nicaragua, Nauru and Syria have recognized them. Transnistria, which is *de facto* independent from Moldova, has declared independence in 1990, due to its majority Russian-speaking population fearing union with Romania. A ceasefire between Transnistrian forces and Moldovan forces has been in place since 1992, enforced by the presence of Russian forces in Transnistria in 1992, Civil unrest fueled by the perception of widespread government corruption, abuse of power and violation of human rights. From Armenia to Uzbekistan, your guide to the *countries* that rose from the ashes of the *Soviet Union*; 1 sept. 2017 - The *Soviet Union* by 1948 had installed communist-leaning governments in Eastern European *countries* that the USSR had liberated from Nazi.

⁴⁶Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. 2nd ed. New York: Verso

⁴⁷Soviet Union - HISTORY

<https://www.history.com/topics/russia/history-of-the-soviet-union> 1 sept. 2017 - The *Soviet Union* by 1948 had installed communist-leaning governments in Eastern European *countries* that the USSR had liberated from Nazi.

Rights in Ukraine⁴⁹. The unrest eventually lead to the 2014 Ukrainian Revolution toppling of the Ukrainian government. In March 2014, following the takeover of Crimea by pro-Russian separatists and Russian Armed Forces, an unauthorized

referendum was held on the issue of reunification with Russia. Russia then annexed Crimea. Then Violent protests of the Russian population began in Donetsk and Luhansk Oblasts, which turned into a full-fledged war.

3.3 Moldova Tolerant Stance towards both National and Settler Minorities

The Russian and Ukrainian dominated Transnistria region broke away from government control amid fears the country would soon reunite with Romania. Russians settled Moldova, which was then Bessarabia, after the Russian Empire incorporated Bessarabia in 1812. Moldavians under Russian rule enjoyed privileges well, the language of Moldavians was established as an official language in the governmental institutions of Bessarabia, used along with Russian. The publishing works established by Archbishop Gavril Bănulescu-Bodoni were able to produce books and liturgical works in Moldavian between 1815 and 1820, until the period from 1871 to 1905, when Russification policies were implemented that all public use of Romanian was phased out, and substituted with Russian. Romanian continued to be used as the colloquial language of home and family, mostly spoken by Romanians, either first or second language. Many Romanians changed their family names to Russian. This was the era of the highest level of assimilation in the Russian Empire.⁵⁰

In 1918, after the relinquishment of Russian Empire, control over the whole of Bessarabia fell under the Kingdom of Romania. The takeover was followed by the policy of Romanianization of ethnic minorities, mostly Russians, pursued by the Romanian authorities. In 1940, Bessarabia was claimed by Soviet Union, meaning Bessarabia came back to Russian power, wherein Bessarabia is now part of Moldova and Ukraine.⁵¹ Among Russians who were Romanianized were descendants of Romanians who underwent Russification laws in the past; because many Russians of Romanian descent speak Romanian as first or second language, they easily obeyed Romanianization laws. After the Soviet occupation of Bessarabia in 1940, Romanians went to *deja vu*, they came again in colonial power of Russians. The Romanian population of Bessarabia was persecuted by Soviet authorities on ethnic grounds, especially in the years following the annexation, based mostly on social, educational, and political grounds; because of this, Russification laws were imposed again on Romanian population. Among Romanians living here were descendants of Ukrainians and Russians who underwent Romanianization policies in the past. Nowadays, Russian is provided with the status of a "language of interethnic communication" and since Soviet times remains widely used on many levels of the society and the state. According to the above-mentioned National Political

⁴⁹Ibid. ⁵⁰https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Russians_in_Moldova, Russians in Moldova form the second largest ethnic minority in the country. According to the Moldovan Census (2004) and a separate 2004 Census in

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵²King, Charles, *The Moldovans*, Hoover Press, 2000, pp. 21–22

Conception, Russian-Moldovan bilingualism is characteristic for Moldova.[4] Russian was granted official status in Gagauzia, a region in the south of the country inhabited mostly by ethnic Gagauz, and in the breakaway region of Transnistria in the east of the country. 380,796 people (11.25%) identify Russian as their native language, and some 540,990 (16%) speak it as first language in daily use, including 130,000 ethnic Moldovans. It is the first language for 93.2% of ethnic Russians, and a primary language for 4.9% of Moldovans, 50.0% of Ukrainians, 27.4% of Gagauz, 35.4% of Bulgarians, and 54.1% of other ethnic minorities.

According to Moldovan affairs expert Vladimir Socor of the Washington, D.C.-based Institute for Advanced Strategic and Political Studies, argues that the justification for Transnistria's secession was not Russian nationalism, but Soviet-style proletarian internationalism. "National awareness was least-developed among Russians, compared to other ethnic groups and nationalities in the former Soviet Union," Socor said. "Transnistria is the only case in the entire Soviet Union in which local Russians rebelled against a newly independent former Soviet republic. That rebellion was conducted not under Russian national slogans -- even now this is not the case. It was conducted under purely Soviet slogans. Moldova and the Moldovan national democratic movement were accused of dismantling socialism, of undermining the interests of the Soviet Union, of undermining the communist rule and socialism. The country was later known as Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic or MSSR, Moldova was among the Soviet Union's 15 republics from 1940 to 1991. Soviet Moldova was created on August 2, 1940 from a region that was annexed from Romania known as Bessarabia and parts of an autonomous state within the Ukrainian SSR. Moldova was declared a sovereign state on June 23, 1990 but was officially known as the Soviet Socialist Republic of Moldova until May 23, 1991. Despite the country remaining a USSR constituent republic, it was renamed the Republic of Moldova. Following its independence, Moldova was affected by civil war

