

R U S S I A

SECTION A

Capital

Moscow 8,660,000 (1995 est.)

Area

17,075,400 sq km (6,592,850 sq mi)

Form of government

Federal Multiparty Republic with a bicameral legislative body

GDP—per capita

Purchasing power parity—\$4,200 (1999 est.)

Population

146,393,569 (July 1999 est.)

Ethnic composition

Russian	86.6%
Tatar	3.2%
Ukrainian	1.3%
Chuvash	0.9%
Bashkir	0.7%
Chechen	0.6%
Mordovian	0.5%
Belarusian	0.3%
Other	5.9%

Official language

Russian

Minority languages

90 nationalities, each with their own language

Legislation dealing with the use of languages

The Russian Constitution, adopted on December 12, 1993

Language of the RSFSR Peoples Act from October 25, 1991

Background notes

East Slavic peoples, mainly Russian but also Ukrainian and Belarusian, form over 85% of the total population and are prevalent throughout the Federation.

The Slavs emerged as a recognizable group in Eastern Europe between the 3rd and 8th centuries AD, and the first Slavic State, Kievan Rus, arose in the 9th century. Following the Mongol invasions, the central power of the state shifted to Moscow, and the Russian Empire expanded to the Baltic, Arctic and Pacific, numerically overwhelming the indigenous peoples.

Despite its wide dispersal, the main features of the Russian language are homogeneous throughout Russia. Indo-Iranian speakers include the Ossetes of the Caucasus. In addition, there are sizable contingents of German speakers (mainly in southwestern Siberia) and Jews (mainly in European Russia); the numbers of both groups have declined due to emigration.

SECTION B

Where does one observe language to be a problem in the country?

Article 26 of the Russian Constitution (1993) declares that everyone shall have the right to determine and to state his national identity. Everyone shall have the right to use his native language, and freely to choose his language of communication, education, training and creative work. The State Language is Russian and each of the 21 republics of the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic (RSFSR) has the right to institute its own State Language.

The 1991 RSFSR Peoples Act confirmed and enforced this declaration.

At present 14 out of the 21 national republics have issued Decrees on Language. The Republics of Kalmykia, of Tatarstan, of Chuvashia, Sakha and several Republics in the Northern Caucasus have worked out their own national-regional programs, concerning the preservation and development of the languages of their Republic. In the 1990s, many non-Russian ethnic groups have issued laws or decrees giving their native languages equal status with Russian in their respective regions of the Russian Federation. By the mid-1990s, some 80% of the non-Slavic nationalities or 12% of the total population of the Russian Federation did not speak Russian as their first language.

The use of language in everyday life e.g. education, broadcasting and other

The Russian language has dominated cultural and official life throughout the history of the nation, regardless of the presence of other ethnic groups. Russification campaigns during both the tsarist and communist eras suppressed the languages and cultures of all minorities. Although the Soviet-era Constitutions affirmed the equality of all languages with Russian for all purposes, in fact, language was a powerful tool of Soviet nationality policy. The governments of both the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation have used the Russian language as a means of promoting unity among the country's nationalities, as well as to provide access to literary and scientific materials not available in minority languages.

Beginning in 1938, the Russian language was a compulsory subject in the primary and secondary schools of all regions. In schools where an indigenous language was used alongside Russian, courses in science and mathematics were taught in Russian only. Many university courses were available only in Russian, and Russian was the language of public administration in all jurisdictions in all fifteen Soviet Republics. Nevertheless, the minority peoples of the Russian Republic, as well as the peoples of the other fourteen Soviet Republics, continued to consider their own language as the primary one and the general level of Russian fluency was low. In the mid-1990s, Russian remained the sole language of public administration, the armed forces and of the scientific and technical communities. Russian schools granted diplomas in only two minority languages, Bashkir and Tatar, and higher education was conducted almost entirely in Russian.

Currently, languages of minorities are studied at primary and secondary schools in all the autonomous republics irrespective of the status of that language. The teaching of the national languages is conducted in the

Republics of the Russian Federation, as well as in other regions of Russia, in the localities with a large number of minorities. There are no legal restrictions for that. The national system of state education is financed from both federal and local budgets.

A new form of education is being introduced into practice. It is the organizing of the national cultural and educational centers, which are financed by the state. There are seven such centers in Moscow and forty educational institutions teaching the national languages and culture in all.

Did the country ratify any international treaty dealing with the protection of minorities?

Russia signed the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (February 28, 1996) and enacted on December 1, 1998.

What else can be found about languages and minorities?

The Chechen Parliament has declared Chechen the sole official language of the Republic. Chechen and Russian co-existed as the official languages up until the Chechen Declaration of Independence. However, according to the President of the Parliament, the war period has brought about a change of sensitivity in the Chechen people (September 1, 1997).

The Parliament of the Kalmyk Republic has sanctioned a law, which recognizes Kalmyk and Russian both as official languages. According to this resolution, Kalmyk citizens will be able to choose any of the two languages in mass media, education and culture. The law also attempts to guarantee their protection and the creation of the conditions to develop and preserve both languages. This law proposes funding for a study program on languages of the Republic and provides legal framework for educational programs, the formation of educational staff, and for the field of culture in general, including literature and mass media. In the administrative scope, the law guarantees the possibility to use any language in legislation as well as in general administration. Additionally, it also states that topography and toponymy must be bilingual, and public street signs must be established in both languages. Lastly, both Kalmyk and Russian are considered official languages in foreign affairs.

Conclusion

Russia has many problems other than the issue of minorities and their languages. It is a country where, according to the Constitution and the Decree on a Language, minorities are respected from the language point of view and they can use their language in everyday life. The Chechnya

crisis is not caused by dissatisfaction with the Language Act but by a bid for independence.

SECTION C

Legislation dealing with the use of languages

Updated (March 2002)

On February 22, the State Duma's Committee on Nationality Affairs recommended the approval of a draft bill according to which ethnic minorities living in Russia could only make use of the Cyrillic script. The members of the Committee had previously rejected a draft bill proposing the right to choose scripts by ethnic groups. Excepting Tatarstan, where the Latin script is intended to be reintroduced after several decades, such measure might also affect other languages that have historically made use of the Latin script within Russia, such as German, Finnish, Estonian, Vepsian, Moldavian or others.

Updated (July 2002)

LAW AND LANGUAGES IN THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION - CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE AFTER INDEPENDENCE

The Constitution presently in force was approved by a referendum in December 12, 1993. At any rate, it is clear that the population of the ethnic republics gave less support to the text than those of the homogeneous Russian entities of the Federation. Republics such as Adygea, Bashkiria, Dagestan, Karachay-Cherkess, Chuvashia, Tuva and Mordovia voted against the Constitution, while in other republics the participation was clearly scarce.

The Constitution is introduced by a Preamble in which the multinationality of the people of the Russian Federation is expressed; as well as the adhesion to the principles of equity and self-determination of the peoples is proclaimed. According to Article 1, sovereignty corresponds to the multinational people of the Russian Federation. Article 5 establishes that the Russian Federation is territorially structured to Republics, Territories (*Kraja*), Regions (*Oblasti*), Federal Towns, Autonomous Region (*Avtonomnaja Oblast*) and Autonomous Areas (*Avtonomnye Okrug*). Article 65 includes a list of all 89 entities (21 autonomous republics, 6 territories, 49 regions, 2 federal towns, 1 autonomous region and 10 autonomous areas).

21 AUTONOMOUS REPUBLICS

Adygea	Chuvash	Mari
Altai	Dagestan	Mordovia
Bashkiria	Ingush	North Ossetia
Buryatia	Khakassia	Tatar
Kalmyk	Kabardino-Balkar	Tuva
Karelia	Karachay-Cherkess	Udmurt
Chechnya	Komi	Yakutia

10 AUTONOMOUS AREAS

Aga-Buriat	Komi Permyak	Ust-Orda Buriat
Chuckchi	Koryak	Yamalo-Nenets
Evenki	Nenets	
Khanty-Mansi	Taymir	

THE NORMATIVE POLICY OF LINGUISTIC PROTECTION

After the independence, the Russian Federation adopted a new linguistic policy. These new regulations for protection of linguistic diversity in Russia are grounded on three basic principles:

- The maintenance of Russian as the common language in the Federation
- The conservation and development of the minority languages of the Russian Federation
- The differentiation in the treatment of the languages spoken in Russia: languages of Russia's peoples, languages of national minorities and languages of the indigenous communities of the Russian Federation

The Constitution

The 1993 Constitution contains four articles with a clear reference to linguistic matters. (See Appendix B - Russia) The central precept regarding this subject is **Article 68** (the structure of the Article resembles Article 3 of the 1978 Spanish Constitution). The majority language enjoys the official status in territorial, personal and institutional sphere of the Federation. If the constitutions of the republics establish the respective territorial spheres, other languages of Russia can share such official status as well.

Therefore, there exists a triple constitutional level of the languages protection:

- A majority language with an exclusive official status throughout the territory
- Several languages having an official status in the territory of their respective republics, always with a shared official status, at least, with the Russian language
- The other languages, including those of the national minorities, enjoy a generic clause of constitutional protection, strengthened in the case of the indigenous and small community languages by means of Article 69.

The inclusion of the autonomous areas in the redaction of Article 68.2 would have made it possible for the Chukchee, Koryak, Nenets, Dolgan, Permyak Komi, Khanty, Manis and Evenki languages to have access to the juridical status of official languages, as well as the territorial extension of the official status of the Buriat language.

In addition, according to the second section of Article 68 nothing forces the republics to give the official status to their titular languages. All the same, nothing prevents the republics from proclaiming languages as official, even if they are not the languages of the titular ethnic group of the given territory.

Article 19 guarantees prohibition of language discrimination, which must be understood in reference both to the mother tongue of an individual and to the language that he/she usually or sporadically uses for expressing him/herself. The second section of **Article 26** recognizes the right of any person to use the mother tongue, as well as to choose the language of communication, education, training and elaboration of creative work. Finally, **Article 29** in its second section also refers to

languages prohibiting propaganda in favor of the superiority of any language, race, social class, religion or nation.

The Law on the Languages of Peoples of the Russian Federation was approved on October 25, 1991. The Law puts forward the main principle that inspired the Article 68 of the Constitution, although very much emphasizing the equality of all Russia's languages. (See Appendix B - Russia)

The Federal Law on Education (January 13, 1996) guarantees in its Article 6.2 the right of all people to receive education in their mother tongue, however, according to the resources available in the educational system.

In addition, **the Federal Law on the General Principles of the Organization of the Local Authorities in the Russian Federation** (August 12, 1995) includes among its articles prohibition of discrimination based on language and confers competencies to the autonomous territorial entities in matters related to education (Article 6.2).

Finally, **the Federal Law on Cultural and National Autonomy** (June 17, 1996) is relevant because it allows for a complementary protection for the languages that cannot benefit from any territoriality status. They have to be originally from Russia and spoken by national minorities. According to Article 1 of this Law, the national and cultural autonomy of the Russian Federation is a form of national and cultural self-determination by means of a public association of the citizens of the Russian Federation that consider themselves to be members of specific communities, in the interest of the independent establishment of matters related to the preservation of their identity, the development of their language, education and national culture. These associations may be established at a local, regional or federal level.

Again, the Law guarantees the state protection for the different local languages (Article 8) and recognizes the right to maintain and develop the autochthonous languages of the republics and the autonomous territorial entities (Article 9). The Law also recognizes the right to receive primary education in the mother tongue (Article 10), for which the associations of cultural and national autonomy can create educational institutions or special groups of such institutions to provide education in their respective national languages (Article 11).

The combined framework of constitutional regulations and federal legislation allows establishing the official status of the Russian language in the territory of the Federation. As regards minority languages, those,

which are spoken in the territory of any of 21 republics, may be proclaimed official in a particular republic. The languages spoken in the territory of the republics, which are not proclaimed to be official, may benefit from the specific linguistic legislation that the respective Republic approves.

THE REGULATIONS OF THE REPUBLICS

The majority of 21 republics have incorporated into their Constitutions an article similar to the Article 68.2 of the Federal Constitution. Thus, the general norm is the proclamation of the titular language as the official one together with Russian. This happened in the Constitutions of the Republics of Adygea, Altai, Buryatia, Kalmyk, Ingush, Khakassia, Karachay-Cherkess, Komi, Mari, Tatar, Tuva, Udmurt and Yakutia.

Meanwhile, the Constitutions of Dagestan, Mordovia, North Ossetia and Kabardino-Balkar chose several languages for the official level.

According to the establishment of one or several official languages together with Russian, most republics have approved linguistic laws and programs for the application of protection and development of their respective titular languages. (The Law on Languages in the Kalmyk Republic in 1999; both laws on languages in the Komi Republics in May 1992; Tatar in June 1992; Khakassia in October 1992 and Altai in March 1993)

Source: Minority Languages of the Russian Federation, Perspectives for a ratification of the European Charter of Regional and Minority Languages, by Eduardo J. Ruiz Vieytez, Universidad de Deusto, Mercator web page <http://www.troc.es/ciemen/mercator/index-gb.htm>, Working Papers, Minority Languages of the Russian Federation.

Updated (September 2002)

KARELIAN LANGUAGE

The first act to provide the legal basis for the use of Karelian was “The Non-Russian District and Local Council Legal Status Act” adopted in 1991. According to this law Karelian became the language of the local administration, education and culture in the areas with compact Karelian population. In 1994, the Educational Law was adopted specifying the rights of the Karelian population to be educated in their language.

The work on the Karelian Law on Languages was initiated in 1992 but the first draft was submitted for a discussion only in September 1996. The reason why the process took such a long time was obvious. The

majority of the Russian Federation republics that had adopted language laws proclaimed the language of the titular nation to be the state language along with Russian. To grant the state language status to the language lacking writing tradition or demographic and functional capacities was considered to be a very bold decision. However, it was done and brought about a lot of criticism.

A new draft law of 1998 also caused harsh disapproval, as it contained a minimum of amendments as compared to the earlier version. All the discussions and debates resulted finally in a new draft (2000) differing radically from the two previous ones as well as from other language laws enacted in the Russian Federation. The new Languages Act proclaimed Russian to be the sole state language while Karelian, Vepsian and Finnish acquired a status of regional languages.

Source: World Congress on Language Policies, Barcelona, April 16-20, 2002, "Effective Language Politics: The Case of Karelian," by T.B. Kryuchkova (Russia),
<http://www.linguapax.org/congres/taller/taller3/Krjuchkova.html>

Updated (September 2002)

KALMYK LANGUAGE

Since the 1990s, the revitalization of the Kalmyk language has started. The 1991 Language Law proclaimed that Russian and Kalmyk are the official languages in the country. Another document that regulates language situation in the Kalmyk Republic was adopted in 1994. The Constitution of Kalmykia guarantees equal rights, assistance to cultural and language development of all ethnic groups living in its territory and preservation of their ethnic originality. The status of the Kalmyk and Russian languages does not limit rights and interests of other ethnic groups living in the Republic.

The Law on Languages of the Republic of Kalmykia guarantees and provides social, economic, juridical support and assistance to all ethnic groups and their languages. The main points of the Kalmyk language revival were worked out at the series of both international and regional scientific conferences and seminars. The Law on the Languages of Ethnic Groups of Kalmyk Republic adopted in 1999 has been worked out in accordance with the Constitution of the Russian Federation. The Law provides republican program of maintenance, study and development of languages of the ethnic groups of the Kalmyk Republic.

