SOOME-ÕGRI RAHVASTE IV MAAILMAKONGRESS
• NOORED ON MEIE TULEVIK •
IV WORLD CONGRESS OF FINNO-UGRIC PEOPLES
• YOUTH IS OUR FUTURE •
IV ВСЕМИРНЫЙ КОНГРЕСС ФИННО-УГОРСКИХ НАРОДОВ
• МОЛОДЕЖЬ - НАШЕ БУДУЩЕЕ •

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Speeches and Documents
4th World Congress of the Finno-Ugric Peoples

Tallinn, Estonia, August 15-19, 2004

Speeches and Documents
Opening addresses
Arnold Rüütel, President of the Republic of Estonia

Honourable President Halonen, Honourable President Madl, Dear representatives of kindred peoples and guests of the Congress of the Finno-Ugric Peoples!

Welcome to the capital of Estonia! Many thanks to all who consider co-operation between Finno-Ugric peoples an important matter.
Naturalists enter endangered species into a Red Book in order to take measures to save them from becoming extinct. Estonian scientists have compiled the Red Book of the Peoples of Russia. A Red Book for the peoples of the whole world is yet to be compiled.
When a species becomes extinct, the natural environment of the world will be the poorer for it, and the ecological balance may be compromised. When a people ceases to exist, their language disappears, together with its unique spirit. Thus, a unique culture and historical experience is lost.
When a people becomes extinct, it is not the loss in material riches that makes the world poorer, but the loss in spiritual and cultural diversity.
Most Finno-Ugric peoples, including Estonians, have a population under one million. Many Finno-Ugric tribes have already disappeared or are on the verge of extinction. Paradoxically, it is the possession of natural resources that can prove fatal for a people. The Khanty and the Mansi, whose territories are rich in natural resources, are listed in the Resolution of 1998 of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe under Uralic peoples whose language and culture is endangered.
However, when a people obtains the endangered status, it may be already too late to guarantee their survival and the continuity of their language, culture and social arrangement. It is much earlier that we need to begin to worry about the fate of small nations and to start to protect their special existential needs.
It does not always take physical extermination for a nation to become extinct. More often than not, it is about assimilation, adopting a different language and different cultural patterns, which generally involves economic benefits and a higher social status. Usually it is said in such cases that the choice was made voluntarily.
Unfortunately the voluntary character of such a choice is but an illusion, as it was made under economic, political, demographic and educational considerations in a situation where a people had become a minority in their historical territory and lost control over the way they order their lives.
For a language and a culture to survive, it has to be transmitted to children from a very early age, and the prevalence of the native language and native culture within the community has to be ensured. However, in this day and age no language can survive and develop at home and on village lanes alone. Opportunities have to be created for national languages to obtain a full status and multifunctional application in everyday life, culture, education, science, mass media and information technology.
This Finno-Ugric Congress focuses on the youth. Youth are the force that shape and determine the future of every nation. Young people must look at the world with open eyes and with an open heart; they must exist within today’s world on the world’s level. At the same time one should not forget the life experience of the older generation, nor the wisdom of our forefathers. It takes both traditions and an innovative spirit for a culture to be sustainable. A culture can only survive and develop in their interaction.
The Finno-Ugric peoples enrich the world with their unique languages and cultures. This Congress has been convoked to think about the essential problems of our peoples, to bring
them to global attention, and to set our future goals together. For that, we need not only continuing cooperation between ourselves, but also friends and allies.
I wish all Finno-Ugric peoples success and prosperity.
Our Finno-Ugric family is together once more and it is truly a joy to see everyone again. We last met in such large numbers in Helsinki in 2000, when I also had the pleasure to attend. It has been less than four years since the Third World Congress of Finno-Ugric Peoples, but the changes that have taken place around the world in the meantime are great. An important and happy change is the enlargement of the European Union at the beginning of May with ten new member states. Estonia and Hungary are now full-fledged members in the Union. The majority of people who speak Finno-Ugric languages are now citizens of the European Union and our mutual dealings will continue to increase. In the European Union each member state has a carefully guarded right to its own language. The present objectives of both the European Union and the Council of Europe are quite encouraging for small language groups. The European Union is not Europe, however, and Europe is not the whole world. Globalization has become a stronger part of our everyday life, for better or worse. All of us come in touch with this daily, with television, the Internet and other media bringing global events to our attention every moment. The world-wide information society is now our “home” just as language is our mind's home. Internationally English is in a dominant position as a means of communication, but this is not the whole story. The other side of reality is the thousands of other languages that we and many other people around the world speak as our mother tongue. The right to one’s mother tongue is an important human rights issue. Proficiency in one’s mother tongue also provides an effective basis for learning other languages. An official objective in the European Union is competence in more than one language. Being able to speak another language opens opportunities for all kinds of cooperation. Our love for our own language and culture does not keep us from falling in love with other languages and the cultural vistas they offer. Together with President Benjamin Mkapa of Tanzania I recently had the opportunity to co-chair the World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization, which was established by the International Labour Organization. The goal of our 25-member commission was to be part of a process that will give globalization a more human face. I believe that this is a timely challenge for us here today as well. The basic assumption in the world commission's report is that positive change always begins at home, with ourselves. A person's home is a local thing, even if it is influenced by global matters. One section of our report accordingly consists of recommendations to nation-states and civil society concerning rights and obligation, while another whole is formed by matters that come within the sphere of international organizations. People often ask what is the key to success in globalization. There are no miracle cures, but from my own country's experience I can testify that education is one of the most important assurors of prosperity. Education is an investment in a better tomorrow. Education is important for everyone but above all for young people, and as the theme of our congress says Youth is Our Future. Education should be broad. In addition to science and technology there must be room for creativity in our rapidly changing world. Culture is an important compass for young people trying to figure out the present and the future. Knowing and appreciating one’s own culture is particularly important, since it’s easy to get lost if you don't know where you’re coming from. Our young people have our unique Finno-Ugric cultural heritage as a strong base to grow on.
We must succeed in lighting our young people’s love for it, but we must also remember that our present culture has developed from interaction with other cultures and that our young people must have a chance to do the same. Speakers of Finno-Ugric languages are few in number among the world’s population. From the spectrum of languages around the world, a language with over a million speakers qualifies as a major language and some Finno-Ugric languages meet this criterion. We should also remember that the same language group can be in the position of a majority or a minority in different countries. In the case of a minority language the emphasis is on rights, in the case of a majority language obligations.

The position of Swedish-speaking Finns has been considered very well in international comparisons. Taking a closer look at the mirror has revealed that everything is not perfect, however. Not everyone in our Swedish-speaking minority receives adequate services in their own mother tongue. Protecting minorities’ interests requires constant work.

In this millennium it is harder to get Finnish-speaking school pupils interested in learning Swedish when it is obvious that English, French, German or Russian can open many more doors. But the question is also about attitudes that may indirectly have an affect on our own small language as well.

A special challenge is to keep very small languages alive. In Finland this includes Roma and Sami. All of us are aware that most of the languages in the Finno-Ugric group fall in this category. Keeping these languages alive requires active measures by national governments. It is especially important to arrange sufficient instruction in pupils' mother tongue in the elementary grades.

Support can also come from outside. Finland has engaged in cooperation to support Finno-Ugric peoples in Russia for the past ten years. A key objective of this program is to develop languages and strengthen language groups’ cultural identity in Russia. The cultural and education ministers of Finland, Estonia and Hungary have also stepped up cooperation to preserve the cultural identity of Finno-Ugric peoples living in Russia.

The distinctiveness and vitality of small languages and peoples - including Finno-Ugric languages and peoples - could be promoted by increasing European cooperation. The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages provides a good basis for this work and I hope that all the members of the Council of Europe will sign and ratify this charter. One new timely challenge for us is to consider what our Finno-Ugric heritage can offer immigrants whose cultural background may be quite different. Another question is: What riches and positive force can our Finno-Ugric heritage give those who have moved over the great seas in the past.

A fresh example of our living and strong Finno-Ugric heritage is the Tallinn Song Festival that was held on the first weekend of July. Even pouring rain could not put out the flame, but everyone there could enjoy its warmth. I hope that something of this living flame and joyful spirit can be passed on to all Finno-Ugric school pupils and young people. One possibility could be the same kind of theme weeks that have been arranged between schools in Hungary and Finland for a number of years. I trust that you will discuss these and many other possibilities in your work this week.

I wish the IV World Congress of Finno-Ugric Peoples the very best luck and success in your important work. I know that this matter is dear to your hearts and I trust that when your work is done, we will have a lot of good things to offer to our peoples’ youth.
Ferenc Mádl, President of the Republic of Hungary

Ms President, Your Excellencies, dear Finno-Ugric relatives! Ladies and gentlemen!

It is a great honor and pleasure to be with you again and to greet the members of this extremely important event. It is a feeling, which we seldom experience. The family has come together, and all personal joys and troubles are shared by the others, by the society.

At the opening of the IV World Congress of Finno-Ugric peoples we have to express our pleasure in that this is not just a festive moment. The World Congress of Finno-Ugric peoples are a constantly working body.

The first congress, which took place twelve years ago, was a great step in the history of these peoples. It mirrored the global political change, which was then started and the outcome of which is still influencing our present. As a result of this invaluable process, many cultures were granted the possibility for survival. Now the expectations of Finno-Ugric peoples can be more optimistic than ten to fifteen years ago.

After announcing this joyful statement, we may also posit our concerns into a global setting. We have to take into consideration, that when discussing the possibilities of survival for the Finno-Ugric peoples - who are especially important and dear to our heart, we do not only speak about our own problems. These problems and duties are common to many nations around the world. Globalisation is the dominant process of our time. There is no doubt, that this historically unique process of changing has brought enormous economic progress and connected people, who were earlier divided by great distances. On the other hand, it is clearly not supporting ethnical and cultural multiplicity.

The massive unificating mechanism of our time imperils the survival of smaller nations more than any ambition or political power has done before. At the same time, it opens new prospects and fresh vigor for the peoples struggling for their existence. Our task is to find these chances and to employ them to our purposes. We have already witnessed how the assimilative ambitions of dictatorships or majorities of the near past (but even today) have motivated the protective instinct. This is how we have to face the new challenges also.

In earlier times, the isolation and the economic deficiency provided some protection for these deserted peoples. Now the situation has changed. A competitive ability is elementary in the realms of economy, social development and culture. Globalisation is not only a threat: it provides conditions for progress.

The promise of an easier life and all the goods offered by the current economical system result in a temptation to leave the ancient cultures behind, only because traditions are said to be old-fashioned. In this sense, following traditions equals being left out of something. Our statement is, that this is not so. We confess, that there is no complete personality without preserving national identity and that it is also the basis for understanding other cultures. Similarly, a person, who cannot love his parents, is not able to create loving human relationships any more.

Hungarian culture is an example of successful adaptation to the changes of the world: it has been possible to incorporate new values while remaining true to our traditions. A well-known example of this process is the work of the Hungarian composer Bela Bartok. Bartok found his way to other nations’ music via the motives of Hungarian folk songs. On the basis of the archaic, national elements of folk music, he created modern compositions, which approach cosmic dimensions.

All this shows clearly, that the culture of small nations can only be preserved by their openness and widening of views, not isolation. In this area, the smaller Finno-Ugric nations and the largest group, the Hungarian people are following the same laws, as do the lesser inhabitants of South-America or Africa. And we also have to state that the maintenance of cultures is not an advantage for themselves only. All cultures, when and wherever they may
have been formed, are precious for all mankind.
It is a curious feeling to take part in this congress as a Hungarian. Our history and forming of
the nation from the XIX century on have taken place in the shadow of a thought formulated
by the great German philosopher, Herder. Herder wrote that the Hungarians will inevitably
become assimilated into surrounding Slavic or Germanic peoples. If we now think about the
fact, that almost half of the people speaking Finno-Ugric languages are Hungarian, we can say
that this scenario was not only about us. Historically speaking, two centuries is not a long
period. But the prediction of Herder has not come true. The conscious sense of danger
awakened the powers of the Hungarians and it also encouraged the raise of national
conscience. This phenomenon has been observable in connection with all endangered Finno-
Ugric peoples, though in different circumstances and forms. The healthy immunological
system starts to operate as a result of external danger and if it does not meet obstacles it can
be very effective.

On the basis of the news we receive about Finno-Ugric peoples I believe that they are
experiencing a similar process. There are many reports, which show that those who used to be
among the most endangered, show a flourishing national awakening. I believe that the history
of Hungarians can be a model in many senses. The Hungarians have suffered for centuries
under a feeling of loneliness among their neighbors of Slavic, Germanic and Latin origin. Our
kindred nations must struggle with analogous feelings. A way out of this can be our readiness
to listen to each other. It is also crucial because in the past thousands of years the sense of
belonging together has nearly been lost from the Finno-Ugric peoples’ common
consciousness.

The Hungarians have traditionally focused more on the peoples, with whom they moved
towards the West through the steppe. The memories of our relatives have been overshadowed,
but the deep layers of language, mythology and culture have preserved their lively imprints.
Science has found these traces and awarded our nations with a community of kindred long
forgotten.

These 25 million people do not live in a unified block but are scattered around a large area. In
today’s circumstances though, geographical distance has not the same meaning as before. The
communication is easier than ever before, through traffic and modern technical devices. And
we may add that even political borders are not hindering these connections any more.
The past fifteen years have caused enormous changes in our world. Here I only mention the
development of such a European Union, which has now three Finno-Ugric nations among its
members. This year Hungary and Estonia have followed our Finnish brothers. Let me here
congratulate the new member countries.

Today the languages of these three nations are official languages of one of the most powerful
alliances of our time. Their delegates take part in the work of the European Parliament. It
seems that the future of these cultures and languages is secure. The whole Finno-Ugric
community may enjoy the result of their economic and cultural cooperation.

As I have mentioned before, the solidarity between kindred nations is not only a sacrifice but
it also has prospects for mutual improvement. Positive examples of such cooperation exist
between Hungarians as well as Finno-Ugric nations living on the territory of the Russian
Federation.

The majority of Finno-Ugric peoples are inhabitants of the Russian Federation. We realize,
how terrible tortures some of them had to experience under the dictatorship of Stalin. But at
the same time, this suffering has strengthened their identity, and the fellowship with the others
excluded. These Finno-Ugric peoples, who formerly had to fight for the acknowledging of
their autonomy and language, have achieved such rights in the past fifteen years, which
guarantee the conditions for their existence. Still we know that the possibilities for a nation
with hundreds of thousands or even millions of people are quite different from the
perspectives of a much smaller nation.

“Youth is our future” - this is the topic of our present conference. What will this youth and this future be like, is primarily our responsibility. We not only have to pass on the traditions of our forefathers but we also have to struggle for the securing of administrative and political conditions, which guarantee the survival of this culture. We cannot take our present results as sufficient. Many of the nations present are not only exposed to linguistic and cultural disadvantages but also economic, environmental and health care shortage is threatening their existence. Fortunately, there are also positive examples. The success of the independent, state-forming Finno-Ugric nations may show a brighter perspective to those in minority position. The “big” ones have to be aware of their responsibility and to concentrate on the well-being of even the smallest. I am happy to say that there are positive examples on the Hungarian side in cooperation between universities, scientific relationships and the offering of scholarships. All this is of course too little compared to the great task. We have duties to create an extensive strategically plan and to guarantee larger financial resources to this goal. The results up to this moment have been successful - and it is important to widen the scope to a wider audience and to offer more direct support.

Istvan Bibo, an excellent Hungarian political philosopher said that for small nation it can already be dangerous if their existence is put under question. It is our duty to tell the world that this family of languages and peoples exists and that some of us are in the situation of lethal danger.

International pacts are important but it is just as important to influence the thinking of these nations and the surrounding world. This congress is another chance for making progress in this direction.

I wish you successful consultations, long-time results and still growing audience for the future conferences!
Leonid Nadyrov, Deputy Minister of Culture and Mass Communications of the Russian Federation

Honorable President of Finland, honorable President of Estonia, honorable President of Hungary, Mister Chairman, honorable Delegates and Guests of the Congress

First of all I would like to thank and express my excitement of this great job the organizers of the Congress have done for its preparation. This excellent hall and its atmosphere of trust and cooperation show manifestly the fruitfulness of efforts spent. The Congress of Finno-Ugric Peoples reflects historical and cultural kinship of the large and ancient Eurasian community and, at the same time, it is the sign of contemporary co-existence of the people, who are intended at preserving peace, who are deeply convinced that any problems can be solved in mutual consent and respect. For the Russian Federation, where more than twenty Finno-Ugric and Samoyed peoples live, the Congress demonstrates the geographic unity of the European area as well as brings together renewed Russia with renewed Europe. It assists, and it is especially important for the youth, to keep away from different forms of racism, anti-Semitism, xenophobia, and to cultivate tolerance.

To a certain extent this process is reflected in changes that are done in compliance with the ukase of the President of the Russian Federation in the system of the state authorities. For instance, the Ministry of Culture and Mass Communications of the Russian Federation got the task to elaborate the state policy in the sphere of culture, arts, print, television, broadcasting, cinematography, archives and libraries, inter-ethnic relations, preservation and augmenting of multinational cultural heritage of the peoples of Russia. It is particularly pleasant for me to say in this auditorium that the issues of advancement of the Finno-Ugric and Samoyed peoples are considered to be as one of priorities in our Ministry.

I would like to inform you speaking on transition of the Government of the Russian Federation to the new system of criteria of budget planning in 2005, which effectively works in Hungary, Finland and Estonia, that the Ministry of Culture and Mass Communications is intended in middle-term perspective to compose the united list of cultural heritage of the Finno-Ugric and Samoyed peoples. This united database will include the data on all cultural values and memorials of Finno-Ugric culture that are stored in museums, archives, libraries, video and audio collections of the Russian Federation. Of course, we rely upon cooperation with the Congress, with our colleagues from Hungary, Finland and Estonia in this forthcoming work.

Concluding my short presentation I believe it to be my pleasant obligation to remind honored participants and guests of the Congress that in one year the Russian Federation will held the X World Congress of Finno-Ugric studies that will take place in Yoshkar-Ola, Republic of Mari El, and to invite in the name of the organizing committee all the interested persons to participate in this forum.

Let me announce the greeting message of the President of the Russian Federation.

Greeting message of the President of the Russian Federation
Vladimir Putin

I greet the participants and guests of the Congress.

For some years delegations from different countries of the world, politicians and businessmen, artists and scientists gather at your forum. On its agenda – problems of preserving unique historic and moral heritage, original language, traditions of Finno-Ugric
peoples. Results of the solution of these problems to great extent depend on effectiveness of state politics, on both activities of non-governmental organizations and fulfillment of civil initiatives.
I am sure the IV World Congress of Finno-Ugric peoples will give new opportunities for a cultural dialogue, effective cooperation in humanitarian field, in fulfillment of future joint projects.
I wish you success and all the best.

Valentina Pivnenko, Head of the Committee of the Russian State Duma on the issues of the North and Far East

Esteemed Mister Presidents, esteemed participants of the international forum, ladies and gentlemen!
Let me read the words of greetings on behalf of Boris Gryzlov, Chairman of the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation to the participants of the 4-th World Congress of Finno-Ugric Peoples, Republic of Estonia, Tallinn.
“Esteemed participants of the 4-th World Congress of Finno-Ugric Peoples,
One of the most important achievements of contemporary world civilization is universal recognition of cultural diversity as common heredity of humanity and the global process. In the line of this process goes the movement of Finno-Ugric peoples, which became a remarkable phenomenon in the last decade. It assists in broadening international cooperation of Russia with Finland, Estonia, Hungary at all levels, international, civil society, regional, between organizations, collectives and persons in the fields of science, culture and education. In this way uniqueness of Finno-Ugric peoples is being preserved and developed, the sphere of implementation of their cultural values significantly broadened.
Priority of human and citizen’s rights is assured by the Constitution of the Russian Federation currently in force. Contemporary Russia became a part of many fundamental international treaties and agreements, and took obligations to their observance. At the same time, it is important to establish a constructive dialogue between state authorities and civil society.
I am convinced that only the way of mutual respect and cooperation is the most effective for implementation of the rights and interests of Finno-Ugric peoples in all countries.
I wish the 4-th World Congress of Finno-Ugric Peoples success in its work,

Boris Gryzlov, Chairman of the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation”
Andrejs Veisbergs, Head of the Commission of the Official Language at the Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Latvia

Excellencies, Ladies and gentlemen!

Before starting my presentation, may I transmit to you the following words of greeting on behalf of H.E. Dr. Vaira Vike-Freiberga, President of the Republic of Latvia:
“I send my warmest greetings to all the participants of this forum, as well as my congratulations and best wishes for success to its organizers. I only wish that I could have been there to share it with you in person. Events such as this one offer excellent opportunities for a stimulating exchange of ideas, for meeting new colleagues and making new friends. They certainly contribute to maintaining and enhancing good neighborly relations between peoples and countries.
Like many Latvians, I suspect that I have my share of Liiv blood as part of my genetic heritage and have always felt a deep sympathy for the Finno-Ugric peoples. May your insights and discoveries find the diffusion and attention that they deserve and may your work continue to contribute to a deeper understanding of our common humanity.
Vaira Vike-Freiberga”

The work of this conference will no doubt contribute to a better understanding of the historical links and cultural affinities between the Finno-Ugric people who, with the exception of the Hungarians, have inhabited the Northern part of Europe and Northwest of Asia for so many centuries. Though Finno-Ugric nations are not among the largest, 20 million speakers of the Finno-Ugric languages is a considerable number for the European dimension. Among the many past and present links between Latvia and Finno-Ugric nations I would like to briefly highlight only a few:
the Finno-Ugric people living in Latvia;
our closest - both historically and mentally closest neighbors - Estonians;
the Liiv people and their language and the Finno-Ugric impact on the Latvian language.
According to the census of year 2000 there are people of 9 Finno-Ugric nations living in Latvia today: the unique auchtochtonous minority of Latvia - Liivs, Estonians, Finns, Karelians; Mordovians, Marians of the Volga Finnish group; Udmurts and Komi people as well as Hungarians belonging to the Ugric branch. Altogether 5700 Finno-Ugrians live in Latvia, 1353 (23,7%) have retained their native language. So much for statistics. These people contribute to the Latvian experience and heritage and by their links with their ethnic origins to the diversity of Latvian culture.
Liivs constitute a special case as the unique Latvian autochthonous minority, unique also because of having had compact territories of settlement in the territory of Latvia.
Because of the centuries long presence Liivs have played a certain role in the emergence and formation of the Latvian people when they melted with the Baltic tribes. Also one of the dialects of Latvian - spread along the sea coast - has come from the Liiv language. And the Latvian language contains many borrowings from Liiv.
According to the latest census there are 177 people in Latvia who consider themselves Liivs. Unfortunately none of them has named Liiv as their native language and almost all consider Latvian their native tongue. About a dozen of people can be considered passive speakers of Liiv. Yet legislative support has enhanced studying of Liiv in the last years, so the situation should improve. Protection and preservation of the Liiv language and culture in Latvia is provided by law - special articles in the law on minorities of 1991 provide for “cultural autonomy” for Liivs like for other minorities. Also the Baltic assembly has paid attention to
issues of national identity through a 1995 resolution. Laws and their implementation has promoted a rise of Liiv ethnic consciousness and learning of the language
1) the Liiv association “Randa jelami” - (“liiv coast”) established in 1991 publishes a newspaper and organizes meetings and conferences;
2) Liiv children summer camps are organized “Cicorlinki” (“Mazputnini”), later “Piski ted” (“Maza zvaigze”) with the aim of teaching the language and maintaining traditions;
3) a monthly edition of “Livli” was renewed in 1992;
4) In 1997 University of Latvia started a BA program in Finno-Ugric studies “Liiv cultural history and language heritage”;
5) in 1998 an international Liiv Friends society was established for linking Latvian, Estonian and Finnish linguists.

