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POLITICAL NOTION OF ETHNICITY

I. Preliminary remarks

Ethnicity is in the first line a sociolinguistic notion and therefore described in books and studies on sociolinguistics. Frederick Erickson (Philadelphia, Pa.) says in his small article in a newest and very important handbook on sociolinguistics¹, that „ethnicity“ is a term, whose definition is elusive, because there is a considerable overlap between the English terms „ethnicity“, „nationality“ and „race“ and the german word „Volk“². But also the german word „Ethnizität“, generally not often used, with the exception in certain treatises on the Slovenes in Carinthia as by Albert F. Reiterer³ who begins histor historically in regard to the term ethnicity (Ethnizität) with the arabian theory of Ibn Khaldun (1332–1408) and his notions of *Assabyya nasab* and *Umma* (mostly translated in European languages as „nation“, if translated with „nation“, but also identified as „ethnicity“, the term comes from the Greek plural noun „ethnoi“ and refers to the tribes and nations of the ancient world which were not Hellenic (e. g. Thracians, Persians, Egyptians), but nor „nation“ (a Latin word) nor „Ethnos“ are in every case bound to a separated culture or language. Generally „ethnicity“ means a self-presentation and group identification and if we speak today of the notion „ethnic“ or „ethnic“ we mean regularly a special origin or derivation combined with culture (not only civilisation which ist not identic with culture).

The own language of an ethnic group can be a characteristics of ethnicity, but, as it has been proved recently by Harald Haarmann⁴ in a book describing only ethnicity and language, a special language is not always a symbol of ethnicity. There exist ethnic communities which have the characteristics of their ethnicity without a language of

1. Erickson, Frederick, Ethnicity, in: Ammon, U. /Dittmar, N./ Mattheier, Klaus J., (eds.) Sociolinguistics, Berlin-New York (Walter de Gruyter) 1987, First Volume, 91–95.
2. In certain cases the word „Volk“ is not translated in English in the USA and in Canada: Veiter, Theodor, Volk, Ethnic Group and Region, in: Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism, Charlottetown (University of Prince Edward Island), vol. IX, no. 2, 1982, 161–183.
3. Reiterer, Albert F., Doktor und Bauer, Klagenfurt /Celovec (Drava)/ Slovenski Znanstveni Inštitut 1985.
4. Haarmann, Harald, Language in Ethnicity. A View of Basic Ecological Relations, Berlin (Mouton de Gruyter) 1986.

their own (as certain tribes or „peoples” in South Africa and in Namibia⁵ or the Jews in the Soviet Union⁶ or also certain members of the German ethnic minority in Poland⁷. And also the problem of dialects must be seen because many dialects are considered as separate languages, but often only as sub-groups of languages without a special ethnical distinction, what is in a very serious manner described by Leoš Šatava⁸ or Gunnemark/Kenrick⁹.

Ethnicity can also be in connection with basic ecological relations, also with the use of nuclear power or with the social conflict, whatever this can be¹⁰.

„Ethnicity” is now an often used word in various languages, but not seldom used without a serious interpretation of the notion and only for polemics against on ethnical thinking as we can see in a new book of an alemanic writer in the Austrian province of Vorarlberg, Markus Barnay¹¹.

It is necessary to underline, that the notion „ethnic identity”, today used especially in the U.S.A., but also in Eastern and Western Europe¹², is in no way identic with „ethnicity”, but can be a completion and a supplement to „ethnicity”.

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5. *Hilf*, Rudolf/*Richardson* John (eds.) Sudafrika. Krise und Entscheidung, 2 vols, Wien (Braumuller) and Munchen INTEREG) 1987.
 6. *Horak*, Stephan, Guide to the Study of the Soviet Nationalities. Non Russian Peoples of the USSR, Littleton, Col. (Libraries Unlimited) 1982.
 7. See the articles in: *Przeglad Polonijny*, Warszawa (Polska Akademia Nauk), 1988 in the 14th year; *Klimaszewski*, Boleslaw (ed.), An outline History of Polish Culture, Warszawa (Wydawnictwo Interpress) 1984; *Veiter*, Theodor, Polen und die Fluchtlings- und Wanderungsproblematik, in: AWR-Bulletin, Wien, Nr. 1987, 1–14.
 8. *Šatava*, Leoš, Autochtonni mala etnika v Evrope, 2 vols, Praha (Ustav pro etnografii a folkloristiku Československe akademie ved – odborove stradiško vedeckych informaci) Zpravodaj koordinovane site vedeckych pro etnografii a folkloristiku, 1987.
 9. *Gunnemark*, Erik/*Kenrick*, Donald (eds.), A Geolinguistic Handbook, 1985 edition, Gothenburg (published by the author in Gothenburg/Goteborg) 1986; see also *Breton*, Roland, Les Ethnies, Paris (PUF) 1981, German edition, Vienna (Braumuller) 1983.
 10. *Fisher*, Dietrich, Preventing in the Nuclear Age, Totowa, New Jersey (Rowman & Allanheld publishers) 1984.
 11. *Barnay*, Markus, Die Erfindung des Vorarlbergers. Ethnizitätsbildung und Landesbewußtsein im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, Bregenz (Vorarlberger Autorengesellschaft) 1988. Barnay fights against the development of the term „ethnicity” and means, that „ethnicity” leads to the hate against races and to xenophobia and discrimination of the members of other ethnic groups.
 12. *Liebkind*, Karmela, Minority Identity and Identification Processes: A Social Psychological Study, Helsinki (The Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters) 1984; *Fried*, C., Minorities: Community and Identity, Dahlem Konferenzen, Berlin (Springer-Verlag) 1983 (Collection of various articles, especially „Identity as a Complex Network” by M.-La Pradelle de Latour, 79–95); *Fishman*, Joshua A., The Rise and Fall of the Ethnic Revival, Berlin-New York (Mouton) 1985; *Veiter*, Theodor, Die Identität Vorarlbergs und der Vorarlberger, Wien/Vienna (Zraumuller) 1985.