Unlike other CIS, Moldova adopted a tolerant stance toward its Russian-speaking minorities and granted them unconditional citizenship. According to the 1989 census, 65 percent of Moldova's 4.5 million population are Moldovans, who speak what is officially called Moldovan, but is actually identical to Romanian. Most of Moldova was part of Romania before World War II, under the name of Bessarabia. It was annexed by Josef Stalin and turned into a Soviet republic after the war. "When Moldova became independent in 1991, it gave automatic citizenship to all its permanent residents, regardless of their knowing the state language or not, regardless of their nationality. There was no requirement for them to know the state language at that time. Currently, if somebody wants to become a citizen of Moldova, they must know the state language," Igor Pivovarov said.

Map 2: Showing an Independent State of Moldova Out of The Former Soviet Union



[SOURCE: Soviet Union | History, Leaders, Map, & Facts | Britannica.com https://www.britannica.com/place/Soviet-Union](https://www.britannica.com/place/Soviet-Union) During the period of its existence, the *Union of Soviet Socialist Republics* was by area the world's largest *country*. It was also one of the most diverse, with more ... [The USSR from the death](#) · [The USSR from 1953 to 1991](#) · [Media for](#)

Map 3: Showing an Independent State of Moldova Out of The Former Soviet Union



[SOURCE: Soviet Union | History, Leaders, Map, & Facts | Britannica.com https://www.britannica.com/place/Soviet-Union](https://www.britannica.com/place/Soviet-Union) During the period of its existence, the *Union of Soviet Socialist Republics* was by area the world's largest *country*. It was also one of the most diverse, with more ... [The USSR from the death](#) · [The USSR from 1953 to 1991](#) · [Media for](#)

3.4 Typology of Ukrainian Independence Movements

Ukraine is a sovereign state covering an area of 233,000 square miles. Ukrainian SSR or UkSSR was among the Soviet Union's constituent republics and was admitted to the Soviet Union on December 30, 1922. Soviet Ukraine was the UN's founding member, but the AllUnion state acted as its legal representative in matters concerning other countries that were not a part of the USSR. Following the dissolution of the Soviet SOCIETY, UKSSR was renamed as Ukraine and its new constitution was approved on June 28, 1996. Post-independence the country has retained its seat in the UN and continues to pursue allegations in foreign courts against the Russian Federation in hopes of recovering its foreign property share. The following below are the Ukrainian independent movements:

Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius, Carpatho-Ukraine, Cossack Hetmanate, Ukrainian declarations of independence, Khmelnytsky Uprising, Koliyivshchyna, People executed for collaboration with the Ukrainian National Movement, Ukrainian anti-Soviet resistance movement Ukrainian People's Republic, Ukrainian resistance movement, Ukrainian War of Independence West Ukrainian People's Republic, Zaporizhian Sich, Ukrainian War of Independence, 1991 Ukrainian independence referendum, Act Zluky, Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, Carpathian Sich, Carpatho-Ukraine Central Council of Ukraine, Declaration of Independence of Ukraine, Directorate of Ukraine Hromada (secret society), Independence Day of Ukraine, Independence Monument, Kiev Khmelnytsky Uprising, Kiev Independence Day Parade, Maidan Nezalezhnosti, Persecuted bandurists, Ukrainian national government (1941), Ukrainian Insurgent Army, Ukrainian National Council, West Ukrainian People's Republic, Ukrainian Party of Socialist Independents, Ukrainian People's Republic, Ukrainian People's Revolutionary Army, Ukrainian Sich Riflemen, 1991 Ukrainian sovereignty referendum, Ukrainian State and Union for the Liberation of Ukraine⁵⁹.

Conclusion

The idea of minority rights and the protection from the birth of nation-state and state system of the Westphalia were partially very remote and timidly enforced until the outbreak of the 1914-1918 First World which ended with the

creation of the League of Nations. The Great powers logic during this period was focus on the signing of the unjust minority treaties especially with the defeated powers like Germany to as a means to satisfy themselves through the extraction of reparations. But such treaties were later to be violated by the Nazism government of Adolf Hitler during the 1930s which once more provoked the outbreak of the 1939-1945 Second World War marking the end of the system of minority treaty of the League of Nations thereby giving birth to the formation of the United Nations Organisation with its own logical mechanisms on the question of minority in the world.

The principal target was through the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 and some affiliated commissions and monitoring groups to strictly follow-up issues and challenges noticed in any part of the world in any country related maltreatment of national minorities. It was because of such important procedures that both regional and sub-regional international organisations and institutions became more involved to include in their charters specific articles related to the respect of human dignity , human rights and to encourage members states to developed and implement effective policy initiatives of empowering national minorities and balance development of different ethnic groups. Although, Patrick Macklem in 2008,” clarifies why some minority claims and not others might merit international legal protection.⁶⁰From our finding, the two principal case studies quoted in this paper shows that the blink of another global war could eventually get its roots from those Baltic States surrounded by Russia with American interests also at stake in the region as the World Hyper-Power of the 21st Century.

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰ Patrick Macklem; Minority rights in international law, International Journal of Constitutional Law, Volume 6, Issue 3-4, 1 July 2008, Pages 531–552, <https://doi.org/10.1093/icon/mon019>, Oxford University Press, 2019.

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