Source: World Congress on Language Policies, Barcelona, April 16-20, 2002, "Language Policy in the Republic of Kalmykia," by A.N. Bitkeeva,

Institute of Linguistics of Russian Academy of Sciences, Research Center on Ethnic and Language Relations, Moscow, Russia,
<http://www.linguapax.org/congres/taller/taller3/Bitkeeva.html>

Updated (October 2002)

On June 5, 2002 the State Duma adopted in its first reading a bill establishing the Cyrillic alphabet as the written basis for all state languages in the Russian Federation (343 in favor, 15 against, 1 abstaining from voting). One of the authors of the bill, Unity Deputy Kadyr-Ool Becheldei, said the bill was designed to take into account the interests of Russia and its citizens and not just those of separate regions. Fandas Safiullin, a deputy who was elected from a single-mandate district in Tatarstan, tried to introduce another bill, which would have allowed each region to select its own alphabet for Russia's various national languages. During debate over the bill, Safiullin commented that, "no Russian tsar, including Ivan the Terrible, encroached upon the written languages of the peoples of Russia."

It is generally believed that the bill is aimed at Tatarstan, which recently introduced the Latin alphabet for its language.

Source: Minelres Archive, <http://lists.delfi.lv/pipermail/minelres/>,
RFE/RL Russian Political Weekly, Vol. 2, No. 20, June 19, 2002

Updated (December 2002)

DUMA APPROVES CONTROVERSIAL CYRILLIC-ONLY BILL

The State Duma on November 15, 2002 passed in its second and third reading an amendment to the Law on the Languages of the Peoples of the Russian Federation. The amendment would mandate the Cyrillic alphabet to serve as the basis for the written languages of all peoples in the federation. The use of any other alphabet would have to be approved by a special federal law.

Boris Panteleev, a legal expert for the Moscow-based Center for Journalism in Extreme Situations, believes that there are no legal grounds to overturn Tatarstan's law introducing the Latin alphabet. In a commentary released on November 15, Panteleev also argued that the Cyrillic-only law violates several articles of the Russian Constitution:

- Article 55, Part 2, which states that no laws should be issued that revoke or reduce citizens' rights and freedoms
- Article 68, Part 2, which states that republics have the right to establish their own state languages

- Article 68, Part 3, which states that the Russian Federation guarantees all peoples the right to preserve their native language and creates the conditions for its study and development

Source: Minelres News, RFE/RL Russian Political Weekly, Vol. 2, No. 39, November 20, 2002, <http://lists.delfi.lv/pipermail/minelres/2002-November/002413.html>

Background notes

Updated (July 2002)

According to the census carried out in 1989 by the Soviet authorities, there were 127 different nationalities in the territory of the Russian Federation, most of them with their own language. Although the number of languages in use oscillates, 104 languages are still spoken in Russia nowadays. Most of the languages of Russia belong to the main linguistic families of the Eurasian continent. With them cohabit other, less known, linguistic groups. Their present geographical distribution makes up a complex and irregular map:

- ❖ The central nucleus of European Russia is the main territorial sphere of the Slavic Indo-European languages that extend throughout the territory of the Federation, but especially entering into Asia towards the East, occupying almost all the southern fringe of Siberia until reaching the Pacific Ocean. Sharing the same sphere of expansion towards the East, other Indo-European languages of the Germanic group may be found in isolation.
- ❖ The northwestern end of European Russia is shared by Russian and Finnish languages of the Uralic family. The Finno-Ugrian languages are also spread throughout the northern region on both sides of the Urals.
- ❖ The North Caucasus area and the adjacent area of the Black Sea are characterized by an extreme proliferation of languages. Most of them belong to the Caucasian family. Nevertheless, some languages of the Altaic family, as well as from the Iranian, Greek and Roman groups of the Indo-European family are also settled in this area.
- ❖ The area of the Middle Volga is a space shared by the Slavic, Finno-Ugrian families and the Altaic family languages.
- ❖ In Siberia, the southern half is dominated by the presence of Russian and Ukrainian. This space is shared in all its central area with spaces dominated by the Altaic languages, Turkish and

Mongolian. In its eastern end, Russian cohabits with other Altaic languages, mainly from the Tungus group, as well as with isolated languages such as Nivkhi and Ainu.

- ❖ The northern half of Siberia, with a less dense population, is an area for the languages of the Uralic family in its western end, always combined with Russian. In the middle, Turkish (Altaic), Uralic-Yukaghir and Yenisseic languages cohabit with Russian. Finally, in the northeastern end of Siberia, Russian cohabits with languages of the Chukchee-Kamchatka family and languages of the Eskimo-Aleut group.

To summarize, five groups of languages cohabit today in the territory of the Russian Federation:

1. Paleo-Asiatic languages
2. Uralico-Yukaghir languages
3. Altaic languages
4. Indo-European languages
5. Caucasian languages

HISTORY OF THE LANGUAGES IN RUSSIA

1) THE INDO-EUROPEAN FAMILY

At present, around 90 percent of the inhabitants of the Russian Federation are native speakers of Indo-European languages. Within this large family, we can highlight, obviously, the **Russian** language (around 141 million speakers), the extraordinary expansion of which has marked the modern history of this country. The other Indo-European languages include between 3 and 4 million speakers of other Slavic (**Ukrainian**), Germanic (**German**, **Yiddish** and **Norwegian**), Romance (**Moldavian**), Iranian (**Osset** and **Tat**), **Greek** and **Armenian** languages.

- The Slavic Group

The first large expansion of the Slavs from their traditional nucleus took place in the 5th and 6th Centuries A.D., basically in three directions. Towards the West, the Slavs progressively colonized territories until they reached the Elbe. In this area, the western Slavic languages started to

differentiate: **Polish, Czech, Slovak, Sorbian, Pomeranian, Kashubian, Masovian**, and **Moravian**, basically. The second axis of expansion led the Slavic peoples towards the southwest, colonizing a large part of the Balkan Peninsula. From this trend emerged the southern Slavic languages such as **Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian, Old Bulgarian, Macedonian** or **Panonic Slavic**. The third expansive direction took place towards the North and northeast and from it emerged the Eastern Slavs. They progressively colonized territories scarcely inhabited by tribes speaking Finnish languages. The linguistic differences between the Eastern Slavs were not settled until the 14th and 15th Centuries.

- Other Indo-European Groups

GERMANS

The presence of Germans in Russia dates back to 1762 when Catherine the Great established agricultural settlements for them to occupy the middle and lower areas of the Volga. The settlers on the Volga maintained their original language without special difficulties and in 1914 they amounted to the approximate number of 500,000 people. Despite the establishment of a Germanic Republic on the Volga in 1918, the **German** linguistic group sustained losses due to the deportations to Kazakhstan in 1927 and 1933. Nevertheless, the critical moment for this group was the Second World War. The German Republic was suppressed in 1941 and all the German population was deported to different areas around the Russian and Kazakhstan border. Unlike other peoples deported during the war, the Germans were not rehabilitated and most of them still live in the areas of destination. Besides undergoing a high grade of assimilation into Russian, this linguistic group has suffered from a significant process of emigration of its members to Germany in the 90s.

JEWS

As regards the Jews, they initially appeared in the cities of the Black Sea dominated by Greek traders. The Jews have adopted several languages in Russia according to their tradition and geographical situation. However, most Russian Jews descend from those who progressively settled in eastern Europe in the Middle Ages. The predominant language among them was **Yiddish**, an archaic Germanic language with Slavic and Hebrew influences. The Jews, mostly Ashkenazis, underwent serious restrictions for their settlement in Russia, which originated a migratory process during the 19th Century, mostly to the United States.

When the Bolshevik regime came to power in 1928, the Jewish Autonomous Area of Birobidzhan was established. In 1934, this Area

became the Autonomous Region and in 1941, 30,000 Jews out of a global population of 114,000 people lived there. At that moment there were 128 schools that used Yiddish as the language of instructions. The Second World War and the creation of the State of Israel caused that in 60s the percentage of Jews in the area was reduced to 13 percent and today it is less than 5 percent. Besides, the Yiddish language has been progressively abandoned and emigration to Israel left this linguistic group in an increasingly precarious situation.

In the Caucasus area, two languages of the Iranian group survive. **Tat** is the Iranian language adopted by groups of Jews from mountainous areas in the 5th and 6th Centuries. Many of them have recently immigrated to Israel. The **Ossetians** are the ethnic and linguistic descendants of the Alans, Iranian people that surrounded the Caspian on the North and settled in a much larger area in the first centuries of the Christian era, moving towards the South under the pressure of the Turks and the Mongols.

2) THE ALTAIC FAMILY

Today, the Altaic family in Russia is a collection of 30 languages that are spoken approximately by 10 million people. Within the family there exist three main groups of languages.

The Turkish group is today the most vigorous one, with about 9 million speakers, and it includes 18 languages: **Khakassian, Tuvin, Altaic, Yakut, Dolgan, Chulym, Shor, Tofalar** (all of them belong to the Northern subgroup), **Tatar, Bashkir, Kumik, Karachay, Balkar** (Western subgroup), **Chuvash** (Volga subgroup), **Turkmen, Azerbaijani** (Southern subgroup) **Nogai** and **Kazakh** (Central subgroup).

The Mongolian group in Russia numbers more than half a million speakers of the **Kalmyk, Mongolian** and **Buriat** languages.

The last group of the Tungus languages has only 15,000 speakers. This group today has 8 languages in Russia: **Evenki, Even, Negidal** (Northern group), **Nanai, Orok, Orochi, Udihe** and **Ulch** (Southern group). Finally, **Korean** is frequently considered a language related to the initial trunk of the Altaic family, although this theory is still under debate.

3) THE CAUCASIAN FAMILY

The Caucasian family of languages covers 30 languages spoken by 3 million people. These languages have undergone almost no territorial displacement over the different historical periods and may be considered the original languages of a large territory on both sides of the Caucasus.

Since the first millennium B.C., the territory of the Caucasian family has been increasingly reduced in favor of the Indo-European, Armenian and the Iranian languages. Thus, the Caucasian languages progressively remained isolated in the territory and were gradually pushed towards the mountains.

Linguists divide the Caucasian family into three large groups. The southern group is represented almost exclusively by the **Georgian** language; however, its territory does not extend to the Russian Federation.

In the northwestern group we find **Abaza** (related to Abjazian also spoken in Georgia, from which it separated probably around the 15th or 16th Century) and the **Adyghe**, **Cherkess** and **Kabard** languages, which have almost 600,000 speakers in Russia.

The northeastern group appears sometimes divided into two different groups: Nax (Central) and Eastern (Dagestan). In the first one, the **Ingush** and **Chechnyan** languages can be found, with almost a million speakers. Both ethnic communities were deported to Siberia during the WW II. The Dagestan subgroup includes 23 languages, some of them in the process of assimilation into other languages surrounding them: **Avar**, **Andi**, **Botlik**, **Ghodoberian**, **Chamalal**, **Bagulal**, **Tindi**, **Karati**, **Akhvakh**, **Beztin**, **Dido**, **Kuvarsi**, **Hunzib** (all of them making up the Avar-Andi-Dido subgroup), **Lak**, **Dargwa**, **Kaidak**, **Kubachi** (Laco-Dargwa subgroup), **Archi**, **Lesgo**, **Agulian**, **Rutul**, **Tabasaran** and **Tsakhur** (Lesgo subgroup). The Dagestan group goes beyond the borders of Dagestan and is also predominant in the southern area of the neighboring Republic of Azerbaijan. In Russia, the language has 1,5 million speakers.

4) THE URALIC-YUKAGHIR FAMILY

Twenty-three languages in Russia belong to the Uralic-Yukaghir family, with approximately 2,5 million speakers. The majority of speakers live outside Russia, in Finland, Estonia and Hungary. Within Russia, the large Uralic family is subdivided into two main groups: Finno-Ugrian and Samoyed. The Samoyed languages, spoken by hardly 30,000 people, are the **Nenets**, **Enets**, **Nagasagan** and **Selkup** languages. The Finno-Ugrian group in Russia nowadays includes the following Finnish languages: **Karelian**, **Finnish**, **Ludian**, **Ingrian**, **Votiak**, **Vepsian**, **Estonian**, **Saami** (all of them from the Northern-Baltic subgroup), **Udmurt**, **Zyrian Komi**, **Permyak Komi** (Permyak subgroup), **Mari Olyk**, **Mari Kuryk**, **Mordovino Erzya** and **Mordovino Moksha** (Volga subgroup). In addition, **Khanty** (or Ostiak) and **Mansi** (or Vogul) are two languages

that represent the Ugric group in the Russian Federation. As a whole, the Finno-Ugrian languages are spoken by 2,400,000 people in Russia.

5) THE PALEO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES

Under the generic name of Paleo-Asiatic languages we gather 11 Russian languages, 9 of them belonging in fact to three small differentiated linguistic families and 2 languages with no proven filiation. As a whole, all these linguistic communities do not number more than 25,000 people. These ethnic and linguistic communities did not have any contact with the Europeans until the 16th Century.

The Russian colonization of Siberia substantially affected the traditional life of many Asiatic indigenous communities, and their linguistic situation, especially from the 19th Century onward.

On the west the Paleo-Asiatic family, called Yenisseic or Paleo-Siberian, is represented by the **Ket** and **Yug** languages, with less than 1,000 speakers today. The ethnic Inuit-Eskimo-Aleut family represents the original population of a large part of North America and probably of the most eastern areas of the far Russian North. In the 20th Century, the ideological confrontation of the USSR and the United States motivated the transfer of some Inuits and the prohibition of contacts with their families in Alaska, which seriously fragmented a linguistic and cultural cross-border community. Today, there are between 1,000 and 2,000 speakers of the **Yupik** and **Aleut** languages in Russia, in villages close to the Bering Straits and in the Komandirskiye Islands, respectively.

The family known as Chukchee-Kamchatka originally extended across the north-eastern of Eurasia, occupying all the Kamchatka Peninsula and the territory to the North, as well as the Kuril Islands. Although their present “theoretical” territory is not very different, its demographic weakness in comparison to Russian is alarming. The process of Russianization started in this area in the 18th Century. Today, the Chukchee-Kamchatka family covers five languages, spoken as a whole by 20,000 people. Linguists locate the following languages to the northern group: **Chukchee**, **Koryak**, **Kerek** and **Aliutor**, while **Itelm** (or Kamchadal) remains the sole representative of the family’s southern group. The **Nivhki** (or Giliac) language is one of the isolated languages of the Russian Federation though, from a cultural point of view, Nivhki shares a common space with different southern Tungus groups.

The other isolated and currently endangered language in Russia is **Ainu**. From the prehistoric times Ainu were the original inhabitants of Japan and perhaps of a continental area close to it. Nowadays the Ainu live in isolated areas south of the Sakhalin and Kuril Islands and in the

northern area of Hokkaido. In some linguistic classifications, one may see Ainu related to Korean, belonging to a lateral branch of the Altaic family.

LINGUISTIC POLICY AND HISTORY

The first ethnic census in Russia in 1897 demonstrated the multilingual character of the Empire when Russian was spoken by less than half of the population. However, the arrival of the Bolshevik regime changed the situation. Firstly Lenin proposed the recognition of the right to self-determination for all peoples of the Tsarist Empire.

Thus, from the 1922 USSR Constitution, so-called territorial national principle was introduced, creating certain territorial political structures within the Soviet Union that were hierarchized according to the demographic or historical significance of the ethnic group for which they were constituted. According to this, the Soviet Union, besides being structured as a Federal State, was internally made up of autonomous republics, autonomous regions, national areas and national districts (the latter suppressed in 1937). From the linguistic point of view, a large number of efforts were made to maintain, codify and develop many languages in Russia.