Latvians and Estonians share a similar history for 800 years, similar invasions and victories, similar tragedies and awakenings. Not to mention Tartu University where many of the founders of the Latvian movement studied in the XIX century.

Estonians are the largest Finno-Ugric family group in Latvia. Maybe due to the long parallel history the psychological status of this minority in Latvia is especially favourable for linguistic and political integration. There are 2652 Estonians in Latvia half of them Latvian citizens. Historically, about 2/3 of them live along the Estonian border, about 1/3 in Riga. Most of Estonians in Latvia (80%) have retained Estonian at least as their second language.

Estonians seem to enjoy their cultural autonomy in Latvia with a broad range of activities of their Association (founded in 1988); concerts of the mixed choir “Leio”; former newspaper “Teataja” (“Zinotajs”), now “Latimaa” (“Latvijas Igaunis”), and Estonian broadcasts; from 1992 there is an Estonian school in Riga with more than 100 students.

And finally about language contacts. Long historical contacts with Baltic Finnish languages have affected Latvian considerably more than the related Lithuanian and have left strong traces in Latvian. In many parts of Latvia, but especially the North one finds numerous toponyms of Finno-Ugric origin (Ainaži, Limbaži, Vidrizi).

There are about 400-500 borrowings, mainly concerning the sea and fishing (joma, kaija, kTsis, salaka, loms, murds), and finally the initial stress in Latvian words seems to be the result of Finno-Ugric influence.

A monograph of Elga Kagaine will be published this year dealing with semantic processes of Finno-Ugric loans, but there is much more collaborative work to be done by linguists in this sphere yet.

Finally, understanding of the heritage of other people, finding of common values will be of utmost importance for sustaining our cultural heritage in the New Europe. Cross border links with close and not so close neighbors can contribute to this. I am sure this conference/forum will contribute to the implementation of these goals, as it focuses on the unique heritage and present day achievements of our neighbors.

Ole Henrik Magga, Chairman of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues

Mister Chair, Mister President, Your Excellences, Dear Finno-Ugric sisters and brothers!

The Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues was established by United Nations Economic and Social Council in the year 2000. And the third annual session was held at the United Nations headquarters in May 2004. This Forum has a mandate to provide expert advice and recommendations on indigenous issues to the Council as well as the programs, funds and agencies of the United Nations in the fields of economic and social development, culture, the environment, education, health and human rights.

This Forum is a result of a long struggle by indigenous peoples during the last twenty years and far beyond that. The Forum consists of 16 members nominated by indigenous
organizations, eight of them, and by governments, eight members. The Forum is permanent and its position is at the highest possible level within the UN system. The mandate of this forum is very broad, covering in fact all the mandated areas of the Economic and Social Council itself.

In this forum indigenous peoples and governments for the first time meet on a more equal basis. The Permanent Forum in this way constitutes the recognition by the international community that without participation by the indigenous peoples themselves it is not possible adequately to address the particular needs and concerns of our peoples. The Forum makes its recommendations to the United Nations system in the form of the report. At the annual session of the Forum representatives of indigenous peoples, governments, the Forum members and not least important, representatives of UN agencies are engaged in concrete dialogue.

Violations of basic human rights. There are many of them. There is discriminations in the criminal justice system, forced displacement, extreme poverty, a danger of extinction of isolated indigenous communities, and there is a continuing threat to indigenous cultures and indigenous lands that indigenous peoples still suffer.

The Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues is and can be a vehicle that will allow us to gain higher profile and come closer to the end of exclusion and discrimination, and have are own human rights respected. We have decided to make indigenous children and youth, like you have, and also indigenous women, a focal point of our work in the years to come. The Forum has made many recommendations aiming at preserving and developing indigenous languages, cultures and education. Indigenous cultures are a central part of the world’s cultural diversity, as everyone will know. But most of all, it is our right to be respected as we are and choose our future ourselves. In this process the land, the language, the culture are all essential.

We are truly taking a new step in the process of recognition of indigenous peoples as peoples equal to other peoples in this world. This creation and intended function is truly unprecedented within the United Nations. But we are well aware of the challenges and limitations. Indigenous peoples are too often forgotten by governments and by the international community.

On behalf of my colleagues, of whom two are present here, namely Zinaida Strogalshikova and Jury Boichenko, I wish the 4th World Congress of Finno-Ugric Peoples, which we see as an important partner in our work, every success in its work.

**Nils Muyzhnieks, Minister for Integration Affairs of the Republic of Latvia**

Esteemed Presidents, Mister Chairman, Ministers, Excellences, Ladies and Gentlemen!

It is my great honor to convey you the warmest greetings from the government of the Republic of Latvia. Previous speakers here spoke of three Finno-Ugric peoples, nations within the European Union. I would like to propose a forth candidate – the Latvians. Now my linguist friends will say, Latvian of course is not a Finno-Ugric language; Latvians are not a Finno-Ugric people. But as our President noted, if you go back far enough in the history of most Latvians, you will find a Liv or Liv ancestors of some sort.

So, in this indirect sense Latvians are also a Finno-Ugric people. So, I would like to propose. So, if you would accept us as honorary Finno-Ugric people, we will be very honored.

My colleague from Latvia spoke already a lot about the Livs and Liv culture in Latvia. Now, I am the minister responsible for preserving and maintaining this culture, so I would like to share few brief thoughts with you.
The traditional Liv lifestyle of coastal fishing was destroyed during the Soviet occupation. An important testament to this is a graveyard of fishing boats in Mazirbe on the West coast of Latvia, where all the fishing boats were dragged out of the water and put in the middle of the forest to slowly rot.

Now this traditional lifestyle was destroyed, but the culture survives. And the government provides support to preserve this culture and traditions, and to popularize the heritage among Latvians.

My office coordinates the implementation of a state program, which supports research, language teaching and learning, popularizing the culture and cooperating with non-governmental organizations representing the Livs, particularly the Liv Union, whose members are here today and will speak later.

In the last some weeks alone my office has been very active in the realm of supporting Liv culture. We just issued a Liv yearbook on culture, we just organized a summer camp for children of Liv origin, and there were more than 30 representatives. And this was a very optimistic sign to me. It shows that there is a young generation being raised in Latvia that is interested in their cultural heritage and they want to carry it forward.

In last week we organized a tenth Liv festival in Mazirbe. And there was the best attendance to date. Not only that, but the Liv house, which was built in 1930-s as a house of Finno-Ugric culture, has been renovated and is in the best shape it hasn’t ever been, I think, since 1930-s. Well, fewer and fewer people know the Liv language as a native language or as a second language. More and more people are taking an active access in the Liv heritage. And this is a sign of hope. The government is committed to preserving this heritage, which enriches us all. Thank you and best wishes for successful congress. And as they say in Liv Jõvdi pivdi.

Alvaro Gil-Robles, High Commissioner for Human Rights of the Council of Europe

Dear participants of the 4-th World Congress of Finno-Ugric Peoples!

I am very pleased to have this opportunity to address to you with greetings at this celebration day.

Our continent is homeland for many peoples and nations, who have enriched our common European culture. Diversity of languages and traditions made us different, but at the same time gave us opportunity to understand and appreciate importance of our differences. We speak different languages. We tell our children fairytales with dissimilar characters. Our songs have different rhythmics. But all this does not prevent us living together. Moreover, our rules of together living, of respect for traditions of elder generations, and our wish at all costs to preserve and to multiply them developed acute sense of freedom, reluctance to be led by whatever influence or ideology. Exactly this respect for own culture strengthened our respect for culture and traditions of our neighbors, who are often different from us, but who appreciate freedom as we do.

True freedom and originality are possible only in democratic society, which Europe has been in search for already centuries. Events of last sixty years and particularly fifteen years, which depart us from historical events, which have shaken our continent, allowed us to reach unwitnessed achievements.

The creation of the Council of Europe in 1949 on the ruins of the Old World and signing the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms initiated the building of a new European society, which is led by an indivisible system of universal human values. These values were not something new, introduced from outside to our countries and peoples. They are the result of our common history, full of struggle and sufferings, gorgeous victories and achievements, cruel tragedies and crimes, which we
experienced, which we understood and reevaluated, part of which we, free peoples of Europe,
decided to reject forever in order that our children would never ever know horrors instilled in
erlder generations.
Values chosen by us and drawn up into proper international agreements are reliable barrier
from totalitarian ideologies, which were born on our continent in the same way as the bright
ideas of liberty, equality and brotherhood were born. Freedom of speech and liberty of
conscience, freedom of religion, right to fair justice and right to personal immunity are only
part of basic rights and freedoms guaranteed today by to all European peoples with rare and I
hope temporary exclusions.
These individual rights are important and became already inalienable part of our democratic
life. Without them new generation does not imagine its existence. It fills us with joy from
reached successes, but also sets thinking efforts needed to perpetuate the memory of
generations, the memory of our mistakes and difficulties of our path. Without them our youth
risks to loose understanding of the price of our nowadays freedom.
But besides individual rights we should remember also collective rights; amongst others right
for preservation of culture of our people, its traditions, right to education in native language,
right for national originality are important appearances of democratic society. Protection and
implementation of these rights is one of the most important directions in work of the Council
of Europe, particularly if under the question are the rights of small peoples and of peoples in
minority in their countries.
As you know, the Framework Convention for the Rights of National Minorities was
elaborated and signed exactly by our organization. Nowadays the Convention is a strong
instrument in work of European institutions. And I in capacity of Commissioner for human
rights would like to call from this platform upon representatives of those countries, which
have not ratified yet the Convention to do this without delay.
Esteemed ladies and gentlemen! I happened to visit during last years majority of European
countries, where Finno-Ugric peoples used to live. These peoples constitute majority in
population of some of these countries; in others they are minorities. Everywhere were the
Commissioner paid his visit, he was welcomed warmly. He became acquainted with culture
and traditions of your peoples that left deep impression on him. Your respect for own
traditions is combined with respect for culture of your neighbors, friendliness and
understanding of value and originality of everyone.
In this concern and from this high platform I would like to call upon you also in the future to
develop this indissoluble values and to transmit them to your young generation, care of which
lays in the basement of work of this 4-th Congress. From all my heart I wish you the fruitful
work in the name of democratic and genuinely free future for our common European family
of peoples.

Romedi Arquint, President of the Federal Union of European Nationalities

Ladies and gentlemen!
We heard greetings from political personalities of high reputation, from representatives of
international communities and mixed bodies. And now its up to me as a humble and simple
representative of endangered people, the national minority to thank you very much for the
invitation. I used to do it in my own language, which is a language far away from where you
are coming from. Very in the Western Alps of Europe.
(Greets in Retto-Romansh).
It was Retto-Romansh from Switzerland.
The Federal Union of European Nationalities is the biggest umbrella organization of the
indigenous peoples and national minorities in Europe. The FUEN has been found after the
second world war and was intended to contribute to a construction of a new peaceful Europe based on the respect, protection and the promotion of national minorities and indigenous peoples.

Neither the national state conception in the Western part of Europe nor the state ideology of the Soviet system were able in the time of the Cold war to realize inside of the state borders the basic elements for the real improvement of the situation of their communities. There are some very few exceptions like Finland, I think.

And there were conflicts, arguings and even civil wars existing both in Western and in Eastern Europe, which exploded in the time of transition. That were these conflicts that forced the European institutions to put this problem on the political agenda and try to elaborate appropriate binding solutions. We are far away from having found them or implemented them in the political-legal systems and in the heads of the politicians and of our society. Every day, ladies and gentlemen, two of the six thousand languages of the world are disappearing. Others threatened with extinction. We are still witnesses of ethnic conflicts. Sometimes I ask myself if the public are not more interested in and dedicated to saving endangered animals or plans than languages and peoples.

So, a lot of work remain to do. I would name three. The duty of a modern state, a modern democratic state is to build up a system of principal equality of all citizens, whatever language they may speak and whatever their ethnic origin. And secondly, to find for all peoples appropriate solutions for preserving their individual and collective identity respecting the international standards. The European institutions are requested to implement seriously a binding framework of rules essential for actualizing the European heredity, which lies in the variety of peoples and cultures.

The national minorities and the indigenous peoples, their duty is, on the one hand, to hold on to their extraordinary and fantastic own history, language and culture. To find the way from the traditions to the needs of the modern world. And we may see very good examples here in the park. I watched with interest the wooden sculptures with art expressions of this adaption of an old culture to the modern world and art. And a duty of national minorities and indigenous peoples is to build bridges to the majority.

Dear friends! A young Turkish girl living in Berlin said “we are not half, we are double”. She expressed what would be a precondition for a unified Europe, namely, the knowledge of languages. And in regard to a multilingual attitude, we, members of indigenous stateless peoples and national minorities, we are in the pull position, so to say. We are the prototype for the multilingual citizen of the Europe from tomorrow. And we all should be proud of that.

The World Congress of Finno-Ugric Peoples continues to fulfill another important element, to collect and bring together the people of the same linguistic and cultural background discussing and elaborating strategies, operational ways to better cooperation on the national level and with the states concerned. And of course, these problems are, and this is the main point for some of Finno-Ugric populations, but not only for them, existential problems. Not only it is important to maintain the linguistic and cultural heredity. The existence of peoples is, first of all, based on the integrity of the territorial space, security of their economical, political, environmental foundation. The destroying of economical living area is the most brutal kind of liquidation of peoples.

The FUEN, which I am representing, goes in the same direction. With over than 70 members, who all are representatives of national minorities or ethnic indigenous autochthonous peoples, we are trying to create a common solidarity between these communities, because we know - together even the small peoples are strong and may have more political power defending their rights.

Let me end wishing that Finno-Ugric peoples living in the Eastern part of Europe may find a way that became very soon members of this big community of the Federation of ethnic
European nationalities. It would strengthen this power and build an important bridge between a still divided European continent.

Vasli Petrov, President of the Youth Association of Finno-Ugric Peoples

Honorable Participants and Guests of the World Congress!

Let me greet you in the name of the MAFUN delegation and young participants of the Congress as well as the whole Finno-Ugric youth movement!

Are we here today to solve actual problems and define perspectives of development of the Finno-Ugric youth through the constructive dialogue. Despite big distances, small and big difficulties active part of Finno-Ugric youth united and bravely presented itself.

We have to mention, of course, the Youth Association of Finno-Ugric Peoples. MAFUN is the oldest Finno-Ugric youth organizations in Russia and one of the first Finno-Ugric organizations in the world. The main achievement of MAFUN is assistance in the creation of the Consultative Committee and the World Congress. Often could be heard statement among the leaders of the Finno-Ugric movement that “MAFUN is father and grandfather of the Consultative Committee and the World Congress.”

The Youth Association of Finno-Ugric Peoples is today an organization uniting at the international level 38 organizations of Finno-Ugric youth. The Association serves the extremely important task of adhering the young people – representatives of Finno-Ugric peoples to the problems of revival, development and popularization of ethnic cultures of the kindred peoples. In the context of the globalizing world this kind of tasks is becoming more and more actualised. The theme of the IV World Congress also confirms this fact. The main task of the Association is cooperation among the youth of Finno-Ugric and Samoyed peoples and creation of conditions for self-realization and growth of national consciousness, preserving of spiritual and cultural values. Additionally, the Association makes its contribution to popularization of the youth organizations in regions for increasing social activism at the grass-root level.

The solid step was made by the Finno-Ugric youth at the VI MAFUN Congress in November 2003, which helped to come together organizationally and to take decisions needed. One of serious results is the registration of the MAFUN Russian Bureau under the name the Interregional Union “Youth Association of Finno-Ugric Peoples”. Now the Russian Finno-Ugric youth acquired real opportunities to take part in large projects. It is had to be noticed that the Union was created not only for organization of big events but also for support of social initiatives in solving everyday problems in Finno-Ugric countryside areas. That is why the Association holds seminars and trainings for adaptation of the countryside youth to the conditions of the city, in order that every young person were able to enter the modern world as a educated, ready for concurrence, qualified specialist preserving her/his ethnic traditions and native language.

It could be said that we implemented the resolution of the II World Congress, where the need of creation of the Russian Coordination and Information Center was emphasized. Rather actively is spread information about Finno-Ugric youth in mass-media and internet. Of course, we want this information to be objective and in reach of every activist of the Finno-Ugric movement. That is why the MAFUN working group Mass-media elaborated its project for creation of the MAFUN Information Center.

For the first time the issues of the youth were addressed at the II World Congress, where one presentation on the problems of the youth was made. At the III Congress the Association got the whole section. The current Congress works under the motto “Youth is our future”. The youth does not reach future alone, the elder generations are always there. The parent always
takes care of her/his children as the nature instinct orders her/him. Only understanding and efforts of parents can open in hearts of their children livingness and beauty of our ancient culture, which our wise ancestors transmitted to us. Every Finno-Ugric family is a warm home and valuable potential – that is why we offer “Family” as the theme for the next Congress.

The youth signified always dynamism, progress and idealism. But Finno-Ugric youth participates in processes of social, economic and political change mostly passively, when the ethnic resource is not actualized. In this situation ethnicity becomes a problem for the young people. The youth is often forced to break off from its ethnic roots. The way out of this situation we see as follow:

First, bringing up of young generation in conditions free cultural environment is needed for preserving and development of cultures and traditions, habits of Finno-Ugric peoples;
Secondly, cultural potential of Finno-Ugric peoples has to be modernized.

The address to the Consultative Committee was taken at the session of the MAFUN Board:
- to ensure members of the MAFUN Board participation in the work of the Consultative Committee
- to send materials about the work of the Consultative Committee

The summer camp of children and youth opened its work on 10th of August in Mari El. The Finno-Ugric asked me to present t-shirts to the Consultative Committee and to say the following words: “We believe in you, believe in ourselves, believe in our future and hope that there would be more youth at the next Congress” Thank you.
Valery Markov,
Chairman of the Consultative Committee of Finno-Ugric Peoples

It was the IV World Congress of Finno-Ugric Peoples. All the previous ones are in history now. The last Congress is like the one concluding the period which started in Russia, Syktyvkar, then Budapest and Helsinki, now it’s Tallinn. All the states where the majority of our people reside took part in the Congress. Those 12 years which passed since the first Congress, is not a long period. It’s an instant for history, but for most of us, especially for one person, it’s a significant period. It was a period of ups and downs, hopes and disappointments. It was a period of hard and complicated work for many of us. Those were the years of test for the solidity of our idea of Finno-Ugric peoples’ cooperation.

It was written down in the Declaration on main principles, aims and objectives of Finno-Ugric Peoples (named as Declaration further on), that we are concerned with the situation in which a lot of our peoples live, that we realize our responsibility for their development on the basis of traditional cultures and ways of life. We also declared about our intentions to protect the interests of our peoples, basing on principles of European humanism and the regulations of the international law.

These ideas are stated in the Regulations about the Consultative Committee of Finno-Ugric Peoples (further on abbr. as CCFUP). CCFUP is the coordinative body of the World Congress of Finno-Ugric Peoples. As the main objective of the CCFUN we have stated protection of the rights and interests of Finno-Ugric peoples, which are mentioned in the Declaration. The main principles of CCFUN’s activities are the equality of all the representatives of the peoples, democracy and glasnost in discussing and making decisions, achieving agreement in making all the important decisions. We must work according to these principles in the future as well.

It was decided at the I Congress that the headquarters of CCFUN will be situated in Helsinki. But the fact that we arrange meetings of coordinators and meetings of CCFUN in different regions plays an important positive part. The representatives of our peoples can learn a new region each time, can see with their own eyes the situation there and know the decisions made right on the spot. This fact is stimulating the regions themselves.

During the period mentioned the activities of the CCFUN was aimed at realization of decisions of the III World Congress of Finno-Ugric Peoples (Helsinki, 2000), as well as realization of aims and objectives mentioned in the Declaration. The work of CCFUN was held according to annual plans and was controlled by headquarters in Helsinki. The CCFUN’s and coordinators’ meetings were held twice a year. The places where meetings were held are represented in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Meetings of Coordinators</th>
<th>Meetings of the Committee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Petrosavodsk (Karelia)</td>
<td>St. Petersburg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Moscow</td>
<td>Syktyvkar (Komi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Yoshkar-Ola (Mari El)</td>
<td>Saransk (Mordovia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Szombathely (Hungary)</td>
<td>Inari (Laplandia)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>Tallinn (Estonia)</td>
<td>Khanty-Mansiisk (Khanty-Mansi AR)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Szombathely (Hungary)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Moscow</td>
<td>Viru (Estonia)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Though not all the members of the CCFUN were always present at the meetings, there has never been a problem with the quorum. Sometimes some members of the CCFUN had financial problems, but CCFUN was always ready to help in such situations. These are some formal data.

We stressed at previous Congresses that CCFUN has never tried to substitute the legislative bodies. We have equal aims and objectives. The majority of the leaders and active members of our national organizations were willing to have an effective dialogue with the power bodies and management in the regions.

In its activities in the regions the consultative committee had always worked according to the main principle - to assist in the dialogue between government and national movements. Before we were closely watching the situation in Mari El, trying to understand the parties’ views, which were different in deciding the problem with the mother language and culture. We thought it necessary to held a meeting of coordinators in Yoshkar-Ola, we organized the meeting of the leadership of Mari El with the leaders of national movement. An effective dialogue took place, which resulted in good relations between bodies of the government and national organizations. We know that Mari El is strengthening its positions in Finno-Ugric peoples’ cooperation and this program is supported by the government of the Republic. Last year All-Russia Congress of historians took place in Yoshkar-Ola. We’d like to wish Yoshkar-Ola successful preparation and holding such an important event in 2005 - the X Congress of Finno-Ugrians.

And now about realization of resolutions and recommendations of the previous congresses.

At the III World Congress of Finno-Ugric Peoples in Helsinki beside the main resolution there were accepted recommendations of the 4 sections: politics, culture and education, ecology and health, media and information systems. In early 2001 on the basis of resolutions and recommendations CCFUN founded several groups for working in certain fields. We tried to make it so that these groups were presented in different regions. For example: ecology and health – Udmurtia, culture and education – Mari El and Mordovia, media and information systems – Komi and Mari El, politics – Karelia and Komi, economics – Tver and Karelia. The representatives of Hungarians, Finns and Estonians assisted in almost each of these groups.

