

WORKING GROUP No.3: Linguistic Rights in the Educational System**CHAIRMAN: José Luis Alvarez Enparantza**

Chairman: I have fourteen names here. No, we are more than fourteen. Sixteen or eighteen--something like that. And most of you prefer to speak English? So it is decided. The majority always decides. The minorities, I know... (Laughter) Let us start in English.

First Interpreter: Well in that case, I do not know why I am here. I should be in another group.

Tove Skutnabb-Kangas: Yes, but if there is somebody who does not understand English, there should be a French translation.

Second Interpreter: I am here, from....

First Interpreter: The other interpreter is interpreting towards French. I am supposed to interpret towards English. But if the whole discussion is going to be in English, then I am superfluous. I could be in another group.

Second Interpreter: Let's decide that you do as you feel, that if you try English and then you change into French...

Chairman: I prefer to speak French, but I think it is impossible, so I am obliged to...

First Interpreter: Vous pouvez parler français ce matin. Si ça ne va pas en anglais, je reviendrai cet après-midi. Mais si ça va bien...

Chairman: Pas très bien, mais peut-être... Je veux bien parler anglais, mais je préfère de parler français.

First Interpreter: C'est comme vous voulez. Je suis là pour traduire.

Chairman: So, I must start in English. What is the best way to organize the discussion, the first point? I have been designated as the chairman of this meeting. But it is not for me to give lessons to you about your own problems. I think it would be better for me to explain something about the Basque Country, and get some conclusions from everybody. But it is useless, in my opinion, for me to give my advice about the Sámi problem, for example. I think it would be better, perhaps, to explain some particular problems, and then afterwards go towards a conclusion.

Someone: I agree with you.

Chairman: It is up to you. Perhaps it would be possible to go around the table, and everybody could say something. It is up to you. I can speak about the Basque Country, too. The photocopies have just come. So it is possible to start with the Basque Country.

Tore Modéen: It is much better if all of us have the chance to talk about our own problems. (Murmurs of agreement) So your suggestion is a very good one.

Chairman: I can begin, then. I am going to give a very short résumé of the situation in the Basque Country. It is not possible to cover all of it, so I will try to explain something very superficially. I have some photocopies here about the situation in the Basque Country, and I will give them to you, because perhaps that is the best way to start. There are some figures, some maps of the Basque Country. (Distribution of papers) If you see the figures and the maps, it will be easier for you to follow my presentation. You see, the Basques are something like the Sámi in Finland: very isolated, very far away from people. Not so much, though. I think the Lapps, the Sámi, are really very far from Helsinki or from Stockholm. The Basques are not so far away. Have you ever been in the Basque Country? (Skutnabb-Kangas: "Yes.") The Basque Country is not at all like Lapland. It is a very industrialized region. We have a demographic problem, in terms of the nation. (Pause while papers are distributed)

I think it is possible to start. In the Basque Country, we have roughly 3 million people. We are a very small people; I mean, from the point

of view of the size of the population, we are a small people. There are some figures on this sheet, in Spanish: the evolution of the proportion of Basque-speaking people, based on censuses from 1981 and 1986.