II. Politics and the relation to ethnicity

The political science, in German also „Politologie“ (politology, but this expression is not usual in English), belongs as a branch to the sociology („political sociology“) and the political discourse¹³ can be an essential part of the ethnic struggle which dominates today as „ethnic revival“¹⁴ many of the relations between States, but also between peoples (ethnic communities) all over the world as in Sri Lanka¹⁵ in Austria in regard to the situation of the Slovenes of Carinthia¹⁶ in France¹⁷, in the Western Sahara (R.A.S.D.)¹⁸, on the Horn of Africa¹⁹, in South Tyrol and in others regions of Italy²⁰, in Northern Ireland²¹ and so on. The ethnic conflict belongs generally to the

13. Gumperz John, *Discourse strategies*, Cambridge, U. K., 1982.
14. Allardt, Erik, *Ethnic Revival. Implications of the Ethnic Revival in Modern Industrialized Society*, Helsinki (Societas Scientiarum Fennica) 1979.
15. See the six volumes on the Tamils, edited by the Schweizerische Zentralstelle für Flüchtlingshilfe, the Swiss Caritas and other humanitarian organizations in Switzerland, Luzern and Zurich (Caritas) 1984; Schwarz Walter, *The Tamils of Sri Lanka*, London (MRG Report no. 25) 1975; Wolff Joerg, *Die Spannungen in Sri Lanka zwischen Singhalesen und Tamilen*, in: *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Bonn, no. B 26/83, 2d July 1983.
16. Inzko, Valentin (ed.), *Geschichte der Kärntner Slowenen von 1918 bis zur Gegenwart*, Klagenfurt/Celovec (Hermagoras Verlag) 1988; Grafenauer, Bogo, *Slovensko narodno vprašanje in slovenski zgodovinski položaj*, Ljubljana (Slovenska Matica) 1987; Veiter, Theodor, *Das österreichische Volksgruppenrecht seit dem Voksgruppengesetz von 1976. Rechtsnormen und Rechtswirklichkeit*, Wien/Vienna (Braumüller) 1979; Gstettner, Peter, *Zwangaft Deutsch? Klagenfurt/Celovec (Drava/SZI) 1988*; Koroški Slovenci v Avstriji včeraj in danes, Ljubljana - Celovec 1984. 2d. ed. 1985; Hödl, Günther and co-eds., *Lage und Perspektiven der österreichischen Volksgruppen*, Wien (Österreichische Rektorenkonferenz) 1988; Tichy, Heinz, *Unterricht und Bildung in den Volksgruppensprachen*, Wien/Vienna (Braumüller) 1987
17. Maugue, Pierre, *Contre l'Etat-Nation*, Paris (Denoel) 1979; Philipponneau, Michel, *La grande affaire. Decentralisation et Regionalisation*, Paris (Calmann-Levy) 1981; Serant, Serant, Paul, *La France des minorites*, Paris (Robert Laffont) 1965; Barniaudy, M., *Le probleme de l'enseignement des langues regionales*, Paris (Commission des affaires culturelles de l'Assemblée nationale) 1963.
18. Hodges, Tony, *Historical Dictionary of Western Sahara*, Metuchen, N. J. & London (The Scarecrow Press) 1982.
19. Fenet, Alain, Cao-Huy Thuan and other co-eds., *La Corne de l'Afrique, Questions nationales et politique internationale*, Paris (L'Harmattan) 1986; Petrič, Ernest, *Od Cesarja do Voditelja. Etiopija včeraj, danes, jutri* Ljubljana (Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica) 1988; Lewis, I. M. (ed.), *National Self-Determination in the Horn of Africa*, London 1982.
20. Olmi, Massimo, *Italiani dimezzati*, Napoli (Edizione Dehoniane) Veiter, Theodor, *Bibliographie zur Sudtirolfrage 1945-1983*, Wien/Vienna (Braumüller) 1984, second vol. (1984-1988), Vienna 1988.
21. Hechter, Michael, *Internal Colonialism*, Berkeley (University of California Press) 1975; Tujman, Franjo, *Nationalism in Contemporary Europe*, New York (Columbia Univ. Press) 1981; Petersen, William, *The Background to Ethnic Conflict*, Leiden (E. J. Brill) 1979; Jackson, Harold, *The two Ireland, A dual study of inter-group tensions*, London (MRG, report no. 2) 2d ed. 1979.