The realization of “politics” section’s recommendations

The political section’s recommendations mainly concerned improvement of the legislative basis in order to protect the interests of indigenous peoples and national minorities. But for the representatives of Finno-Ugric peoples nowadays the problems of improvement are not urgent. Everyone in Russian Federation understood the necessity to strengthen the power and adjusting of regional legislations to the federal one. But very often it was hard to realize the necessity of cancellation of many legislative acts, which were aimed at certain protectionism by the regional governments towards indigenous peoples. It’s worth mentioning here that the world community in the frame of UN and European Council in particular, more than once stressed in their documents the value of cultural variety on Earth. While at the Congress in Helsinki in Pr.K.Kulikov's report was stressed “the effective experience of indigenous peoples’ rights” aiming at maintaining indigenous peoples’ rights, nowadays we are forced to say that there’s no more the Law of Komi Republic on “Status of Komi people’s Congress”, a lot of regulations in several laws are also changed. And this happens not only in Komi Republic. The regulation on naming Veps district a special voting district was withdrawn from the Constitution of Karelia, also the law on “The status of national district, national rural soviet” of the Karelian Republic was cancelled. It’s worth mentioning however,
that such changes in legislation didn’t take place in the regions where small national minorities live (with the population of 50000). In Russian Federation the legislation on indigenous national minorities improved with the adapting of RF laws on “Guarantees of rights of indigenous peoples in Russian Federation” (1999) and on “Territories of traditional indigenous minorities”. The legislation also improved in some national regions. For example, the Duma of Khanty-Mansi autonomous district adapted several laws aimed at realization of rights in the spheres of the language and culture of indigenous peoples, living on the territory of Khanty-Mansi autonomous district - Yugra, such as on “Languages of indigenous minorities of northern regions” (2001), on “On folklore of indigenous northern peoples” (2003), on “Supporting the national organizations by the government of Khanty-Mansy” (2003). The adoption of theses laws was possible thanks to hard work done by the members of local Duma and of CCFUN Sondykov V.S. and Gogolev T.S. For the rest of Finno-Ugric peoples, which don’t refer to indigenous peoples, the main objective is as always - to make their best to preserve what has been achieved before. The new situation in Komi Republic became the issue of discussion at the scientific conference “National relations as the factor of stability in multinational region” (March, 2003).

The representatives of our peoples can’t ignore the problem of enlarging of regions in Russian Federation. The first such step has already been done and it concerned one of our Finno-Ugric peoples - Komi-Perm. We realize that it might be a reasonable act, but still it causes questions. In spite of obvious weakness of this region, it had more interest in solving problems of ethnical development of Komi-Perm people. This problem might not become so important for the next leadership of Perm region. We have to keep an eye on how the obligations given by the federal government in helping the Komi-Perm people will be fulfilled.

The important problem is that representatives of indigenous peoples don’t take an active part in making decisions in their regions. It is well known that one can't make a person happy, not to mention a whole nation. This might happen only when the nation itself not only wants, but longs to be happy. Of course, it is a problem of having enough people who are able to make right decisions under current conditions in all spheres of life. At this point it’s the problem of national professionals able to solve social, economic, political issues. During the meeting of National organizational committee on preparing and holding the International decade of indigenous peoples of Taimyr (June, 2003) there was a round table discussion named “Formation of national policy as the main way of developing indigenous peoples”. We hope such an attitude towards this problem will remain urgent in the nearest future for Finno-Ugric peoples as well. It’s becoming more important because for the last 2 years the number of representatives of national minorities elected into legislative bodies is decreasing.

At the Congresses we spoke many times about realization of international principles in our legislature. We always contacted UN, as well as several working groups of this organization. For the time being CCFUN is a member of the working group which is working at the UN Declaration of indigenous peoples’ rights. Our representatives took part in the activities of working groups, not in all of them actually. (Markov V.P., Gogoleva I.E., Proshutinskaya Zh.I). This is a very important part of our work, as we have been putting out the aim of informing the society about international standards in the field of human rights of indigenous peoples.

In 2001 the working group finished the preparation of the Forum of indigenous peoples of the world. The first session of the Forum took place in New York in May 2002. The Forum consists of 8 experts - representatives of the states and 8 experts - representatives of indigenous peoples. The expert on the part of indigenous peoples of the Russian Federation in the First Forum was the member of CCFUN, the chairman of the Society of Vepsian culture Z.T.Strogalshikova (Karelia). She was appointed by the UN Commission on Economic and
Social development and Zinaida Ivanovna did her best as an expert. We think so far the Forum of indigenous peoples of the world is trying to find its place in the UN. We do want it to have its mind, its own voice and we want it to be a good means to support the indigenous peoples in this respectful organization.

This year the International decade of indigenous peoples of the world is over. We hoped a lot, but most of our hopes remain hopes only, that’s why we support the idea of declaring the second International decade of indigenous peoples. Those first 10 years only produced the problems of indigenous peoples in front of the world. We realize that the problems can’t be solved within such a short period of time, as they concern very painful problems of owning and using the land, natural resources, functioning of mother languages and many others. We do hope that UN will finish the draft of the Declaration on indigenous peoples’ rights and it will become the main document for countries working with indigenous peoples.

So far the problem of organizing the Parliament council representing Finno-Ugric peoples for coordinating legislative activities still remains unsolved.

The Realization of “Culture and Education” Section’s Recommendations

One of the main problems of Finno-Ugric peoples’ survival is that of the language. If there are no conditions for developing and functioning of indigenous peoples’ languages, if there are no ways for their development, there will be no future for our peoples. That’s why it was spoken out that the current system of supporting the languages is not enough for their development. The languages are not available for learning them, for using them in social life, press and book publishing. Taking this into account, recommendations of the section were made to protect languages and cultures.

The recommendations were paid attention by nearly all of our organizations. A lot of activities took place. First of all, a number of round tables, seminars and conferences took place, including the international ones on problems of learning mother languages under condition of bilingualism (Yoshkar-Ola, Saransk, Szombathely, Syktyvkar). It’s worth mentioning work done by Pedagogical Institute in Szombathely, which pays a lot of attention to problems of language and cooperates with Universities and institutes in our regions (a member of CCFUN, Pr. Y.Pustai).

For the last 4 years the faculty of Ob-Ugr philology and the scientific language center at Yugor State University were opened in Khanty-Mansi autonomous republic as well as folklore archive of national minorities and a laboratory of textbooks on mother languages. In this respect much was done by members of CCFUN Z.S.Ryabchikova and K.V.Afanasyeva.

The problem of mother language learning for Russian Finno-Ugrians is becoming very important in connection with the latest changes in the system of education in the Russian Federation. Sharing the responsibility of the state for children’s health, making their schedule easier, it’s however hard to realize why all this should be done at the cost of reducing national issues in teaching. Isn't there any chance to give more time for learning mother languages than it is now - 2 hours a week? Teachers working in this field are deeply concerned by such a situation, and we should support them in their concerns. Some leaders’ actions are also not reasonable when they close the whole departments dealing with national schools (Komi, Mari El).

Still remains urgent education of specialists in Finno-Ugric countries - Hungary, Finland and Estonia. I’d like to thank our relatives for their continuing their programs and finding resources for this. The first graduates started returning to their homeland. There are some problems with unemployment and a lot is to be done. I’d like to mention that there are a lot of graduates who wish to stay and work abroad. We all should think over the problem of how to support their wish to return home. It was for that purpose that the program was designed for and that’s why the education is free.
CCFUN has always helped in organizing International folklore festivals, which have been held for over 10 years already (2000-Hungary, 2003-Tver). Congresses of Finno-Ugric writers (2002-Izhevsk). It’s become a tradition to arrange meetings of Finno-Ugric peoples. The traditional ethnofuturistic festivals are held in Udmurtia (2004 - the 9th festival). New forms of activities are coming into being, for example, in the Republic of Mordovia - international cultural expeditions-festivals “Volga - the river of peace. The dialogue of Finno-Ugric cultures” (June, 2003), “Volga - the river of peace. Young generation - our future” (July, 2004).

We never forget kids. In many regions summer camps for children are opened (Hungary, Komi, Mari El, Udmurtia, Yugra). It’s important for us from the point of view of the future of our peoples and all the organizations should support this movement. Children are impressed by summer camps at the Lake Balaton and we hope our Hungarian relatives will continue inviting kids from Finno-Ugric countries and regions of the Russian Federation.

Special thanks to Finnish program of supporting Finno-Ugric peoples of Russia (the chairman - U.Vento, one of the members of the commission - M.Hannus).

Within this program museums and libraries started cooperating; thanks to it books Finno-Ugric languages are published. In 2000 Castren society awards grants in the field of literature. Since 2001 there’s an idea of meetings for young writers, which belongs to Finno-Ugric center in Syktyvkar. Such meetings are held at present in Yoshkar-Ola and Saransk. Our Finnish friends initiated annual Finno-Karelian Women’s forums. It’s just a part of their work.

Unfortunately we can’t say we work a lot with young people. Mostly elderly people are members of our national organizations. At the same time there’s another youth organization called MAFUN. We hope our cooperation will grow after our congress.

We can’t but mention one more tendency - more and more women take part in Finno-Ugric activities through their organizations (Udmurtia, Mordovia, Komi, Yugra). All these activities are within the decisions of the 3rd International Congress and their activities is widely support by CCFUN.

The Realization of “Ecology and Health” Section’s Recommendations

The issues of ecology, using the natural resources have always been paid our attention. They are most urgent for the minorities. For Mansi, Nenetz and Khanty, whose territory is being economically developed very fast, this problems mean the future of indigenous peoples. That’s why there were conferences held in Khanty-Mansiysk, under the title “Indigenous peoples. Oil. Law”. In the Russian Federation the process of signing agreements between oil companies and nongovernmental organizations of indigenous peoples is only developing. The first ones to do that were just Khanty, Mansi and Nenetz. The alike process takes place in Komi Republic - they signed a contract with the oil company “Lukoil”.

There was an international symposium “The main ways of researching of Finno-Ugric peoples’ health” (Izhevsk, April 2003). It was a significant symposium, where ecologists, physicians and doctors gathered. Pr. N.Strelkov and a member of CCFUN K.Tubylov contributed a lot to the organization of this symposium.

In 2200 CCFUN suggested holding an international conference on ecological problems of Finno-Ugric regions. The scientists suggested holding such conferences systematically, but unfortunately this idea didn’t come true.

The Realization of “Media and Information Systems” Section’s Recommendations

Mass media is an active participant of the process of self-consciousness of its peoples, and young generation in particular. We realize that access to Internet is rather limited in our regions, so it was suggested to pay more attention to regular mass media. It’s especially
important as the broadcasting company “Rossia” decreased the duration of their broadcasting. There are almost no educational, cultural, political programs in mother languages, just news are left. The regions are forced to develop their own broadcasting companies. So both regular mass media as well as new information technologies are becoming very urgent. The 1st All Russia festival of Finno-Ugric press was held in Yoshkar-Ola (October, 2003), as well as a seminar of Finno-Ugric mass media (Izhevsk, August 2002), a seminar “Finno-Ugric information. Realities and perspectives” (Syktyvkar, May 2004). The idea of Kominform about making an electronic library in Finno-Ugric languages was approved. It will give a chance to get to know our writers, besides its very important for beginners (writers and poets) who don’t have financial aids for publishing their works.

The III Congress approved a detailed “Strategy in the field of media and information”, which served as a good basis for work in regions. A member of CCFUN, head of information center “Fenno-Ugria” A.Heinapuu contributed a lot to realization of this project. The center helps our organizations quite a lot.

The activities of CCFUN took place in a regular mode. Every region contributed to this work. It’s no less important than before.

CCFUN coordinates the activities of regional organizations, assists in making contacts. It can’t make pressure on any organization. However the significance of CCFUN is evident: it unites the activities of separate organizations and suggests tactics and strategy of Finno-Ugric movement.

The current period is peculiar. Sometimes the circumstances are stronger than our wishes. Today’s situation demands flexibility, tolerance and good knowledge. We don’t approve actions based on emotions only, as they may bring harm. We must be persistent but thoughtful.

In conclusion I’d like to say a few words about CCFUN’s activities in Europe. CCFUN has been working in the UN. But we must pay attention to big changes taking place in Europe. We see the European community widen. Russia is going to join WTO and is integrating into European structures. We must take this into account. Our Finnish friends initiated that the problems of Finno-Ugric peoples should be solved in Europarlament. That’s why CCFUN is to pay attention to cooperation with European organizations.

The world congress’s and CCFUN’s perspectives are very numerous. Let us put them into practice.
Plenary addresses

Young are the Key to the Future
János Pusztay, Szombathely, Hungary

*May your daughter become the sun,*  
*and I send my son to be the moon.*  
(from Nenets folklore)

Madame President, Presidents, Finno-Ugric Family, Ladies and Gentlemen!

I. The central topic of this 4th World Congress of Finno-Ugric Peoples is the future of our peoples. We have good reason to feel anxious about this matter, since even the 14-15 million Hungarians belong to the so-called “small peoples”, not to mention our language relatives in Russia.

We live in a globalising world. Globalisation can be of worldwide dimensions and also of local strength. Whereas the effect of worldwide globalisation is felt where all peoples with non-Anglo-Saxon culture and language are concerned, local globalisation—over and above this—prevails in a more or less closed, originally multi-lingual and multi-cultural society due mainly to political or ideological reasons. This latter situation can be observed in the case of the Finno-Ugric peoples in Russia.

From among Finno-Ugric peoples, Estonians, Finns, Livonians and the majority of Hungarians and Saamis can create their futures within the framework of the European Union. It is the future of our language kindred in Russia that gives most cause for concern, which is why my presentation will focus on their situation.

II. According to UNESCO data, there are currently 6 to 7 thousand languages in the world, and this number is decreasing by a few per cent each year. A pessimistic scenario would be that between only 10 and 20 per cent of the indigenous languages will survive the next 50 to 100 years. I wonder how many seats of representatives of Finno-Ugric and Samoyed peoples will be empty at our 10th Congress?

The future of Finno-Ugric and Samoyed peoples in Russia will be determined by two factors: the politico-economic framework within which our language relatives live and, to almost the same degree, the will of our language relatives. In a favourable political climate and with the commitment and determination of the people, provision for survival can be developed.

1. The Political-economic Framework and Its Planned Reform

1.1. Currently, the Finno-Ugric and Samoyed peoples in Russia live largely in administrative units providing some kind of autonomy: those larger in number, like the Mordvins, the Udmurts, the Maris, the Komis and the Karelians, in their republics; those smaller in number, for example the Permian Komis, the Mansis, the Khants and the Nenetses, in autonomous districts. At the very most, other peoples may have some degree of local representation (for example, in the municipal council).

Republics and autonomous districts, albeit in restricted measure, provide titular peoples with the opportunity to assert their interests; for example, in relation to the use of the mother tongue and the preservation and promotion of native culture. Nevertheless, it should be realised that, with the exception of the Permian Komis, all the Finno-Ugric and Samoyed titular peoples are a minority in the territories named after them, although these very territories are the ancient settlement areas of these peoples.

1.2. However, the planned reform of the administrative framework will radically change the
living conditions of the small, indigenous Finno-Ugric and Samoyed peoples. The structural reform of the Russian Federation aims at an essential reduction in the number of constituting units of the federation: from the present 89 to 28. As we all know, the first step is to unite the Permian Komi Autonomous District with Perm Oblast. This autonomous district was created by political will at the beginning of the 1920s, separating on the basis of the *divide et impera* principle the Permian Komis from the linguistically and ethnically identical, and even geographically neighbouring Komis. Now we will see the end of the only Finno-Ugric autonomous district with a titular people which were in the majority. And through unification, this people will lose all opportunities to assert their interests, because the approximately 125 000-strong Permian Komi population will disappear in the predominantly Russian-speaking environment of the Permsky Kray.

We know of further measures too. For example, talks are already under way on the merging of the Autonomous Districts of Yamal Nenets and Khanty-Mansi-Yugra into the planned Tumensky Kray. (I would mention in brackets that these are the richest territories of the Russian Federation for mineral resources - natural gas and oil.) Up to this point, the local government of Yugra for example has granted the indigenous Mansi and Khant people many favours considering that they only constitute 1.5 per cent of the population. In the wake of radical changes in the political and as a result economical conditions, these favours will cease. According to *Argument i Fakti* information, plans already exist for the merging of Finno-Ugric republics into a larger unit.

I am not alone in thinking that, on the basis of weakening economic competitiveness and the threat of direct “Russianizing” measures – for example, the passing of an act restricting the use of the languages of the republics – even the strongest Finno-Ugric territories are unlikely to be able maintain their national subsidy system at its present level.

The reduction in the number of units is only one objective of the Russian Federation’s territorial reform. The other perhaps more important objective is the linguistic-ethnic homogenisation of the country, the elimination of national minorities or, provisionally, the “folklorisation” of the national minorities. (To take the example of the Permian Komis: the incorporation of the Permian Komi Autonomous District into the Komi Republic would also have reduced the number of the units, although it would have increased the proportion of the Komi population within the Republic.)

The principles of the minority policy were drafted in 2002 in the book (Российская Федерация: проблемы формирования этнокультурной политики. Русский мир, Москва – “The Russian Federation: Problems of Development of Ethno-Cultural Policy”) by the then minister for ethnic affairs (V.Yu. Zorin). It shows that the state seeks to solve the ethnic problems by shifting from national-territorial structure to cultural-educational structure, otherwise known as national-cultural autonomy. The basis of the national-cultural autonomy was the fact that almost half of the non-Russian peoples lived in their own national state formation, although more than half of the inhabitants of these republics and districts is made up of non-titular people. (However, Zorin believes this mainly Russian population were put at a disadvantage.) The author is quick to denounce the opponents of the plan. Using an old political tactic he refers to the experts, stating that it is mainly followers of ethnic territorialisation and politicisation who will be against the new national-cultural autonomy, because they see the possibility of the reduction of the national statehood.

It is a sign of the folklorisation of the minority issue that, during the reconstruction of the government in the spring of 2004, the position of the minister without portfolio for ethnic affairs was cancelled and at the time of drafting this presentation the minority, nationality issues were being dealt with by a division of the Ministry of Culture.

Ethnicity is a source of conflict, and it also serves as territorial reorganisation ideology claims the author of the study. He states that ethnophobia and xenophobia are on the increase in
Russia. One of the reasons for the latter is that the representatives of the diaspora (in Zorin’s usage this word always refers to “non-Russian minority”) show no respect for the national customs, traditions and everyday psychology of other peoples, especially those of the Russians. The study does not mention Russian intolerance. Therefore the proposed direction is to dismember the administrative units and have the groups confront each other, creating minorities everywhere → no interest-assertion → Russification - small peoples will only be of importance from the points of view of statistical data and folklore colouring.

2. The Demographical Situation

According to the most recent census data, the total number of the Finno-Ugric (Uralian) population has decreased dramatically since the 1989 census. There are a few welcome exceptions in the case of some peoples, small even by Finno-Ugric standards, (Khants, Mansis, Nenetses, Selkups, Enetses and the Saamis of Russia).

Table showing changes between the 1989 and the 2002 censuses:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1989</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mordvins</td>
<td>1 073 000</td>
<td>845 000</td>
<td>-21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udmurts</td>
<td>715 000</td>
<td>637 000</td>
<td>-11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maris</td>
<td>643 000</td>
<td>605 000</td>
<td>-6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Komis</td>
<td>337 000</td>
<td>293 000</td>
<td>-13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permian Komis</td>
<td>147 000</td>
<td>125 000</td>
<td>-15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karelians</td>
<td>125 000</td>
<td>93 000</td>
<td>-26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vepsians</td>
<td>12 000</td>
<td>8 000</td>
<td>-33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khants</td>
<td>22 000</td>
<td>29 000</td>
<td>+32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mansis</td>
<td>8 000</td>
<td>12 000</td>
<td>+50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kola Saamis</td>
<td>1 800</td>
<td>2 000</td>
<td>+11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nenetses</td>
<td>34 000</td>
<td>41 000</td>
<td>+21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selkups</td>
<td>3 600</td>
<td>4 000</td>
<td>+11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nganasans</td>
<td>1 300</td>
<td>1 000</td>
<td>-31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enetses</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>+50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>3 122 900</td>
<td>2 695 300</td>
<td>-13.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When projecting the same rate of growth or decline for the next almost one hundred years, the number of the Finno-Ugric (Uralian) population (calculated on cycles of 13 years – the number of years between the two latest censuses) will change in the following way (numbers in 1000s):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1989</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2093</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mordvins</td>
<td>1 073</td>
<td>845</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udmurts</td>
<td>715</td>
<td>637</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maris</td>
<td>643</td>
<td>605</td>
<td>393</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Komis</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permian Komis</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karelians</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vepsians</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khants</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mansis</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kola Saamis</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nenetses</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selkups</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
That is, the total number of the Uralian population will almost halve. Within this, the number of the Finno-Ugric population in European territories will dramatically decrease, while that of language relatives in West Siberia increases significantly. I will return to the issue of language usage later.

We are still waiting for a detailed analysis of the demographical situation covering all peoples. The soon-to-be-published analysis carried out in the Komi Republic, shows that:

- Previous decade are characterised by the fact that the decrease in population affects not only the urban but also the rural population, and the villages are where the indigenous population of the republic – the Komis – live.
- The most dramatic fall in the birth rate was found among the rural population. In 2000 only 2359 babies were born, which is 3.7 times fewer than at the beginning of the XX century.
- The mortality chart shows an upward tendency:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russians</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Komis</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- The deteriorating economic situation, the declining standard of living and the increasing unemployment of the preceding years were also reflected by the increase in suicides, which characterize both the welfare and the mental-moral state of the society. These phenomena are characteristic mainly of the territories inhabited by Komis, where in more than one in four cases (27.5%) the cause of death is accident, poisoning or suicide.
- Among all causes of death, non-natural mortality is highest among those able to work: more than half the deaths among men able to work are due to alcoholic intoxication, homicide or suicide.
- Compact habitats of Komi people are also affected by ecological damage. The deterioration of the environment, air pollution and quality of drinking water all weaken the immune system, which leads to an increase in the proportion of malignant diseases.
- Negative tendencies in the mortality processes have become causes of low life span. In 1999, the average life span in districts predominantly inhabited by Komis was 0.9-6.8 years lower than in the entire Komi Republic.

I think the statements concerning the Komi Republic are also more or less valid in the case of the other Finno-Ugric and Samoyed peoples.

3. The Linguistic Situation

3.1. Language as a vehicle of identity

Language is a vehicle for identity—if not the most important one—and vice versa: linguistic identity is an essential basis to the development of ethnicity. It is due to this very attribute that language is a strong instrument for national cohesion and solidarity.

3.2. Mother Tongue and Choice of Mother Tongue.

Language is a basic means of socialisation. By learning to speak, a child becomes a member of society. Children acquire patterns of social behaviour through various models and
situations, and these patterns are parts of sets of behaviour in the broader sense and part of the culture. For this very reason it is important which language they begin socialising in, their native language or another language. The linguistic environment plays an essential role in a child's linguistic development; the mother tongue cannot develop normally without it. Small peoples and national minorities are generally bi- or multilingual. In their case, the number of the population and of those choosing or acknowledging the mother tongue do not always coincide. The choice of the mother tongue depends on its status. The status of the mother tongue, in turn, depends on the
- size of the community
- self-esteem of the community
- political, administrative status of the community
- politics (e.g. existence of language act and its execution)
- developed state of the language.