Number and proportion of Basque speakers/1986

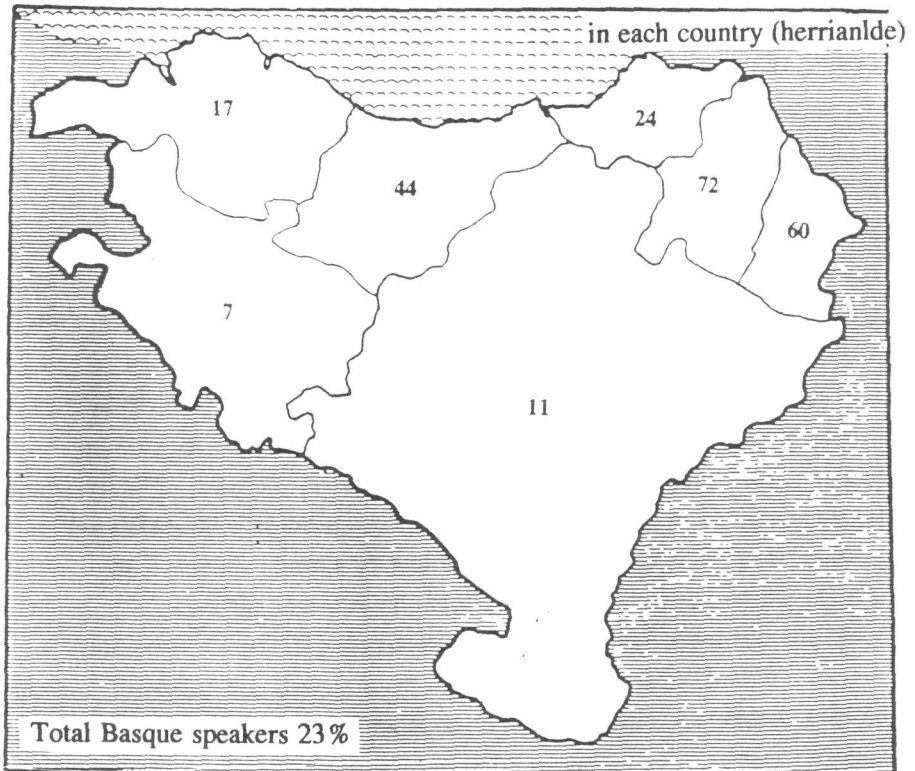
Census year	County (Herrialde)	Inhabitants	Basque speakers	Basque speakers % of inhabitants
1986	Araba	262.407	17.424	7
1986	Bizkaia	1.153.844	201.709	17
1986	Gipuzkoa	675.654	294.691	44
1970	Lapurdi	166.870	39.530	24
1970	Nafarroa	464.867	51.143	11
1975	Nafarroa Beherea	31.459	20.880	72
1970	Zuberoa	18.819	11.302	60
	Total	2.773.920	636.679	23

There are four lines. The first one is the number of people in the "Basque-speaking population." The second is those who do not speak Basque at all, and then we have the total figure. So, you see, we are two million in the Vascongadas, which is the western part of the Basque Country. The Basque Country is divided administratively into two parts. One is the so-called official "Basque Country": three provinces in the south Basque Country, in Spain. And the fourth one is Nafarroa, which is in the east. You can see, on the map on the second sheet, the three provinces in the western part of the Country: Gipuzkoa (Guipúzcoa)--I myself am from Gipuzkoa (Guipúzcoa)), Bizkaia (Vizcaya), with Bilbao, and Araba (Alava), with Vitoria. And on the right side, you have Nafarroa (Navarra). Here is the border between France and Spain. And you have three small provinces on the French side of the Basque Country. So the situation, in this sense, is very difficult for the Basque language. Only 23% of the population of the Basque Country can speak Basque today. It depends on the region, but if you take the entire Basque Country, the figure is only 23%. 77% of the population do not speak the Basque language. So the situation is really very bad. It is something like the situation in Wales. Only one quarter of the

population speak the national language. If you look at the figures on the sheet, you can see that the most important Basque-speaking region is Gipuzkoa, my own province with San Sebastián, which is in the middle of the Basque Country. It is not a matter of patriotism, not because we are stronger, but because we are in the middle of the Country, that we have conserved the language better than the other regions. It is because of the geographical position of the Country. I have some figures here about the proportion and the professions of people speaking Basque. Until recently, most of the Basque-speaking population normally were farmers and fishermen. But this is not true today. Today, more and more of the Basque-speaking population lives in the towns, especially in San Sebastián and Bilbao. In San Sebastián, my hometown, about half of the population can speak Basque. They do not usually speak it, but they can.

That was a sort of introduction. Here, on the second sheet, you have the figures for the inhabitants and the Basque-speaking population.