politics and probably the world peace could be better guaranteed, if there the political powers and the political trends and movements would more take into account the ethnical situation within their spheres of influence. Therefore politics and ethnicity are in a relatively close connection. One cannot speak of a difference between politics in a democratic-liberal State (as it is predominant in Western Europe, in Canada, in the U.S.A., in Australia and in a little part of Africa and Asia) and in a so-called socialist State (in reality a communist State) in Eastern Europe, partly in Asia, America and Africa) and in the more or less fascist and rightest States and in the so-called presidential republics (South-America, Africa), if one considers the attitude against ethnic minorities and linguistic groups. In certain cases the politics against ethnic groups, also linguistic minorities, can be more liberal and resilient in a totalitarian State (as in Yugoslavia, Hungary) as in a State with the liberal-democratic system of the ruling power of political majorities (e. g. in Austria, in France, in Italy).

It is self-evident, that all ethnic groups which possess their own „ethnicity” wish to have as much of political influence as it is possible. Ethnicity and politics are linked the one to the other.

In the majority of the States of the world minorities (ethnical, linguistic, religious) exist and in Europe – East and West – only a little number of States have not ethnical or linguistic minorities: Iceland, Liechtenstein, Monaco, Ireland, perhaps also Andorra. And in other continents mono-ethnic States don't nearly not exist. For this reason the policy of the States or of the leading circles and political parties have very much to do with ethnic or linguistic minorities. Not seldom such political minority problems can be dangerous for the stability of the politics within a State, as in Belgium, where the conflict of Les Fourons/Voeren²² lead recently to a crisis of the government, or in Rumania²³. The policy referring to ethnic minorities and communities has many consequences also in regard to the juridical structures. Certainly, there exist laws in favour of the ethnic minority groups as in Austria with the Ethnic Groups' Act of 1976²⁴ or in the Yugoslav Federal Constitution and in the Constitutions of the provinces (pokrajine) and the various Socialist Republics²⁵ or also in Italy with the article 6 of the Constitution of 1947 concerning exclusively linguistic minorities and not ethnic groups²⁶. But also in such States the juridical reality differs

22. See the review „Le Foron“, *periodique d'action et de combat de l'Action fouronnaise* a. s. b. l., mouvement pour le retour des Fourons a la Province de Liege, edited by Jean-Louis *Xhonneux*, B-3791 Remersdael; *Stassen*, Albert, La situation des dialectes dans les Fourons, in: *Europa Ethnica*, Vienna/Wien, no. 4/1987, 185–189.
23. *Balog*, Arpad, *Histoire demythifiee de la Roumanie*, Paris (La Pensee Universelle) 1979; *Zolcsak*, Istvan, and other eds., *Memorandum of the Transylvanian World Federation to the Congress and the Government of the U.S.A.*, Sao Bernardo do Campo/Sao Paulo 1987 (with maps).
24. published in various languages by the Federal Chancellery in 1977, with the title „The Legal Status of Ethnic Groups in Austria“ in English (Federal Law Gazette No. 396/1976).
25. *Ustavi i ustavni zakoni* (with commentaries by S. Lepotinec, B. Majić and D. Pavić) Zagreb (informator) 1974; *Jončić*, Koča, *Nations and Nationalities of Yugoslavia*. Beograd (Medjunarodna Politika) 1974, 2d ed. 1982; *Petričević*, Jure, *Nacionalnost stanovništva Jugoslavije* Brugg, Switzerland (Verlag Adria – Knjižnica Sloboda no. 5) 1983.
26. *Piller Puicher*, G., *La Repubblica non tutela le minoranze linguistiche con apposite norme*, Sappada (AIDLCM, Atti del Congresso) 1976; *Ambrosini*, Giangiulio (ed.), *Costituzione Italiana*, Torino (Giulio Einaudi) 1975.

from the laws and their content widely. Policy is not only an endeavour of the law-makers and the constitutional scholars and jurists, between law and justice is in many States a great difference, and one must be suspicious against the parliaments and the law-makers, because the wording of the laws (also of the international Conventions which are binding law between the ratifying States) is very often interpreted in another sense as the authors of such instruments it had meant. Policy is very often law-transgressing, this especially in relation to ethnic, linguistic and also religious minorities. The religious minorities have for us an importance only as, at the same time, linguistic or ethnic minorities what is the case in many countries as Turkey, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Lebanon, Soviet-Russia and so on. The religious policy of a State is in many cases connected with the minority politics²⁷.

It must be said, that in certain socialist countries the political power is not based on parliamentary institutions but on the communist party or on another decisive political party as in the Soviet Union, in Rumania, in the GDR (SED) or in Bulgaria. Politics and minorities lead to an interdependence between these non-parliamentary institutions and the minorities. The membership of the minorities to such a totalitarian party can be a very solid and effective protection of such an ethnic group.