Language usage proportions observed during the 1989 and 2002 censuses, and their extrapolation to 2093:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>1989</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>difference</th>
<th>2093</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mordvins</td>
<td>740 (=69%)</td>
<td>615 (=73%)</td>
<td>+4%</td>
<td>182 (=100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udmurts</td>
<td>506 (=71%)</td>
<td>464 (=73%)</td>
<td>+2%</td>
<td>245 (=87%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maris</td>
<td>527 (=82%)</td>
<td>488 (=81%)</td>
<td>-1%</td>
<td>291 (=74%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Komis</td>
<td>239 (=71%)</td>
<td>217 (=74%)</td>
<td>+3%</td>
<td>105 (=95%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permian Komis</td>
<td>105 (=71%)</td>
<td>94 (=74%)</td>
<td>+3%</td>
<td>38 (=95%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karelans</td>
<td>61 (=49%)</td>
<td>53 (=57%)</td>
<td>+8%</td>
<td>12 (=100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khants</td>
<td>14 (=64%)</td>
<td>14 (=48%)</td>
<td>-16%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mansis</td>
<td>3 (=38%)</td>
<td>3 (=25%)</td>
<td>-13%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nenetses</td>
<td>27 (=79%)</td>
<td>32 (=78%)</td>
<td>-1%</td>
<td>114 (=71%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selkups</td>
<td>1.7 (=47%)</td>
<td>2 (=50%)</td>
<td>+3%</td>
<td>5.8 (=71%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2223.7</strong></td>
<td><strong>16823</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>992.8</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This means that the number of people speaking Uralian languages will decrease to half the present number, and several Uralian languages will disappear during this century. Particularly striking is the linguistic loss of the Khant and Mansi peoples, who are in theory increasing dramatically in number. This, naturally, also results in loss of identity.

There are no detailed statements on the distribution of language users according to age groups. However, most of those using some Finno-Ugric language as their mother tongue presumably belong to the highest age group, and the younger a generation is, the less it uses their Finno-Ugric mother tongue. This situation can be clearly illustrated by a pyramid.

### 3.3. Language Status

The status of a language is connected to the self-esteem of its speakers, which in turn depends on the domain of language usage and their substance from the language speaker's point of view (e.g. literary language, language of religious activity, lingua franca). The language and native culture of an ethnic group has no chance of survival and development unless it is used both in mass communications and at home and school.

When one language takes over the functions of another language in more and more areas this
leads to the lexical and grammatical reduction of the displaced language, and in extreme cases may bring about its extinction. Social causes of the extinction of a language are heavy cultural pressure, fall in prestige of the language in the eyes of its speakers, negative attitude towards the language and/or its speakers, modernisation and in its wake the abandoning of the traditional way of life and habitat (this can be seen in the situation of the Northern peoples of the former Soviet Union and present Russia). An important sociolinguistic statement is that language usage is closely connected to territory. That is to say the language of the indigenous population will not survive without historical territory. The death of a language does not necessarily mean language degradation; a language may disappear with its entire grammatical and lexical structure when the speaker community adopts another language.

The size of the community speaking a language plays an undeniable role in the survival of the language but it is not the decisive factor.

Let me cite some examples concerning the linguistic situation of the— at least at present—more numerous Finno-Ugric peoples of Russia.

In Komi Republic, as a consequence of the measures of the 1930s, 1950s and finally 1970s, the Komi teachers’ college trained no more teachers for the national schools and even the publishing of textbooks was halted. As a result of this, Russian was the language of education in every school and Komi was only taught in national curriculum schools— as a second language. This is how a whole generation (the under 30s, 56.9 per cent of the population) grew up, not knowing their mother tongue and with no interest in the history and culture of their people.

The Udmurt language has virtually become the vernacular and ‘Kuchensprache’ of the rural population. Kuchensprache is an allegedly inferior idiom used by less well-educated people and in the family sphere. In the 1960s, the shops and service units in Izhevsk all had bilingual signs, but by the end of the 1980s there was not one Udmurt sign to be seen. The use of the national language declined mainly among young people because the Udmurt language was given no place in the culture. Education in the mother tongue is only present in the first years of primary school, and in the upper years Udmurt can only be studied as a second language. Nevertheless, there are efforts to introduce Udmurt into secondary education in order to form a national elite. In higher education the language of instruction in the Udmurt and Finno-Ugric faculty is Udmurt, and in the other faculties it is Russian. Udmurt schools are to be found only in the villages; there are none at all in the towns. The good news is that in recent years Udmurt has been spreading in kindergartens, in towns too.'

In the Mari Republic, the Mari language has remained the language of instruction virtually only in a few rural elementary schools. The writing and publishing of textbooks has practically stopped. The lack of textbooks is one of the main obstacles to Mari language teaching and this provokes the most strenuous parental opposition to the language. In towns and town-like settlements, it is the workplace, children's Russian-language environment, mixed marriages and the nihilism of urban youth that is the reason for Russian or Russian and the national language being designated as the mother tongue. More than 30 per cent of Mari school children said that they speak Russian at home, and that they are not interested in Mari books.

When analysing the data of a detailed study showing the linguistic and educational situation of the Mari Republic, it seems that something serious happened in 2001, as both the number of schools teaching Mari and the number of pupils learning Mari decreased dramatically. Young people moving into towns either do not believe in the development opportunities of their own mother tongue culture or do not consider it important, and identify the language of their ancestors with a backward, conservative way of life.

In the Mordvin Republic, the language act was passed after encountering heavy resistance. Its terms are rather ambiguous and allow for plenty of loopholes. The linguistic and cultural
programme following the Act deals a lot with linguistic research and much less with the propagation of Mordvin among the wider public.

3.4. Linguistic Rights, Minority Human Rights

The mother tongue is connected with important individual and collective rights; for example the right to use, cultivate and pass on the language. According to Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, linguistic rights include two fundamental rights:
- the right to learn the official (literary) language of the state
- the right to the mother tongue, i.e. the mother tongue identity, education and public services.

In the introduction to the 2001 Vienna Conference, which was devoted to the European language policy, it is emphasised that both equal access to (European) institutions and the right to vote albeit passive are possible only in the mother tongue.

In connection with this allow me to cite statements from some international documents.

- The Copenhagen Document (*Document of the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE* - 1990) states that national minorities have the right to preserve their ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identities, have the right to receive voluntary and open assistance for educational activities, and have the right not to be assimilated against their will.

- The 1994 *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities* emphasises that the protection of minorities is not simply an internal affair of state.

- The collective right to linguistic security makes it obligatory that other groups do not use their advantages (e.g. their numerical superiority or political dominance) to restrict or abolish the language in question.

- Among the Hague and Oslo recommendations it is found that the minority peoples should be provided with mother tongue education at all levels of public education (involving bilingual teachers and assuring training of suitable teachers).


  - the right of the linguistic minority to mother tongue education, foundation and maintenance of mother tongue educational institutions where the mother tongue as the language of instruction should be used in a degree according to the will of the minority
  - the right of the linguistic minority to use their mother tongue in cultural, welfare and political organisations
  - the right to minority language personal and place names
  - the right to use their own writing in the private sphere
  - the right to minority language media
  - the right to use the minority language both at home and in public.

How much do universal linguistic rights prevail among the Uralian peoples in Russia? The answer to this question can be given on the basis of some articles from the *Barcelona Declaration* (1996), and a plus sign or minus sign in square brackets shows whether or not the given article prevails among the Uralian peoples in Russia. A ± sign shows that the given right prevails either partially, or does with some peoples but elsewhere does not. Uralian peoples who have obtained member republic status have language acts, the others do not. The language act declares that on the territory of the given republic the language of the titular nation is, together with Russian *but primus infere pares*, the state language. However, law and practice are for various reasons generally far removed from each other.
Some paragraphs from the Declaration:

- **Paragraph 3:** the right to the use of mother tongue in mass communication [+]
- **Paragraph 9:** the right to codify, standardise, preserve, develop and support the linguistic system [+]
- **Paragraph 18:** representative assemblies must have as their official language(s) the language(s) historically spoken in the territory they represent [+].
- **Paragraph 4:** management of public affairs in one's own language [±];
- **Paragraph 16:** interrelation with the public authorities in one's own language [±];
- **Paragraph 41:** the right to use, maintain and develop one's own language in all forms of cultural expression [±];
- **Paragraph 50:** the right to use one's own language in advertising, on signs and road signs, etc. [±],
- **Paragraph 8:** to ensure the transmission and continuity of one's own language [±];
- **Paragraph 23/2:** education shall help to maintain and develop the language [±],
- **Paragraph 26:** the right to an education which will ensure the acquisition of a full command of one's own language [±];
- **Paragraph 15:** the right to the legal and administrative acts drawn up in one's own language [±] (the example of the Komis is a positive one: thanks to the Ministry of Ethnic Affairs, documents of state power and government offices are translated into Komi; decrees of State Council, decisions of Constitutional Court, documents of ministries, contracts are published in both official languages; both languages are used during elections, preparation of social and political events);
- **Paragraph 3:** the use of one's own language by government bodies [-];
- **Paragraph 47:** the use of one's own language in all socio-economic activities [-];
- **Paragraph 48:** the right to have all documents (forms, cheques, contracts, invoices, etc.) in one's own language [-].

3.5. **Language Policy**

Language policy is closely connected to identity policy on all its levels: individual, group, local, regional, national and transnational. Language policy reflects the power relations of society projecting them onto the linguistic society.

Although the Finno-Ugric republics in Russia have passed their own language acts which, in principle, ensure state language rights for the language of the titular nation within the borders of the republic, as we have already seen, the effect of these acts is rather limited. So far, no legal standards have been enacted in connection with the language acts of the various member republics (in Russia), and this promotes the continual expansion of Russian. The direct or indirect enforcement of Russian on the minorities can be considered as linguistic imperialism, which goes hand in hand with economic and political dominance. The advance of English, which can be seen the world over, brings forth a kind of cultural arrogance and linguistic imperialism. Similar phenomena can be observed in the relationship between Russian and the minority languages (and cultures) in Russia.

A healthy identity can be established in Russia if its citizens find their own language and culture in it. Should the conditions not be established, the negative processes will strengthen and nationalistic ideologies may gain ground.

3.6. **Language Development**

The most important issue in language development is to decide how many languages a Finno-
Ugric people should have. In my opinion, differentiating between Zyrian Komi and Permian Komi, Meadow Mari and Mountain Mari, and Erzya-Mordvin and Moksha-Mordvin is artificial, and not even linguistically justifiable. Although these distinctions may have a historical, ethnic and partly perhaps linguistic basis, in order to preserve the nation, the national language and national culture, and to fend off the divide et impera principle, efforts should aim at the creation of a 'one nation, one language' situation.

In their present condition, the Uralian languages in Russia do not comply with the requirements of the state language. In the case of Uralian peoples with larger populations and at least an autonomous district, the language lends itself well to the publishing of literature, newspapers and periodicals, and to being the language (or at least subject) of instruction. However, in all fields where special vocabulary is needed (e.g. politics, administration and science), speakers automatically switch to Russian. That is why it is essential to start or go on with the creation of special terminology and nomenclatures in order to make the language suitable for performing the desired functions in all fields of life. The restriction of language use (e.g. only to folklore and culture) starts, in most cases, irreversibly negative processes, as far as the suitability of the language for technical communication is concerned.

In addition to the technical implementation of language development, the psychological status of languages should also be changed. Image creation is an essential element of status planning: it is this that creates a favourable background to language planning. This is especially important in the case of those languages which for some reason are not highly valued. In order to change the social acceptance of a language, its prestige has to be raised. On the basis of what has been found to be the case with various Finno-Ugric peoples, we can see that a lot of hard work will need to be done to foster a love of the mother tongue and end national nihilism. Intellectuals who consciously acknowledge their mother tongue both among themselves and in public, and politicians speaking in their mother tongue can do a lot to create language prestige. If the use of a language is force out of more and more domains, it will sooner or later cease to exist. This can already be seen both among young people and humanities scholars and politicians.

4. Young People are the Key to the Future

Despite negative tendencies, the future of the Finno-Ugric peoples in Russia is not without hope. However, this will remain nothing more than an unjustifiably optimistic statement, unless:

- politics treat minorities in the spirit of the standards of international law,
- the peoples concerned give up their nihilist, depressive, self-destructive behaviour, and create a healthy self-esteem in order to save and revitalise their language, their culture and therefore themselves (see example of neighbouring Tatars, Chuvashes, Bashkirs),
- following international examples (see e.g. Ireland, Wales), Finno-Ugric peoples reorganize almost from its bases their mother tongue education from elementary school to university level, the mother tongue press, mother tongue administration, and mother tongue scientific life.

Young people and intellectuals, especially young intellectuals, have a fundamental role to play in this revival process.

4.1. A New Political Altitude in Compliance with International Standards

I recommend to the Congress the Vienna Manifesto accepted in 2001 (Wiener Manifest, zur Europaischen Sprachpolitik—Vienna Manifest on European Language Policy), the statements and proposals of which could also be applied perfectly—political will permitting—in connection with national minorities in Russia.
Let me cite some **principles**, changing the word 'Europe' to 'Russia', 'English language' to 'Russian language' and 'European Union' to 'Russian Federation':

- 'Only if Russia's linguistic diversity is preserved and promoted will the project of the **Russian Federation** succeed. On the one hand it is impossible to make foreign language skills a prerequisite for exercising democratic rights, on the other hand mutual understanding is indispensable for living together.'

- 'There is no contradiction between using a *lingua franca* (predominantly **Russian**) in some spheres of work and actively practising multilingualism in other areas...'

- '...Many of Russia's cultural achievements are closely linked to the achievements of specific languages and intellectual traditions. A renouncement of these languages and achievements would mean a serious restriction and depletion of the cultural diversity **in Russia**.'

- 'It is the job of schools, universities and institutions of advanced training on the one hand, and the obligation of governments on the other to safeguard multilingualism... An important element in this process is to preserve and use the existing wealth of languages by placing more emphasis on minority and migrant languages when integrating them into the general educational system.'

And now, after the principles, let's look at some recommendations from the Vienna Manifesto:

- Measures have to be taken to ensure 'the right of all citizens to learn and use their own national and minority languages.'

- The **Russian Federation** 'is called upon to implement multilingualism in its own practices in a more credible way
  • by extending the working language regime...
  • by involving national and sector-specific terminology resources, including those of the private sector...'
  • 'As regards humanities and sciences, measures have to be taken to ensure that national languages other than **Russian** (used by many scholars as a *lingua franca*) will be preserved and further developed as technical languages. At least in the humanities and arts, this is a crucial prerequisite for preserving academic cultures with their specific knowledge gains. This means
    • ..promoting doctoral theses and theses required of candidates wishing to qualify to lecture at university written in the national technical language
    • not basing the evaluation of academic achievements on evaluation standards... clearly preferring a *lingua franca* but encouraging multilingual publications activity (particularly in so-called "national" fields of knowledge such as history and linguistics).'
  - 'An appropriate linguistic attitude in situations of multilingual communication is a prerequisite for an effective multilingualism in the humanities and sciences.'

### 4.2. Ethnic/national Self-esteem instead of Ethnic Nihilism

The Finno-Ugric peoples of Russia have a right to be proud. According to the latest research data, the ancestors of the present-day Finno-Ugric and Samoyed peoples were the aboriginal inhabitants of the European and West Siberian territories of the North Eurasian region. So these peoples have a past: namely, a language and culture often or twenty thousand years. It was they who gave names to rivers and lakes in the region; it was they who created the determining material and spiritual culture of the region. During the last few centuries, they succeeded in adapting themselves to the demands of more modern times, while preserving their ancient languages and traditions. Permian written literature is, after Hungarian, the oldest written culture. Our peoples have given the world numerous internationally known artists, writers, researchers and sportsmen to the world. We should preserve these valuable assets and
multiply them.

### 4.3. Mother Tongue Before Everything Else

Cultivation and fostering of the mother tongue begins in the family and continues at school. Effectiveness can be guaranteed by a suitable educational system; one which does not merge schools using the mother tongue as language of instruction with those teaching it as a compulsory or even just as an optional subject—as proposed by the author of the above-mentioned political document.

The effective operation of schools can be ensured by the creation of the necessary conditions (teachers who can teach in the mother tongue, mother tongue textbooks of appropriate level). Education helps spread mother tongue equivalents of new terms, translating the results of terminology creation into practice.

Parental attitude is a determining factor. A negative parental attitude towards the mother tongue will deprive children of motivation and will have an adverse effect on their school achievements. In mixed marriages, a change in the relation to language and culture is needed. Bilingual families should make every effort to see that the children learn the language of both parents. Present experience shows that only the Finno-Ugric population is bilingual; Russians are virtually monolingual.

The press has an extremely important part to play and responsibility in preserving and promoting the mother tongue.

### 4.4. The Role of the Intellectuals, Especially Young Intellectuals

Experience gained in the Mari Republic shows that those most devoted to the promotion and teaching of the mother tongue are prospective teachers and agricultural professionals. However, no substantial improvement can be expected until the entire intelligentsia, or at least all those representing the humanities, make a stand for their mother tongue and set examples through their own behaviour. Consider this: how many intellectuals and politicians present here use their mother tongue in everyday practice? How many of them have ensured that their children master the language of their forefathers? I have bad experiences in this area. It is thanks to this kind of attitude that we have the analysis results I have quoted several times already. Although it only refers to Mari El, it is clearly more or less valid in relation to other republics as well. The analysis states that 74.7 per cent of Mari students in secondary or upper level institutes of vocational education use Russian to communicate with their peers, and only 15.5 per cent of them use Mari.

I can, however, also report some nice and very promising experiences.

- When visiting Finno-Ugric university towns, I was pleased to see that audiences at Finno-Ugric language theatrical performances were made up mostly of young people who understand and demand theatre in the mother tongue.

- There is a young intellectual stratum in the making which is aware of why the mother tongue is important. Surveys show that while young people in general understand the Finno-Ugric language of their parents less and less, young intellectuals still do know and want to know their mother tongue.

The demands of young people for the mother tongue and the culture of their ancestors must be supported.

- Politicians have to create favourable political, psychological and economic conditions. As a first step, a list should be compiled of all the state offices where a good command of both state languages is required;

- Professionals—linguists and scholars from various academic fields—should join forces in order to promote the language;

- Attractive mother tongue programmes for children should be developed (using
- Gems of foreign literature should be translated into the mother tongue,
- Foreign language films should be dubbed... and the list of proposals could go on.

The general atmosphere does not seem to be altogether unfavourable: comparative analysis of surveys made among both the student and the adult populations shows that interest in the Mari language among Russian-speaking students increases with age and level of education. 5.7 per cent of Russian pupils believe the compulsory teaching of Mari to be necessary in every school. In the case of students in secondary and higher education this figure is 13.4 per cent, and the adult population is even more loyal.

This result just emphasises how great a responsibility lies with parents, teachers, government officials and politicians.

The extremely disadvantageous demographical situation is undoubtedly a problem. This phenomenon is not specific to Russia. The recent Hungarian example shows that the unfavourable tendency can be slowed down if beneficial psychological and material conditions for young families are created. This situation can be changed by politics and - for biological reasons - young people. It is the self-confident young who can stand the present clearly unfavourable pyramid on its head.

For this I wish favourable circumstances, strength and self-confidence; and I offer the moral and technical help of Finno-Ugric peoples with independent statehood.
Thank you.
I would like to start by thanking the organizing committee for inviting me. And I would especially like to thank my two colleagues, who were very important in suggesting it to the organizing committee. Namely, Erik Yuzykain from Yoshkar-Ola and Mart Rannut from Estonia. Thank you both of you, colleagues from whom I have learned a lot. I would also like to thank the Saami present and all the Saami for what you have taught me, and especially Ole Henrik Magga, who is here, and whose name was not mentioned, even if he presented the address from the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. I would also like to apologize that I am not speaking Russian. It was originally meant that the other screen would have had my PowerPoint presentation in Russian, but it didn’t succeed. I am going to use quite a lot of time. I was originally asked to speak for an hour and I heard only last night that there is 40 minutes. I will not be able to shorten my presentation, but I speak fast.

1. Introduction

Finno-Ugric peoples are in a global context demographically a very small part of humanity. Still, they/we show a remarkable amount of internal variation in terms of our spread of geographic location, our livelihoods and the relative status of our languages. In this paper I shall concentrate on linguistic human rights (LHRs) of Finno-Ugric peoples, and especially on the rights of those speakers of Finno-Ugric languages whose languages can be called endangered. And I shall mostly concentrate on educational LHRs, for two main reasons. Firstly, in societies where all children attend formal education, these are the most important LHRs if a minority or an indigenous people wants to reproduce itself as a minority. Secondly, “education tends to be the single most important channel of government intervention in the sphere of language”, also in terms of expenditure, even if there are others too (administration, judiciary, support to media and arts, etc; Grin 2003a: 25; see also other references to Grin in the bibliography). I shall discuss the issues not from a linguistic point of view, but more using concepts, theories and evidence from sociolinguistics, international human rights law, education, sociology, political science and ethnobiology. The titles of the sections and subsections illustrate and sum up the contents of this paper.

1 UNESCO’s Intangible Cultural Heritage Unit’s Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages (see Section 3 below) gives the following definition:

   A language is endangered when it is facing extinction. Though the causes of language endangerment are complex, the definition is simple: A language is in danger of becoming extinct when its speakers cease to use it, and when there are no new speakers (adults or children).

The Group states:

   No single criterion can be used to assess a language’s degree of endangerment (Brenzinger 2000, Wurm 2000). Language communities are complex and diverse; even assessing the number of actual speakers of a language is difficult. We propose using a variety of criteria to evaluate a language’s state. The most crucial dimension in evaluating the vitality of a language is whether or not it is being transmitted from one generation to the next (Fishman 1991). Endangerment can be ranked on a continuum from stability to extinction. Even “stable”, however, does not guarantee language vitality, because at any time speakers may cease to pass on their language to the next generation.

2 The paper draws heavily on most of my recent writings and several in press - see my home page for these.
2. Basic background data about languages

We start with some basic background data about languages. First numbers. Most languages in the world are demographically very small, they have few speakers. The median number of speakers of a language is around 5-6,000 (Darrell Posey's 1999 estimate). 83-84% of the world's spoken languages are ENDEMIC: they exist in one country only. Please place your own group here too, in terms of numbers!

- There are 6-7,000 spoken languages (http://www.sil.org/ethnologue/), and maybe equally many Sign languages; we do not know exact numbers because of lack of resources for their study. And we cannot know the exact numbers because there are no other ways to determine what is a language and what is a dialect except using political criteria; those in power claim that what they speak is a language. What people with less power speak are by the power-holders labelled dialects or vernaculars (see below);
- Just under 80 languages have over 10 million users; how many does Hungarian, the largest Finno-Ugric language have?
- Over 95% of the world's spoken languages have fewer than 1 million native users. Fewer than 300 languages have over 1 million native users; how many Finno-Ugric languages are among these really big languages?
- Some 5,000 spoken languages have fewer than 100,000 users; most Finno-Ugric languages belong to this category.
- Of these, over 3,000 spoken languages have fewer than 10,000 users;
- Some 1,500 spoken languages and most of the Sign languages have fewer than 1,000 users;
- Some 500 languages had in 1999 fewer than 100 users; today many of them are extinct and others have taken their place; how many Finno-Ugric languages do we have in this group?

The whole concept of language is extremely vague, as we know and there is no other scientific way of defining it except analysing the power relations involved in whose definitions about the relative languageness or otherwise of various idioms prevail and why (see my discussion of what a language is, in Skutnabb-Kangas 2000, Chapter 1). This is a typical example of the borders of a concept being in the perceptions of the observer rather than in the characteristics of the observed (see Mühlhäusler 2003 and my review, in press c, of it). One example is the latest edition of the Ethnologue (http://www.sil.org/ethnologue/), the best global source for languages. It lists some 6,800 languages, but some 41,000 names or labels for various languages.