Nevertheless, from the mid-30s, under Stalin's mandate, a clear involution and return to linguistic and ethnic Russianization could be observed. The 1936 Soviet Constitution incorporated again the national territorial principle and divided the territory to 11 federated republics, 20 autonomous republics, 8 autonomous regions and 8 national areas (the latter were called "autonomous areas" in the 1977 Constitution). In 1938, teaching in Russian became compulsory in all schools of the Union and the Cyrillic alphabet was imposed for practically all languages of the Federation, substituting in many cases the Latin or Arab alphabet.

The war (a huge demographic drain from many linguistic communities, linguistic assimilation) and the merciless policies of massive deportations (Ingush, Chechnyans, Meskets, Kalmyks, Germans of the Volga, Karachays, Bulkarians and Tatars of Crimea) dramatically decimated the linguistic communities. After the war, a non-confessed assimilation policy went on towards the creation of the so-called "homo sovieticus," a Russian-speaker. Breznev cultivated nothing but this line, which was justified by the need of Soviet people to have a common language. Even though, still in 1970, 57 million out of 112 million inhabitants of the Soviet Union were not fluent in Russian.

However, during the last decades of the Soviet regime, under the impact of the educational system and of the media, bilingualism became widespread.

With the *Perestroika* new ways for the expression of ethnic or linguistic differences were opened. Concerning linguistic matters, in April 1990, Gorbachev conferred full power to the republics. A new political perception of plurilingualism was imposed, which in most republics was expressed by the wish to return to a monolingualism exclusively based on the corresponding national language. Russia was the last of fifteen Soviet Republics to approve some regulations in linguistic matters in 1990.

THE PRESENT-DAY LINGUISTIC SITUATION

The linguistic situation in Russia after attaining independence was defined as a humanitarian catastrophe. The UNESCO, in its Red Book on Endangered Languages, considered almost all minority languages of the Russian Federation as being endangered or seriously threatened, some even in an irreversible process of disappearing.

Besides those 104 languages we have to add the languages spoken by other ethnic or national groups that inhabit the vast urban spaces of Russia and which appeared in the last 1989 Soviet Census (Belorussian, Georgian, Uzbek, Polish, Lithuanian, Letonian, Lirguiz, Tadjik, Bulgarian, Turkish, Karakalpak, Romanian, Chinese, Kurdish, Czech, Arab, Uigur, Persian, Mon-Khmer, Udi and Talysh).

From 104 territorial languages, several dozens have less than 27,000 speakers (42 are spoken even by less than 5,000 people). In this sense, the following languages are endangered:

<i>Ainu</i>	<i>Itelm</i>	<i>Nivhki</i>	<i>Ulch</i>
<i>Aleut</i>	<i>Kerek</i>	<i>Orochi</i>	<i>Votiak</i>
<i>Aliutor</i>	<i>Ket</i>	<i>Orok</i>	<i>Yug</i>
<i>Chulym</i>	<i>Ludian</i>	<i>Saami</i>	<i>Yukaghir</i>
<i>Chuvash</i>	<i>Mansi</i>	<i>Selkup</i>	<i>Yupik</i>
<i>Enets</i>	<i>Nagasagan</i>	<i>Tofalar</i>	
<i>Ingrian</i>	<i>Negidal</i>	<i>Udihe</i>	

Other 16 Caucasian languages of Dagestan are also seriously threatened in Russia. They underwent assimilation process into the Avar or Darguin majority languages.

<i>Andi</i>	<i>Botlik</i>	<i>Ginuk</i>	<i>Karati</i>
<i>Archi</i>	<i>Beztin</i>	<i>Ghodoberi</i>	<i>Kubachi</i>
<i>Akhvakh</i>	<i>Chamala</i>	<i>Hunzib</i>	<i>Kuvarsi</i>
<i>Bagulal</i>	<i>Dido</i>	<i>Kaidak</i>	<i>Tindi</i>

The last group of five languages that, according to the number of their speakers in Russia, may be endangered by an irreversible assimilation will definitely survive beyond the Russian borders as the languages of neighboring states.

<i>Estonian</i>	<i>Mongolian</i>	<i>Turkmen</i>
<i>Finnish</i>	<i>Norwegian</i>	

The second set of languages is in a situation of acute weakness. This weakness may be caused basically by a small number of speakers, the lack of literary production, the process of linguistic assimilation among the members of the respective ethnic group or their geographic dispersion.

<i>Abaza</i>	<i>Dolgan</i>	<i>Evenki</i>	<i>Koriac</i>
<i>Chukchee</i>	<i>Even</i>	<i>Khanty</i>	<i>Nanai</i>

Nenets

Sajur

Tat

Rutul

Shor

Vepsian

POSITION OF THE RUSSIAN LANGUAGE

In the 90s, 83 percent of the whole population of the Russian Federation were ethnic and linguistic Russians, together with another 3 percent of Belorussian and Ukrainian population, strongly “Russianized.” As a whole, 97 percent of the population speaks Russian fluently, which means that this language has reached almost every remote area of the Federation. Russian became *lingua franca* of the Federation.

The ethnic Russian or Slav population does not tend to learn the languages of other national communities. Not more than 3 percent of them can speak languages of other nationalities in Russia. On the contrary, among the non-Russian ethnic citizens, 88 percent can express themselves in the federal language and for 28 percent it is already their mother tongue.

The differences between ethnic groups in the process of linguistic assimilation are important. Among Finno-Ugrian people from 45 to 70 percent of their members have their own language as their mother tongue. In Paleo-Asiatic groups it is from 15 to 30 percent. On the contrary, the ethnic groups with Muslim religion and especially those of the Caucasus geographic area are the most impermeable to the process of linguistic assimilation in favor of Russian.

The media, generalization of the educational system, and cultural production do not show healthy signs for the maintenance of Russia’s linguistic plurality either. As an example one can look at how the editorial publications in languages other than Russian are really scarce in the country. In fact, in the 90s, only 3 percent of the titles published in Russia were in languages other than Russian, this percentage corresponding to only 0.5 percent of the total edition.

After independence, 25 million Russians found themselves outside the federal borders. In addition, a significant part of the Russian ethnic community lives in territorial entities, which are quantitatively or qualitatively controlled by members of other ethnic and linguistic groups. This exacerbates feelings of fear and distrust towards new linguistic realities and policies, especially towards communities with considerable demographic or political strength.

Source: Minority Languages of the Russian Federation, Perspectives for a ratification of the European Charter of Regional and Minority Languages, by Eduardo J. Ruiz Vieytez, Universidad de Deusto, Mercator web page

<http://www.troc.es/ciemen/mercator/index-gb.htm>, Working Papers, Minority Languages of the Russian Federation.

Updated (September 2002)

KALMYKIA

Kalmykia is a unique region in the south of Russia with the only Mongolian ethnic group of Buddhist religion in Europe. The population of the Kalmyk Republic is 321,400 people with more than ninety nations. Kalmyks (the ancestors are known as "Oirats") constitute 47 percent of the whole population. The Kalmyk language belongs to Mongolian group of languages and it has a continuous literary tradition since 17th Century.

Before the beginning of the 20th Century, Kalmyks were mainly monolingual because Russian was not so widespread among them. However, the 20th Century started the fight with illiteracy so learning at schools was carried out in Russian and a national language was taught as a separate subject.

In 1943, Kalmyk people were exiled to Siberia. Thirteen years of a dispersal living in different conditions led to the decline of economic and cultural ties and to the loss of national traditions and a mother tongue. In 1956, Kalmyks were exonerated and they returned to the Kalmyk Republic.

All those factors contributed to mass Kalmyk-Russian bilingualism, when knowledge of Russian started to predominate. Young generation spoke little Kalmyk or did not speak it at all.

Currently, the language situation in Kalmykia is characterized by the bilingualism, when people speak their national language and Russian. According to the 1979 Soviet Census, there were 122,000 Kalmyks and 2.9 percent of them considered Russian to be their native language. In the 1989 Soviet Census this number raised to 3.9 percent of 146,600 Kalmyks. The sociolinguistic survey carried out in 1999/2000 showed that the majority of nowadays Kalmyk community has a poor knowledge of the language or does not speak it at all. (see also "Legislation dealing with the use of languages," Updated September 2002, Kalmykia)

Source: World Congress on Language Policies, Barcelona, April 16-20, 2002, "Language Policy in the Republic of Kalmykia," by A.N. Bitkeeva, Institute of Linguistics of Russian Academy of Sciences, Research Center on Ethnic and Language Relations, Moscow, Russia, <http://www.linguapax.org/congres/taller/taller3/Bitkeeva.html>

Where does one observe language to be a problem in the country?

Updated (September 2002)

KARELIAN LANGUAGE

At present, there are about 125,000 Karelians. The general language situation in Karelia is specific, one might say, even unique. In the first place, Karelians constitute about 10 percent of the Republic's population. Then, until quite recently, Karelian had no writing form of its own. The Karelians were the biggest ethnos and the only titular people in Russia in such a position. Finally, beginning with the 1920s, Finnish played an important role in the language situation of Karelia, alongside with the Karelian, Vepsian, and Russian languages indigenous in this area.

In the 1930s, when the Soviet Union's language policy was very active and a number of people in the country were given a writing of their own, the process in Karelia was peculiar in many respects.

At first, a Latin-based writing was created for the Karelians of Tver Region. Between 1931 and 1937, it was used as a teaching medium in primary schools. Several newspapers and a total of 50 books were published in it.

At the same time, beginning in the late 1920s, literary Finnish was taken up as a literary language by the native Finno-Ugric population of Karelia (the Karelians and the Vepsians). Finnish was close to one of the Karelian dialects but the Vepsians did not understand it at all. Finnish was introduced on a large scale mainly for subjective reasons. Following the civil war in Finland, a great number of Finnish communists, persecuted at home, had fled to Karelia. They had taken key positions in the local Communist Party organs and administration. All this had a profound impact on the language situation in the area. Karelian was proclaimed to be incapable of playing an independent role and to devise a separate writing for it was considered superfluous.

In the mid 1930s, compulsory learning of Finnish was condemned as a survival of bourgeois nationalism. In 1937, a decision was taken to create a unified Karelian language for the whole population. However, this process was hampered by the existence of three dialects within Karelian, so different from one another as to make communication between their speakers almost impossible.

Prof. Bubrikh worked out the Cyrillic alphabet along with the norms of unified Karelian, based on all the dialects at the same time. Between 1937 and 1940, Karelian was used as a teaching medium in primary

schools, in media, and about 200 books, mainly textbooks and books for children, were published in the language. Yet this version of Karelian never became popular. It was obscure to speakers of all three dialects, who proved to be psychologically unprepared for its introduction so it turned out to be short-lived.

Late in the 1930s, the language policy in the country changed radically. Karelian was replaced by Finnish in schools of the Karelian Republic and by Russian in Tver Region. As a result the number of Karelian speakers dropped considerably.

In the mid 1980s, a period marked by increased national self-consciousness and interest for different languages and cultures of the USSR, Karelian was in a deplorable state. According to the 1989 General Census, only 48.6 percent of the Karelians considered it to be their mother tongue. The real situation was even worse since some of those, stating Karelian was their mother tongue, spoke the language poorly or did not speak it at all.

The ethno-linguistic situation in the country was as follows.

- The majority of the Karelian population, especially young people, were more proficient in Russian than in Karelian and used Russian as their first functional language
- There were few remaining native speakers of the Livvinksky dialect
- Many of those speaking the Northern dialect (which is close to Finnish) believed that there was no need to create a common Karelian literary language. They thought it is more reasonable to use Finnish as a written language

Finally, it was decided to devise two versions of the written Karelian language. One of them was intended for speakers of the Northern dialect and the other for speakers of the Livvinksky dialect. Both versions were based on the Latin alphabet. (see also "The use of language in everyday life," Updated September 2002)

Source: World Congress on Language Policies, Barcelona, April 16-20, 2002, "Effective Language Politics: The Case of Karelian," by T.B. Kryuchkova (Russia),
<http://www.linguapax.org/congres/taller/taller3/Krjuchkova.html>

The use of language in everyday life, education, broadcasting and other

Updated (July 2002)

Sámi Radio, broadcasting already in Norway, Sweden and Finland, has established a new radio station in the Kola Peninsula in Russia. It means that Sámi Radio broadcasts in the Sámi language in all countries with a native Sámi population.

The previous Russian Sámi radio station had to be closed in the year 2000 due to economic problems. The present project is financed by various organizations from Norway, Sweden and Finland and the local Russian TV station “Murman,” is also willing to participate.

The area covered by the Sámi Radio should include Lovozero and Revda, the largest oblast (region) in the Kola Peninsula.

The project will last for three years and after this period it should be able to stand on its own feet. Several journalists will be educated at the Sámi High School in Kautokeini (Norway) to work for the new radio station and they will study topics that might be relevant for Sámi Radio in the future.

There will also be a course in the North Sámi language especially for Russian participants to strengthen the ties between the Sámi population in the Kola Peninsula and the Sámis in the Nordic countries.

The Sámi population in the Kola Peninsula welcomes the project and hopes that it will contribute to strengthen the Sámi culture and language in the Peninsula. Through regular exchange of programs between the stations of Sámi Radio, the Sámi culture of Russia will become more widely known in the Nordic countries, while the Sámi culture of the Nordic countries will be presented in the Peninsula as well.

Contrary to the popular belief, there is no such thing as a single Sámi language. The differences between the varieties of Sámi are far greater than the differences between dialects and thus one should talk of the Sámi languages. The largest and most important of these languages is North Sámi, which is spoken by the majority of the Sámi population in Norway, Sweden and Finland. Apart from North Sámi there are many smaller languages, such as Ume Sámi, South Sámi, Lule Sámi and Pite Sámi in Norway and Sweden and Inari Sámi and Skolt Sámi in Finland. Most of these languages are very small and threatened by extinction.

In the Kola Peninsula a number of the Sámi languages are spoken, such as Kildin Sámi, Skolt Sámi and Akkala Sámi. The largest of these is Kildin Sámi, which is spoken by approximately 1,000 speakers. This

contrasts with North Sámi, which is spoken by approximately 25,000 speakers. The total number of Sámi speakers is estimated to be around 50,000.

Source: Eurolang, <http://www.eurolang.net/>, Helsinki, July 9, 2002, by Jonas Holmqvist

Updated (September 2002)

KARELIAN LANGUAGE

Following the introduction of Karelian writing, the Karelian language began to gain ground. In 1988, it began to be taught in three rural primary schools (1st through 3rd grade). By 2000, as many as 52 schools, rural and urban, offered courses in Karelian (1st – 4th grade). Subsequent grades chose Karelian as an optional subject. It was also included in the training program for nursery schools and taught in three institutions of higher education and a teachers' training junior college.

Currently textbooks are available for teaching Karelian in the first four grades. There are books for children and some books written by Karelian writers (mostly poetry, around 40 titles). The language has expanded to the media as well. Three newspapers, a children's magazine and a number of radio and TV programs are published and broadcast in Karelian.