And in this regard the ethnicity is nearly permanently emphasized by the ethnic minorities and ethnic groups since the notion „ethnicity” exists. If we don't refer to the „umma” as it does Albert F. Reiterer in his book, quoted in annotation no 3, we can almost say, that the expression ethnicity dates from the beginning of the use of the French expression „ethnie” (recently also used in Italians as „etnia”) and created by Vacher de Lapouge with his book „Les selections sociales”, adopted by Georges Montadon with his review „L'Ethnie Francaise” which is published in Paris in 1988 in the 53d year. An English translation of „ethnie” is not yet usual, but one finds occasionally the term „ethnics”. In German „Ethnie” can be found scarcely as in a book of Koppelmann²⁸. In a impressonating manner prof. Guy Heraud²⁹ and late Heinz Kloss³⁰, the two most recognized researchers in this field have written on definitions of „ethnicity” in relation to „ethnie”, but also Francois Fontan³¹ with his term „ethnisme”, a political term, must be mentioned here. Regional ethnic organizations as the Basques speak now also of ethnicity and mean their ethnic identity which they would protect and develop as in the monthly „Euskadi Information”³²

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27. See Acta Baltica, until now 68 vols., Königstein/Ts; *Grulich*, Rudolf, Glaubenszeugen heute, Munich (Kirche in Not/Ostpriesterhilfe) 1987; *Grgič*, Jožica, Odnosi med Vatikanom in Jugoslavijo po letu 1960, Ljubljana (Delavska enotnost) 1983; *Luchterhandt*, O., Religionsfreiheit, in: Menschenrechte in den Staaten des Warschauer Paktes, Bonn, (Bundestagsdrucksache Nr. 11/1344, January 1988; see also the very numerous issue of „Conscience et Liberte”, Bern/Switzerland, and „Glaube in der Zweiten Welt“, Zofingen, Switzerland (G2W).
28. *Koppelmann*, H. L., Nation, Sprache und Nationalismus, Leiden (Sijthoff) 1956.
29. *Heraud*, Guy, L'Europe des ethnies, 2d ed., Paris (Presses d'Europe) 1973.
30. *Kloss*, Heinz, Grundfragen der Ethnopolitik im 20. Jahrhundert, Wien/Vienna (Braumüller) and Bad Godesberg (Wissenschaftliche Verlagsanstalt) 1969; *Kloss*, Heinz, Nation, in: Sociolinguistics, 1987. 1987, see footnote 1, 102–109.
31. *Fontan*, Francois, Ethnisme. Vers un nationalisme humaniste, Nice and Frassinò (Cuneo) 1961 (edited by the author).
32. Euskadi Information, Bayonne (mouvement de Liberation Nationale Basque) Nos. 53–58/1988.

III. Ethnicity and language policy

As said above, ethnicity or ethnic identity don't suppose in each case a proper language or a proper dialect. There exist various people and ethnic communities without a proper inherited language and one must consider, that certain ethnic communities and peoples have lost the use of their inherited language and use – mostly for practical and economic or professional reasons – another language as the language of their own. We quoted e. g. the Jews in the Soviet Union who are certainly a people with an ethnic identity which is not the same as the ethnic identity of the Russians (Great Russians) but who speak Russian. In Poland the Germans, how numerous they may be, are regarded as „autochthones” but they don't more speak German because it is prohibited to found schools with German as teaching language and also in the catholic churches the use of German is not allowed. Nevertheless they are culturally Germans. And in Ireland the Gaelic language is used only in certain remote regions as the Gaeltacht, but the generally used language is English, and nobody can have a doubt that the Irish are an ethnic community, a separate people with an ethnic identity strongly different from the English ethnic identity³³. Other examples can be found also in other countries.

Language policy has nearly no importance if there is a State with only one language spoken within the population of this State. Such a State has no problems with ethnic communities, but unilingual States are the exception, this especially beyond Europe. But also in Europe unilingual States are rare: Iceland, Monaco, Liechtenstein and other Micro-States³⁴. Not even Portugal is absolutely monolingual and for this reason it has autonomous regions (Madeira, Acores)³⁵. And Norway is divided in the linguistic regions of Rigmal and Landsmal.

Therefore the language policy is an important part of the general policy within a State. Certainly, Harald Haarmann is right, if he treats the topic „Language in Ethnicity” – one should speak better of „Language and Ethnicity” – and ethnicity has very much to do with language policy. But the ethnic aspects go much farther as linguistic aspects, if one deals with ethnicity. The language is only one of the aspects of ethnic behaviourism and ethnic properties, to the ethnic qualities, and therefore to the notion of „people” in an ethnic sense belong other qualities as culture and cultural heritage and the conscienceness of a special historical background, also in certain cases birth and origin. Share culture and a distinctive language style are not necessarily

33 *Krejčí*, Jaroslav and *Velimsky*, Vitezslav, Ethnic and political nations in Europe, London (Croom Helm) 1981, with an appendix on the „ethnopolitical situation“; *Francis*, Emerich K., Interethnic relations. An essay in sociological theory, Amsterdam (Elsevier) 1977; *Nelde*, Peter H., Research on Language Conflict, in the Handbook „Sociolinguistics“, quoted in foot-note 1, 607–612; *Fishman*, Joshua A., Identity: Personal and Socio-cultural, Uppsala (Committee for multi-ethnic research) 1982.