Proportion of Basque speakers/1986 (in % of the total amount of inhabitants

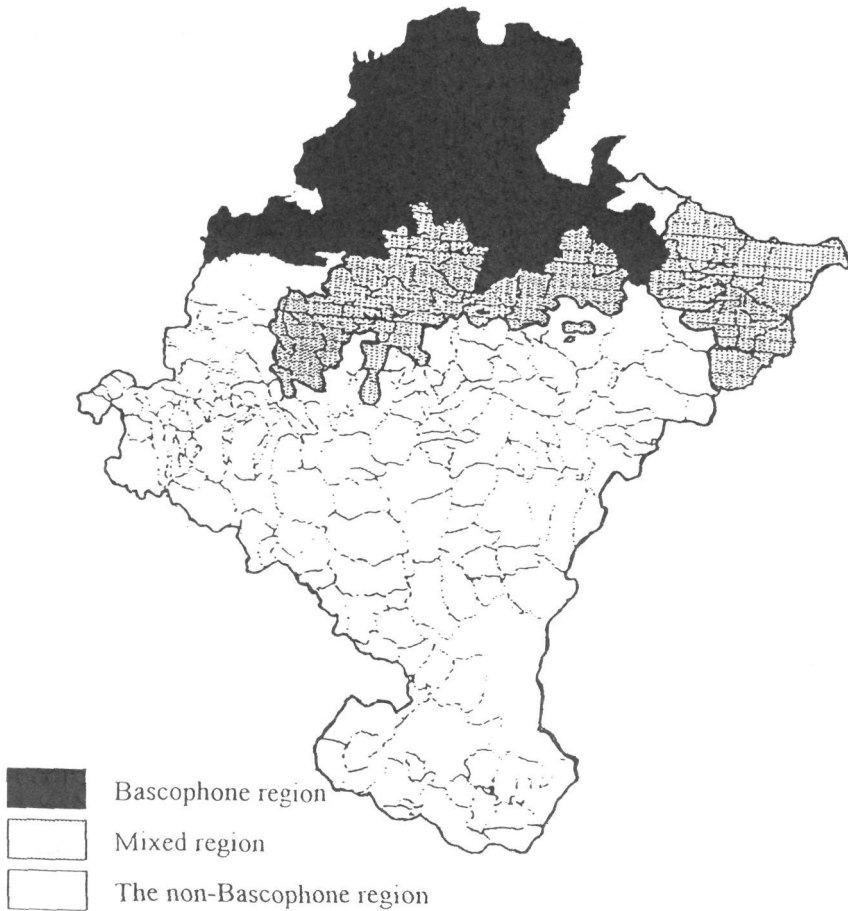


As you can see, the percentage is 7% in Araba, in the southern Country; 17% in Bizkaia, because Bilbao is lost for the language; it is like Cardiff for the Welsh language. In Gipuzkoa it is 44%; this is my own province, the most important Basque-speaking province. Lapurdi, the coast area along France, with Bayonne, has 20%. Then we have Nafarroa Beherea (Béarn) and Zuberoa, the two provinces on the right side of the map. And there, 72% and 60% of the population are Basque-speaking. You might believe that this is a good situation, but it is not so, primarily because they are small provinces with very small populations: 31,000 and 18,000 people. They are very small provinces, agrarian provinces, without any important sociological weight. They are not very important.

That is the general situation. If we go now into the legal situation, the Basque Country is divided into three parts. First is the northern part of the Country--I mean, the part which is in France, which is not even a province; it is part of the Department of the Basques Pyrénées, Pyrénées Atlantiques. It is not recognized that the people of this zone speak Basque in France. The Basque area covers only one-third of the Department of the Pyrénées Atlantiques. And there is no legal situation for the Basque language. It is a tolerated language. It is permitted to speak Basque, but there are no rights; I mean, no written rights for the protection of the Basques are given in France. In the southern part--I mean, the part which is in Spain--we have two governments, two autonomous governments. One is in Vitoria, which is the official Basque Country; this is the western part. And the second Basque Government is in Nafarroa, in Pamplona. The official Basque Government, with the capital in Vitoria, is in the south of the Country. The other one, in Nafarroa, has another status, another legal situation. And, of course, there is the Basque region in France, which, in practice, does not mean anything. It is permitted to speak Basque, but that is all. In the southern part of the Country, there are two legal situations, one for the western part and another for the Nafarroa part. I have here the figures from the last official censuses of Nafarroa and of the official Basque Country. There are eight figures altogether: one for the total population, three for the Basque-speaking population, three others for the so-called "some Basque-speaking" population, and the last one for people who do not speak Basque at all. So, from a legal point of view, we have two different

laws. Here you have the law for the western part--I mean, the official Basque Country. It is, of course, written in Spanish and in Basque; I can give you a copy so you can see the real legal situation in the Basque Country. And in Nafarroa, there is another legal text--this one for language matters. These two texts are different. In the official Basque Country, the entire region is one, from the linguistic point of view. So there is no difference between Bilbao, San Sebastián and the villages on the border; all of them have the same law. In Nafarroa, there are three zones, as you can see on the map.