Source: World Congress on Language Policies, Barcelona, April 16-20, 2002, "Effective Language Politics: The Case of Karelian," by T.B. Kryuchkova (Russia), <http://www.linguapax.org/congres/taller/taller3/Krjuchkova.html>

Updated (September 2002)

KALMYK LANGUAGE

At present the first priority in Kalmykia is given to harmonization of social functions of two state languages. Although juridically equal, the state languages of Kalmykia are not equal functionally. The Russian language is used in all spheres of social activities (business, education and science) while the Kalmyk language functions in the spheres connected with national culture (education, mass-media, theatre, belles-lettres, folklore). It is partially used in the state administration and socio-political activities of the Republic.

One of the priorities of language policy in Kalmykia is to pass the language to younger generations. The Ministry of Education makes every effort to act in accordance with the constitutional right of every child to

learn the mother tongue. In 1990s, there has started the process of restoration of national educational system. The last Kalmyk classes were closed at the beginning of 60s. In 1993, after a thirty-year pause, 67 new Kalmyk classes and 83 kindergarten groups were opened. In 2001, there were 153 Kalmyk classes and 84 kindergarten groups. Schools with an ethno-cultural component in their curriculum provide conditions for children to study their mother tongue and thus grow up in a connection with their culture. In technical and vocational colleges there are two classes of Kalmyk a week but the students have to cope with a shortage of teaching materials.

Pedagogical cadres for national schools are trained at the Kalmyk State University and the Kalmyk Pedagogical College that prepare teachers for elementary schools and specialists in pre-school pedagogy and psychology.

The Government of the Republic also established the Kalmyk Terminology Committee, whose main activity is to form, discuss and approve new Kalmyk terms in the field of politics, economics, science and etc. The Committee works in cooperation with the native speakers, taking into consideration their comments. A list of terms, approved by the Committee, is published in the local press.

In terms of culture, the Kalmyk language is widely used in the performances of the Kalmyk national drama theatre, Philharmonic, amateur art, folklore ensembles and groups. Traditional holidays and customs have been revived.

According to the Law on Languages, Kalmyk and Russian are used in the government administration and legislation and are involved in the process of law preparation. The Constitution and all governmental degrees, laws and resolutions are published in the local periodicals in Kalmyk and Russian. Both state languages are used in official documents, such as passports, certificates of birth and marriage and general certificate of education.

Mass media also contribute to language revitalization by popularization of the Kalmyk language on TV, radio, and in newspapers. The following periodicals are issued in the Kalmyk language: a newspaper "*Khalmg yunn*" (Kalmyk Truth); a literary magazine "*Teegin gerl*" (Light in the Steppe); a magazine for children "*Bair*" (Happiness) and an educational magazine "*Gegyarlt*" (Education).

Fifty percent of the local TV and radio broadcasting time is in Russian and 50 percent in Kalmyk.

Source: World Congress on Language Policies, Barcelona, April 16-20, 2002, "Language Policy in the Republic of Kalmykia," by A.N. Bitkeeva, Institute of Linguistics of Russian Academy of Sciences, Research Center on Ethnic and Language Relations, Moscow, Russia, <http://www.linguapax.org/congres/taller/taller3/Bitkeeva.html>

Did the country ratify any international treaty dealing with the protection of minorities?

Updated (May 2001)

On May 10, 2001 Russia signed the Council of Europe's European Charter for Minority or Regional Languages (Strasbourg, 1992). This important step involves a change of attitude toward the protection of more than one hundred minority languages spoken in Russia. Great Russian linguistic diversity has been an object of many different seminars and meetings organized by the Council of Europe, aimed to grow the Russian Government's awareness about the importance of the European cultural heritage protection.

What else can be found about languages and minorities?

Updated (April 2002)

Russia's first post-Soviet population census will finally be conducted by the State Statistics Committee [Goskomstat] in October 2002. Postwar practice has been to conduct the census every ten years and the last one was in 1989. The census is considered to be "the main event of the year."

One of the most controversial questions in the census form asks: "To which nationality or ethnic group do you regard yourself to belong?" The answer may not coincide with the information in a person's passport (an explanation is added in brackets "according to the self-definition of the respondent").

The list used in the 1989 census contained 128 ethnonyms (ethnic labels). The list recommended by the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, which has not been approved yet, contains about 150 ethnonyms. The proposal is to remove about 30 ethnonyms and to replace them by about 50 new ones. Only those ethnonyms included in a special list get separate codes, while other answers are lumped together under the residual category of "other nationalities."

The Institute proposes to recognize several groups previously subsumed under "Tatars" as distinct: Kryashens (Tatars whose ancestors were converted to Christianity) and such local subgroups as Mishars, Nagaibaks, Astrakhan Tatars, Crimean Tatars and Siberian Tatars. Many

Kryashens, especially those living outside Tatarstan, do not regard themselves as Tatars at all. The leaders of the Republic of Tatarstan consider this proposal as a part of a plot to break up the Tatars (as well as other non-Russian ethnic groups) into numerous tiny subgroups, which can more easily be assimilated into the Russian ethnic group. Tatarstan president Mintimer Shaimiev appealed directly to President Putin to preserve "Tatar" as an undivided category.

Dagestan has a complex system of power sharing among the leaders of ethnic communities. However, only 14 largest groups take part in this system. The regional authorities still maintain the fiction that the smaller groups do not need to be represented because they are rapidly assimilating into two largest groups - the Avars and the Dargins. The Institute proposes to give separate codes to 15 smaller groups, which were not counted in 1989 Census. The Russian government recently decided to grant the request of the Dagestani authorities to count only 14 officially recognized groups.

The Cossacks present a special problem because ethnologists do not regard them as a separate ethnic group. However, 100,000 people identified themselves as Cossacks in the last census. Some Cossacks have threatened to boycott the Census if their identity will not be recognized, and Goskomstat is afraid that the whole Census will be ruined if a boycott movement starts to spread. So Cossacks will be counted, but as a subgroup within the Russian and Ukrainian ethnic group.

In other cases dual ethnic identities will be taken into account as well. For example, the Komi will be subdivided into Komi-Permyak and Komi-Zirian (although there are Komi who do not assign themselves to either subgroup, and there are Zirians who deny being Komi).

There is no provision for people who wish to claim no ethnic affiliation and say only that they are citizens of Russia [rossiyane], in the way that Yugoslav censuses allowed people to identify themselves simply as "Yugoslavs."

Source: Valery Tishkov (Head of the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Russian Academy of Sciences) at Brown University on March 18, 2002 <http://www.cdi.org/russia/johnson/6168-10.cfm>

APPENDIX A

MAP OF RUSSIA



APPENDIX B

RUSSIA - CONSTITUTION

(Adopted on December 12, 1993)

(Document Status on December 12, 1993)

Article 19

2. The state shall guarantee the equality of rights and liberties regardless of sex, race, nationality, language, origin, property or employment status, residence, attitude to religion, convictions, membership of public associations or any other circumstance. Any restrictions of the rights of citizens on social, racial, national, linguistic, or religious grounds shall be prohibited.

Article 26

2. Everyone shall have the right to use his native language and to freely choose the language of communication, education, training and creative work.

Article 29

2. Propaganda or inciting social, racial, national, or religious hatred and strife is impermissible. The propaganda of social, racial, national, religious, or linguistic supremacy is forbidden.

Article 68

1. The state language of the Russian Federation throughout its territory shall be the Russian language.

2. The republics shall have the right to institute their own state languages. They shall be used alongside the state language of the Russian Federation in bodies of state power, bodies of local self-government and state institutions of the republics.

3. The Russian Federation shall guarantee all its peoples the right to preserve their native language and to create the conditions for its study and development.

Note: The complete text of the Constitution and further information on the constitutional background of Russia are provided by the International Constitutional Law Project at the University of Wuerzburg.

LANGUAGES OF THE RSFSR PEOPLES ACT

(October 25, 1991)

The languages of the peoples of the RSFSR are the historical and cultural heritage of the state of Russia, and shall be under the protection of the state.

The languages of the peoples of the RSFSR are a key element of culture, and the basic manifestation of national identity and individual self-awareness.

The languages of the various peoples in the RSFSR function in a diversity of forms and spheres of intercourse. It is traditional for members of the multinational population on the territory of the Russia Federation to be bilingual and multilingual.

The present Act is designed to create the conditions for the preservation and the equal and unique development of the languages of the peoples of the RSFSR, providing the basis for shaping a system of legal regulation of the activity of juridical and natural persons, and the framing of subordinate and enabling legislation to implement the provisions of the present Act.

Throughout the territory of the RSFSR, the state shall promote the development of the national languages, of bilingualism and multilingualism.

In the RSFSR, there shall be no propaganda of hostility or disdain for any language, no creation of barriers, restrictions or privileges in the use of languages in contravention of the established principles of national policy, or any other violations of legislation on the languages of the peoples of the RSFSR and of the republics within the RSFSR.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL

Article 1 (RSFSR legislation on the languages of the peoples of the RSFSR)

1. RSFSR legislation on the languages of the peoples of the RSFSR shall consist of the present Act and other legislative acts of the RSFSR and of the republics within the RSFSR enacted in conformity therewith.
2. The present Act shall cover the spheres of language intercourse subject to legal regulation, and shall not establish any juridical norms in the use of the languages of the peoples of the RSFSR in interpersonal unofficial relations or in the activity of public and religious associations and organizations.

Article 2 (State guarantees of language sovereignty of peoples and individuals)

1. Language sovereignty shall be the set of rights of peoples and individuals in the preservation and all-round development of the native language, and the freedom to choose and use the language of intercourse.
2. On the territory of the RSFSR, the state shall guarantee the language sovereignty of each people, irrespective of its numerical size and legal status, and the language sovereignty of the individual, irrespective of origin, social or property status, race, nation, gender, education, attitude to religion and place of residence.
3. The language sovereignty of peoples and individuals shall be protected by the law. No one shall have the right to make a person use this or that language against his will, except in the cases provided for by RSFSR legislation. The rules laid down by the present Act shall apply to RSFSR citizens, and also to stateless persons permanently resident on RSFSR territory.

Article 3 (Legal status of languages)

1. The state shall recognize the equal rights of all the languages of the peoples of the RSFSR to their preservation and development. All the languages of the peoples of the RSFSR shall enjoy the support of the state.
2. The Russian language, the main medium of intercourse between the peoples of the RSFSR, shall, in accordance with the established historical

and cultural traditions, have the status of the state language of the RSFSR throughout the territory of the RSFSR.

3. The republics within the RSFSR shall, in conformity with the present Act, take their own decisions on the legal status of the languages of the peoples inhabiting their territory. The republics within the RSFSR may establish the status of state language of the republic within the RSFSR.

4. In areas of compact population with national-territorial formations or living outside their boundaries, the language of the population of the given locality may be used alongside the Russian language and the state languages of the republics within the RSFSR in official intercourse. The manner in which languages are used in such localities shall be determined by the legislation of the RSFSR and of the republics within the RSFSR.

Article 4 (Guarantees of protection of the languages of the peoples of the RSFSR)

1. The languages of the peoples of the RSFSR shall enjoy the protection of the state. The organs of legislative, executive and judicial power in the RSFSR shall guarantee and assure all the languages of the peoples of the RSFSR of social, economic and juridical protection.

2. Social protection of the languages shall provide for the conduct of scientifically-grounded language policy designed for the preservation, development and study of all the languages of the peoples of the RSFSR on the territory of the RSFSR.

3. Economic protection of the languages shall imply specific- purpose budgetary and other financial backup of state and scientific programmes for the preservation and development of the languages of the peoples of the RSFSR and conduct, for these purposes, of a policy of tax privileges.

4. Juridical protection of the languages shall imply the liability of juridical and natural persons for violation of RSFSR legislation on the languages of the peoples of the RSFSR.

Article 5 (Guarantee of the rights of RSFSR citizens, irrespective of their knowledge of language)

1. The state shall guarantee to RSFSR citizens the exercise of the basic political, economic, social and cultural rights, irrespective of their knowledge of any language whatsoever.

2. Knowledge or no knowledge of a language may not serve as ground for restriction of the language rights of RSFSR citizens. Violation of the

language rights of peoples and individuals shall entail liability under the law.

Article 6 (RSFSR jurisdiction in the protection, study and use of the languages of the peoples of the RSFSR)

The RSFSR, as represented by the higher organs of state power of the republic, shall, in the protection and use of the languages of the peoples of the RSFSR, have jurisdiction over:

- establishment of the general principles of RSFSR legislation on the languages of the peoples of the RSFSR;

- assured functioning of the Russian language as the state language of the RSFSR;

- promotion of development of the state languages of the republics within the RSFSR;

- creation of conditions for the preservation and development of the languages of the numerically small peoples and ethnic groups not having their own national-state and national-territorial formations or living outside the boundaries thereof;

- promotion of the study of the languages of the peoples of the RSFSR outside the RSFSR.

Article 7 (State programs for preservation and development of the languages of the peoples of the RSFSR)

1. State programs of the RSFSR and the republics within the RSFSR for the preservation and development of the languages of the peoples of the RSFSR shall be drawn up by the respective organs of legislative and executive power, and ratified by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and the Supreme Soviets of the republics within the RSFSR. Their implementation within the fixed period shall be ensured by the organs of executive power.

The funding of state programs for the preservation and development of the languages of the peoples of the RSFSR shall be provided for in the drafting of budgets at every level.

2. State programs for the preservation and development of the languages shall provide for action along such lines as promotion of publications of literature in all the languages of the peoples of the RSFSR, financing of their research, creation of conditions for the use of the various languages in the mass media, arrangement of the training of specialists working in

the preservation and development of the languages of the peoples of the RSFSR, development of the public education system for the purpose of enhancing the language culture of the peoples of the RSFSR, and others.

CHAPTER II.

THE RIGHTS OF CITIZENS IN THE USE OF THE LANGUAGES OF THE PEOPLES OF THE RSFSR

Article 8 (The right to choose the language of intercourse)

The right to choose and use the language of intercourse by citizens of the RSFSR in areas of intercourse subject to legal regulation under the present Act shall be determined by the legislation of the RSFSR and the republics within the RSFSR.

Article 9 (The right to choose the language of education and training)

1. RSFSR citizens shall have the right of freely choosing the language of education and training.
2. The state shall ensure, on the territory of the RSFSR, the creation of a system of educational and training institutions, and other forms of education and training in the languages of the peoples of the RSFSR.
3. The right to choose the educational and training institution with this or that language of children's education and training shall belong to parents or to persons acting in their stead, in conformity with RSFSR legislation.
4. The language of education in secondary, secondary specialized and higher schools shall be determined by the legislation of the RSFSR and of the republics within the RSFSR.
5. RSFSR citizens living outside their national-state and national-territorial formations, or not having any, and members of numerically-small peoples and ethnic groups shall be given assistance by the state in arranging various forms of education and training in their native language, irrespective of their numbers, and in accordance with their needs.

Article 10 (Study and teaching of the languages of the peoples of the RSFSR)

1. The state shall assure RSFSR citizens of conditions for the study and teaching of their native language and of other languages of the peoples of the RSFSR.
2. The Russian language, as the state language of the RSFSR, shall be studied in secondary, secondary specialized and higher schools.
3. The teaching of state and other languages in the republics within the RSFSR shall be carried on in conformity with their legislation.
4. Each people of the RSFSR without its own written language shall have the right to create its own native written language. The state shall ensure the conditions requisite thereto.
5. The state shall create the conditions for research into all the languages of the peoples of the RSFSR.

CHAPTER III.