34 *Veiter*, Theodor, Regionalism and Microstates, in: Regional Contact, no. 1/1987, Copenhagen (The Foundation for International Understanding) 1987, 42–55; *Vellas*, Paul, Les Etats exiguus en droit international public in: Rev. gen. d. dr. intern. public, 1954.

35 *Ferreira*, Fernando Amancio, As regioes autonomas na constituicao Portuguesa, Coimbra (Livraria Almedina) 1980.

defining attributes of ethnicity. This is also recognized by the Soviet theory on ethnocultural processes in various more or less official publications³⁶. The term „ethnic group” is larger than the term „language group”, although the newest researches of the Council of Europe and of the European Parliament of the E(E)C on ethnicity deal especially with the linguistic aspects³⁷. Ethnicity belongs to the ethnic communities and the ethnic groups and here in the first line the ethnic minority groups or the so-called „nationalities” in multi-national (poly-ethnic) States. Such multinational States are e. g. Switzerland, Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, India, Canada, Belgium and so on. Their *raison d'être* is the cooperation and the harmony between the dominant people as ethnic community resp. between the various „nationalities” as it is shown in the glossary of the UNESCO³⁸ and in other glossaries elaborated by multinational States as Yugoslavia³⁹. Ethnicity can serve also as a means to preserve the world peace, because the ethnic conflicts have destroyed many States in the past and can be a great danger also today⁴⁰. The politics in regard to ethnic groups and peoples, based on the notion of ethnicity in a political sense is in modern times decisive for the maintenance of peace and therefore also for the preservation of mankind⁴¹.

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36. *Grigulevich, I. R. and Kozlov, S. Ya.*, *Ethnocultural Processes and National Problems in the Modern World*, Moscow (Progress Publishers) 1979.
 37. Council of Europe, Doc. CPL (22) 4, and ACPL 4.221; Parlement Europeen. Commission de la Jeunesse, de la Culture, de l'Education, de l'Information et des Sports, Rapport W. Kuijpers, PE 105.139/rev. II, 10 avril 1987. The last report of the Council of Europe, Commission of Local and Regional Authorities, was nearly unanimously adopted on 17/18, March 1988.
 38. *Harmsen, Hans*, Wörterbuch demographischer Grundbegriffe – Deutsch, Französisch, Italienisch, Englisch, (Hamburg Universität, Deutsche Akademie für Bevölkerungswissenschaft) 1960; *Winkler, Wilhelm* (ed.), Mehrsprachiges demographisches Wörterbuch, Hamburg (Union internationale pour l'étude scientifique de la population) 1960; see also the reports and draft resolutions of Franz Count *Stauffenberg* of 1987 and 1988 for a Charter to protect the ethnic communities within the Member States of the EP.
 39. *Goljas, Janko*, Petjezični glosar ustave in samoupravljanja SFRJ, Ljubljana (Društvo znanstvenih in tehničnih prevajalcev Slovenije s sofinanciranjem Kulturne skupnosti Slovenije) 1976.
 40. *Cassese, Antonio and Jouve, Edmond*, *Pour un droit des peuples*, Paris (Berger-Leyrault) 1978, with many documents; *Tajfel, H.*, *Gruppenkonflikt und Vorurteil*, Bern 1982.
 41. *Moens, Gabriel*, *Equality for Freedom*, Wien/Vienna (Braümüller) 1976; *Salvi, Sergio*, *Patria e Matria*, Firenze (Vallecchi) 1978; *Vukas, Budislav*, *Etnične manjine i međunarodni odnosi*, Zagreb (Školska Knjiga) 1978; *Veiter, Theodor*, *Europas Schicksalsweg 1947–1987: Vom Nationalstaat zum Frieden zwischen den Völkern*, in: No. 7 of the Schriftenreihe der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte, Graz (University) 1987/88, and Munich (Mittel-europäische Quellen und Dokumente, vol. 19) 1987.

IV. Ethnicity and regional politics

The term „region” means, juridically and also politically, since the various Conferences on Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe, especially the Conferences of Galway and Innsbruck 1975 and the declarations of Bordeaux of 1978, and since the constitutions of the (non-governmental) Assembly of the Rege Regions of Europe (the name was changed in 1987 from the former name Council of the Regions of Europe), a congruent and homogeneous closed territory with certain historically and geographically given borders, this also beyond the political frontiers, with a population which have distinct characteristics (culture, economics, traffic, history) and is synoptical, relatively small, if the population will cultivate its traditional culture⁴². In Europe such regions are partly also juridically established, this also in the constitutional law and with the name „region” as in Italy⁴³, in Denmark⁴⁴, in Spain⁴⁵, meanwhile in France regions exist under this expression, but without regional characteristics⁴⁶ (excepted Corsica) and in Austria the juridical term „Region” can be found only in a Federal Law on foreign workers and means administrative districts which are certainly not regions in what a sense this could be⁴⁷. The expression „region” is not decisive. E. G. in Denmark the new so-called counties (communes) are certainly regions in the sense of this report and also of the theories of the Council of Europe⁴⁸ and the Canadian „Provinces”, which have partly also ethnic characteristics, are regions in its proper sense⁴⁹, insofar as they are not to extended, but there must