Even if we knew what a language is, we certainly have extremely unreliable figures about the number of speakers/users for most of them, including the largest ones where the differences of estimates of the speakers of the same language may be tens of millions (see Skutnabb-Kangas, 2002a).

Where are the languages? If we leave out languages whose speakers have immigrated to Europe during the last 60 years and only count languages with older presence in Europe (see, e.g. Glanville Price's edited 2000 Encyclopedia of the languages of Europe), the result is that Europe only has around 3 percent of the world's spoken languages. On the basis of population figures we should have more. The Ethnologue (14th edition

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I use the double form to indicate that Signers, representing a large number of the world's languages, do not "speak" Sign languages; they sign them. In all instances when I use "speaker", I mean "speaker/signer", and when I use "language", I include Sign languages.

"Europe" is itself a dubious category - see Price's (2000) discussion about how to define it, and my discussion of Fortress Europe, section 3.5.4, pp. 181-194 in Skutnabb-Kangas 2000).
http://www.ethnologue.com/ethno_docs/distribution.asp, downloaded 23-01-02), gives the following figures and distribution: Europe 230 languages, 3%, the Americas (South, Central and North) have 1,013, 15%, Africa 2,058, 30%, Asia 2,197, 32%, and the Pacific 1,311, 19% (Table 1). Again, no count has been done for Sign languages.

Table 1. The distribution of languages (The Ethnologue, 14th ed.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Number of languages?</th>
<th>Percentage of world total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Americas (South, Central, North)</td>
<td>1,013</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>2,058</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>2,197</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Pacific</td>
<td>1,311</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Languages are in most cases both known best and transmitted to the next generation by **native speakers/users** or **mother tongue speakers/users** of those languages. But we are likewise using contested concepts here: distinguishing mother tongue speakers or native speakers from those who have learned some language only later and for whom it is not their primary means of communication in childhood (or one of them, in case of childhood bilinguals or multilinguals) is extremely tricky.

If we could define language and native speaker, we might then measure the **relative linguistic diversity** of geographical units, for instance countries, through the number of languages spoken natively in the country. The most linguistically diverse countries would then be the ones which have most languages. Papua New Guinea, with its over 850 languages would be the un-detested world champion (Table 2).

But this way of measuring **linguistic megadiversity** has also been contested. Clinton Robinson argues, for instance, that the most diverse country is not the one which has the largest number of languages, but the one where the largest linguistic group represents the lowest percentage of all linguistic groups (Robinson; 1993). We get a very big difference in the list of the world's linguistically most diverse countries, depending on which measure we use (Tables 2 and 3; source: Tables 1.1 and 1.3 in Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000: 36-37).

Table 2. Linguistic megadiversity: The countries with most languages in the world

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OVER 500 LANGUAGES</th>
<th>OVER 200 LANGUAGES</th>
<th>OVER 100 LANGUAGES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.Indonesia 670</td>
<td>2.India 380</td>
<td>2.Russia 357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total 1,520</td>
<td>3.Cameroon 270</td>
<td>3.USA 357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.Australia 250</td>
<td>4.Malaysia 357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.Mexico 240</td>
<td>5.China 357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.Brazil 210</td>
<td>7.Tanzania 357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total 1,970</td>
<td>8.Ethiopia 357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL for 9 3,490</td>
<td>9.Chad 357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10.Vanuatu 357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11.Central African Republic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. The ten most linguistically diverse countries, according to Robinson 1993

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Country popul. (millions)</th>
<th>No. of living languages</th>
<th>LLG</th>
<th>No. in LLG</th>
<th>LLG as % of popul.</th>
<th>Official languages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Papua New Guinea</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>867</td>
<td>Enga</td>
<td>164 750</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>English, Tok Pisin, Hiri Motu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Vanuatu</td>
<td>0.143</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>Hano</td>
<td>7 000</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Bislama, English, French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Solomon Islands</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>Kwara'ae</td>
<td>21 000</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Côte D'Ivoire</td>
<td>12.07</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>Baoule</td>
<td>1 620 100</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Gabon</td>
<td>1.069</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Fang</td>
<td>169 650</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Uganda</td>
<td>17.593</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Ganda</td>
<td>2 900 000</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Cameroon</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>Beti</td>
<td>2 000 000</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>French, English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Kenya</td>
<td>25.393</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>Gikuyu</td>
<td>4 356 000</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Kiswahili, English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Namibia</td>
<td>1.372</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Ndonga</td>
<td>240 000</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Zaire</td>
<td>35.33</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>Ciluba</td>
<td>6 300 000</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Ciluba, Kikongo, Kiswahili, Lingala, French</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LLG = Largest Language Group (adapted from Robinson, 1993: 55; based on figures in Ethnologue, 12th edition)

Measuring cultural diversity is even more difficult, regardless of how "culture" or "cultural traits" are defined (see, e.g., articles in Posey, ed., 1999, and Maffi, ed, 2001, for a good sampling), but often language and culture coincide even if there are many exceptions too. Some people claim that cultures and ethnic groups can survive even if the languages are no longer known or used (e.g. Eastman 1984, Khilkhanova & Khilkhanova 2004, May 2001, 2003, in press). De Swaan (2003) claims that "[t]here is hardly any connection between linguistic diversity and a sense of cultural diversity". Likewise, it is claimed that language is not necessarily important for ethnic identity; this can be maintained, it is claimed, even if one never uses and does not know the language that was or is used by the ethnic group in its
"homeland". This language has just "transformed from a language of use" to an "associated language" (Eastman 1984: 264); the group can "retain their ethnic identity without active (instrumental) use of their language as long as they still have an association (or sentimental attachment) with it" (ibid.: 265), because "language knowledge and use do not affect our underlying or primordial identity" (ibid.: 274; emphasis added). See my refutation of these claims, Skutnab-Kangas, in press a, b.

In any case, we in Europe are linguistically incredibly poor, compared to the rest of the world, just as we are very poor in terms of biodiversity.

3. The future of languages

What is happening today to the world’s languages? Are they being maintained? NO. Optimistic estimates of what is happening suggest that at least 50% of today’s spoken languages may be extinct or very seriously endangered ("dead" or "moribund") around the year 2100. This estimate, originating with Michael Krauss (1992) is also the one used by UNESCO (see, for instance http://www.unesco.org/endangeredlanguages, the guidelines Education in a Multilingual World (UNESCO 2003c)

http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001297/129728e.pdf). Pessimistic but still completely realistic estimates claim that as many as 90-95% of them may be extinct or very seriously endangered in less than a hundred years’ time - this is Krauss’ estimate today (e.g. Krauss 1992, 1995, 1996, 1997). UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage Unit’s Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages (see UNESCO 2003a; see also UNESCO 2003b, c) uses this more pessimistic figure in their report, Language Vitality and Endangerment (http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/file_download.php/1a41d53cf46e10710298d314450b97df Language+Vitality.doc). We may have only 3-600 oral languages left as unthreatened, languages transmitted by the parent generation to children; these would probably be those languages that today have more than one million speakers, and a few others. Still more pessimistic estimates suspect that only those 40-50 languages will remain in which you can, within the next few years, talk to your stove, fridge and coffee pot, i.e. those languages into which Microsoft software, Nokia mobile phone menus, etc., are being translated (Rannut 2003)8. Nobody has made predictions about the future of Sign languages, but the World Federation of the Deaf is worried about more powerful Sign languages in every country (and, especially the American Sign language also internationally) wiping out smaller Sign languages9. Table 4 gives the web addresses for some of the endangered languages.

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7 See Phillipson 2003 on the challenges in European language policy.
8 See Annex A for a few figures for Internet use - these may show some of the trends. On the other hand, indigenous peoples are actively demanding that their languages be developed for purposes of the information society so that they can be used for all aspects of Information and Communication Technology (ICT), including computer software, database portals, every possible type of digitising these languages, etc. See World Summit on the Information Society, The Report of the Global Forum of Indigenous Peoples and the Information Society. 8-11 December 2003, Geneva, UN, ECOSOC, E/23 December 2003 at www.un.org/esa/socdev/pfii/PFII3/documents/FinalReportUNSPFII2003.pdf
9 "As the Deaf world increasingly becomes a small global village, dominant sign languages must not be allowed to destroy 'smaller' sign languages [...]" (from Resolution 2003:33). Of course cochlear implants and false expectations about them, as well as genetic engineering, may also participate in diminishing the number of Sign languages: "Strongly condemning the developments and potential use of biotechnology and genetic science that infringe on human rights and dignity and reduce human diversity [...]". (from Resolution 2003: 33) (see also the World Federation of the Deaf's new website, not yet available at the time of writing.)
Languages are today being killed faster than ever before in human history, and English is today the world’s most important killer language. If dominant languages are learned \textit{subtractively}, at the expense of other often smaller dominated languages, the dominant languages become \textit{killer languages}. "Being” a killer language is \textbf{NOT} a characteristic of a language. It is a relationship, a question of how a language functions in relation to other languages. ANY language can become a killer language in relation to some other language. Besides, "languages” do not kill each other. It is the power relations between the \textit{speakers} of the languages that are the decisive factors behind the unequal relations between the languages which then cause people from dominated groups to learn other languages \textit{subtractively, at the cost of their own}. Obviously other languages should (and can) be learned \textit{additively}, in addition to one's own language(s), not instead of it or them. In \textit{subtractive} teaching: minority children are taught through the medium of a dominant language which replaces their mother tongue. They learn the dominant language at the cost of the mother tongue. In \textit{additive} teaching: minority children are taught through the medium of the mother tongue, with good teaching of the dominant language as a second language. It makes them high level bilingual or multilingual. They learn other languages in addition to their own language, and learn them all well.

It is these killer languages that pose serious threats towards the linguistic diversity of the world. As I said, English is today the world’s most important killer language, but there are many others, large and smaller. Most official languages function as killer languages \textit{vis-à-vis} non-official languages in the same state. In addition, ALL oral languages can, through enforced oralism, function as killer languages, in relation to Sign languages. In oralism, Deaf children are taught through spoken (and written language) only, and Sign languages have no place in their education. Official/national oral languages may be especially important killer languages \textit{vis-à-vis} Sign languages. Big Sign languages, when learned subtractively, at the cost of small Sign languages, can also be killer languages. Usually a country makes only one Sign language official (if any). This may kill all other Sign languages in the country. The American Sign Language may pose serious threats towards all other Sign languages, if it is learned subtractively. It may be the worst killer language among Sign languages. Organisations of the Deaf everywhere are protesting forcefully against these violations\footnote{See Resolution, 14\textsuperscript{th} World Congress of the World Federation of the Deaf, Montreal, Quebec, Canada, 18-26 July 2003.}.

One of the questions for this Congress is to identify those languages which function as killer languages in relation to Finno-Ugric languages. English and Russian are the most important ones, but there are others too. And some Finno-Ugric languages can themselves be

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|}
\hline
\textbf{For languages, see} \\
\textbf{Europe:} & \url{http://www.helsinki.fi/~tasalmin/europe_index.html} \\
\textbf{Northeast Asia:} & \url{http://www.helsinki.fi/~tasalmin/nasia_index.html} \\
\textbf{Asia and the Pacific:} & \url{http://www.tooyoo.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/redbook/asiapacific/asia-index.html} \\
\textbf{Africa:} & \url{http://www.tooyoo.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/redbook/africa-index.html} \\
\textbf{Databanks for Endangered Finno-Ugric Languages:} & \url{http://www.helsinki.fi/~tasalmin/deful.html} \\
 & \url{http://www.suri.ee} \\
\textbf{Russia:} & \url{http://www.eki.ee/books/redbook/} \\
\textbf{South America:} & \url{http://www.tooyoo.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/redbooks/Samerica/index.html} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}
killer languages vis-à-vis other Finno-Ugric languages, like the Finnish language has been and still is in relation to Saami\textsuperscript{11}. The next issues to analyse then are why and how dominated languages are being killed and what, if anything, can be done about it.

4. Why do languages die? Language death or language murder?

My next question is thus: why are languages disappearing? In studying causes for the disappearance of languages we find two explanatory paradigms: language death and language murder. The first one assumes that languages just die naturally, like everything in nature - they arise, blossom, and disappear. This is the ”(natural) death” paradigm. The other paradigm asserts that languages do NOT just disappear naturally. Languages do NOT ”commit suicide”. In most cases, speakers do NOT leave them voluntarily, for instrumental reasons, and for their own good. Languages are ”murdered”. Most disappearing languages are victims of linguistic genocide. This latter paradigm is the one I see as the likely one. One of the differences between them from an activist point of view is also that we cannot do anything about languages disappearing if we accept that it is natural and inevitable - this reasoning represents a misunderstood and misguided Darwinian ”survival of the fittest” (see Harmon 2002 and Skutnabb-Kangas 2002a for a refutation). This is partly because there is no agent causing the disappearance of languages in this paradigm. In the language murder paradigm we can analyse agency, the forces behind the disappearance of languages, and we may be able to do something about it.

Obviously the structural and ideological direct and indirect agents behind the killing of languages are the same social, economic and political techno-military forces that promote corporate globalisation\textsuperscript{12}. But some of the most important direct agents confronted by most people are the educational systems and the media. These are both indirectly and directly homogenizing societies linguistically and culturally. And ideologically: they are, through their consent-manufacturing capacities (Herman & Chomsky 1988), making people accept the homogenizing processes as somehow necessary and even natural (see McMurtry’s 2002 mind-blowing, sophisticated analysis of this; see also his 1999\textsuperscript{13}).

As many researchers have noted, after Joshua Fishman, schools can in a couple of generations kill languages which had survived for centuries, even millennia, when their speakers were not exposed to formal education of present-day type. Schools can today participate in committing linguistic genocide through their choice of the medium of formal education - and they do.

5. Linguistic genocide? Definitions and examples

When I speak about linguistic genocide\textsuperscript{14} in education, many people protest and say: the term genocide is too strong; it diminishes the REAL genocide. They are only thinking of physical destruction of groups. They say: Is it not watering down the whole concept of genocide to use it about languages and cultures, rather than about physical atrocities (e.g. Levy 2001; ”overstating the case”, Boran 2003: 198). I don’t think so. I use the definitions of genocide from The United Nations International Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (E793, 1948). It has five definitions of genocide. Two of them fit most of today’s indigenous and minority education:

Article II(e): 'forcibly transferring children of the group to another group'; and

\textsuperscript{13} Big thanks to Ian Martin for making me and my husband, Robert Phillipson, aware of McMurtry!
\textsuperscript{14} See Skutnabb-Kangas in press g, an encyclopaedia entry about linguistic genocide.
Article II(b): 'causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group'; (emphasis added).

A few examples from various studies follow – all of them show either the forcible transfer of children from a linguistic group to another linguistic group, or serious mental harm caused to children through submersion education. The examples will only be mentioned and summed up in a sentence of two - interested colleagues should go to the sources.

EUROPE, Sweden, Pirjo Janulf (1998)
Janulf did a longitudinal study, with 971 children in lower secondary school, and several hundred controls. After 15 years, she went back to several of those Finnish immigrant minority members in Sweden who had had Swedish-medium education. Not one of them spoke any Finnish to their own children. Even if they themselves might not have forgotten their Finnish completely, their children were certainly forcibly transferred to the majority group, at least linguistically. Assimilationist education is genocidal.

USA, John Baugh (2000)
John Baugh from Stanford University draws in his article ‘Educational Malpractice and the Miseducation of Language Minority Students’, a parallel between how physicians may maltreat patients and how minority students (including students who do not have mainstream US English as their first language, for instance speakers of Ebonics/Black English), are often treated in education in the USA. The harm caused to them by this maltreatment and miseducation also fits the UN definition of ‘causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group’.

AFRICA 1, Zambia and Malawi, Edward Williams (1995)
Williams’ study in Zambia and Malawi had 1,500 students in grades 1-7. Williams states that large numbers of Zambian pupils (who had had all education in English) ‘have very weak or zero reading competence in two languages’. On the other hand, in Malawi, the children were taught in local languages, mostly their mother tongues, during the first 4 years, while studying English as a subject; English became the medium only in grade 5. The Malawi children had slightly better test results in the English language than the Zambian students. In addition, they knew how to read and write in their own languages. Williams’ conclusion is that ‘there is a clear risk that the policy of using English as a vehicular language may contribute to stunting, rather than promoting, academic and cognitive growth’. This fits the UN genocide definition of “causing serious mental harm”.

AFRICA 2, South Africa, Zubeida Desai (2001)
Xhosa-speaking grade 4 and grade 7 learners in South Africa were given a set of pictures which they had to put in the right order and then describe, in both Xhosa and English. In Desai’s words, it showed ‘the rich vocabulary children have when they express themselves in Xhosa and the poor vocabulary they have when they express themselves in English’.

AFRICA 3, South Africa, Kathleen Heugh (2000)
This is a countrywide longitudinal statistical study of final exam results for “Black” students in South Africa. The percentage of “Black” students who passed their exams went down every time the number of years spent through the medium of the mother tongues decreased, meaning despite the apartheid education, the students did better when more of the education was through the medium of their own languages.

AUSTRALIA, Anne Lowell & Brian Devlin (1999)
The article describing the 'Miscommunication between Aboriginal Students and their Non-Aboriginal Teachers in a Bilingual School', clearly demonstrated that 'even by late primary school, children often did not comprehend classroom instructions in English'. Communication breakdowns occurred frequently between children and their non-Aboriginal teachers', with the result that 'the extent of miscommunication severely inhibited the children's education when English was the language of instruction and interaction'. Conclusions and recommendations: the use of a language of instruction in which the children do not have sufficient competence is the greatest barrier to successful classroom learning for Aboriginal Children'.

CANADA 1, Katherine Zozula & Simon Ford (1985)
The report ‘Keewatin Perspective on Bilingual Education’ tells about Canadian Inuit ‘students who are neither fluent nor literate in either language’ and presents statistics showing that the students ‘end up at only Grade 4 level of achievement after 9 years of schooling’ (from Martin 2001a, see also Martin 2001b).

CANADA 2, The Canadian Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 1996 Report
The Report notes that ‘submersion strategies which neither respect the child's first language nor help them gain fluency in the second language may result in impaired fluency in both languages’ (from Martin 2001a).

CANADA 3, The Nunavut Language Policy Conference in March 1998
‘in some individuals, neither language is firmly anchored’ (from Martin 2001a).

CANADA 4, Mick Mallon and Alexina Kublu (1998)
‘a significant number of young people are not fully fluent in their languages’, and many students ‘remain apathetic, often with minimal skills in both languages’ (from Martin 2001a).

CANADA 5, report, Kitikmeot struggles to prevent death of Inuktitut (1998)
‘teenagers cannot converse fluently with their grandparents’ (from Martin 2001a).

USA, Wayne Wright (2004).
Cambodian-American refugee students, with little English competence, were placed in English-only classrooms, with teachers not certified to teach English as a Second Language. Students were interviewed as adults. “The result has been weaker primary language skills, without the full mastery of English. In addition, the participants described difficulties at home, at work, and in college, and problems with their self-identity as a consequence of English-only education. The findings provide evidence that English-only programmes fail to meet the linguistic and cultural needs of ELL students, and may lead to negative consequences for students in their adult lives.”

DEAF STUDENTS, Branson & Miller, Jokinen, Ladd, Lane, etc, see bibliography
Assimilationist submersion education where Deaf students are taught orally only and sign languages have no place in the curriculum, often causes mental harm, including serious prevention or delay of cognitive growth potential.

For all of this to be genocidal according to the UN Genocide Convention, the outcome has to be intentional. Have the states known about the negative outcome? Of course official school policies do not say that the goal is to commit genocide. But the negative results of subtractive teaching have been known already at the end of the 1800s. States and educational authorities
(including churches) have had the knowledge. There are many examples from the Nordic countries (see descriptions and references in e.g. Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 1989). The USA Board of Indian Commissioners (quoted from Francis & Reyhner 2002: 45-46) wrote in 1880:

…first teaching the children to read and write in their own language enables them to master English with more ease when they take up that study…a child beginning a four years’ course with the study of Dakota would be further advanced in English at the end of the term than one who had not been instructed in Dakota (p. 77). …it is true that by beginning in the Indian tongue and then putting the students into English studies our missionaries say that after three or four years their English is better than it would have been if they had begun entirely with English (p. 98).

"Modern" research results about how indigenous and minority education should be organised have been available for at least 50 years, since the UNESCO expert group summed them up in the seminal book The use of the vernacular languages in education (1953), on the basis of research, that the mother tongue was axiomatically the best medium of teaching. In today’s schools, most indigenous and minority children and children from dominated groups are taught subtractively. We can ask ourselves what subtractive teaching often does and what it stands for (for a thorough treatment of these claims, see Skutnabb-Kangas 2000, a book of 818 pages)

- Subtractive teaching is genocidal, as we have seen, according to UN Genocide Convention’s definitions of genocide;
- It replaces mother tongues and kills languages;
- It prevents profound literacy;
- It prevents students from gaining the knowledge and skills that would correspond to their innate capacities and would be needed for socio-economic mobility & democratic participation;
- It leads in most cases to forcible assimilation of the group.

If states, despite this, and despite the fact that study after study shows very positive results from properly conducted additive teaching, have continued and continue to offer subtractive education, with no alternatives, knowing that the results are likely to be negative and thus to ‘forcibly transfer children of the group to another group’; and ‘cause serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group’, this must be seen as intentional. Indigenous and minority education is still organised against all scientific evidence. All education where the children's mother tongue is not the main medium of education, i.e. most indigenous and minority education in the world participates in committing linguistic and cultural genocide, according to the genocide definitions in the UN Genocide Convention.

The Big Contradiction is that many politicians and school authorities say that they want minority children to learn their mother tongues and, especially, the dominant language(s)… while in practice preventing it, today as much as earlier ("Despite the reported success of bilingual methods, the federal government reacted negatively and suppressed programs that included the use of an indigenous language in the 1880s", Francis & Reyhner 2002: 46, about USA).

Without earlier and present-day linguistic genocide, there would be little need today to revive indigenous and minority languages? Most of them would probably be healthy and unthreatened. But we are killing them as never before, and the global model for this killing through both education and mass media has its historical origins in Europe.
All the examples involve subtractive teaching through the medium of a foreign language, and lack of linguistic human rights. Next we look at linguistic human rights.

6. The role of linguistic human rights in maintaining endangered languages

6.1. Linguistic Human Rights?
6.1.1. What are Linguistic Human Rights?
For many people, linguistic human rights (LHRs) is a new relatively concept. What does it mean? It combines two much older concepts, language rights, which have existed even as formalized legal regulations for at least a couple of centuries, and human rights which were formalized with the League of Nations, after the First World War, and in their present form, by the United Nations, after the Second World War (see Capotorti 1979 for an overview). LHRs are those language-related rights which are seen as so inalienable, so fundamental for basic needs and a dignified life that no states (or other individuals/groups) are allowed to violate them. Thus all language rights are not linguistic human rights. So far, there is no consensus about which language rights should be seen as LHRs. The process of mapping them out has only started. It is clear, though, that LHRs should be both individual and collective. So far, no international human rights instruments exist that would concentrate on LHRs only, and the only proposal for one (see http://wwwLINGuistic-declaration.org/) has met with massive criticism and has not progressed further in the United Nations system since it was handed over to UNESCO in Barcelona in 1996. The first regional human rights instrument which concentrates on language rights is the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages from 1992, in force since 1998 see http://conventions.coe.int/treaty/EN/cadreprincipal.htm; its treaty number is 148). States ratifying it can choose both for which languages they ratify it and which paragraphs they want to choose from a “menu” - a minimum number and some other conditions are specified (see chapter 7 of Skutnab-Kangas 2000 for details on LHRs).