USE OF THE LANGUAGES OF THE PEOPLES OF THE RSFSR IN THE HIGHER ORGANS OF STATE POWER AND ADMINISTRATION IN THE RSFSR

Article 11 (The working language of the highest legislative organs of the RSFSR)

1. Work in the highest legislative organs of the RSFSR shall be conducted in the state language of the RSFSR.
2. People's deputies of the RSFSR meeting in congress, at sessions of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, at sittings of the Presidium, the Soviet of the Republic, and the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR shall have the right to speak in any state language of the republics within the RSFSR, at their discretion. Their speeches shall be translated into the state language of the RSFSR in the manner established by decisions of the highest legislative organs of the RSFSR.
3. Hearings in the commissions of the Soviet of the Republic and the Soviet of Nationalities, and in the committees of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet shall be heard in the state language of the RSFSR and, whenever necessary, in any other language of the peoples of the RSFSR, duly provided with translation.

4. Draft laws and other normative acts shall be submitted for consideration by congresses of people's deputies of the RSFSR, the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, the Presidium, the Soviet of Nationalities, the Soviet of the Republic, the commissions of the chambers, and the committees of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet in the state language of the RSFSR.

Article 12 (The language of publication of the laws and other legal acts of the RSFSR)

The texts of the laws of the RSFSR and of other legal acts adopted by congresses of people's deputies of the RSFSR, the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, the Presidium, the Soviet of the Republic, the Soviet of Nationalities of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, and the President of the RSFSR shall be published in the state language of the RSFSR and the state languages of the republics within the RSFSR, all being official and equally authentic.

Article 13 (The language of publication of laws and other legal act of the republics within the RSFSR)

The texts of laws and other legal acts adopted by the legislative organs of the republics within the RSFSR shall be published in their state languages and in the state language of the RSFSR, in conformity with the legislation of the RSFSR and the republics within the RSFSR, all being official and equally authentic.

Article 14 (The language of holding elections to legislative organs of the RSFSR, of the President of the RSFSR, and of referendums)

1. In the preparation and holding of elections to legislative organs and of the President of the RSFSR, use shall be made of the state language of the RSFSR, the state languages of the republics within the RSFSR, and other languages designated by the legislation of the RSFSR and of the republics within the RSFSR.

2. The languages used in preparation and holding of all-Russia referendums in the republics within the RSFSR shall be designated in conformity with the legislation of these republics.

3. Ballot papers for elections and referendums shall be couched in the state language of the RSFSR and in the languages of the republics in which they are held. The documentation forwarded to the central organs of the RSFSR on the elections and referendums shall be couched in the state language of the RSFSR.

CHAPTER IV.

USE OF THE LANGUAGES OF THE PEOPLES OF THE RSFSR IN THE ACTIVITY OF STATE ORGANS, ORGANIZATIONS, ENTERPRISES AND INSTITUTIONS

Article 15 (Use of languages in the work of state organs, organizations, enterprises and institutions)

1. The state language of the RSFSR, the state languages of the republics within the RSFSR, and other languages of the peoples of the RSFSR shall be used in the activity of state organs, organizations, enterprises and institutions of the RSFSR.

2. RSFSR citizens not conversant with the state language of the RSFSR or the state language of the republic within the RSFSR shall be given the right to speak at meetings, conferences and assemblies in state organs, organizations, enterprises and institutions in the language in which they are conversant. Whenever necessary, they shall be provided with a translation.

3. RSFSR citizens not conversant with the language used to hold meeting, conference or assembly in state organs, organizations, enterprises and institutions shall, whenever necessary, be provided with a translation into a language acceptable to these citizens or into the state language of the RSFSR.

4. RSFSR citizens shall be entitled to address proposals, applications and complaints to state organs, organizations, enterprises and institutions of the RSFSR in the state language of the RSFSR, in their native language or in any other language of the peoples of the RSFSR with which they are conversant.

5. Replies to proposals, applications and complaints from RSFSR citizens addressed to state organs; organizations, enterprises and institutions of the RSFSR shall be given in the language of the address. In the event of it is being impossible to give a reply in the language of address; use shall be made of the state language of the RSFSR.

6. Statutes on language qualification requirements of the RSFSR and the republics within the RSFSR may provide for definite limitations and norms in the use of languages in professional intercourse.

Article 16 (Use of languages in official business records)

1. Official business records in state organs; organizations, enterprises and institutions on RSFSR territory shall be carried on in the Russian

language, as the state language of the RSFSR. Official business records in the republics within the RSFSR shall also be carried on in the state languages of the given republics. The procedure for the use of languages in official business records shall be determined by the legislation of the RSFSR and the republics within the RSFSR.

2. The texts of documents (forms, seals, marks and stamps) and signboards with the names of state organs, organizations, enterprises and institutions shall be done in the state language of the RSFSR, the state languages of the republics within the RSFSR, and other languages of the peoples of the RSFSR, as determined by the legislation of the republics within the RSFSR.

3. Where people speaking a different language live in compact settlement, official business records in state organs, organizations, enterprises and institutions may be carried on not only in the state language of the RSFSR, the state languages of the republics within the RSFSR, but also in the language of the majority of the population in such locality. The procedure governing the use of languages in official business records in such localities shall be determined by the legislation of the RSFSR.

4. Official documents certifying the identity of citizens or information about him or her (passport, certificate of birth, marriage or death, work-record books, matriculation and graduation diplomas from academic institutions, military-service cards and other documents) shall be done with due account of national naming traditions in the Russian language and in the state languages of the republics within the RSFSR on whose territories these documents are issued.

Article 17 (Use of languages in official correspondence)

Official correspondence and other forms of official relations between state organs, organizations, enterprises and institutions of the republics within the RSFSR with addressees in the RSFSR shall be conducted in the state language of the RSFSR.

Article 18 (Use of languages in legal proceedings and procedural acts in law-enforcement agencies)

1. Legal proceedings and procedural acts in the RSFSR Constitutional Court, the RSFSR Supreme Court, the RSFSR Supreme Arbitration Court, and other law-enforcement agencies of the RSFSR shall be conducted in the state language of the RSFSR.

2. Legal proceedings and procedural acts in law-enforcement agencies of the republics within the RSFSR shall be conducted in the state languages of these republics and/or in the language of the majority of

compact-settlement population speaking another language in any locality whatsoever, and also in the state language of the RSFSR, in conformity with RSFSR legislation.

3. Persons taking part in a case and not versed in the language or languages in which the legal proceedings and procedural acts are conducted in law-enforcement agencies shall be guaranteed the use of the services of translator in procedural acts, including the giving of explanations and testimony, and full knowledge of the materials in the case, and shall also be guaranteed the right of addressing the court in their native language.

4. Breach of the procedure governing the use of languages in legal proceedings and procedural acts in law-enforcement agencies, as established by the legislation of the RSFSR and the republics within the RSFSR, shall be ground for a repeal of all the other procedural decisions taken in cases under adjudication.

Article 19 (Use of languages in notarial acts)

1. The rules for determining the language of legal proceedings shall apply to acts by notaries public and other state agencies performing notarial acts.

2. Documents shall be drawn up in the state language of the RSFSR, where citizen applying for performance of notarial act is not conversant with the language in which legal proceedings are conducted.

Article 20 (The language of the mass media)

1. Publications of all-Russia newspapers and journals, and all- Russia television and radio broadcasts shall be in the Russian language, as the state language of the RSFSR. All-Russia newspapers and journals may also be published in other languages, at the founders' discretion.

2. The Russian language, the state languages of the republics within the RSFSR, and other languages of the peoples inhabiting their territories shall be used in the mass media of the republics within the RSFSR.

3. The state language of the RSFSR, the state languages of the republics within the RSFSR, and other languages, with due account of the interests of the population, shall be used in interpretation and dubbing of cinema and video films.

4. The procedure governing the use of languages in the mass media shall be determined by the legislation of the RSFSR and the republics within the RSFSR.

Article 21 (Languages used in industry, communications, transport and power generation)

1. In industry, communications, transport and power generation throughout the territory of the RSFSR use shall be made of the Russian language, as the state language of the RSFSR, and also of other languages, in conformity with international and inter-republic treaties of the RSFSR.

2. In industry, communications, transport and power generation on the local level, use may be made, alongside the state language of the RSFSR and the state languages of the republics within the RSFSR, of other languages, with due account of the interests of the local population.

Article 22 (Languages used in the services and commercial activity)

1. The procedure governing the use of languages in the services and in commercial activity shall be determined by the legislation of the RSFSR and the republics within the RSFSR. Refusal to service citizens under the pretext of lack of knowledge of a language shall be inadmissible, and shall entail liability in conformity with the legislation of the RSFSR and of the republics within the RSFSR.

2. Business correspondence and records in the services and in commercial activity shall be conducted in the state language of the RSFSR and the other languages provided for by treaties between business partners.

CHAPTER V.

LANGUAGE OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES AND INSCRIPTIONS, TOPOGRAPHICAL DESIGNATIONS AND ROAD SIGNS

Article 23 (Procedure for determining the language of geographical names and inscriptions, topographical designations and road signs)

The RSFSR and the republics within the RSFSR, territories and regions, autonomous region, autonomous areas of the RSFSR shall, within their jurisdiction, determine the list of territories and objects where geographical names and inscriptions, topographical designations and road signs must be done in the state language of the RSFSR, in the state languages of the republics within the RSFSR, and also in other languages, with due account of the interests of the local population.

Article 24 (The duties of the organs of executive power in the design and installation of inscriptions, topographical designations and road signs)

The organs of executive power shall ensure the installation of inscriptions, topographical designations and road signs, and shall bear liability for their proper design and maintenance, in conformity with the legislation of the RSFSR and international usage.

Article 25 (Naming and renaming of territories, populated localities and other objects)

1. The naming and renaming of territories, populated localities and other objects shall be made in the languages of the peoples of the RSFSR, in conformity with the legislation of the RSFSR and of the republics within the RSFSR.
2. The procedure governing the use of languages in the naming and renaming of the aforesaid objects shall be determined by the organs of state power having management thereof in conformity with their jurisdiction.

CHAPTER VI.

USE OF LANGUAGES IN RELATIONS BETWEEN THE RSFSR AND FOREIGN COUNTRIES, INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, AND REPUBLICS WITHIN THE RSFSR

Article 26 (Use of languages in relations between the RSFSR and foreign countries and international organizations)

1. The activity of RSFSR representations abroad, and of RSFSR foreign-policy, external-economic and other institutions shall be conducted in the state language of the RSFSR and in the language of the respective country.
2. Treaties, agreements and other international acts concluded in the name of the RSFSR shall be done in the state language of the RSFSR and in the language of the other contracting country, or in other languages, by mutual agreement between the parties.
3. The state language of the RSFSR and other languages shall be used in negotiations in the name of the RSFSR with representatives of other countries and with international organizations, by mutual agreement between the parties and in conformity with international agreements.

Article 27 (Use of languages in relations between the RSFSR and republics within the RSFSR)

In relations between the RSFSR and the republics within the RSFSR use shall be made, on a basis of equality, of the state language of the RSFSR, of the state languages of the republics within the RSFSR, and of other languages, in conformity with the legislation of the RSFSR and of the republics within the RSFSR.

Chapter VII.

LIABILITY FOR BREACH OF RSFSR LEGISLATION ON THE LANGUAGES OF THE PEOPLES OF THE RSFSR

Article 28 (Liability for breach of RSFSR legislation on the languages of the peoples of the RSFSR)

Acts of juridical and natural persons in breach of RSFSR legislation on the languages of the peoples of the RSFSR shall entail liability and shall be appealed against in the established manner, in conformity with the legislation of the RSFSR and the republics within the RSFSR.

RSFSR SUPREME SOVIET DECREE ENACTING THE LANGUAGES OF THE RSFSR PEOPLES ACT

The RSFSR Supreme Soviet has resolved:

1. To enact the Languages of the RSFSR Peoples Act upon publication.
2. To establish that parts two, three and five of Article 15, part one of Article 22, and Article 23 shall enter into force on June 1, 1992; part four of Article 15, on June 1, 1993; part five of Article 9 and part six of Article 15, on June 1, 1995.
3. To ratify the Declaration on the Languages of the Peoples of Russia.
4. The Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on the Cultural and Natural Heritage of the Peoples of the RSFSR, and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Legislation shall, by February 1, 1992, submit for consideration by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, proposals on bringing the legislative acts of the RSFSR into conformity with the present Act.
5. The Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on the Cultural and Natural Heritage of the Peoples of the RSFSR shall, by March 1, 1992, work out and submit for consideration by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet a draft conception of the RSFSR State Program

for the Preservation and Development of the Languages of the Peoples of the RSFSR.

6. The RSFSR Council of Ministers shall:

- by February 1, 1992, bring RSFSR Government decisions into conformity with the Languages of the RSFSR Peoples Act;

- by February 1, 1992, ensure review and repeal by RSFSR ministries, state committees and departments of their normative acts contravening the present Act;

- by December 1, 1992, draw up an RSFSR state program for the preservation and development of the languages of the peoples of the RSFSR on the basis of the conception adopted by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, providing for the establishment, within the system of the RSFSR State Committee for the Affairs of Nationalities, of a structural division responsible for the elaboration and implementation of the aforesaid program;

- within three months of the adoption of the present Act, create an Institute of the Languages of the Peoples of the RSFSR as scientific backup for the elaboration and implementation of the RSFSR State Program for the Preservation and Development of the Languages of the Peoples of the RSFSR;

- within three months of the adoption of the present Act, work out and submit for consideration by the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet a Statute on language qualification requirements of the RSFSR on workers in the various professions and posts;

- by January 1, 1992, create a Russia State Service of language translations, and republican (republics within the RSFSR), territorial, regional, autonomous region and autonomous area services of language translations, providing within them structures ensuring translations into the languages of the peoples of the RSFSR;

- from 1992 on, provide, in the RSFSR budget, appropriation of funds for the elaboration and implementation of the RSFSR State Program for the Preservation and Development of the Languages of the Peoples of the RSFSR, and the creation of the Institute of the Languages of the Peoples of the RSFSR, and of the Russia state service of language translations.

APPENDIX C

THE LANGUAGES OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

One hundred and four languages are currently spoken in certain areas of the Russian Federation.

An alphabetical list has been completed according to the following criteria:

All languages traditionally spoken within the current territory of the Russian Federation have been included to the list. Accordingly, those languages representing only one or few villages have been included, however; those ones, spoken by bigger amount of people in urban areas, but not having a traditional territory in the country, have been dismissed.

Data complementing the list:

- 1) Other alternative names in English. “PrN” means name or proper name that the ethnic group calls itself
- 2) Dialectological filiation of the language
- 3) Estimated number of speakers of each language in the Russian Federation. “TP” means total population of the respective ethnic group within the whole Russian Federation.
- 4) Territorial entities of the Russian Federation within which the respective language may be considered as the holder/titular language, and the approximate percentage of the entity’s population speaking the language. “Ext” means political communities external to the Russian Federation in which the respective language is the official or titular language.
- 5) Territory, where the language is used within the boundaries of the Russian Federation. “AO” stands for an autonomous area (“Autonomous Okrug”).
- 6) Script used in writing
- 7) Other complementary data

ABAZA

1) Abaze, Abazin, Ashuwa 2) Caucasian family, northwestern group, Abkhaz-Abaza subgroup 3) 32,000-33,000; TP: 35,000 4) None 5) Three isolated zones in northern and northwestern Karachay-Cherkess Republic 6) Cyrillic 7) It is sometimes considered equal to Kabardian and Cherkess, given its current geographical situation, though its closest linguistic relationship is with the Abkhaz language, spoken in northwestern Republic of Georgia.