42. *Regionalismus in Europa*, 4 vols, Munchen/Munich (Bayerische Landeszentrale für politische Bildungsarbeit resp. INTEREG) 1981 (vol. I + II) resp. 1983 (vol. III + IV); *Veiter*, Theodor, *Region*, in the Sociolinguistic Handbook, s. foot-note 1; *Enloe*, Cynthia H., *Ethnic Conflict and Political Development*, Boston (Little, Brown & Camp) 1973; *Polakovic*, Esteban, *La formacion del ser nacional (La etnogenesis)*, Buenos Aires (Lumen) 1978; *Kardelj*, Edvard, *Nation und internationale Beziehungen*, Beograd (STP) 1975.
43. *Pizzorusso*, Alessandro, *Il pluralismo linguistico tra Stato nazionale e autonomie regionali*, Pisa (Pacini) 1975; *Weibel*, Ernest, *La création des régions autonomes à statut special en Italie*, Geneve (Droz) 1971.
44. *See*: *The Regional Level. Countries in Denmark*, Copenhagen and Odense (The Association of Country Councils in Denmark) 1978.
45. *Arevalo*, Manuel Clavero, *Espana; desde el centralismo a las autonomias*, Barcelona (Planeta) 1983; the various statutes of the autonomous regions are published by Enrique Orduno *Rebollo* within the Instituto de Estudios de Administracion Local, Madrid, 1979.
46. *Gras*, Christian, et *Livet*, Georges, *Regions et regionalisme en France du XVIII-e siecle a nos jours*, Paris (PUF) 1977; *Philipponneau*, op. cit., footnote 17.
47. Report on the educational and cultural problems of minority languages and dialects in Europe, Doc. 4745 of June, 12, 1981 of the Council of Europe; *Morin*, Jacques-Yvan, *Liberte nationale et federalisme*, Montreal (Themis) 1964.
48. Conseil de l'Europe, Resolution 192 (1988) (1) sur les langues regionales ou minoritaires en Europe, adoptée le 17 mars 1988/Resolution 192 (1988) (1) on Regional or minority languages in Europe; *Entschliessungsantrag Franz Ludwig Graf Stauffenberg an das Europäische Parlament betreffend eine Volksgruppen-Charta vom 9. 3. 1988 mit ausführlicher Begründung vom 1. 3. 1988*; Resolutions adopted by the Second General Conference of the European Regions, Strasbourg 19–20 nov. 1987.
49. *Bienvenu*, Rita M., and *Goldstein*, Jay E., *Ethnicity and Ethnic Relations in Canada*, Toronto (Butterworths) 1985; *Rapport Parent*, vols. 1–5, Quebec (Ministere de l'education) 1966; see especially the review „Canadian Ethnic Studies”, 1988 in the 20th, year, published in Toronto, Ontario.

be distinguished between regions and the local member-States in Federal States. The „Laender“, „Cantons“, „Provinces“ and other Federal units within a Federal State can be, if they are small enough, also „regions“ as in Austria the provinces of Vorarlberg and Carinthia, in Germany Saarland or the cities of Hamburg and Bremen, in Switzerland the cantons of Glarus, Jura, Zug or the half-cantons of Appenzell or Basel, but, for instance Bavaria or Lower Austria are not regions, they are too great and are divided into various regions (Franken, Schwaben, Oberbayern, Niederbayern; Waldviertel, Weinviertel etc). Within the Land Vorarlberg, which can be considered as a region, there are little regions of their own as the region of the Montafon-valley or the Bregenzerwald and within the German region „Schleswig“ (as a part of the Land Schleswig-Holstein) exists a Frisian region (the administrative district Nordfriesland)⁵⁰.

The problem is, if „regions“ and the tendencies to create regions on a juridical level („regionalism“, „regionalisation“), especially in the case of frontier-transgressing regions – with which the Council of Europe deals in a special Organisation, the AGEG – can belong to the question of ethnicity. This is a political question too. It is not necessary that a region is also linked to a certain ethnic group, an ethnic community (people) in the sense of the two International Covenants on Human rights of 1966⁵¹, because in many cases for the identification of such a region it is sufficient to ascertain, that the population has their own history, culture and ancestral soil⁵². Such regions without an ethnic characteristics exist in a great number as the Tennesy Valley (with its Tennesy Valley Authority), South-Australia, New Zealand, Sicily, Korfu, Rhodos, the Muhl-Viertel in Upper-Austria, Svalbard/Spitzberg, since the expulsion of the Germans also Wolhynia, the Danzig Region (Gdansk), and so on. But very more numerous are regions, if juridically constituted or not, with an ethnic characteristics, or almost any linguistic characteristics of their own. Frontier-transgressing regional organizations as the ARGE Alpe-Adria with the membership of the SR Croatia, and the SR Slovenia, but also Friuli and Carinthia, the ARGE Alp (with regions as South-Tyrol, Trentino, Lombardy, North Tyrol etc.), the Euregio (between Germany and the Netherlands), Alpazur, Pyrenees, Regio Basiliensis etc. have inter alia ethnic characteristics or almost linguistic aspects and without these characteristics they would not be regions.

