

managed, political or economic immigrants or refugees are creating "new minorities" which can upset any previous arrangements or social balances (viz. Turks in Germany, Maghrebis in France, and Asians in Britain).

The emergence of this second tier of interests and aspirations not only collides with the interests and aspirations of native populations but could also conflict with the traditional cultural identities of ethno-territorial and ethno-national minorities already pitted against those of Western Europe's majority populations. For example, France, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland and Austria have foreign immigrant populations which are respectively 8.0, 6.4, 9.0, 14.6 and 6.4 percent of their total populations. Twenty per cent of the populations of Stuttgart and Munich are comprised of immigrants; in Berlin it is 15 percent, and in Vienna 13 percent. These 1990 figures must have increased with the migration (legal or illegal) coming from Eastern and Central Europe as well as from Yugoslavia¹⁰.

In the 1970s and the early 1980s, an average of 100,000 people a year were emigrating from the former Warsaw Pact countries. However, a total of 1.2 million people left the same countries in 1989 alone. As economic conditions may worsen in the short run, particularly in the FSU, this could signal the beginning of more massive migrations, with attendant concerns for minority rights¹¹.

The strain has already started to show. The effects of these conflicts on the domestic politics of many Western European states are already visible. The Front National in France, as well as various manifestations of the extreme right in Germany and Britain, are just the beginning of what could become a long list of examples.

Traditional and new forms of ethnic conflict have many implications. They distract the attention of political leaders away from other pressing issues, challenge the concentration of authority in a central state, shift the middle ground of national politics further to the extreme right, and disturb or fragment the established pattern of representation, especially the party systems.

Paradoxically, the challenge posed to central authority by new and traditional ethnic conflicts seems to be fuelled by the process of European integration, which is reinforcing diversity, including regional as well as ethnic identity, at the expense of the authority of the nation-state. Even states which had once considered themselves homogeneous or relatively monolithic are increasingly becoming multi-ethnic and multicultural societies. The promise of continued economic integration--whether in the European Community or the North American Free Trade Agreement--partially removes the economic argument from the calculus of gain and loss when evaluating the price of diversity and its political consequences.