ADYGHE

1) Adigue, Adigué inferior, Kiakh, Circasià 2) Caucasian family, northwestern group, Circassian subgroup 3) 118,000-120,000; TP: 125,000 4) Republic of Adygea, 20 percent 5) Isolated areas in northern Republic of Adygea; in areas of the Krasnodar territory bordering the Republic of Adygea 6) Cyrillic

AGHUL

1) Aguly 2) Caucasian family, northeastern group, Dagestani subgroup; Lezgian subgroup 3) 18,000; TP: 19,000 4) Dagestan Republic, 9 percent 5) 4 contiguous valleys in central and southern Dagestan Republic 6) Agraphic language; literature in Lezgian

AINU

3) Isolated language, nearly extinct 4) None 5) Isolated areas in the south of the Sakhalin Island and the Kuril islands 6) Agraphic language 7) Ainu-speakers have been assimilated to Russian, Nivhk and Itelm languages.

AKHVAKH

1) PrN: Ashwad; Axvax 2) Caucasian family, northeastern group, Dagestani subgroup, Avar-Andi-Dido subgroup, Andi subgroup 3) 4,000-5,000 4) Vid. Avar 5) West central Dagestan Republic 6) Agraphic language, literature in Avar 7) It is often considered a variant of Avar. The Akhvakh linguistic group is now undergoing an assimilation process into the Avar language.

ALEUT

1) Unangany, Unanghan 2) Eskimo-Aleut family, Aleut group 3) 10-200 4) None 5) Komandorskije Islands (Kamchatka Oblast) 6) Agraphic language

ALIUTOR

1) Olyutor 2) Chukchee-Kamchadal family, Northern subgroup, Koriak-Aliutor subgroup 3) 200; TP: 2,000 4) None 5) Northern zone of the Kamchatka peninsula (AO Koriak) and western coast of the Penzinskaja gulf (AO Koryak) 6) Agraphic language

ALTAI

1) PrN: Alaty-kizhi; Oirot 2) Altaic family, Turkish group, northern subgroup 3) 60,000-72,000; TP: 83,200 4) Altai Republic, 30 percent 5) Central fringe of the Altai Republic 6) Cyrillic 7) Dialects of Chelkan, Kumandin, Tuba and Teleut tribes are included, which are sometimes considered to be differentiated languages.

ANDI

1) PrN: Kwannal, Qwannaw; Qwannab, Andiy 2) Caucasian family, northeastern group, Dagestani subgroup, Avar-Andi-Dido subgroup, Andi subgroup 3) 9,000-10,000 4) Vid. Avar 5) Several northwestern valleys of Dagestan near the border of the Chechen Republic 6) Agraphic language, literature in Avar 7) Often included as a variant of Avar. The Andi linguistic group is now undergoing an assimilation process into the Avar language.

ARCHI

1) PrN: Arshishtib, Arshashdu; Archin 2) Caucasian family, northeastern group, Dagestani subgroup, Lezgian subgroup 3) 1,000 4) Vid. Avar 5) One western valley of Dagestan close to the border with the Republic of Azerbaijan 6) Agraphic language, literature in Avar 7) It is often included as a variant of Avar. The Archi linguistic group is now undergoing an assimilation process into the Avar language.

ARMENIAN

1) PrN: Hay 2) Indo-European family, Armenian group 3) TP: 532,000 4) Ext: Republic of Armenia 5) Areas in the Black Sea coastal region of the Krasnodar territory, near Adygea and Georgia 6) Armenian

AVAR

1) Dagestani; PrN: Magharulae 2) Caucasian family, northeastern group, Dagestani subgroup, Avar-Andi-Dido subgroup, Avar subgroup 3) 500,000-560,000 4) Dagestan Republic, 25-27 percent 5) Central zones of the Dagestan Republic 6) Cyrillic 7) The Andi, Archi, Akhvakh, Botlik,

Bezhtin, Godoberi, Kuvarsi, Chamalal, Hunzib, Tindi, Ginukh, Karati, Dido and Bagulal languages are often included.

AZERBAIJANI

1) Azerbaijani 2) Altaic family, Turkish group, southern subgroup 3) TP: 336,000 4) Ext: Republic of Azerbaijan 5) Southeastern coastal zones of the Dagestan Republic 6) Cyrillic

BAGVALAL

1) Kvanadin, Barbalin 2) Caucasian family, Northeastern group, Dagestani subgroup, Avar-Andi-Dido subgroup, Andi subgroup 3) 4,000-5,500 4) Vid. Avar 5) West central Dagestan Republic. 6) Agraphical language, literature in Avar 7) Often included as a variant of Avar. The Bagulal linguistic group is now undergoing an assimilation process into the Avar language.

BALKAR

1) PrN: Tanlu 2) Altaic family, Turkish group, Western subgroup 3) 80,000-85,000; TP: 88,000 4) Kabardino-Balkaria Republic, 9 percent 5) Center and West of the Kabardino-Balkaria Republic; border zones of the North Ossetia Republic 6) Cyrillic 7) It is sometimes referred to as Karachay.

BASHKIR

1) PrN: Bashqort; Bashkar 2) Altaic family, Turkish group, western subgroup 3) 1,050,000; TP: 1,450,000 4) Bashkir Republic, 16 percent 5) Vast zones in the center, north and west of the Bashkir Republic, as well as in border zones and others near the Orenburg region; zones of the center of the Chelyabinsk region north and west of the capital; zones in western Kurgan region, limiting with Chelyabinsk 6) Cyrillic

BEZHITA

1) PrN: Kapucha, Bezhit; Bexita, Kupuca, Kapuchin 2) Caucasian family, Northeastern group, Dagestani subgroup, Avar-Andi-Dido subgroup, Andi subgroup 3) 2,500-3,000 4) Vid. Avar 5) 3 villages in the western center of the Dagestan Republic near the border of the Republic of Georgia 6) Agraphical language, literature in Avar 7) It is often included as a variant of Avar. The Bagulal linguistic group is now undergoing an assimilation process into the Avar language.

BOTLIKH

1) PrN: Buykhatty; Botlich, Botlix 2) Caucasian family, Northeastern group, Dagestani subgroup, Avar-Andi-Dido subgroup, Andi subgroup 3) 2,000-3,000 4) Vid. Avar 5) Mountain areas of the west-center of the Dagestan Republic near the Chechen Republic border 6) Agraphic language; literature in Avar 7) It is often included as a variant of Avar. The Botlik linguistic group is now undergoing an assimilation process into the Avar language.

BURIAT

2) Altaic family, Mongolian group 3) 318,000-363,000; TP: 422,000 4) Buryat Republic, 23 percent; Aga-Buryat AO, 50 percent; Ust-Orda Buryat AO, 32 percent 5) Central and western zones of the Buriat Republic; the whole territory of the Aga-Buryat AO; the whole territory of the Ust-Orda Buryat AO; isolated areas in North-western Ust-Orda Buryat AO in coastal zones and others near the Baikal lake (Irkutsk Oblast) 6) Cyrillic

CHAMALAL

1) Camalal, Chamalin 2) Caucasian family, northeastern subgroup, Dagestani subgroup, Avar-Andi-Dido subgroup, Andi subgroup 3) 4,000-5,500 4) Vid. Avar 5) West central border areas of the Dagestan Republic near the Chechen Republic border 6) Agraphic language, literature in Avar 7) It is often included as a variant of Avar. The Bagulal linguistic group is now undergoing an assimilation process into the Avar language.

CHECHEN

1) PrN: Nokhchiy; Galancho 2) Caucasian family, North-Central group or Vakh 3) 730,000-790,000 TP: 900,000-950,000 4) Chechen Republic, 79-86 percent 5) Center and South of the Chechen Republic 6) Cyrillic 7) The armed conflict has caused important movements of the Chechen population throughout the last years.

CHERKESS

2) Caucasian family, Northwestern group, Circassian subgroup 3) 46,000-47,000 4) Karachay-Cherkessia Republic, 10-11 percent 5) Northeastern areas of the Karachay-Cherkessia Republic 6) Cyrillic 7) It is often referred to as a language equal to Kabardian.

CHUKOT

1) Chukcha, Luoravetlan 2) Chukchee-Kamchadal family, northern group, Chukot subgroup 3) 10,000; TP: 15,000-16,000 4) Chukchee AO, 7 percent 5) Northern Kamchadal peninsula (Koryak AO); nearly the whole territory of the Chukchee AO; in the very northeast of the Yakut Republic; mid-Kolima river (Yakutia Republic) 6) Cyrillic

CHULYM

1) Melets; tà tar melets 2) Altaic family, Turkish group, Northern subgroup 3) Very few 4) None 5) Right hand bank of Chulym river, in eastern Asino town, in southernmost Tomsk region very near to Kemerovo Oblast 6) Nearly agraphic language, Cyrillic

CHUVAN

2) Uralic-Yukaghir family, Yukaghir group 3) 320; TP: 1,400 4) None 5) Isolated area in the southern center of Chukchee AO 6) Agraphic language 7) The Chuvan linguistic group is undergoing an assimilation process into the Russian language.

CHUVASH

1) Búlgar 2) Altaic family, Turkish group, Volga subgroup 3) 1,400,000; TP: 1,800,000 4) Chuvash Republic, 66 percent 5) The whole territory of the Chuvash Republic; isolated areas in northern and north eastern Ulyanovsk region, southern Tatarstan Republic, north, west and east of the Samara region, south western Perm region, northwestern Orenburg region and south, center and west of the Bashkir Republic; isolated zone in the left hand bank of Oka river, in southern Zima city (Irkutsk Oblast) 6) Cyrillic

DARGWA

1) PrN: Dargua; Khiurkilinskii 2) Caucasian family, northeastern group, Dagestani subgroup, Lak-Dargwa subgroup 3) 282,000 4) Dagestan Republic, 14 percent 5) Several areas in central and northern Dagestan Republic 6) Cyrillic 7) Both Kubachi and Kaidak languages are often included within Dargwa.

DIDO

1) PrN: Tsez; Cez, Tsutin 2) Caucasian family, northeastern group, Dagestani subgroup, Avar-Andi-Dido subgroup, Dido subgroup 3) 7,000 4) Vid. Avar 5) West central zone of the Dagestan Republic near the Georgian border 6) Agraphic language; literature in Avar 7) It is often

referred to as a variant of Avar. The Dido linguistic group is now undergoing an assimilation process into the Avar language.

DOLGAN

1) PrN: Tya-kikhi, Sakha 2) Altaic family, Turkish group, Northern subgroup 3) 5,000; TP: 7,000 4) Taymyr AO, 7 percent 5) Upper basin and all the right hand bank of Kheta river up to the boundaries of Taymyr AO; isolated area in north eastern Tartar Republic, in the left hand bank of Kamza river, in southern Yelabuga city 6) Agraphic language, literature in Russian and Yakut

ENETS

1) PrN: Enete; Samoiedo ienisseic 2) Uralic family, Samoyed group, northern subgroup 3) 90-100; TP: 200 4) None 5) Low course of Yenisey River in northern Krasnojarsk territory and the western area of Taymyr AO 6) Agraphic language, literature in Nenets and in Russian 7) The Enets linguistic group is now undergoing an assimilation process into Nenets, Selkup and Dolgan languages.

ESTONIAN

1) PrN: Eestlased 2) Uralic family, Finno-Ugric group, Finnish subgroup, Northern-Baltic subgroup 3) TP: 46,000 4) Ext: Republic of Estonia 5) In a zone near the Estonian border in the western end of Pskov region, an isolated area in the basin of Chulym river, in eastern Asino city (Tomsk Oblast) 6) Latin

EVEN

1) PrN: Lamut; Ilqan 2) Altaic family, Tungus group, northern subgroup 3) 7,000; TP: 13,000 4) None 5) Zones in central Kamchatka peninsula (Kamchatka Oblast); in the east, in scattered zones from western Koriak AO and AO Txuktxi, up to the Lena river course in the west, covering the Northeastern part of the Yakut Republic, and in northeastern coastal areas of the Magadan Oblast 6) Cyrillic. Almost agraphic language, literature in Russian and Yakut 7) The Even linguistic group is often considered as part of Evenki.

EVENKI

1) Chapogir, Avanki, Solon, Khamnigan 2) Altaic family, Tungus group, Northern subgroup 3) 9,000; TP: 30,000 4) Evenk AO, 12 percent 5) A vast contiguous zone, which includes the whole territory of the Evenk AO, north and north eastern zones of the Republic of Buratya, northern area of Irkutsk Oblast, northern and northwestern areas of the Republic

of Yakutia, western zones of the Chita and Amur regions, and in central and northern zones of Khabarovsk Kray 6) Cyrillic. Almost agraphical language, literature in Russian 7) The Evenki linguistic group is developing an assimilation process into the Burati, Yacut and Russian languages.

FINNISH

1) PrN: Suomalaiset; Suomi 2) Uralic family, Finno-Ugric group, Finnish subgroup, Northern-Baltic subgroup 3) 23,000-32,000; TP: 47,000 4) Ext: Republic of Finland 5) Isolated areas in the Leningrad region, between Ladoga Lake and the Finland gulf; western zone of the Kola peninsula (Murmansk Oblast) 6) Latin

GERMAN

2) Indo-European family, Germanic group, Western subgroup 3) TP: 842,000 4) Ext: Federal Republic of Germany; Republic of Austria; Helvetic Confederation; Autonomous Province of Bozen (Italy) 5) Western zone of the Republic of Kalmykia, between the city of Gorodovikovsk and the river Manyk; many zones in the area close to the border with Kazakhstan, from Samara and Orenburg up to Omsk and Barnaul (Chelyabinsk, Kurja, Volgograd, Orenburg Samara, Tyumen, Omsk, Novosibirsk and Altai Kray regions); isolated zone in west Ufa (Bashkir Republic) 6) Latin

GHODOBERI

1) PrN: Ghibdiri Adomi 2) Caucasian family, northeastern group, Dagestani subgroup, Avar-Andi-Dido subgroup, Andi subgroup 3) 2,000-3,000 4) Vid. Avar 5) Mountain area of west-central Dagestan Republic near the Chechen border 6) Agraphical language; literature in Avar 7) It is often referred to as a variant of Avar. The Ghodoberi linguistic group is now undergoing an assimilation process into the Avar language.

GREEK

1) PrN: Ellenoi 2) Indo-European family, Hellenic group 3) TP: 92,000 4) Ext: Republic of Greece; Republic of Cyprus 5) Isolated areas in the coastal Black Sea and Azov Sea regions of the Krasnodar territory; isolated zones in southern Stavropol territory 6) Greek

HIGH MARI

1) Cheremiso; Alto Mari; Hill Mari; Mari dels boscos, Mari occidental 2) Uralic family, Finno-Ugric group, Finnish subgroup, Volga subgroup 3)

40,000-60,000; TP: vid. Mari Olyk 4) Vid. Mari Olyk 5) Western area of Mari Republic 6) Cyrillic

HINUXH

1) Hinux, Ginukh, Ginukhtsy 2) Caucasian family, northeastern group, Dagestani subgroup, Avar-Andi-Dido subgroup, Dido subgroup 3) 200 4) Vid. Avar 5) Mountain areas in west central Dagestan Republic near the Georgian border 6) Agraphic language, literature in Avar 7) It is often referred to as a variant of Avar. The Ginuk linguistic group is now undergoing an assimilation process into the Avar language.