The Three regions of Nafarroa according to the Act on the Basque Language



The first region, the black one, is exactly the same as the western part of the Country. The second one is mixed, a so-called "mixed region" with some rights for the Basque language. And in the white one, the largest one, there are, in fact, no linguistic rights. So there are three regions, and depending on which part of Nafarroa you are in, you have to larger or lesser extent linguistic rights. The situation is not the same everywhere. In our Basque region--I mean, in the official Basque Country--everybody has the same linguistic rights everywhere. So in this part of Nafarroa, you have the same rights as in the western part of the Country, in this part fifty-fifty, and in the white part nothing. I have these texts and I can give them to you, if you want copies; they are written in Basque and in Spanish, so some of you can probably read them in Spanish.

Let's go on now to the teaching of the language, the educational situation. It depends, of course, on which zone you are in. In the northern part of the Country--the French part of the Country--there are no written rights, as far as education is concerned. In fact, there are some schools teaching in the Basque language, but they are not official schools; they are merely tolerated. Today, there are 1,000 people learning in the Basque language in the French part of the Basque Country--Bayonne, Biarritz, Mauléon: 1,000--a very small figure, if you compare it with others. And there are 27 schools: 27 schools with a total of 1,000 pupils. They are primary schools, but secondary-level schools have been started as well. But most of them are at the primary level. In the Vascongadas, the official Basque Country, there are two groups of schools. One is the so-called "ikastola" group. "Ikastola" means "school" in Basque. This group of schools was established during the Franco period, before the present democracy; it is a group of schools which was founded in clandestinity, you could say, and which have been financed by popular means. And in these ikastolas, of course, the Basque language is the only medium of instruction. You have some figures on this map.

Participation of the ikastola in each province(provincia)/term 87-88

Students on primary and undergraduate level in thousands)						
	Araba	Gipuzkoa	Bizkaia	Vascongadas	Nafarroa	Euskadi Sur
Maternity	9,6	23,3	35,8	68,7	11,8	80,5
Public	5,8	7,9	18,9	32,6	6,5	39,1
Private	2,6	6,2	10,5	19,3	4,3	23,6
Ikastola	1,2	9,2	6,4	16,8	1	17,8
E.G.B.	37,6	90,5	153,7	281,8	64,9	346,7
Public	20,5	30,1	78,5	129,1	36,4	165,5
Private	14,3	31,3	59,9	105,5	24,8	130,3
Ikastola	2,8	29,1	15,3	47,2	3,7	50,9
B.U.P. and C.O.U.	9,2	26,3	47	82,5	18,1	100,6
Public	6	15,7	31,2	52,8	11	63,8
Private	2,9	7,5	14,4	24,8	6,9	31,7
Ikastola	0,3	3,1	1,4	4,9	0,2	5,1
F.B.	7,2	16,9	27,6	51,7	12,1	63,8
Public	2	7,5	12,4	21,9	8	30
Private	5,2	9,3	15,2	29,7	4	33,7
Ikastola		0,03	0,04	0,1		0,1
R.E.M.	3,1	6,2	5,3	14,6		14,6
Public	0,3	2,6	3	5,9		5,9
Privat	2,8	2,2	1,8	6,9		6,9
Ikastola		1,4	0,4	1,8		1,8

As you see, there are five kinds of ikastola: there is the "Preescolar," which is before primary school; "EGB" is the primary school; "BUP" and "COU" are the pre-university-level schools; "FP" is the vocational school; and the last one, "REM," is the secondary-level schools. This is the first group of schools. And you have the percentages on the map here. If you take into account the total number of schools, in Gipuzkoa 32% of the pupils receive instruction in the

Basque language, in Bizkaia 10%, and so on. Again the strongest zone is Gipuzkoa, of course. On the other sheet, you can see the figures for the number of pupils.