There are now at least a couple of dozens of books and hundreds of articles about LHRs, but the concept is still far from well defined. It is, though, a rapidly growing and extremely interesting new multidisciplinary area of research. Linguistic Human Rights might be one way of

● preventing linguistic genocide;
● promoting integration and defending people against forced assimilation;
● promoting the maintenance of the world’s linguistic diversity;
● promoting conflict prevention;

15 It is not only linguistic human rights that are lacking but many of the simple rights to education in general, as shown by the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Right to Education, Katarina Ťomaševski; see references to her work in the bibliography.

● promoting self-determination.

I shall only touch upon several of these issues in this short paper; for more, see my 2000 book and my list of publications from recent years on my home page.

6.1.2. Language in human rights instruments

First we shall sum up what kind of LHRs exist in international law. I am here too most interested in LHRs in education. Language is one of the most important ones of those human characteristics on the basis of which people are not allowed to be discriminated against. Others are gender, "race" and religion. Still language often disappears in the educational paragraphs of binding HRs instruments. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948): the paragraph on education (26) does not refer to language at all. Similarly, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (adopted in 1966 and in force since 1976), having mentioned language on a par with race, colour, sex, religion, etc. in its general Article (2.2), does explicitly refer to ‘racial, ethnic or religious groups’ in its educational Article (13.1). However, here it omits reference to language or linguistic groups:

... education shall enable all persons to participate effectively in a free society, promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations and all racial, ethnic or religious groups ... (emphasis added).

Secondly, binding educational clauses of human rights instruments have more opt-outs, modifications, alternatives, etc than other Articles. One example is the UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities, 1992. I have added the emphases, 'obligating' and positive measures in italics, 'opt-outs' in bold). The twp paragraphs about identity (which in itself is a vague concept) make states fairly firm duty-holders whereas the paragraph about language in education is full of opt-outs.

1.1. States shall protect the existence and the national or ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic identity of minorities within their respective territories, and shall encourage conditions for the promotion of that identity. 1.2. States shall adopt appropriate legislative and other measures to achieve those ends.

4.3. States should take appropriate measures so that, wherever possible, persons belonging to minorities have adequate opportunities to learn their mother tongue or to have instruction in their mother tongue.

Council of Europe’s Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities17 and The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages18, both in force since 1998, also have many of these modifications, alternatives and opt-outs:. An example is the Framework Convention's education article 11(3):

In areas inhabited by persons belonging to national minorities traditionally or in substantial numbers, if there is sufficient demand, the parties shall endeavour to ensure, as far as possible and within the framework of their education systems, that persons belonging to those minorities have adequate opportunities for being taught in the minority language or for receiving instruction in this language (emphases added).

The following list shows some of these expressions from Council of Europe’s Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities and The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages:

■ ‘as far as possible’
■ ‘within the framework of [the State's] education systems’,
■ ‘appropriate measures’

18 See Grin 2003b for an analysis.
Without binding educational linguistic human rights most minorities have to accept **subtractive education** through the medium of a dominant/majority language. As we said earlier, this mostly leads to assimilation and prevents integration. I am interested in examining what kind of LHRs are needed to prevent forced assimilation and make integration possible.

### 6.2. Assimilation or Integration?

First I want to initially define the two concepts of assimilation and integration. We start with modified versions of Gouboglo and Drobizeva's old definitions because they have two important features. Partly, they differentiate between an objective part and a subjective part. Partly, they see integration as something mutual.

**Assimilation** is
1. Disappearance of distinctive features, i.e. objectively the loss of specific elements of material and non-material culture and subjectively the loss of the feeling of belonging to a particular ethnic group;
2. Simultaneously, objectively, adoption of traits belonging to another culture, which replace those of the former culture, accompanied by the subjective feeling of belonging to the second culture.

**Integration** is formation of a series of common features in an ethnically heterogeneous group. Real integration presupposes mutuality; it is manifestly NOT a unidirectional process where only a non-dominant group changes and forms new features whereas the dominant group stays the same. ALL groups should contribute to norm-setting negotiations; there is no evolutionary continuum where some (namely the dominant group) are the “developed” norm that others, the non-dominant "less developed" group should emulate.

In my view, **assimilation is subtractive** whereas **integration is additive**. We can now redefine assimilation or integration again, using the concepts of subtractive and additive, and combining them with volition:

**Assimilation** is enforced subtractive 'learning' of another (dominant) culture by a (dominated) group. Assimilation means being forcibly transferred to another group.

**Integration** is characterized by voluntary mutual additive 'learning' of other cultures. Integration means a choice of inclusive group membership(s).

It seems to me that educational ideologies which result in assimilation, reflect research paradigms and knowledge systems where western and northern ideologies dominate\(^1\) unidirectionally setting the norms, seeing/treating themselves as being at the upper end of an evolutionary continuum, and resulting in a continuation of both the reproduction and the legitimation of domination and subalternity (see Spivak 1988 for this concept).

### 6.3. Dichotomies in Human Rights: which rights are necessary for integration?

When discussing human rights one often comes across several pairs of dichotomies. I want to look at these dichotomies in order to determine whether they are real dichotomies and which rights from each pair (or maybe both) are necessary so that indigenous peoples and minorities do not need to assimilate but can participate in mutual integration. The list of dichotomies to be discussed is as follows:

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\(^1\) See, e.g., Odora-Hoppers, ed., 2002 and Tuhiwai Smith 1999, for analyses of research paradigms.
Negative versus positive rights
Toleration-oriented versus promotion-oriented rights
Individual versus collective rights
Territorial versus personal rights
Rights in ”hard law” versus ”soft law”

Negative rights have been defined by Max van der Stoel as “the right to non-discrimination in the enjoyment of human rights” whereas positive rights have to do with “the right to the maintenance and development of identity through the freedom to practise or use those special and unique aspects of their minority life – typically culture, religion, and language”. Negative rights must ensure that minorities receive all of the other protections without regard to their ethnic, national, or religious status; they thus enjoy a number of linguistic rights that all persons in the state enjoy, such as freedom of expression and the right in criminal proceedings to be informed of the charge against them in a language they understand, if necessary through an interpreter provided free of charge. (van der Stoel 1999)

Positive rights are those encompassing affirmative obligations beyond non-discrimination […] include a number of rights pertinent to minorities simply by virtue of their minority status, such as the right to use their language. This pillar is necessary because a pure non-discrimination norm could have the effect of forcing people belonging to minorities to adhere to a majority language, effectively denying them their rights to identity. (ibid.).

My first claim is that for proper integration, positive rights are necessary. Negative rights are not sufficient and may lead to forced assimilation.

In a somewhat similar vain, I and Robert Phillipson have developed a grid to evaluate LHRs provisions in both national laws and regulations and in international human rights instruments (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 1994; see Figure 1). It consist of two continua on which we then place the provisions. One continuum assesses the relative degree of overtness and covertness of the provisions whereas the other looks at the relative degree of promotion of LHRs. The second continuum starts from a situation where the use of a language is overtly prohibited (as, for instance, the use of Kurdish still is in Turkey, despite the Turkish government's claims to the opposite - see my 2002b analysis of this). The next stage on the continuum is toleration of a language. The first two stages are obviously negative and assimilation-oriented. The middle point prescribes that people should not be discriminated against on the basis of having a certain mother tongue (non-discrimination prescription). Then follow positive more promotion-oriented rights, first with a permission to use the language and then promotion of it. All of these can be expressed more or less overly in the laws and regulations. We analysed, among others, the Indian Constitution with the help of the grid (see Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 1994). In the Figure here (from Skutnabb-Kangas & Bucak 2002b), the earlier position of Turkey (see Skutnabb-Kangas & Bucak 1994), has been placed as number 1, in comparison with the situation after the Turkish Parliament passed an extensive reform package of laws in August 2002 (number 2 on the grid). Turkey claims that this new reform package of laws would fulfil the demands for European Union membership - which it doesn't.

If we had time, I would ask all of you to place the state policies towards your language on this grid, to see where you are, both in terms of legal protection of your languages, and, especially, the implementation in reality. In my view, for instance, the gap between legal protection and reality is close to maximal vis-á-vis the Mari language(s) in the Mari Republic: very good legal protection on paper and next to no rights in practice.

51
My second claim is that, for proper integration, positive promotion-oriented rights are necessary. Negative toleration-oriented rights are not sufficient and may lead to forced assimilation.

The following dichotomy is about individual versus collective rights. There were many collective rights in the human rights regime of the League of Nations between the two "World" Wars. In principle, most minority rights should be collective rights. In the United Nations regime after 1945, it was claimed that no collective rights were necessary since every person was protected as an individual, by individual rights. The discussions about the need of collective rights has been a long-drawn-out one, characterised, admittedly in a somewhat simplified manner, by Western countries largely opposing them, African countries supporting many of them, and Asian countries standing so divided that the issue of them has been one of the major hurdles preventing an acceptance of regional Asian human rights instruments.

My third claim is that, for proper integration, both individual and collective rights are necessary. One or the other type alone is not sufficient. It is not a question of either/or, but both/and.

The fourth claim is that for proper integration, both territorial and personal rights are necessary. Territorial rights are here language rights that everybody living in a certain territory (e.g. a Swiss canton) has, regardless of their mother tongues, because of living in that specified territory. Personal rights are rights than an individual with a certain mother tongue (or fulfilling some other specified condition) has, regardless of where in a country the person lives. Personal rights are more important for the Deaf, the Roma, immigrant minorities and other non-territorial minorities. They are also vital for dispersed people in diaspora outside the group's territory. In situations where many people from a group have been forcibly displaced, for instance deported, personal rights are also vital. Likewise, in a situation where dominant group people have moved into the group's territory in large numbers, like Chinese-speakers in Tibet or Russian-speakers in many parts of the Russian Federation and the earlier Soviet Union.

The last claim is that, for proper integration, both traditional "hard law" rights and "soft law" rights are necessary. Hard law instruments are binding instruments which a state has to follow if they have signed and ratified the instrument (typically Conventions, Covenants, Charters, etc). Soft law instruments are Declarations, Recommendations, etc, which states may have approved, but since there are no sanctions for violating them (except, maybe, shame
in the eyes of the so called international community), a state may or may not follow it. High
or Supreme court decisions which form a precedence are also part of soft law. Most hard law
instruments reflect the phases directly after the Second World War, or the main
decolonisation phase. They do not reflect present challenges.

6.4. Different rights for various groups
Various groups can be placed in a hierarchical order relative to how good their linguistic
human rights protection is. The descending order is as follows:
1. Linguistic majorities / dominant language speakers, versus minority/dominated language
speakers
   - National (autochthonous) minorities;
   - Indigenous peoples;
   - Immigrant minorities;
   - Refugee minorities;
2. Speakers of oral languages versus users of Sign languages.
Speakers of oral languages have many more rights than users of Sign languages (even if users
of Sign languages have some rights as a handicap group). An example would be Council of
Europe's European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. Signatures and
ratifications of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages show not one
single country has signed or ratified the European Charter for any Sign language so far (status
in June 200420). Now it is perfectly legitimate for a ratifying country to exclude certain groups
from specific human rights instruments, but then their exclusion should be legitimated
explicitly already initially, on principled grounds (like "dialects" or "languages of migrants" –
these have been legitimately excluded from the European Charter already in the definitional
part). But if members of a group have not been explicitly excluded, and if they do objectively
fulfil the definitional criteria for inclusion, they should be included.

The diversity among the Finno-Ugric peoples can be seen in the fact that there are
representatives of them in each of the groups. Hungarian speakers in Hungary and Finnish-
speakers in Finland are examples of linguistic majorities / dominant language speakers. Their
languages should not be threatened by any other languages except English, and they can do
something about it if they recognize the threat. Some other Finno-Ugric groups are also either
demographically or politically linguistic majorities but have politically very strong linguistic
minorities; in this situation their languages may need the same support that minority
languages normally need. Estonian-speakers in Estonia would be an example of this kind of
minorized majority (see Skutnabb-Kangas 1994 for the concept); in Estonia Russian-speakers
still represent a majorized minority.

Many are national (autochthonous) minorities and their languages need strong support. This
exists in some cases but it is an exception. The Hungarians have been especially forthcoming
in trying to negotiate and guarantee positive LHRs for Hungarian-speakers in other countries
(see Kontra (series ed.) 1998--; see also Kontra (ed.) 2000). Many Finno-Ugric speakers
represent indigenous peoples. Their linguistic human rights are still today almost non-existent
in international law. If the United Nations draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous
Peoples were to be accepted in its present form (i.e. the form it had when it was accepted by
the UN Human Rights Committee's Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and

20 The latest news about the European Charter on Regional or Minority Languages, and the
Council of Europe's Framework Convention on the Protection of National Minorities, both in
force since 1998 (http://conventions.coe.int/treaty/EN/cadreprincipal.htm; their treaty numbers
are 148 and 158).
Protection of Minorities\textsuperscript{21} over 9 years ago), they would get some more rights. But alas, not enough. The draft Declaration was supposed to be finally accepted before the end of the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People (a decision endorsed by\textsuperscript{7} the UN Economic and Social Council in its resolution 1995/32). The Decade concludes in December 2004, but there is not a chance of the draft being finalized by then. And what will finally be accepted will be a very much watered down version\textsuperscript{22}. Many Finno-Ugric peoples live as migrant minorities and some also as refugee minorities or displaced people in other countries; their LHRs are also more or less non-existent. There are also Deaf users of the written forms of Finno-Ugric languages in many of the contexts I have mentioned. Their mother tongues, even if they may be called "Finnish Sign language" or "Hungarian Sign language" are Sign languages, though. Sign languages are completely independent languages which have nothing to do with the spoken languages Finno-Ugric languages, in this case Finnish or Hungarian. It would be imperative for all Finno-Ugric peoples to show solidarity towards users of Sign languages and support them in their demands for at least basic LHRs. The conclusion from a short overview of educational LHRs thus is that the process of developing them is only at its beginning. Still, work with them is important for several reasons, and one might hope that people succeed in keeping up their languages despite the lack of LHRs until the situation is better. After all, according to human rights lawyer Katarina Tomaševski, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Right to Education (1996: 104), "the purpose of international human rights law is to act as correctives to the free market and to overrule the law of supply and demand and remove price-tags from people and from necessities for their survival". Linguistic (and cultural) rights in education are, as human rights, necessities for survival. In order to work for LHRs, we need to find the positive arguments about why linguistic diversity should be maintained, and it is to these I now turn.

7. Why should the world's linguistic diversity be maintained?

In this section I formulate some arguments for maintaining the world's linguistic diversity. Are there other reasons, in addition to avoiding linguistic genocide? I shall leave the most common arguments about the common heritage of humankind, the importance of language for identity, etc., outside this paper - they are well known anyway (see, e.g. Wurm 2001). Instead, I shall mention two other reasons for maintaining all the world’s languages.

7.1. Reason 1. In knowledge societies uniformity is a handicap. Creativity and new ideas are the main assets (cultural capital) in a knowledge society and a prerequisite for humankind to adapt to change and to find solutions to the catastrophes of our own making. Multilingualism enhances creativity, monolingualism and homogenisation kill it

Creativity, invention, investment, multilingualism and additive teaching belong together. Creativity and new ideas are the main assets (cultural capital) in a knowledge society and a prerequisite for humankind to adapt to change and to find solutions to the catastrophes of our own making. In an industrial society, the main products are commodities (clothes, food, books, fridges, cars, weapons, etc.). Those (individuals and countries) who control access to raw materials and own the other prerequisites and means of production, do well. In a

\textsuperscript{21} Now called the Sub-Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights.

\textsuperscript{22} It is easy to see from the reports of the working group negotiating the draft which states notoriously demand changes and suggest alternatives to this effect and are in disagreement with all the indigenous representatives. The reports are listed at http://www.unhchr.ch/indigenous/documents.htm - wkgrd.
knowledge or information society, on the other hand, the main products are, in addition to commodities, knowledge, ideas. In these societies, those (individuals and countries) who have access to diverse knowledges, diverse information, diverse ideas: creativity, do well. In knowledge societies uniformity is a handicap. Some uniformity might have promoted aspects of industrialization. In post-industrial knowledge societies uniformity will be a definite handicap. We know now that creativity, innovation, investment are related, and can be results of additive teaching and multilingualism. This is, because

1. Creativity precedes innovation, also in commodity production.
2. Investment follows creativity.
3. Multilingualism may enhance creativity.
4. High-level multilinguals as a group have done better than corresponding monolinguals on tests measuring several aspects of 'intelligence', creativity, divergent thinking, cognitive flexibility, etc., and, finally,
5. Additive teaching can lead to high-level multilingualism.

This means, firstly, that countries should promote maximal LHRs for indigenous and minority children, not only because of ethical concerns but indeed in their own interest. But countries which want to do well in information societies cannot afford to leave their linguistic majority populations in monolingual stupidity either. Those linguistically rich societies/countries which teach all children, not only indigenous and minority children, additively, are likely to develop most linguistic and cultural capital of a kind that can be converted to other types of capital in information/knowledge societies. Therefore, again, additive teaching of linguistic majority children is necessary, through the medium of indigenous and minority children's mother tongues (or though other minority languages, i.e. second languages, in immersion or two-way-immersion programmes - see Baetens Beardsmore 1995, Dolson & Lindholm 1995, Lindholm 1997, 2001, Skutnabb-Kangas 1996a, ed. 1995, Skutnabb-Kangas & García 1995, for presentations and comparisons of these), is necessary. No North American child would need to be taught through the medium of English - they could be taught mainly through Spanish, Cree, Navajo, Estonian, Armenian, or whichever language. No child in the Russian Federation would need to be taught through the medium of Russian - they could be taught mainly through the medium of any of the other languages. Indigenous and minority children would be taught through mainly the medium of their own languages, Russian-speakers through any of the minority languages. This would raise the level of both intelligence and creativity in both North America and in the Russian Federation.

### 7.2. Reason 2: Linguistic diversity is a prerequisite for maintaining biodiversity and life on the planet, because linguistic diversity and biodiversity are correlationally and causally related; because knowledge about how to maintain biodiversity is encoded in small INDIGENOUS languages; and because through killing them we kill the prerequisites for maintaining biodiversity and thus life on our plane.

Today, linguistic diversity is disappearing much faster than biodiversity (Table 5; for more detail, see Skutnabb-Kangas 2000, 2002a, in press a).

**Table 5. Prognoses for extinct or 'moribund' species and languages**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage estimated to be extinct or moribund around the year 2100</th>
<th>PRONOSES</th>
<th>Biological species</th>
<th>Languages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Optimistic realistic'</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Pessimistic realistic'</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A comparison of the estimates for extinct / 'moribund' biological species and languages around the year 2100 is as follows: according to optimistic estimates 2% of the biological
species but 50% of the languages will have disappeared or are very seriously endangered. According to more pessimistic but still realistic estimates, the figures are 20% for biological species but 90-95% for languages. Knowledge about how to maintain biodiversity is encoded in the world's small languages. Through killing them we kill the prerequisites for maintaining biodiversity.

What do we know about the correlation between the various kinds of diversity? Where there are many higher vertebrates (mammals, birds, reptiles and amphibians), there are also often many languages: a high correlation. When comparing the lists of the top 25 countries with the highest numbers of endemic (=existing in one country only) languages and the highest numbers of higher vertebrates, we can see that 16 of the 25 countries are on both lists (David Harmon, 2002). We get the same type of correlation between languages and flowering plants: a region often has many of both, or few of both. Languages and butterflies also show a high correlation, and so do languages and birds (see www.terralingua.org for the relationships). Table 6 shows some of the correlations:

Table 6. Endemism in Languages Compared with Rankings of Biodiversity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Endemic Languages Rank Number</th>
<th>Endemic Vertebrates Rank Number</th>
<th>Flowering Plants</th>
<th>Endemic Bird Areas (EBAs)</th>
<th>On mega-diversity list?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PAPUA NEW GUINEA</td>
<td>1 84 7</td>
<td>13 203</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDONESIA</td>
<td>2 65 5</td>
<td>4 673</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>3 37 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDIA</td>
<td>4 30 9</td>
<td>7 373</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUSTRALIA</td>
<td>5 26 1</td>
<td>1 1,346</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEXICO</td>
<td>6 23 0</td>
<td>2 761</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAMEROON</td>
<td>7 20 1</td>
<td>23 105</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BRAZIL</td>
<td>8 18 5</td>
<td>3 725</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM REP OF CONGO</td>
<td>9 15 8</td>
<td>18 134</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PHILIPPINES</td>
<td>10 15 3</td>
<td>6 437</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>11 14 3</td>
<td>11 284</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vanuatu</td>
<td>12 10 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TANZANIA</td>
<td>13 10 21</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Recent research shows mounting evidence for the hypothesis that the correlational relationship may also be causal: the two types of diversities seem to mutually enforce and support each other (see Maffi 2000a). UNEP (United Nations Environmental Program), one of the organisers of the world summit on biodiversity in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 (see its summary of our knowledge on biodiversity, Heywood, ed., 1995), published in December 1999 a mega-volume called Cultural and Spiritual Values of Biodiversity. A Complementary Contribution to the Global Biodiversity Assessment, edited by Darrell Posey (1999) summarising some of this evidence of causality. Likewise, articles in Luisa Maffi's (2001) edited volume On Biocultural Diversity. Linking Language, Knowledge and the Environment illustrates it. The strong correlation need in my view not indicate a direct causal relationship, in the sense that neither type of diversity should probably be seen directly as an independent variable in relation to the other. But linguistic and cultural diversity may be decisive mediating variables in sustaining biodiversity itself, and vice versa, as long as humans are on the earth. As soon as humans came into existence, we started to influence the rest of nature (see Diamond 1998 for a fascinating account on how). Today it is safe to say that there is no 'pristine nature' left - all landscapes have been and are influenced by human action, even those where untrained observers might not notice it immediately. All landscapes are cultural landscapes. It is interesting that even UNESCO now accepts this - that means that the concept of Terra nullius (= empty land) has finally been invalidated. Humans influence life conditions of animals and plants. The various ways that different peoples influence their environments were and are filtered through their cultural patterns. Some examples:

○ Cultural attitudes to meat of cows, pigs, rats, dogs, as food influences the occurrence, spread and life conditions of these animals.

○ More than 40,000 edible plants were known to the Aboriginal inhabitants of South Australia; very few of them have found their way to the plates of the European invaders; the Europeans have neither lexicalised these items of food nor used them; this influences their disappearance (“weeds” etc). Likewise, local nature and people's detailed knowledge about it and use of it have influenced the cultures, languages and cosmo-visions of the people who have been dependent on it for their sustenance. An example: If the areas where people have lived for a long time have plenty of animal protein but little of plant protein as, for instance, in the Arctic areas, it is unlikely that religions which support vegetarianism could have developed - and they haven't. This relationship and mutual influence between all kinds of diversities is of course what most indigenous peoples have always known, and they describe their knowledge in several articles in the UNEP volume. The conservation traditions that...
promote the sustainable use of land and natural resources, expressed in the native languages, are, according to James Nations (2001: 470), “what Hazel Henderson called ‘the cultural DNA’ that can help us create sustainable economies in healthy ecosystems on this, the only planet we have (Gell-Mann 1994: 292)”. We in Terralingua suggest that if the long-lasting co-evolution which people have had with their environments from time immemorial is abruptly disrupted, without nature (and people) getting enough time to adjust and adapt (see Mühlhäuser, 1996), we can expect a catastrophe. The adjustment needed takes hundreds of years, not only decades (see Mühlhäuser, 1996, 2003). Two examples from different parts of the world: nuances in the knowledge about medicinal plants and their use disappear when indigenous youth in Mexico become bilingual without teaching in and through the medium of their own languages - the knowledge is not transferred to Spanish which does not have the vocabulary for these nuances or the discourses needed (see Luisa Maffi’s doctoral dissertation, 1994; see also Nabhan 2001).