HUNZIB

1) Gunzib, Xunzal, Khunzaly, Enzeb 2) Caucasian family, Northeastern group, Dagestani subgroup, Avar-Andi-Dido subgroup, Dido subgroup 3) 400-2,000 4) Vid. Avar 5) Mountain area of west-central Dagestan Republic near the Georgian border 6) Agraphic language, literature in Avar 7) It is often considered a variant of Avar. The Hunzib linguistic group is now undergoing an assimilation process into the Avar language.

INGRIAN

1) PrN: Karjalainen; Izhor; Karjalan keelin; Izoran keeli 2) Uralic family, Finno-Ugric group, Finnish subgroup, Northern-Baltic subgroup 3) 300 4) None 5) Western zone of the Leningrad region, along the Finland Gulf coast 6) Agraphic language, literature in Russian 7) It is sometimes considered equal to the Finnish language. The Ingrian linguistic group is now undergoing an assimilation process into the Russian language.

INGUSH

1) PrN: Ghalghai 2) Caucasian family, North-central or Vakh group 3) 197,000-230,000; TP: 235.000 4) Ingushetia Republic, 70 percent 5) The whole territory of the Ingushetia Republic and in zones bordering North Osetia 6) Cyrillic

ITEMEN

1) Kamtxadal 2) Chukchee-Kamchadal family, Southern group 3) 100-500; TP: 2,000 4) None 5) Central zones (Kamchatka Oblast) and west (Koryak AO) of the Kamchatka peninsula 6) Agraphic language, literature in Russian 7) The Kamchaladi variant has been included. The Itelm linguistic group is now undergoing an assimilation process into the Russian language.

KABARDIAN

1) PrN: Adigue, Keberdei; Alto Adigue, Kabardino, Beslenei, Alt circasià 2) Caucasian family, Northwestern group, Circassian subgroup 3) 380,000-385,000; TP: 397,000 4) Kabardino-Balkaria Republic, 46 percent 5) Central and eastern zones of the Kabardino-Balkaria Republic 6) Cyrillic 7) Cherkess is often included in it and it is often considered equal to Abazi.

KALMYK-OIRAT

1) PrN: Khalmy; Kalmuk 2) Altaic family, Mongolian group 3) 157,000; TP: 174,000 4) Republic of Kalmykia, 44 percent 5) Vast central and eastern zones of the Republic of Kalmykia 6) Cyrillic

KARACHAY

1) PrN: Qarachaily; Karacaylar 2) Altaic family, Turkish group, western subgroup 3) 150,000-155,000; TP: 162,000 4) Karachay-Cherkess Republic, 30 percent 5) Southern and eastern areas of Karachay-Cherkess Republic 6) Cyrillic

KARAGAS

1) Tofa 2) Altaic family, Turkish group, Northern subgroup 3) 300-600; TP: 700 4) None 5) South eastern tip of Irkutsk region, near the Tyva Republic border 6) Agraphic language, literature in Russian

KARATA

1) PrN: Kirtle; Karata, Qarata, Kirdi 2) Caucasian family, Northeastern group, Dagestani subgroup, Avar-Andi-Dido subgroup, Andi subgroup 3) 5,000-6,000 4) Vid. Avar 5) Mountain areas of west central Dagestan Republic near the Chechen border 6) Agraphic language, literature in Avar 7) It is often referred to as a variant of Avar. The Karata linguistic group is currently undergoing an assimilation process into the Avar language.

KARELIAN

1) Karjala, Korela 2) Uralic family, Finno-Ugric group, Finnish subgroup, Northern Baltic subgroup 3) 60,000-70,000. TP: 125,000 4) Republic of Karelia, 5 percent 5) Wide compact area in the central and northern Republic of Karelia and southern Kola peninsula (Murmansk Oblast); isolated zones in the regions of Leningrad (southeast), Novgorod (south), Vologda (northwest) Tver (south and northeast) 6) Almost agraphic language. Both Latin and Cyrillic scripts have been used 7) The dialectal

variant called Olonets/Aunus/Livvi is often included, though it is sometimes referred to as a differentiated language.

KAZAKH

1) Kazajo 2) Altaic family, Turkish group, Central subgroup 3) TP: 636,000 4) Ext: Republic of Kazakhstan 5) Northern end of Altai Republic, near the Kazakhstan border, China and Mongolia; isolated zones in the south of the Omsk region; isolated zones in southern Chelyabinsk region; isolated zones in the southern and southeastern ends of the Orenburg region; isolated zones near the Kazakhstan border in the Astrakhan, Volgograd and Saratov regions; areas surrounding the Volga delta (Astrakhan Oblast) 6) Cyrillic

KEREK

1) 2) Chukchee-Kamchadal family, Northern group, Koriak-Aliutor subgroup 3) Nearly extinct 4) None 5) Coastal zone of Chukchee AO, in southern Beringovskiy city 6) Agraphic language

KET

1) Imbatski, Ostiac ienisseic 2) Yenisei family 3) 500-900; TP: 1,100-1,200 4) None 5) Scattered zones by the mid-course of Yenisei river (Krasnojarsk Krai) 6) Agraphic language, literature in Russian 7) The Ket linguistic group is currently undergoing an assimilation process into the Russian, Evenki and Khakas languages.

KHAIDAQ

1) PrN: Khaidag, Kaidagan; Kaitag 2) Caucasian family, Northeastern group, Dagestani subgroup, Avar-Andi-Dido subgroup, Lak-Dargwa subgroup 3) 25,000-30,000 4) Vid. Dargwa 5) Central and southern areas of Dagestan Republic 6) Agraphic language, literature in Dargwa. 7) It is often referred to as a variant of Dargwa. The Kaidak linguistic group is currently undergoing an assimilation process into the Dargwa language.

KHAKAS

1) PrN: Kha'as, Minusinsk; tà tar d'Abakan; Kamasio; tà tar ienisseic 2) Altaic family, Turkish group, Northern subgroup 3) 60,000-65,000; TP: 80,000 4) Khakassia Republic, 10 percent 5) Central and southwestern areas of the Khakassia Republic 6) Cyrillic

KHANTY

1) Vogul, Ostyak, Xanty 2) Uralic family, Finno-Ugric group, Ugric subgroup 3) 12,000-14,000; TP: 21,000 4) Khanti-Mansi AO, 1 percent 5) Scattered areas in northern, central and eastern Khanti-Mansi AO and areas in the boundaries of southwestern Yamalo-Nenets AO and northwestern Tomsk region 6) Cyrillic

KHVARSHI

1) PrN: Khvani, Khvarshal; Xvarashi 2) Caucasian family, Northeastern group, Dagestani subgroup, Avar-Andi-Dido subgroup, Dido subgroup 3) 800-1,800 4) Vid. Avar 5) Mountain zones in the west center of the Dagestan Republic close to the Chechen and Georgian borders 6) Agraphic language, literature in Avar 7) It is often included as a variant of Avar. The Kuvarsi linguistic group is currently undergoing an assimilation process into the Avar language.

KOMI-PERMYAK

1) PrN: Komi, Voityr 2) Uralic family, Finno-Ugric group, Finnish subgroup, and Permian subgroup. 3) 105,000-120,000; TP: 150,000. 4) Komi-Permian AO, 48-50 percent. 5) The whole territory of the Komi-Permian AO. 6) Cyrillic. 7) Komi languages are sometimes considered as the same language.

KOMI-ZYRIAN

1) PrN: Komi, Voityr; Ziriè 2) Uralic family, Finno-Ugric group, Finnish subgroup, Permian subgroup 3) 250,000-265,000; TP: 345,000 4) Komi Republic, 18-20 percent. 5) The whole territory of the Republic of Komis; and in zones bordering Yamalo-Nenets and Nenets AOs; eastern zone of the Kola peninsula (Murmansk Oblast) 6) Cyrillic 7) Both Komi languages are sometimes considered the same language.

KOREAN

2) Altaic family, Korean-Japanese group 3) TP: 108,000 4) Ext: North and South Korean Republics 5) Zones in southern Sakhalin Island 6) Chinese-Korean

KORYAK

1) Nymylan 2) Chukchee-Kamchadal family, Northern group, Koryak-Aliutor subgroup 3) 3,500-4,800; TP: 9,000 4) Koryak AO, 12 percent 5) Isolated areas in northeastern Kamchatka Oblast; practically the whole AO Koriak territory 6) Cyrillic

KUBACHI

1) PrN: Urbugh; Qubachi 2) Caucasian family, Northeastern group, Dagestani subgroup, Avar-Andi-Dido subgroup, Lakh-Dargwa subgroup. 3) 3,000. 4) Vid. Dargwa. 5) Upper central zone of Dagestan Republic. 6) Agraphic language, literature in Dargwa. 7) It is often included as a variant of Dargwa. The Kubachi linguistic group is currently undergoing an assimilation process into the Dargwa language.

KUMYK

1) Qumuq, Kumuklar 2) Altaic family, Turkish group, Western subgroup 3) 275,000-280,000 4) Dagestan Republic, 12 percent 5) West central zone of Dagestan near the Caspian Sea coast, around Makhachkala 6) Cyrillic

LAK

1) PrN: Liak, Kazakumuk 2) Caucasian family, Northeastern group, Dagestani subgroup, Lak-Dargwa subgroup 3) 110,000; TP: 118,000 4) Dagestan Republic, 5 percent 5) Isolated zones in inner and coastal Dagestan 6) Cyrillic

LEZGI

1) Lezguian, Kiurinsty 2) Caucasian family, Northeastern group, Dagestani subgroup, Lezgian subgroup 3) 255,000 4) Dagestan Republic, 13 percent 5) Southern Dagestan near the Azerbaijani border 6) Cyrillic

LOW MARI

1) Cheremiso, Bajo Mari; Meadow Mari; Mari de les praderes; Mari oriental 2) Uralic family, Finno-Ugric group, Finnish subgroup, Volga subgroup 3) 500,000-525,000; TP: 670,000 4) Mari Republic, 36 percent 5) Central and eastern Mari Republic and border zones near the Kirov region; isolated areas in northwestern Bashkir Republic; isolated zones in the southeastern end of Sverdlovsk region, very near to the Bashkir Republic and Perm region borders 6) Cyrillic

LUDIAN

1) Lyudikovian, Lyudic 2) Uralic family, Finno-Ugric group, Finnish subgroup, Northern-Baltic subgroup 3) 5,000 4) None 5) Southeastern Karelian Republic, north of Petrozavodsk city 6) Agraphic language, literature in Russian 7) The Ludian language sometimes appears as a variant of Karelian.

MANSI

1) Vogul, Gogulich 2) Uralic family, Finno-Ugric group, Ugric subgroup 3) 3,000; TP: 8,500 4) Khanty-Mansi AO, <1 percent 5) Western area of Khanty-Mansi AO 6) Cyrillic, literature in Russian

MOLDAVIAN

2) Indo-European family, Romance group 3) TP: 172,000 4) Ext: Republic of Moldova 5) Some coastal zones in the Azov Sea region in Krasnodar territory, and near Rostov in the Rostov region 6) Latin 7) Language closely related to Rumanian.

MONGOLIAN

1) Khalka; Halh 2) Altaic family, Mongolian group 3) 1,700-2,600 4) Ext: Republic of Mongolia 5) Zones in Tuva and Buryat Republics and in the Chita region, near the Mongolian border 6) Mongolian 7) The Mongolian linguistic group in Russia has a tendency to assimilate with the Buriat language.

MORDVIN-ERZYA

2) Uralic family, Finno-Ugric group, Finnish subgroup, Volga subgroup 3) 400,000-625,000; TP: 1,200,000 4) Mordovia Republic, 23 percent, together with Moksha 5) Western half of the Mordovia Republic and border areas close to Niznij-Novgorod, Ulyanovsk regions and the Chuvash Republic; isolated areas in southern and western Ulyanovsk region and near the border between this and the Penza region; isolated areas in northwest Orenburg region and near the border between this and the Bashkir and Tartar Republics, as well as the Samara region; one isolated area in the northern end of the border between Samara and Ulyanovsk regions 6) Cyrillic

MORDVIN-MOKSHA

1) Maksha, Mordov 2) Uralic family, Finno-Ugric group, Finnish and Volga subgroup 3) 250,000-425,000; TP: vid. Erzya 4) Mordovia Republic, 23 percent, together with Erzya 5) Western half of the Mordovia Republic and nearby zones bordering with the Niznij-Novgorod, Ryazan, Tambov and Penza regions; isolated area in the Penza region, southeast of the capital; isolated areas in the southwest of the Tartar Republic and near the border between this and the Ulyanovsk region; isolated zones around the city of Samara, in the region under the same name 6) Cyrillic

NANAI

1) Gold, Hezhen, Heche 2) Altaic family, Tungus group, Southern group 3) 5,000-6,000; TP: 12,000 4) None 5) Several isolated zones by the mid-low course of Amur river (Khabarovsk Krai) 6) Cyrillic; practically agraphic language, literature in Russian

NEGIDAL

1) PrN: El'kan Beyenin 2) Altaic family, Tungus group, Northern subgroup 3) 100-170; TP: 500 4) None 5) Isolated zone in the valley of Amguri river (Khabarovsk Krai) 6) Agraphic language, literature in Russian 7) The Negidal linguistic group is sometimes considered as part of Evenki. Assimilation process into Nanai and Russian.

NENETS

1) Nentsy, Yurak 2) Uralic family, Samoyed group, Northern subgroup 3) 27,000; TP: 35,000 4) Nenets AO, 11 percent; Yamalo-Nenets AO, 4 percent; Taymyr AO, 8 percent 5) Vast contiguous zone including the whole Nenets AO territory, central and northern areas of Yamalo-Nenets AO, western area of Taymir AO and north and north eastern areas of Khanty-Mansi AO 6) Cyrillic; practically agraphic language, literature in Russian

NGANASAN

1) PrN: Nya; Tavgi samoied 2) Uralic family, Samoyed group, Northern subgroup 3) 500-1,000; TP: 1,300 4) None 5) Three villages in southern Taymyr peninsula: Ust-Avam, Volochanka and Novaya, as well as scattered throughout the rest of the peninsula (Taymyr AO) 6) Agraphic language, literature in Nenets and Russian

NIVHKI

1) Gilyak 2) Isolated language 3) 400-1,000; TP: 4,700 4) None 5) Isolated zones in northern Sakhalin Island and around the Amur River mouth (Khabarovsk Kray) 6) Cyrillic; almost agraphic language, literature in Russian

NOGAI

1) Noghai, Nogalar 2) Altaic family, Turkish group, Central subgroup 3) 67,000; TP: 75,000 4) Dagestan Republic, 2 percent 5) Zones in northern Dagestan; border areas between the Stavropol territory and Dagestan and the Krasnodar territory; northern Karachay-Cherkess area bordering

with Krasnodar and Stavropol; North eastern Republic of Chechnya bordering with Dagestan 6) Cyrillic

NORWEGIAN

2) Indo-European family, Germanic group, Northern subgroup 3) Very few 4) Ext: Kingdom of Norway 5) Upper Kola Peninsula 6) Latin

OROCH

1) Orochi 2) Altaic family, Tungus group, Southern subgroup 3) 100-200; TP: 1,000-2,000 4) None 5) Two small coastal zones in Khabarovsk Krai, in northern Sovetskaja Gavan city 6) Agraphic language, literature in Russian 7) Eventually assimilated to Nanai.

OROK

1) Ulta 2) Altaic family, Tungus group, Southern subgroup 3) 30-90; TP: 200-300 4) None 5) Small coastal area in northeastern Sakhalin Island 6) Agraphic language, literature in Russian 7) Eventually assimilated to Nanai.