Term	Number of pupils		ikastolas of total
	Total of ikastolas	Total of schools	
1977-78	22.792	422.544	5.4 %
1978-79	27.992	426.722	6.6 %
1979-80	32.487	425.470	7.6 %
1980-81	36.305	422.731	8.6 %
1981-82	41.016	385.933	10.6 %
1982-83	42.809	386.555	11.1 %
1983-84	46.060	385.099	12.0 %
1984-85	49.075	385.504	12.7 %
1985-86	48.897	376.854	13.0 %
1986-87	50.109	364.390	13.8 %
1987-88	50.915	347.171	14.7 %
1988-89	51.154	335.195	15.3 %

Source: "Economia Vasca", annual information of Caja Laboral Popular

The left-hand column shows the number of pupils in the ikastolas: there are roughly 50,000 to 60,000 pupils, out of a total of 335,000. This means that 15% of the population is receiving instruction in the Basque language within the ikastola network. But this is a sort of private group of schools, established during the Franco period; it is only part of the total. As you can see, roughly 50,000 out of 335,000: there are many pupils who do not go through the ikastola system.

The second group of schools are the official schools, which were established after the death of Franco. And this group of schools is divided into three sub-groups. You can see some figures on this sheet: the evolution of the linguistic models of the schools.

The Evolution of the linguistic models at the EGB schools

Term	Model				Total	Total number of pupils in Vascongadas
	X	A	B	D		
1982-83	16,9	64,2	5,4	13,5	100	315.970
1983-84	12,1	65,7	7,4	14,8	100	312.159
1984-85	6,8	68,5	8,9	15,8	100	314.269
1985-86	2,9	69,6	10,4	17,1	100	307.294
1986-87	0,8	69	12	18,2	100	296.745
1987-88	0,7	65,5	14,2	19,6	100	281.793

Source: "Economía Vasca", annual information of Caja Laboral Popular

There are, in fact, four models. The X-model--the model without Basque--is almost terminated; it is suppressed. So nowadays in the official Basque Country, everybody receives some instruction in the Basque language. Then we have the A-model. Today, about 65% of the pupils who go through the official schools have some Basque instruction. In this model, the A-model, Basque is taught as a subject, but is not a medium of instruction. In other words, it is taught as if it were a foreign language: the pupils are given lessons about the language, but the language itself is not used as a medium of instruction. You see two-thirds of the pupils who are going to the official schools receive some Basque language instruction, but as a subject, not as a medium of instruction. And then we have the B- and D-models. The D-model is the same as the ikastola; these are schools where the instruction is in Basque. And as the sheet shows, about 20% of the official group of schools are a sort of ikastola school. We have 15% of the pupils in the ikastolas, the old ikastolas, and another 20% in the official ikastolas, the so-called D-model. Altogether 35% of the population are receiving instruction in the Basque language. And there are 14% in the B-model, which is a bilingual model: some subjects are taught in Basque and others in Spanish. So finally, roughly 35% of the population of the schools are receiving instruction, on the primary and secondary levels, in Basque: one-

third of the total population. As for the other two-thirds, some of them--20%-- receive some instruction in Basque, in a sort of bilingual model. And the rest receive some Basque as a subject. But this does not work very well. The A-model is in a state of crisis; it does not work. If you want to know something about the situation in the universities, you have, on another sheet, some figures about people attending the universities.

University students in Euskadi Sur/term 86-87

University	Students
1. Universidad del País Vasco	45.951
2. Universidad de Deusto	12.150
3. Universidad de Navarra	13.666
4. Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia (UNED). Centros de Irunea y Bergara	3.218
Total	74.985

We have a total of 72,000 people attending university. The universities, of course, are normally in Spanish. In the schools, about one-third of the pupils are taught in Basque, but normally, in the universities, the teaching is only in Spanish. I myself am a teacher at the university, and I give my lessons in Basque, but we are in the minority: roughly 10% of the total. So 10% of university subjects are taught in Basque. And we have problems with bibliography, because, of course, it is in English--for us, too--but it is also possible to get some books in Spanish. It is not so easy to get books in Basque, since they are just now beginning to be published. So, finally, the university situation is not very good.

There are roughly 72,000 people in the universities in the Basque Country. Only 10% of them study university subjects in Basque, so that means 90% do not. There are some figures here: the University of the Basque Country, 46,000 people; the University of Deusto--a Jesuit university--12,000 students; the University of Nafarroa Opus Dei--a church university--13,000; and the UNED, a university which teaches by correspondence, has 3,000 students, so it is not

very large. This is the situation at the universities. If you want more information, I can give it to you.