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50. *Steensen*, Thomas, *Die friesische Bewegung in Nordfriesland im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols, Neumünster (Karl Wachholtz Verlag) 1986; see also the review „Nord Friesland“ (monthly), published by the Nordfriisk Institut, Braist/Bredstedt, NF 1988 in the 21st year; *Festschrift Dr. F. Paulsen zum 75. Geburtstag*, Bredstedt (Nordfriisk Institut) 1984; *Steensen*, Thomas, *Die Nordfriesen und ihre Sprache*, in: *Regional Contact*, Copenhagen, Nr. 1/1988, and the „Frisian News Items“, Columbus, Ohio, in 1988 in the 44th year.
51. UN-Documents A/RES/2200 (XXI) of December 16, 1966; *Ermacora*, Felix (ed.), *Internationale Dokumente zum Menschenrechtsschutz*, Stuttgart (Reclam) 1971; *Robertson*, A. H., *Human Rights in the World*, Manchester (Manchester Univ. Press) 1972.
52. *Kimminich*, Otto, *Das Recht auf die Heimat*, Bonn (osmipress) 1978; *Veiter*, Theodor (ed.), *Vertreibung, Zuflucht, Heimat/Expulsion, Refuge, Domicile*, Wien/Vienna (Braumüller) 1962; *Lengereau*, Marc, *Le droit a la Heimat*, Grenoble (these univ. de Grenoble, Science Politique) 1970; *Veiter*, Theodor, *Le droit des peuples a disposer d'eux-memes et leur droit au foyer natal*, in: *Scritti in onore di Manlio Udina*, Milano (Giuffre) 1975; *Rabl*, Kurt (ed.), *Das Recht auf die Heimat*, München/Munich (Robert Lerche), 5 vols. 1959–1963; *Doskocil*, Walter, *Recht auf die Heimat. Pflicht zur Heimat*, München/München (Ackermann-Gemeinde) 1964;

Existing regions, if legally constituted or not, within a State and not frontier-transgressing are in many cases in the sense of the ethnic identity mainly based on an ethnic or linguistic background. One may quote the great part of the (legally constituted) regions in Italy, in Spain, in Denmark (in regard to South-Jylland, Bornholm, the Faeroer-Islands, Greenland) for a great part in the Soviet Union with the autonomous districts (AYTOHOMHAR OBLASTI), in certain Republics as the Baltic Soviet Republics, which were in violation of the International Public Law occupied by the Soviet Union⁵³, the autonomous regions (pokrajine) in Yugoslavia, certain insular regions belonging to the Council of the insular regions of the Council of Europe and so on. Ethnicity and regionalism (regions) are in many cases in close connection one to the other and in all these cases the politics have a certain role, e. g. in regard to the preservation of such regions as a part of the whole sovereign State, to which they belong. Not yet resolved conflicts as the conflict in and on Cyprus, which is nearly exclusively a ethnic conflict⁵⁴, prove that this argumentation is right.

V. Ethnicity and the politics of self-determination

The right to self-determination, occasionally declared also as a right of self-determination, what is not very exact, (*droit des peuples a disposer d'eux-memes*, *Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Volker*, *diritto dei popoli alla auto-determinazione*, *derecho de autodeterminacion de los pueblos*, *pravo na samoopredjeljenje*) is a political right of „all peoples” as it is the content of the article one of the two International Covenants on Human Rights of 1966, where it is said⁵⁵:

1. All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.
2. All peoples may, for their own ends, freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources without prejudice to any obligations arising out of international econo-

Veiter, Theodor, *The Rights of Nationalities and Ethnic Groups to their Ancestral Soil*, in: *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism*, vol XIII/1, Spring 1986; *Stavenhagen*, Rodolfo, *Problemes et Perspectives des Etats a ethnies multiples*, Tokio (Universite des Nations Unies) 1986; *Petrič*, Ernest, *Das Recht auf die Heimat kot pojem mednarodnega prava*, 2 vols, thesis University of Ljubljana, 1964.

53. *Kalnins*, Ingrida, *Baltic Tribunal against the Soviet Union July 25 & 26, 1985*, Copenhagen, Rockville, Maryland (World Federation of Free Latvians) 1986 (with detailed bibliography).
54. *Loizos*, Peter / *Hitchens*, Christopher, *Cyprus*, Report No. 30, 2d ed. London (MRG), 1978; *Human Rights. Turkey's Violations of Human Rights in Cyprus, Nicosia (Greek)* (Cyprus Bar Association) 1986; *Cyprus after the Turkish invasion. They make a desert and they call it peace*, (Greek) Nicosia (Union of the Municipalities of Cyprus) 1983 (?); *Whitaker*, Ben/*Zulch*, Tilman (eds.), *Die Nationalitätenpolitik der Republik Türkei*, Göttingen and Vienna (Gesellschaft für bedrohte Völker) 11. 5. 1987 (results of an international Hearing, organized by a jury, composed of five members; *Nejatigil*, Zaim M., *The Turkish Republic in Perspective*, Lefkosa (Turkish part of Nicosia) (Tezel) 1985, turkish standpoint, with maps and documents; *Application by Cyprus against Turkey No. 8007/77*, decision of Commission of Human Rights of the Council of Europe, 10 July 1978.
55. See: *Human Rights. A compilation of international instruments of the United Nations*, New York (UN – A/CONF' 32/4) 1967.

mic co-operation, based upon the principle of mutual benefit, and international law. In no case may a people be deprived of its own means of subsistence.