OSSET

1) PrN: Iron, Digor 2) Indo-European family, Iranian group 3) 400,000 4) North Ossetia Republic, 55 percent 5) All central and southern territories of the North Ossetia Republic; isolated area near the north of the Ossetia Republic in the Stavropol territory 6) Cyrillic

RUSSIAN

1) PrN: Russkie 2) Indo-European family, Slavic group, Eastern subgroup 3) 141,000,000 4) Russian Federation, 88 percent 5) The whole territory 6) Cyrillic

RUTUL

1) Mykhanidy, Chal, Mukhad 2) Caucasian family, Northeastern group, Dagestani subgroup, Lezgian subgroup 3) 14,000-20,000 4) Dagestan Republic, 1 percent 5) Mountain areas in southern Dagestan Republic near the Azerbaijan border 6) Agraphic language, literature in Russian, Azerbaijani and Lezgian 7) The Rutul linguistic group is currently undergoing an assimilation process into the Lezgian language.

SAAMI

1) Lapón 2) Uralic family, Finno-Ugric group, Finnish subgroup, Northern-Baltic subgroup 3) 700-1,800 4) None 5) In several zones of the

Kola peninsula (Murmansk Oblast) 6) Practically agraphical in Russia, though some variants have made use of both Latin and Cyrillic scripts; literature in Russian 7) Kildin, Skolt, Ter and Akkala dialects, which are sometimes considered as different languages, are included.

SELKUP

1) Ostiac samoyed 2) Uralic family, Samoyed group, Northern subgroup 3) 1,500-1,700; TP: 3,000-3,500 4) None 5) Areas in northern Tomsk region; southeastern zone of Yamalo-Nenets AO and northern border zones by the north easternmost tip of Khanti-Mansi AO and the northwestern fringe of Krasnoyarsk Kray 6) Agraphical language, literature in Russian

SHOR

1) PrN: Shor-kizhi, Abat-kizhi; Aba, Tà tar kondoma 2) Altaic family, Turkish group, northern subgroup 3) 9,600; TP: 16,000 4) None 5) Southern tip of Kemerovo regions, bordering the Khakassia and Altai Republics 6) Cyrillic

TABASSARAN

1) Tabasarano, Ghumghum 2) Caucasian family, northeastern group, Dagestanic subgroup, Lezgian subgroup 3) 80,000-95,000 4) Dagestan Republic, 4 percent 5) North-central zone in inner Dagestan 6) Cyrillic

TATAR

2) Altaic family, Turkish group, Western subgroup 3) 4,550,000-4,580,000; TP: 5,500,000 4) Tatarstan Republic, 45 percent 5) The largest contiguous area comprises the whole territory of the Tatarstan Republic, plus central and western Bashkir Republic; several isolated areas around this nucleus in eastern Nizhny Novgorod region, the east of the Mari Republic, southern Kirov region, and southern Udmurtia Republic, center and southern Perm region, central and western Mordovia Republic, central and eastern Penza region, central and northern Ulyanovsk region, northern Samara region, the whole territory of Orenburg region, western and northern Chelyabinsk region, south western Kurgan region and south western Sverdlovsk region; isolated areas in Volga's delta, in southern Astrakhan region; isolated zone in eastern Volgograd city; isolated zones near the Kazakhstan border in eastern Saratov region; isolated zones in the coastal region of the Krasnodar territory; northeastern area in Stavropol territory; isolated zones in northern Kemerovo region; isolated zone in eastern Tomsk city; isolated zones in central Krasnoyarsk territory; the area corresponding to Siberian Tartar is placed in the mid-course of Irtysh river and its

confluence with Tobol including central and northern Tyumen region and northern Omsk region; there are isolated zones in southern Tomsk region, northwestern Kemerovo region and west central Novosibirsk region 6) Latin and Cyrillic 7) It includes different Tatar variants such as Siberian Tatar or Crimean Tatar.

TAT

1) Hebrew tat, Dzhuhuriz, Chufut, Juwri, Juhuri, Bik 2) Indo-European family, Iranian group 3) 7,000-15,000 4) None 5) Scattered villages in Dagestan and Kabardino-Balkaria mountains 6) Agraphic language, literature in Azerbaijani and Russian

TINDI

1) Tindal 2) Caucasian family, Northeastern group, Dagestanic subgroup, Avar-Andi-Dido subgroup, Andi subgroup 3) 5,000 4) Vid. Avar 5) Mountain areas in west central Dagestan Republic near the Chechen and Georgian Republics 6) Agraphic language, literature in Avar 7) It is often included as a variant of Avar. The Kuvarsi linguistic group is currently undergoing an assimilation process into the Avar language.

TSAKHUR

1) PrN: Yikhi; Tsakhur, Caxur 2) Caucasian family, Northeastern group, Dagestanic subgroup, Lezgian subgroup 3) 6,000-7,000 4) Dagestan Republic, <1 percent 5) Mountain area in southwestern Dagestan republic near the Azerbaijani border 6) Agraphic language, literature in Russian, Azerbaijani and Lezgian 7) The Tsakhur linguistic group is currently undergoing an assimilation process into the Lezgian language.

TURKMEN

1) Turkmeno 2) Altaic family, Turkish group, Northern subgroup 3) TP: 38,000 4) Ext: Republic of Turkmenistan 5) Northeastern zone of Stavropol territory 6) Cyrillic

TUVIN

1) PrN: Tuva; Tuvano, Soyot, Uriankhai, Diba 2) Altaic family, Turkish group, Northern subgroup 3) 205,000 4) Tuva Republic, 63 percent 5) The whole Tuva republic territory; Tuvalar variants are spoken in the northeastern tip of the Altai Republic, near the Kemerovo region and the Khakassia Republic 6) Cyrillic 7) It includes the Tuvalar language and other variants of northern Turkish, spoken in the northeastern tip of the Altai Republic, near the Kemerovo region and the Khakassia Republic.

UDIHE

1) PrN: Udes, Udegeitzis; Udege 2) Altaic family, Tungus group, Northern subgroup 3) 100-500; TP: 2,000 4) None 5) Isolated inner zones near the boundaries between Khabarovsk Kray and Primorye Kray 6) Agraphic language, literature in Russian 7) Very often assimilated to Nanai

UDMURT

1) Votyak 2) Uralic family, Finno-Ugric group, Finnish subgroup, Permian subgroup 3) 500,000-550,000; TP: 750,000 4) Udmurtia Republic, 23 percent 5) The whole territory of the Udmurtia Republic, except for the southeastern tip and some adjacent zones near the Tartar border; isolated zones in northeastern Bashkir Republic; isolated zones in eastern Kirov region; isolated zone in northeastern Krasnojarsk 6) Cyrillic

UKRAINIAN

1) PrN: Ukraintsy 2) Indo-European family, Slavic group, Eastern subgroup 3) TP: 4,363,000 4) Ext: Republic of Ukraine 5) Coastal zones of Krasnodar territory; border zones near Ukraine, by the Don river (Belgorod and Voronezh regions); isolated zones aillades in western Saratov, by the Medveditsa river (Saratov and Volgograd regions); isolated zones near the Kazakhstan border in Samara, Orenburg, Chelyabinsk, Novosibirsk and Altai Kray regions; isolated zones in eastern Abakan, in southern Krasnoyarsk territory 6) Cyrillic

ULCH

1) Ulchi, Olch, Hoche 2) Altaic family, Tungus group, Northern subgroup 3) 500-1,000; TP: 3,200 4) None 5) Six small areas in the lower course of Amur River, near Bogorodsk (Khabarovsk Kray) 6) Agraphic language, literature in Russian 7) It is sometimes considered as part of Nanai.

VEPSIAN

1) PrN: Lyudinikad; Chuhari; Veps 2) Uralic family, Finno-Ugric group, Finnish subgroup, Northern-Baltic subgroup 3) 6,000-7,000; TP: 12,000 4) None 5) Zones surrounding the Onega lake in Vologda (northwestern zone), Leningrad (north eastern zone) and Karelian Republic (south eastern tip) regions 6) Practically agraphic language; Latin and Cyrillic scripts have been used; literature in Russian

VOTIAN

1) PrN: Vodes, Vod'd'alaiset; Vod, Votic 2) Uralic family, Finno-Ugric group, Finnish subgroup, Northern-Baltic subgroup 3) 20-30; Nearly extinct 4) None 5) Western tip of the Leningrad region, near the Estonian border 6) Agraphic language, literature in Russian 7) The Votian group is currently undergoing an assimilation process into the Russian language.

YAKUT

1) PrN: Saha 2) Altaic family, Turkish group, Northern subgroup 3) 358,000-363,000; TP: 382,000 4) Yakutia Republic, 30 percent 5) Isolated zone in the upper course of Kolima river (Magadan Oblast); nearly all the territory of the Yakutia Republic; zones of Taymyr AO and Evenki AO bordering with Yakutia; North eastern zone of Irkutsk Oblast bordering with Yakutia; East central zone of Khabarovsk Kray 6) Cyrillic

YIDDISH

1) Hebreu Askenazí, Judeo-alemany 2) Indo-European family, Germanic group, Western subgroup 3) TP: 537,000 4) Birobidzan AO, <2 percent 5) Birobidzan city surrounding areas 6) Latin

YUGH

2) Yenisei family 3) Nearly extinct 4) None 5) Left hand bank of Yenissei river, in its mid-basin between Yeloguy and Sym rivers (Krasnoyarsk Kray) 6) Agraphic language

YUKAGHIR

1) Odul, Kolyma Tundra 2) Uralic-Yukaghir family, Yukaghir group 3) 350-400; TP: 1,100 4) None 5) North eastern tip of the Yakutia Republic 6) Agraphic language, literature in Russian and Yakut

YUPIK

1) PrN: Inuit; Yoit, Yuk, Esquimal asià tic 2) Eskimo-Aleut family, Eskimo group 3) 350-400; TP: 1,500-1,900 4) None 5) Two isolated zones in the northeastern coast of Chukchee AO 6) Agraphic language, literature in Russian and Chukchee 7) It includes Central Siberian and Naukan dialects.

Source: Minority Languages of the Russian Federation, Perspectives for a ratification of the European Charter of Regional and Minority Languages, by Eduardo J. Ruiz Vieytez, Universidad de Deusto, Mercator web page

<http://www.troc.es/ciemen/mercator/index-gb.htm>, Working Papers,
Minority Languages of the Russian Federation.

APPENDIX D

Updated (September 2002)

STATE LANGUAGES OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION (RF)

Language	Where in the RF a language has the official status	Legislation guaranteeing the official status of the language (the year of adoption)		The total number of the state languages
		Constitution	Language Act	
Abaza	Karachayevo-Circassia	1996	1996	5
Avar	Daghestan	1994	*	*14
Adyghian	Adyghe	1994	1995	2
Altaic	Altai	" - "	1993	2
Bashkirian	Bashkortostan	" - "	1999	2
Buryatian	Buryatia	1994	" - "	2
Chechen	Chechnya Daghestan	1997	*	2
		1994		*14
Chuvash	Chuvashia	" - "	1990	2
Dargwa	Daghestan	1994	*	*14
Ingush	Ingushetia	1994	" - "	2
Kalmyk	Kalmykia	1994	1991	2
Kabarda- Circassian	Kabardino-Balkaria Karachayevo-Circassia	1995	1995	3
		1996	1996	5
Karachay- Balkar	Karachayevo-Circassia Kabardino-Balkaria	1996	1996	5
		1995	1995	3
Khakassian	Khakassia	" - "	1992	2
Komi-Zyryan	Komi	1994	1992	2
Komi-Permyak	Komi-Permyatski AR	1994		1
Kumyk	Daghestan	1994	*	*14
Lak	Daghestan	1994	*	*14
Lezgin	Daghestan	1994	*	*14
Mari Gorny	Mari El	1993	1995	3
Mari Lugovoy	Mari El	1993	1995	3
Mordvinian- Moksha	Mordvinian Republic	1995	" - "	3
Mordvinian-				

Erzya			
Nogay	Karachayevo-Circassia	1996	1996
	Daghestan	1994	1994
Ossetian	North Ossetia	1994	" - "
Russian	Russian Federation	1991	1992
Tabassaran	Daghestan	1994	*
Tatar	Tatarstan	" - "	1992
Tat	Daghestan	1994	*
Tuvin	Touva	1993	1990
Udmurtian	Udmurtia	1994	" - "
Yakut	Sakha-Yakutia	1992	1992

A key to the table:

“*” - Means that in this republic the Language Law has not been adopted yet, but it exists as a draft

“*14” - Means that in the draft of the republican law fourteen languages are represented. In the Constitution of the Republic of Daghestan all languages are proclaimed to be state languages.

“AR” – Means Autonomous Region

Russian has an official status on the whole territory of the RF.

LANGUAGES IN THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

	State Languages	The percentage of speakers
Adyghe	1. Russian 2. Adyghian	68.0 22.1
Altai	1. Russian 2. Altaic	60.4 31.0
Bashkortostan	1. Russian 2. Bashkirian	39.3 21.9
Buryatia	1. Russian 2. Buryatian	70.0 24.0
Chuvashia	1. Chuvash 2. Russian	67.8 26.7
Daghestan	1. Avar 2. Dargwa 3. Kumyk 4. Lezgin 5. Russian 6. Lak 7. Tabassaran 8. Azerbaijan 9. Chechen 10. Nogay 11. Agul 12. Rutul 13. Tat 14. Tsakhurian	27.5 15.6 12.9 11.3 9.2 5.1 4.3 4.2 3.2 1.6 0.8 0.8 0.7 0.3
Kabardino-Balkaria	1. Kabardian-Chercass. 2. Russian 3. Karachay-Balkar	48.2 32.0 9.4
Kalmykia	1. Kalmyk 2. Russian	45.4 37.7
Karachayevo-Circassia	1. Russian 2. Karachay-Balkar 3. Kabardian-Chercass. 4. Abaza 5. Nogay	42.4 31.2 9.7 6.6 3.2
Khakassia	1. Russian 2. Khakassia	79.2 11.1
Komi	1. Russian 2. Komi-Zyryn	57.7 23.3

Komi-Permyatski AR	1. Komi-Permyak 2. Russian	60.2 36.1
Mari El	1. Russian 2. Mari Lugovoy 3. Mari Gorny	47.5 43.3
Mordvinian Republic	1. Russian 2. Mordvin Moksha 3. Mordvin Erzya	60.8 32.5
Sakha-Yakutia	1. Russian 2. Yakut	50.3 33.4
North Ossetia	1. Ossetian 2. Russian	53.0 29.9
Tatarstan	1. Tatar 2. Russian	48.5 43.3
Touva	1. Tuv 2. Russian	64.3 36.2
Udmurtia	1. Russian 2. Udmurt	58.9 30.9
The RF (whole territory)	1. Russian	81.5

A key to the table:

Statistical data on the Chechen and Ingush languages are not presented, because previously both languages functioned on the territory of the Republic of Chechno-Ingushetia. Nowadays these languages are used in two different republics (the Chechen language in Chechnya, the Ingush language in Ingushetia). Before the collapse of the USSR 57.8 percent of Chechnyans, 23.1 percent of Russians, and 12.9 percent of Ingushians lived in Chechno-Ingushetian Autonomous Republic.

Source: World Congress on Language Policies, Barcelona, April 16-20, 2002, "Language Policy in the Russian Federation," by V. Mikhilchenko, <http://www.linguapax.org/congres/taller/taller3/Mikhilchenko.html>

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