I was told a recent example by Pekka Aikio, the President of the Saami Parliament in Finland (29 November 2001). Finnish fish biologists had just “discovered” that salmon can use even extremely small rivulets leading to the river Teno, as spawning ground - earlier this was thought impossible. Pekka said that the Saami have always known this - the traditional Saami names of several of those rivulets often include the Saami word for "salmon spawning-bed". This is ecological knowledge inscribed in indigenous languages.

To sum up, "Ecological diversity is essential for long-term planetary survival. Diversity contains the potential for adaptation. Uniformity can endanger a species by providing inflexibility and unadaptability. As languages and cultures die, the testimony of human intellectual achievement is lessened. In the language of ecology, the strongest ecosystems are those that are the most diverse. Diversity is directly related to stability; variety is important for long-term survival. Our success on this planet has been due to an ability to adapt to different kinds of environment over thousands of years. Such ability is born out of diversity. Thus language and cultural diversity maximises chances of human success and adaptability” (from Colin Baker’s (2001: 281) review of Skutnabb-Kangas 2000). This means that biocultural diversity (= biodiversity + linguistic diversity + cultural diversity) is essential for long-term planetary survival because it enhances creativity and adaptability and thus stability. Today we are killing biocultural diversity faster than ever before in human history.

Most of the world’s mega-biodiversity is in areas under the management or guardianship of indigenous peoples. Most of the world’s linguistic diversity resides in the small languages of indigenous peoples. Much of the detailed knowledge of how to maintain biodiversity is encoded in the languages of indigenous peoples. Thus indigenous peoples are/have the key to our planetary survival. Indigenous self-determination - something that the environmental rogue states like the USA, Canada, Australia, etc. are fighting to reject from the draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples - is a necessary prerequisite for the survival of the planet.

When you go home, ask your government: What are you doing to enable indigenous peoples, their languages, cultures and knowledges to survive, on their own lands, under their own control?

I shall finish with a couple of the most common economic arguments used against mother tongue medium teaching for indigenous and minority children.

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8. The economic arguments for or against mother tongue medium teaching

8.1. Economic argument 1. "But surely we cannot afford education through the medium of hundreds of languages?"

Many people, including your governments, might say something along the lines: "yes, using the mother tongue to teach all or most subjects (mother tongue medium teaching, MTM teaching) is a good cause - but it is an idealistic dream. Be realistic! Surely sustainable education which leads to profound literacy, creativity, and high levels of multilingualism for the student, and maintenance of the world’s languages is wonderful - but also completely impossible and certainly not economically viable."

I shall present just one counterexample. Papua New Guinea, with a population around 5 million, is the country with the highest number of languages in the world, over 850. According to a study by David Klaus, from the World Bank (2003; see also Nagai & Lister 2003, Skutnab-Kangas 2003), 380 languages were used as the media of education in preschool and the first two grades, and another 90 languages were to be added in 2002, making it altogether 470 languages. Some of the results are as follows:

- Children become literate more quickly and easily;
- They learn English more quickly and easily than their siblings did under the old English-medium system;
- Children, including girls, stay in school;
- Grade 6 exams in the 3 provinces that started mother tongue medium teaching in 1993 were much higher than in provinces which still teach through the medium of English from Day One.

It is perfectly possible to organise education so that it does not participate in committing linguistic genocide but respects basic linguistic human rights.

8.2. Economic argument 2. What is the cost when states make irrational choices vis-à-vis the medium of education?

If we believe in rational theory as an explanation for how both individuals and states act, we have to ask ourselves the question: do states act in a rational way in their linguistic educational planning so that they at least do not harm children and so that they try to achieve common aggregate welfare with sensible means, also economically? Since indigenous and minority children have a mother tongue which is different from that of the linguistic majority, and since it is necessary for them to know the dominant language in order to be able to participate in the labour market and in democratic processes, minority children have to become minimally bilingual through their formal education.

Bilingual education of all kinds is a very specialised and sensitive area of both research and policy-making. However, detailed knowledge of it is a prerequisite for being able to make recommendations. An important complicating issue is that some of the scientifically sound and practically proven principles of how to enable children to become high-level multilingual with the support of the educational system are in fact counter-intuitive: they go against common sense. If indigenous or minority children who speak their mother tongue at home, are to become bilingual, and learn the dominant/majority language well, one might, with a common sense approach, imagine that the principles of early start with and maximum exposure to the dominant language would be good ideas, like they are for learning many other things - practice makes perfect. In fact, both are false. What we have is an early start fallacy, and a maximum exposure fallacy. In fact, sound research shows that the longer indigenous and minority children in a low-status position have their own language as the main medium of teaching, the better they also become in the dominant language, provided, of course, that they
have good teaching in it, preferably given by bilingual teachers, just as the Hague Recommendations on the Educational Rights of National Minorities (http://www.osce.org/hcnm/) and the UNESCO guidelines (UNESCO 2003c) recommend. I shall give two examples of recent very large-scale longitudinal and methodologically extremely careful studies from the United States, Ramirez et al. (1991) and Thomas & Collier (1997, 2002; see also other references to both of them in the bibliography). The Ramirez et al.’s 1991 study, with 2352 students, compared three groups of Spanish-speaking minority students (see Table 7). The first group were taught through the medium of English only (but even these students had bilingual teachers and many were taught Spanish as a subject, something that is very unusual in submersion programmes); the second one, early-exit students, had one or two years of Spanish-medium education and were then transferred to English-medium, and the third group, late-exit students, had 4-6 years of Spanish-medium education before being transferred to English-medium.

Table 7. Ramirez et al. study, 1991, 2,352 students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GROUP</th>
<th>MEDIUM OF EDUCATION</th>
<th>RESULTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English-Only</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Low levels of English and school achievement; likely never to catch up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early-exit transitional</td>
<td>Spanish 1-2 years, then all English</td>
<td>Fairly low levels of English and school achievement; not likely to catch up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late-exit transitional</td>
<td>Spanish 4-6 years, then all English</td>
<td>Best results; likely to catch up with native speakers of English</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Now the common sense approach would suggest that the ones who started early and had most exposure to English, the English-only students, would have the best results in English, and in mathematics and in educational achievement in general, and that the late-exit students who started late with English-medium education and consequently had least exposure to English, would do worst in English etc. In fact the results were exactly the opposite. The late-exit students got the best results, and they were the only ones who had a chance to achieve native levels of English later on, whereas the other two groups were, after an initial boost, falling more and more behind, and were judged as probably never being able to catch up to native English-speaking peers in English or general school achievement.

The Thomas & Collier study (see bibliography under both names), the largest longitudinal study in the world on the education of minority students, with altogether over 210,000 students, including in-depth studies in both urban and rural settings in the USA, included full immersion programmes in a minority language, dual-medium or two-way bilingual programmes, where both a minority and majority language (mainly Spanish and English) were used as medium of instruction, transitional bilingual education programmes, ESL (English as a second language) programmes, and so-called mainstream (i.e. English-only submersion) programmes. Across all the models, those students who reached the highest levels of both bilingualism and school achievement were the ones where the children's mother tongue was the main medium of education for the most extended period of time. This length of education in the L1 (language 1, first language), was the strongest predictor of both the children's competence and gains in L2, English, and of their school achievement. Thomas & Collier state (2002: 7):
the strongest predictor of L2 student achievement is the amount of formal L1 schooling. The more L1 grade-level schooling, the higher L2 achievement.

The length of mother tongue medium education was in both Ramirez’ and Thomas & Collier’s studies more important than any other factor (and many were included) in predicting the educational success of bilingual students. It was also much more important than socio-economic status, something extremely vital when reflecting on the socio-economic status of many Finno-Ugric minorities and most Finno-Ugric indigenous peoples 24 (only the Saami in all three Nordic countries are an exception 25). The worst results, including high percentages of push-outs 26 in both Ramirez and Thomas & Collier studies were with students in regular submersion programmes where the students’ mother tongues (L1s) were either not supported at all or where they only had some mother-tongue-as-a-subject instruction. There are hundreds of smaller studies from all over the world which show similar results 27. A typical example would be my own small-scale study among Finnish working class immigrant minorities in metropolitan Stockholm in Sweden (Skutnabb-Kangas 1987). The students in my study were in Finnish-medium classes, and I had Swedish control groups in the parallel classes in the same schools. For their Swedish competence, I used a difficult Swedish language test, of the type where normally middle-class children do better than working class children (see Table 8). After 9 years of mainly Finnish-medium education, and good teaching of Swedish as a second language, these working-class Finnish students got somewhat better results in the Swedish language than the Swedish mainly middle-class control groups. In addition, their Finnish was almost as good as the Finnish of Finnish control groups in Finland.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TEST RESULT (1-13)</th>
<th>OWN ASSESSMENT (1-5)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>sd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swedish control group</td>
<td>5.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finnish co-researchers</td>
<td>5.68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

M = mean; sd = standard deviation
Finns working class immigrant minority youngsters in Sweden, after 9 years of mainly Finnish-medium education; Swedish control group: mainly middle class youngsters in parallel

24 See, for instance, the pretty horrifying figures for environmental destruction and pollution, health and education for all indigenous peoples in Russia, in the Russian report to the third session (May 10-21, 2004, New York) of the PFII (United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues). An example: In a large-scale (“10,000 pupils from 142 schools in 8 northern territories, including the Amur region, the Komi-Perm, Khanty-Mansi, and Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Areas, the Tyva, Altai and Sakha (Yakutia) Republics, and also the Krasnoyarsk Territory”, were examined during the 2001-2002 school year. “The monitoring indicated various health anomalies already among 40 to 70 per cent of first class pupils, ranging from functional to chronic diseases. The low initial level of health among the children in the first class has a most unfavourable effect on their adaptation to the school workload, and is the reason for the further deterioration of their state of health. By the tenth class, the number of healthy pupils is no more than 10 to 12 percent.” (United Nations… Russian Federation, E/C.19/2004/5/Add.3: 6-7).


26 These are called “drop-outs” in deficiency-based theories which blame the students, their characteristics, their parents and their culture for lack of school achievement.

classes in the same schools; Swedish test: decontextualised, CALP-type test where middle-class subjects can be expected to perform better. (Skutnabb-Kangas 1987)

Another extremely well controlled study is Saikia & Mohanty's (2004) study of indigenous/tribal Bodo children in Assam, India. After strong campaigning they have just managed to get mother tongue medium education going. Saikia and Mohanty compared three Grade 4 groups, with 45 children in each group, on a number of measures of language and mathematics achievement. "The three groups were matched in respect of their socio-economic status, the quality of schooling and the ecological conditions of their villages." Group BB, Bodo children, taught through the medium of the Bodo language, performed significantly better on ALL tests than group BA, the indigenous Bodo children taught through the medium of Assamese. Group BA did worst on all the tests. Group AA, Assamese mother tongue children taught through the medium of Assamese, performed best on two of the three mathematics measures. There was no difference between groups BB and AA in the language measures. "The findings are interpreted as showing the positive role of MT medium schooling for the Bodo children."

The conclusion from a very thorough research summary for the Māori section of the Ministry of Education in Aotearoa/New Zealand ” (May & Hill 2003: 14) is that English-only submersion programmes “are widely attested as the least effective educationally for minority language students”.

Still, it is this kind of submersion education most states organise for indigenous and minority students. They follow common sense rather than research results, even if they ought to know that their recommendations are bound to lead to very negative results. Knowingly working towards solutions which have been shown to lead to negative results, and not recommending or even advising against solutions which would very likely show positive results, is tantamount to intentionally causing serious mental harm to the children. But in addition, it is economically enormously costly both for the individuals concerned and for the states to under-educate or mis-educate children, to prevent them from reaching the potential that they have. Quite apart from moral and ethical human rights arguments (which are compelling), this wastage is what states should be concerned about if they follow any kind of economic rationality.

8.3. Economic argument 3: Everybody needs English; English is enough

Many states and also many indigenous parents seem to reason today along the lines where the goal of the education is, for instance in Russia, "with regard to the small indigenous minorities of the North… to train and shape a generation of leaders, specialists and workers capable of adapting to new life conditions"... meaning "to adapt them to the conditions of a market economy". (United Nations… Russian Federation. E/C.19/2004/5/Add.3: 12). And since English competence is often seen as central for success in market economies, and indigenous and minority children also need to learn properly the dominant language in the country where they live, the mother tongue is often sacrificed in terms of economic efficiency and rationality. Therefore it is important to look at the arguments for to what extent knowing English is enough.

The Financial Times, 3.12.2001 reports about a survey, undertaken for the Community of European Management Schools, an alliance of academia and multinational corporations. It concludes that a company’s inability to speak a client’s language can lead to failure to win business because it indicates lack of effort. The British newspaper The Independent (31.5.2001) reports that graduates with foreign language skills earn more than those who only know English. Nuffield Languages Enquiry (2000) concludes: "English is not enough. We are fortunate to speak a global language but, in a smart and competitive world, exclusive reliance on English leaves the UK vulnerable and dependent on the linguistic competence and
the goodwill of others … Young people from the UK are at a growing disadvantage in the recruitment market”. Professor Tariq Rahman, Pakistan (personal communication, 2002; see also references to him in the bibliography), states: "English-medium schools tend to produce snobs completely alienated from their culture and languages … We are mentally colonialized and alienated from our cultures if all we know is in English."

'Good' English will be like literacy yesterday or computer skills today: employers see it as self-evident and necessary but not sufficient for good jobs. We can use ordinary economic theories to illustrate this. Supply and demand theories predict that when many people possess what earlier was a scarce commodity (near-native English), the price goes down. The value of 'perfect' English skills as a financial incentive decreases substantially when a high proportion of a country’s or a region’s or the world’s population know English well (Grin, 2000). In Figure 2 (from a 2003: 26), supply "is defined as the willingness by producers to offer a certain quantity of a certain good or service at a certain unit price over a certain period. Demand is defined as the willingness by consumers to buy a certain quantity of that good or service at a certain unit price over a certain period. Normally, supply is an increasing function of price, while demand is a decreasing function of price. Hence, the supply curve and the demand curve will intersect in a two-dimensional {price-quantity} space, determining an equilibrium level both for quantity (q*) and price (p*), as shown in Figure [2]." (a 2003: 26).

In Figure 3, I have applied this to high levels of English competence. My estimate is that the supply (i.e. the number of people with near-native competence in English) may still today be lower than the demand; hence this competence still fetches a high price on the labour market; all else equal, people with good English get the nice jobs in many areas. And this is what many parents are thinking of when they are fooled into "investing" in an education that they think leads to "good" English for their children, even when it happens at the cost of their mother tongues. But my prediction is that once the equilibrium is passed so that the supply of people with "good" English is higher than the demand (or when this characteristics has been "naturalised" so that almost everybody has it, the price goes down. I have placed this situation some 15 years from now - this is of course a complete "educated guess". I think both state educational authorities and parents should be aware of this when planning language choices in education.

Place Figure 2 and Figure 3 here

9. "To devise a pattern of relationships which permit [the West/you] to maintain this position of disparity"?

Globalisation is, according to Pierre Bourdieu (2001) "a pseudo-concept that … incarnates the most accomplished form of the imperialism of the universal, which consists of one society (USA) universalising its own particularity covertly as a universal model.". Thinking of the development from the Bretton Woods instruments (mainly the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, IMF) through GATT to WTO, we should remind ourselves of the words of the main USA Bretton Woods negotiator, George Kennan. He formulated at the negotiations in 1948 the guidelines for USA foreign policy as follows: "We have 50% of the world’s wealth, but only 6.3% of its population. In this situation, our real job in the coming period is to devise a pattern of relationships which permit us to maintain this position of disparity. To do so, we have to dispense with all sentimentality … we should cease thinking about human rights, the raising of living standards, and democratisation" (quoted in Pilger 1998: 59). It is easy to show that the same sentiments guide today’s USA foreign policy too (see Skutnabb-Kangas 2002a for the links).

My first question is to the representatives of governments and elites of the world: Is there a risk that some of you in your policies are following these same guidelines: "to devise a pattern of relationships which permit [you] to maintain this position of disparity"? The disparity in
question is not only between states, but also between various groupings within each state. Are you following irrational and economically disastrous policies which invite and produce conflict and in the end make the planet uninhabitable for humans?

My second question to all of you who participate is: When your grandchild asks: "what did you do for my planet’s survival", what will you say? I hope I know what to say to MY grandson…

My third question especially to you who participate and who represent minorities or indigenous peoples is: When your grandchild asks: "did you do EVERYTHING you could to follow the words of the Maliseet Honour Code, written by Imelda Perley, Cree from Manitoba, what will you say?

Grandmothers and Grandfathers
Thank you for our language
that you have saved for us.
It is now our turn to save it
for the ones who are not yet born.

May that be the truth.

Words of the Maliseet Honour Code, written by Imelda Perley, Cree from Manitoba, quoted in Kirkness 2002: 23

If you want to read more, you might want to look at my latest book (Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove (2000). Linguistic genocide in education – or worldwide diversity and human rights? Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 818 pages. The detailed list of contents is on my home page (www.ruc.dk/~tovesk/). If you want this presentation emailed to you as an attachment, email me (skutnabb-kangas@mail.dk). If you want to have it on your organisation’s home page (obviously for non-commercial purposes only), you are welcome to post it – but tell me please. With all good wishes of solidarity and power,

Tove

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Annex A. Internet Statistics on language usage in 2003. According to the latest statistics of the marketing communications consultancy Global Reach, there are 649 million people online today, making use of the following languages:

Global Internet Statistics by Language: evolution since 1996, in millions (source: Global Reach)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
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<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21</td>
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<td>50</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>37</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scandinavian</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Non-English:</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>81</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Non-English:</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>418</td>
<td>540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL*:</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>391</td>
<td>529</td>
<td>627</td>
<td>782</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| Chart of Web content, by language |
|--------------|------|
| English      | 68.4%|
| Japanese     | 5.9% |
| German       | 5.8% |
| Chinese      | 3.9% |
| French       | 3.0% |
| Spanish      | 2.4% |
| Russian      | 1.9% |
| Italian      | 1.6% |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For more information, see the Global Reach website at [http://global-reach.biz/globstats/index.php3](http://global-reach.biz/globstats/index.php3).
Closing address
Estonians Remember their Ethnic Relatives

Juhan Parts, Prime Minister of the Estonian Republic

Dear participants of the Fourth World Congress of the Finno-Ugric Peoples, honoured kinsmen from near and afar, representatives of the Nenetses, Selkups, Khantys, Mansis and Hungarians, Udmurts, Bessermans and all Komis, Maris, Erzyas and Mokshas, Kvens, Votians, Saamis, Vepsians, Karelians and Ingrians, Livonians and Finns and my countrymen, Setos and Estonians!

It is a great honour to stand before you and partake in this great convention of our kindred peoples. I am glad that the Estonian Republic has the opportunity to host this World Congress. At the same time it obligates us to transmit our internationally recognized experiences in solving the problems of national minorities and indigenous peoples. For you the past few days have been filled with long meetings and enriching cultural contacts, but above all, with important discussions. As a well known Estonian proverb says, “Work praises the one who has done it”. I am sure that this is also the case with the work you have done in these past days, the results of which have been summarised in the final documents of the Congress that were adopted today – the cooperation between our kindred peoples will continue and by relying on each other, we can continue to develop each people, their standard of living and their culture.

At the very start I would like to commend the tradition of a World Congress of Finno-Ugric Peoples taking place every four years. This year it has been the fourth time for us to gather. It is like a family gathering (which, at least in Estonia, is a rather popular tradition), where one can speak openly about their life and troubles. It is a place to draw conclusions about the situation of each particular nation or people, and a moment of reviewing and analysing the situation of our kindred peoples and general developments.

What are the living conditions of the Finno-Ugric peoples today and what are the current problems – these are the topics that have filled your days at the Congress with discussions and analyses. I can only add a few insights from the level of my powers. Several of my colleagues from Europe have expressed their concern over the situation of the Finno-Ugric peoples in the Russian Federation. In its Resolution of 25 September 1998 the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe has also expressed concern over the endangered status of Uralic languages and cultures in Russia. I would briefly mention three main problems:

1) Decrease in the Finno-Ugric population;
2) Problems related to the possible restrictions on autonomy;
3) Continuing linguistic and cultural assimilation.

Unfortunately statistics show that the number of people using one of the Finno-Ugric languages as their mother tongue is continuously on the decline in Russia. A sad example can be found in Karelians: they make up a mere 9 per cent of the total population of the Karelian Republic in the Russian Federation; their only official language is Russian, whereas the Karelian language has no official status. We are not the only ones to be concerned over such situation – I have already mentioned the Resolution of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe on Endangered Uralic Minority Cultures.

It is not only our prerogative, as Estonians and Europeans, but also our duty to support the Finno-Ugric peoples of Russia (and, conceivably, other peoples of Siberia and Far East who are in a critical situation): as Estonians, we have directly experienced the policy aimed at the extinction of indigenous peoples, and it is only natural to feel solidarity with all others who
find themselves under the same threat, maybe even more drastically so. The Estonian Government pays close attention to the situation of our kindred peoples and, wherever necessary, draws the attention of the global community and international organizations to serious human rights related problems pertaining to the languages, cultures and education of these peoples.

We should recognize that, on the one hand, Russia's striving for democracy has opened up new opportunities for the minority cultures, as compared to the totalitarian regime of the USSR. However, on the other hand, new threats have also developed. The Soviet Union boasted, at least outwardly, of all the different cultures prospering, but today this is no longer cost-effective. Also, opportunities have increased for local (usually Russian-speaking) administrations to act arbitrarily. Unfortunately, as we can see, they do not fail to seize these opportunities.

An illustrative example of the violation of people's rights is the decision of the State Duma, made a couple of years ago, that all official languages of Russia should use the Cyrillic alphabet. The whole Europe was astonished at this decision. In the aforementioned Karelian example it means that the Karelian language can never be the official language in the Karelian Republic, because it uses the Latin alphabet.

Or another example from two years ago, when they wanted to close down the Mari National Theatre, a decision that was sanctioned, if not decreed, by the President of the Mari El Republic Mr Markelov. These are most regrettable incidences of (so to say) short-sighted policy where the leaders will not recognize the importance of developing national cultures and languages.

The languages and cultures of our kindred peoples are threatened not only by direct measures of suppression, but also by indirect problems such as urbanization, where the pressure from the prevailing culture is always overwhelming. This brings about Russification for pragmatical reasons – for the children to have the world open to them. These processes are based, on the one hand, on economic factors, but on the other hand (and even more importantly) on the question of the strength of their cultural identity.

Under economic factors I mean not only the universal developments in today's global economy, but also specific problems in the territories of some of our kindred peoples. These relate to huge industrial settlements as well as large-scale mining for natural resources, in particular for natural oil, in complete disregard for the traditional living environment of the indigenous population. The local indigenous culture and language are displaced from the industrial centres, while heavy immigration from other areas takes place.