3. The States Parties to the present Covenant, including those having responsibility for the administration of Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories, shall promote the realization of the right of self-determination, and shall respect this right, in conformity with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

The word „peoples“ means not States, but the ethnic communities all over the world, generally described as „peoples“ (in German *Volker*“, in French „peuples“, in certain slavic languages „narod““, in Italian „popoli“). The literature on the right of, or better: to self-determination is very numerous and we can here quote only the most important publications, of which in the first line the book, written in Spanish, by *Obieta Chalbaud*⁵⁶ which is the best research of this topic existing until now. But there are also much other books and publications in the most important languages of the world⁵⁷.

Without doubt, the meaning of the „self-determination“ is not always clear. And for this reason the UN adopted a kind of authentic interpretation with the Declaration of the General Assembly of October 24, 1970, no. 2625 (XXV). There is said, that not only the secession or the change of sovereignty can be a fulfilment of this right, but also self-government (autonomy)⁵⁸ and every other kind of a legal system. In every case the right of resp. to self-determination is bound to the ethnic identity and belongs to the fact of ethnicity. Without an ethnic identity and without ethnicity cannot exist a right of all peoples (peoples as ethnic communities) to self-determination. The politics of the States must recognize this right as binding law (*ius cogens*) and nearly all States have adopted and ratified the two Covenants with their article one.

Certainly, the tenor of the right to self-determination is not absolutely clear. Many authors and especially the leaders of ethnic minorities (ethnic groups) in the States with a majority of an other people, which dominates the whole State declare often, that the right to self-determination (or: of self-determination) is only the right to secession, the right to leave the State, where the minority lives, with the territory (ancestral soil), therefore the change of sovereignty (from one State to another or by creating a new independent State). But secession cannot be realized, after the charter of the UN or following the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe of 1975⁵⁹, if there would be further violations of the world

56. *Obieta Chalbaud*, Jose A., *el derecho humano de la autodeterminacion de los pueblos*, Madrid (tecnos) 1985.

57. *Calogeropoulos-Stratis*, *Le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-memes*, Bruxelles (Bruylant) 1973; *Bulajic*, Milan, *Pravo na samoopredjeljenje u društvu naroda i ujedjenim nacijama (1917–1962)*, Beograd (edited by the author) 1963; *Johnson*, Harold S., *Self-Determination within the Community of Nations*, Leiden (Sijthoff) 1967; *Sureda*, A. Rigo, *The evolution of the right of self-determination*, Leiden (Sijhoff) 1973; *Veiter*, Theodor, *Grundgedanken zum Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Südtiroler*, in: *Festschrift für Viktoria Stadlmayer*, Innsbruck 1988 (to be published).

58. *Buchheit*, Lee C., *Secession. The legitimacy of Self-Determination*, New Haven & London (Yale Univ. Press) 1978.

59. *Tretter*, Hannes (ed.), *KSZE, Vienna (Bohlaue) 1984 (documents)*, there much bibliography; *Konferenz über Sicherheit und Zusammenarbeit in Europa Entstehung, Verlauf und Dokumente*, Wien/Vienna (Bundesministerium für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten) 1986.

peace and of the peaceful cooperation between the peoples. In the past many cases of realization of the self-determination and of the politics leading to such realizations were in the same time violations of the same right of the other peoples, if there was a secession. One must here think to the cases of South Tyrol, the Sudeten-Germans, the Croats, Serbs and Slovenes who came with their ancestral soil in 1919 to Italy, the genocide in East-Timor, and so on.

In reality the so-called external right to self-determination, which means secession and change of sovereignty, is nearly exclusively connected with the violation of the same right to self-determination of peoples or – mostly – ethnic minorities which now come under the dominance of the peoples exercising their own right of or to self-determination. Only in singular cases, especially if there exists ethnic groups on the border of the „national“ States of the same language or ethnic characteristics, the secession and the change of sovereignty is effectively a fulfilment of the right to self-determination (this would be the case, if a Kurdish sovereign State would be established and in similar cases).

The content of the right to self-determination is, generally, to see as the internal right to self-determination. That means autonomy as it exists e. g. in Puerto Rico, in Québec, in federal structures, in the case of regional autonomies. The ethnic politics must accept, that autonomy (with a local parliament, a local administration, a local government, local road connections and in certain cases also other traffic provision, with a certain economic self-subsistence) is the best solution in regard to ethnic tensions. The ethnic conflict⁶⁰ can in such a way be avoided and ethnicity is then the means to the peace not only between States, but also between peoples.

60 *MacMillan*, C. Michael, Language Issues and Nationalism in Quebec, in: *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism*, Fall 1987, 229–247; *Wisard*, Francois, *Le Jura en Question*, Lausanne (Le livre politique); *Glazer*, Nathan, *Ethnic Dilemmas 1964–1982*, Cambridge, Mass. and London U. K., (Harvard Univ. Press) 1983.