Instead of the rich natural resources that can be found in many of the traditional territories of Finno-Ugric peoples becoming a factor leading to the extinction of these peoples, the indigenous peoples themselves should have control over these resources. At the same time there are examples in the world where the central government has found opportunities to keep pace with modernization and at the same time preserve the uniqueness of the indigenous peoples (Saamis in Finland, Inuits or Eskimos in Canada and Greenland, Maoris in New Zealand).

The foundation stone of cultural self-identification is education in one's own language, the possibility to express oneself in one's own language in daily life. Where there are signs of any threat that might suggest that a people might eventually become extinct, one cannot stand by idly, watching this happening. It is a question of preserving the cultural heritage of each and every people, so that it would contribute to the world culture. And a question of supporting positive developments.

And here every nation can set their own priorities and goals – whether to support economic growth, cultural development or socio-political progress.
The EU membership of the three Finno-Ugric states opens up a certain new dimension for the aid schemes directed primarily at the Finno-Ugric peoples living on the territory of Russian Federation. Representatives of Estonia, Finland and Hungary can now begin to develop a strategy within the European Union, and this is something we must set out to do immediately, so that progress would be apparent by the next World Congress of Finno-Ugric Peoples. The problems of our kindred peoples are an additional dimension in the cooperation between Estonia, Finland and Hungary that our politicians take and have always taken into account. The cooperation that has united Estonia, Finland and Hungary in their policy towards their kindred peoples ever since the construction of the Livonian community centre on the shores of Kurland before World War II, is now continuing on a new level. For example, the Finnish, Hungarian and Estonian ministries of culture and education are cooperating to help our kindred peoples in Russia – on August 9, 2000, representatives of the ministries of the three countries signed a protocol in Tartu, specifying the directions of this cooperation.

Once a year the ambassadors of the three countries in Moscow visit one of the Finno-Ugric autonomies in the Russian Federation, in order to familiarise themselves with the situation there. This year the ambassadors visited the Mordvin Republic; in the two previous years the Mari El Republic and Udmurt Republic. On the basis of the impressions gained during these visits, it can be said that in some cases, regrettably, the authorities have compiled a diverse programme, but unfortunately, at the same time they have blocked any contacts with the representatives of national movements.

I have mentioned briefly the crucial importance of education. The main theme of this Congress – “Youth is our future” – is directly connected with this. When the youth of a people grows up healthy in a democratic society and acquires a sound education, the future of the people is ensured.

But native language schooling is in a very difficult situation among our kindred peoples and it has not improved during the past few years. The importance of education in one's own language has been stressed by the Council of Europe; the problems of the foundation of native language educational establishments from primary schools to higher education, the training of teachers, creation of specialized terminology and compilation of textbooks in the native languages were emphasised in the resolution of the previous, Third World Congress of the Finno-Ugric Peoples in 2000. Today the problem has become even more urgent.

I do not doubt that all representatives of the kindred peoples gathered here share the view that for a national entity everything begins from the recognition of one's identity, from cultural self-determination. This is the survival instinct of a people.

As an Estonian and as the Prime Minister of our independent state, it is easy for me to say so, because this is how the formation of the Estonian people took place. As Estonians, we have always appreciated the role of our language and the importance of its usage in our Estonian identity.

Written word is the foundation for the survival of a language. This can be followed naturally by social life, temperance societies, choral societies, song festivals, schools, and eventually the development of national elite, which serves as a basis for the development of social organizations, which in turn has an impact on the arrangement of the whole society. It was only after that we reached the very apex of our national existence – the political formation of a state.

Even after World War II, during half a century when we shared the fates of other Finno-Ugric peoples under the USSR, we made efforts to protect our native language and culture. Our nation has faced the question of survival repeatedly during our history. Therefore we can clearly understand such concerns among our kindred peoples.
I am glad to announce to the participants of this Congress that just last week the Government of Estonia approved the new Kindred Peoples Programme. This is a state-financed aid programme to support the languages and cultures of the indigenous Uralic peoples; the programme covers the years 2005–2009 and continues the activities of a previous similar programme.

The goals of the new programme are to contribute to the formation of the native language elite of our kindred peoples and to the development of national studies, to preserve the cultural heritage (traditional skills and authentic folk culture), to support the exchange of information in the native languages and the dissemination of information about Estonia, and to help develop survival strategies for the Uralic peoples through health and environmental programmes.

The Kindred Peoples Programme adopted six years ago and titled “Programme for educational, scientific and cultural cooperation between Finno-Ugric people” has measured up to our expectations, and now it has been brought to a successful completion; its implementation will be completed at the end of this year.

The new programme does not reproduce the definitions or strategical principles of the previous programme, but proceeds from them and aims at ensuring the continuation of the ongoing activities started under the previous programme. Above all, mention should be made of grants that enable students from among our kindred peoples to study in Estonian higher educational establishments.

Estonia has long-standing experience of cooperation and contacts with the representatives and scholars of our kindred peoples in Russia. Therefore it is only natural that we would like to continue to support the Finno-Ugric languages and cultures through cooperation in the field of education and research.

For decades scholars from Finno-Ugric peoples have written their doctoral dissertations and obtained their degrees at the University of Tartu; these ties are still there. In the light of the new situation, Paul Ariste Centre for Finno-Ugric Indigenous Peoples was founded at the University of Tartu five years ago. The University of Tartu remains an international centre for Finno-Ugric studies. The Linguistica Uralica international scientific quarterly continues to be published.

According to the development cooperation report of 2003 to OECD Development Cooperation Committee, Russia, being the home country of most of our kindred peoples, remains the most important destination of humanitarian aid from Estonia; 33% of the total bilateral aid given by Estonia, amounting to 4.580 million kroons, goes to the Russian Federation. This includes the 3 million kroons accounted for by the Kindred Peoples Programme of the Ministry of Education and Research.

But be the research programmes what they will – and our larger kindred people from Finland and Hungary can contribute even more to that end – it all starts from each individual person. This is where the future perspectives begin.

The developments in the Russian Federation and the acceptance of common democratic values also play a role for most of the peoples represented here. And democracy is nothing but an opportunity for each people to choose their own leaders and determine their own regime. By way of conclusion let us remember that we are, after all, participating in a big family gathering; and this is no clandestine affair of a secret society, nor a decaying clan, but a powerful family of the world culture. The Finno-Ugric and Samoyedic peoples, that is to say WE, inhabit large territories and we have a rich cultural heritage to show, with which we can enrich the world.

As the Estonian semiotician and culturologist Yuri Lotman stressed, there are no small languages and small cultures in the world. Every culture has an enormous potential for development. When a culture perishes, when a language is not spoken any longer, it is not
merely a local tragedy of a single people, but a disaster of global proportions. If we do not make every effort to prevent this, we too will be responsible. See you again in four years! By then we will be even stronger! Let us hope so, for it depends basically on ourselves.
RESOLUTION
OF THE IV WORLD CONGRESS OF FINNO-UGRIC PEOPLES

The IV World Congress of Finno-Ugric Peoples declares that its primary objective is the preservation and development of the Finno-Ugric and Samoyed peoples and their cultures as part of the heritage of the whole mankind. The World Congress is aware that the resolution of the problems of assimilation and loss of national identity mainly depends on the policy of states and the attitude of young people to their culture, language and history.

The Congress states that the protection of human rights, and the rights of indigenous peoples and national minorities, is not a question of the country’s domestic policy only but also of the whole international community. Therefore it is important, in addition to including the international human rights standards and the rights of national minorities into national legislations, to use the mechanisms of international legal instruments which do not require ratification by states and are directly binding.

Promising in this respect is the cooperation of all the countries via different international organisations, above all the Council of Europe and the OSCE, and of Hungary, Finland and Estonia also in the framework of the European Union.

Of late, there has been a reduction in the number of population of most of the Finno-Ugric and Samoyed peoples, and the sphere of use of their languages is decreasing. It is, above all, the younger generation that has suffered where it is deprived of opportunities for socialisation in their own national cultures.

Taken into account the existing situation, the Congress considers it necessary to take the following measures:

**In the field of ethnopolitics and law:**

1. The Congress entrusts the Consultative Committee with approaching the Commissioner on Human Rights of the Council of Europe with a request to set up a permanent forum on the issues of indigenous peoples and national minorities in Europe.

2. The Congress commissions the Consultative Committee to act as the coordinator for monitoring the international obligations concerning the protection of human rights and the rights of indigenous peoples and national minorities in the countries of settlement of Finno-Ugric and Samoyed peoples.

3. The Congress calls on Hungary, Russia, Finland, Estonia and other states where Finno-Ugrians have been living traditionally, to ratify the ILO Convention (No.169) concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries. Pending the ratification of that Convention Before the above Convention is ratified, it is necessary to improve the legislative framework for ensuring the rights specified therein and, above all, the right to use natural resources including minerals.

4. The Congress commissions the Consultative Committee of Finno-Ugric and Samoyed Peoples to strengthen cooperation with international organisations dealing with human rights and the rights of national minorities and indigenous peoples, proactively involving young people into the process.

5. The Congress commissions the Consultative Committee to establish a network of information and legal centres for studying national legislations and international regulations on human rights and the rights of indigenous peoples and national minorities.
6. The Congress is concerned about the lack of a federal state body for coordinating the ethnic and interethnic relations in such a multinational state as Russia, and calls on the Government of the Russian Federation to re-establish the Ministry of Nationalities.

7. The Congress expresses its concern about the processes entailing the elimination of national autonomous formations. It commissions the Consultative Committee to keep track of the implications of the unification of the Permian Komi Autonomous District and the Perm Oblast.

In the field of languages and education:
1. The Congress considers that the rights of Finno-Ugric and Samoyed peoples should be based on international regulations including the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, and calls on the states which have not ratified the above document to do it as soon as possible.

2. The Congress calls on parliaments and governments of Hungary, Russia, Finland, Estonia and other countries where Finno-Ugrians and Samoyeds have been living traditionally, to continue cooperation in the field of state policy of supporting the languages and cultures of the Finno-Ugric and Samoyed peoples.

3. The Congress commissions the Consultative Committee to promote the setting-up of a database on successful teaching and educative techniques, and the introduction of such techniques in teaching native languages to children using advanced training technologies.

4. The Congress encourages the activities in the area of education and advanced training of professionals for the Finno-Ugric and Samoyed regions by the leading educational centres of Hungary, Russia, Finland and Estonia. It draws the attention of administrations of these regions to the need to more effectively use the potential of ethnic professionals.

5. The Congress stresses the continuing loss of their native languages by Finno-Ugric and Samoyed minorities. For a people to survive, it is not enough to teach its native language as a separate subject. It is necessary to expand the network of schools for nationalities and, as the first step, to increase the number of hours provided in the curriculum for teaching the native language.

6. The Congress expresses its disagreement with the practice of closing of the so-called small schools in the territories of settlement of the Finno-Ugric minorities.

In the field of culture:
1. The Congress considers it necessary to continue the practice of international folk, ethnofuturistic and theatre festivals, days of kindred peoples, celebration of memorable dates and anniversaries.

2. The Congress commissions the Consultative Committee to render assistance in publishing books in the Uralic family languages.

3. The Congress recommends to intensify organisation of youth activities for the purpose of studying the languages and cultural heritage, and learning modern patterns of folk arts.

4. The Congress considers it necessary to preserve the traditional culture and transfer it to the younger generations using advanced technical facilities.

In the field of public health, demography, and ecology:
1. The Congress emphasises that the state must ensure for everyone the right to obtain representative information on his or her ethnic group in accordance with the national standards of statistics.
2. The Congress considers it necessary to establish international data interchange (including scientific conferences, etc.) regarding the state of health of the Finno-Ugric and Samoyed peoples, environmental protection problems, and cultural and educational policy.

3. The Congress commissions the Consultative Committee to hold an international workshop on the results of the all-Russian population census of 2002.

In the field of media and information systems:

1. The Congress commissions the Consultative Committee to intensify its work in exchanging information and developing its own mass media and databases, including electronic media, with a view to create the common information space in the field of environmental, public health, educational, and cultural problems.

2. The public agencies must ensure for the peoples the existence of mass media in their mother tongues to cover all life spheres and accessible to the largest audience possible.

The Congress recommends to the Consultative Committee to organise in 2006 an international conference of Finno-Ugric and Samoyed peoples for analysing the intermediate results of fulfilment of the recommendations of this Congress providing for the wide coverage of the outcome of the conference in the media.

The Congress commissions the Consultative Committee to study the appeals, comments and suggestions addressed to the Congress.

The Congress states that the accession of Estonia and Hungary to the European Union is a very encouraging event. The ongoing dialogue between the European Union and the Russian Federation also opens new horizons for cooperation between all the Finno-Ugric and Samoyed peoples. The active involvement of youth in these processes gives a new impetus to our movement.

Section "Ethnopolitics and law"

The section "Ethnopolitics and law" with the topic "From participation in the decision-making to implementation of norms of international law" was held from Tuesday, 17. August to Wednesday, 18. August, 2004. The chairman of the section was Heikki Talvitie and the co-chairman Alexey Konyukhov. The discussion was divided into 4 sub-topics.

1. Functioning of mother tongues and implementation of the Framework Convention for the protection of national minorities and the european Charter for regional and minority languages.

2. International cooperation in implementation of international law on human rights and minority rights in national legislations.

3. European Union and the Finno-Ugrians.

4. Opportunities for participation of minority peoples' representatives in public decision-making process.

There were about 30 reports and presentations. To sum up the work of the section following proposals can be made to the plenary session.

- The Congress urges the Governments and the States with finno-ugrian population to implement the laws on minorities and minority languages.

- A cooperation between the representatives of the finno-ugric peoples and the Council of Europe has to be improved.
- The development between the finno-ugric peoples and international organisations, which deal with human rights and the rights of ethnic minorities, has to be promoted, primarily by sending periodical reports on the situation of the finno-ugric peoples to the Council of Europe and the UN.
- Make it a task of the Consultative Committee of the Congress to accept observations from the representatives of the finno-ugric peoples, who take part in the Congress, concerning violations of human rights and rights of ethnic minorities. The Consultative Committee should make annual reports to the Congress about the work done, based on the given information about the most serious violations of human rights and rights of ethnic minorities presented by the member countries. The communication between the Consultative Committee and the representatives of the member states should be improved.
- The Congress should recommend to the Government of the Russian Federation to reconstitute the Ministry of National Affairs.
- The higher authorities of the Russian federation should be given a pledge in the name of the Congress to stop the abolition of national ethnic territories by consolidation of federal regions.
- To propose to the regional authorities of the Russian Federation to establish offices of protection of human rights and rights of national minorities.
- The Government of the States with finno-ugrian minorities are asked to preserve the historical territories of habitation of indigenous peoples and also to protect the ecological environment.

The chairman of the section Heikki Talvitie would like to thank the representatives of the finno-ugric peoples and those of international organisations for their contribution to the work of the section.

Section of Languages and Education

To increase the prestige of vernaculars and expanding the spheres of their use, coordinated and systematic activities are needed aimed at strengthening the positions of the literary language, advancing the theory of translation and increasing the activities in translation between languages, improving the teaching of vernaculars, carrying out intensive cultural and educative work with parents, developing and introducing modern information technologies and new educational techniques, and by strengthening legislative, logistical and financial foundations of education in the vernacular.

These activities must be conducted to the full extent among the diaspora groups of Finno-Ugric peoples as well.

The ministries of education of Finno-Ugric regions of Russia and Finno-Ugric countries should pay more attention to improving the language situation. Toward that end, structural divisions should be established to handle the problems of educational institutions of the nationalities. The federal centre must play a greater role in publishing basic textbooks and manuals for the 1st–9th grades level.

We propose the Council of the Federation and the State Duma of the Russian Federation to allocate resources for book-publishing in the languages of nationalities as a separate item in the Budget Policy Law. Special parliamentary hearings must be held on the state and the prospects of national education in the Finno-Ugric regions of Russia. A proposal to establish a national action program for the revival and development of languages and cultures of the Finno-Ugric peoples of Russia, and to create mechanisms for its implementation, must be submitted to the Government of the Russian Federation.

We encourage the initiatives by the republics of Mari El, Mordovia, Komi, Udmurtia and Karelia of applying modern multilingual educational technologies for training children in native languages (including such programmes as The Multilingual Education As the Key to Development and Integration and The Karelian Language Clusters). A database on successful teaching and educative technique must be established and the exchange of such experience and up-to-date information organised.

We encourage the practice of education and advanced training of professionals for the Finno-Ugric regions of Russia by the leading educational centres of Hungary, Finland and Estonia. We draw the attention of governments of all Finno-Ugric states, the Government of the Russian Federation, and administrations of Finno-Ugric regions of Russia to the need for training professional experts for nationalities, including technical specialists.

We commission the Consultative Committee to ensure the implementation of resolutions of the Congress and its Sections as concerns solving problems in the areas of language, education and literature.

We evaluate as satisfactory the activities of the Consultative Committee of Finno-Ugric Peoples for the period of 2000 to 2004.

We propose the newly elected Advisory Committee to consider holding the next congress of Finno-Ugric peoples in Moscow, capital city of the Russian Federation.

**Culture Section**

The Culture Section had around 200 participants.

Thirty-two reports were presented, including by ministers, heads of administrations of Finno-Ugric territories, researchers and people of different age from ethnic organisations with exceptionally high participation of young people.

The following subjects were discussed:

– Contribution of cultural policy of Finno-Ugric countries and regions in shaping the modern youth culture.

– Traditions and innovations in the modern culture of Finno-Ugric peoples. The ways of transmitting culture to younger generations. Ideological and organisational aspects of ethnofuturism.

– Culture of Finno-Ugric peoples as a resource of socio-economic development of countries and regions.

A number of proposals, aimed at improving the preservation and development of cultural life of Finno-Ugric peoples, were made by the participants.
The most important of these proposals were as follows:

– to re-establish the Ministry of Nationalities of the Russian Federation;

– to ensure the implementation of laws regulating all spheres of national culture of Finno-Ugric peoples and to guarantee their effectuation in the family, in the village, and among the urban population;

– to establish cultural centres of Finno-Ugric republics and regions;

– to create the conditions for young professionals to influence the area of culture;

– to promote the application of modern technology for preserving traditional culture and passing it to the younger generations;

– to organise sporting competitions for Finno-Ugric youth;

– to support the development of tourism connected with traditional culture;

– to render support to ethnofuturistic activities;

– to create opportunities for publishing in Russia of an international Finno-Ugric newspaper like Kudo-Kodu;

– to undertake a move for nominating Khanty writer Yeremey Aipin for the Nobel Prize in Literature, with the aim of winning global recognition to authors of small peoples.

Tallinn, 19 August 2004

Ildiko Lehtinen, Chairperson of the Section
Enikő Szij, Co-Chairperson of the Section
Olga Konkova, Co-Chairperson of the Section

Section of Public Health, Demography and Ecology

In the interests and needs of the sustainable development (ecological, economic, social and demographic) of Finno-Ugric and Samoyed peoples and their territories, the Section considers it necessary:

1) to achieve that the revival and development of Finno-Ugric and Samoyed peoples are strategically and tactically based on a complex approach of studying the environmental conditions, medical and demographic situation and the state of ecology in the territories of compact settlement of these peoples; this would help to save the unique ethnic entities, sub-ethnic entities and ethnic groups and thus ensure the full-fledged functioning of the community of Finno-Ugric and Samoyed peoples in the system of states in which they live;

2) to initiate scientific research for obtaining the objective and comprehensive data on the state of public health as well as ecological, demographic, social and economic situations maintained or arising in the areas of compact settlement of the Finno-Ugric and Samoyed peoples;
3) to assist indigenous peoples in securing their traditional territories; to develop international, national and regional norms and standards of the burden on natural ecosystems such as to ensure the full-fledged existence of Finno-Ugric and Samoyed ethnic entities;
4) to establish and maintain the favourable terms of exploitation of natural resources to secure the socio-economic development of Finno-Ugric and Samoyed indigenous peoples according to their actual needs;
5) to provide, in cooperation with the Consultative Committee of Finno-Ugric Peoples, effective conditions for training experts in public health, in ecology and environment protection with the view to apply their professional skills for the favourable development of nationalities.

To organise the work on the above-mentioned problems, the Section recommends the Consultative Committee of Finno-Ugric Peoples:
1) to carry out and publish an objective analysis of the returns of the Russian Federation 2002 Population Census regarding Finno-Ugric peoples; to propose the evaluation criteria equivalent to those used in the previous and the forthcoming censuses;
2) to establish the International Finno-Ugric and Samoyed Peoples Health Research Centre for studying and preparing of the appropriate recommendations aimed at improving the environmental and health conditions and the demographic situation in the territories of Finno-Ugric peoples;
3) to create the common dynamic information space of Finno-Ugric peoples on the problems of ecology, public health and education in the above-mentioned areas, applying the traditional and innovative technologies and the mass media;
4) to organise in 2006 an international conference of Finno-Ugric and Samoyed peoples for analysing the intermediate results of fulfilment of the recommendations of this Congress and for discussing the arising problems of environmental protection, public health and education, and the ways of solving these problems under the present conditions;
5) to organise the work of the Section of Public Health, Demography and Ecology in the close and constant contact with the European Union and other appropriate international organisations;
6) to organise the monitoring of the environmental conditions, the use of natural resources, medical and demographic conditions and the ethnic situation in the territories of Finno-Ugric and Samoyed peoples (in particular, of the peoples living in the Arctic Ural and its neighbouring territories and in the Northern, Siberian and Far Eastern regions of Russia, and of peoples living in similar natural conditions in other countries of the Finno-Ugric and Samoyed space) basing on the existing legislations.

CHAIRMAN OF THE SECTION: N. Strelkov
CO-CHAIRMAN OF THE SECTION: M. Yakunchev
SECRETARY OF THE SECTION: A. Tentyukov
Communique by the Members of the Estonian, Finnish, Hungarian, Russian and European Parliaments

– Members of the Estonian, Finnish, Hungarian, Russian and European Parliaments participating at the 4th World Congress of Finno-Ugric Peoples met on 18 August 2004 in the building of the Estonian Parliament. The participants stated that the EU membership of three Finno-Ugric states has opened up new perspectives for the Finno-Ugric relations.

– As a result of this, a more efficient cooperation is possible within the EU, among the Finno-Ugric peoples and also between the EU and the Russian Federation.

– The participants suggested that they should support each other’s work through regular consultations in the framework of international interparliamentary organizations such as the Inter-Parliamentary Union, the Parliamentary Assemblies of the Council of Europe and of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and the European Parliament. Furthermore, they should jointly support the Finno-Ugric peoples having no parliamentary representation.

– In the long term, they consider it necessary to hold regular consultative meetings of the representatives of the Finno-Ugric peoples at regional, national and international levels forming an associated body of the World Congress of Finno-Ugric Peoples.

– The participants welcomed the Hungarian parliamentarians’ initiative to provide administrative assistance to maintaining contacts.

– The participants are convinced that the parliamentary dimension of the Finno-Ugric relations improves the understanding between the Russian Federation and the other European countries. Therefore, they hope for an active support of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation and the legislative bodies of the subjects of the Russian Federation.

– The representatives express their gratitude to the Estonian Parliament for organizing this meeting.

Tallinn, 18 August 2004
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