Univesity students in Euskadi Sur/term 86-87

Education	Students
1. Technical and Administrative	25.674
- architecture	1.355
- engineering	9.493
- economiy	12.084
- informatics	2.746
2. Social Sciences	13.776
- law	8.850
- politics and sociology	426
- media	4.500
3. Natural Sciences	5.057
4. Health Care	7.153
- medicine	4.634
- pharmacy	934
- nursing	1.985
5. Humanistic Studies	19.839
- fine arts	1.247
- philosophy and pedagogy	5.711
- philology, geography and history	6.722
- teachers training	5.663
- theology	496
6. Others	982
- social work	376
- E.S. commercial fleet	606
Total	72.885

And then there are some interesting points about the teaching of Basque to adults. We have two groups of schools. The first is the AEK, a popular group of schools for adults which was established during the Franco regime. Currently, there are some 30,000 people who go after work every day, or two or three times a week, to learn the Basque language. It is a very important group of schools, popular schools, and they are spread all over the country. Even in the French regions, in the northern part of the Basque Country, we have many AEK schools in which the Basque language is taught. You have some figures and pictures in these two brochures, so you can have a look at them later. The second group is the official group of schools, the so-called HABE. This group is financed by the Basque Government, so they have a lot of money, and the other people don't have. (Laughter) And the first group is larger--40,000 or perhaps 35,000 people--and the second group numbers perhaps 3,000. But they are official, so they get most of the aid, instead of the other group. To me, it is a sort of scandal, but this is the reality. The first group was established when Franco was in power; it was very important for the Basque Country to have this group of schools for adults during the Franco period. The second group was established after Franco. You see, even the propaganda is better; they are better off economically. (Laughter) You can have a look at these brochures after the meeting if you like. So, altogether there are roughly 40,000 adults trying to learn Basque.

From the point of view of law, in theory, the Basque Government--and Nafarroa, the northern part of Nafarroa--has something like a personal model--I mean, the same model as in Helsinki: a bilingual situation. In Helsinki, all the officers are obliged to answer in Swedish or Finnish, depending on the person who comes into the office. It is the same in Brussels: it is bilingual, Flemish and French. In theory, in the Basque Country, it is the same way. There is no territorial model, but a personal model. And practice shows that this personal model does not work; it provides no solution. I mean, for example, in Belgium, in Brussels, the situation is not changing, because of the personal status of the languages. French is still the strongest one. And in Helsinki--I do not need to tell you--you know that Finnish is the more important of the two languages. These bilingual situations are never very well balanced.

Finally, I have brought some copies of our newspaper, the "Egunkaria," which has been published since the 8th of March or so: 40,000

copies a day. It is published totally in Basque. It is a curiosity. You probably cannot read it, but it will give you an idea what the Basque language is like. It is a Caucasian language; like Finnish, it is not related to the Indo-European languages. Most languages in Europe are not Finno-Ugric languages.

I also have some articles with me. If you are interested, I can give them to you. This one is "The Present and Future of the Basque Language." I gave it at a conference in Prades, in Catalunya on the French side. There is also another paper, with some figures, on the situation of the Basque language at the universities, from a conference I gave in Valencia some years ago; I think it could be useful to you. Both of these papers are written in Spanish. And there is another one written in French about Basque normalization. It was written by a professor--a woman--at the University of Vitoria, and I think it is a good introduction to the subject. It is written in French, which is why I brought it with me. I can give you these three papers to make copies if you are interested.

That is all I wanted to say. I am ready to answer your questions. You can see that, for me, to speak English is a sort of punishment (Laughter), but I can do it if necessary. To finish my introduction, I would say that--even though it is not possible to explain everything--as far as knowledge of the language is concerned, the figures are going up. This is true. They had been going down until recently, but now they are going up--as far as knowledge of the language is concerned. But as far as usage of the language is concerned, the situation is very bad. This is a matter of statistics, not a matter of will. I have written a book about this. If you are interested, I have some resumés in French, one of them published in French at the CIRB of Quebec, the Université de Laval. If you are interested in this subject, I can send it to you. It is an article, a résumé of my book, about the usage, the knowledge of the language.

Well, I think it is possible to stop here. And I am ready afterwards to... Ah yes, I intended to say that even in the schools in the Basque Country, Basque is unfortunately becoming something like Gaelic in Ireland; that is, a sort of school language. I mean, when pupils leave the school, they switch totally to Spanish. So they can speak Basque--in fact, they speak Basque in school--but as soon as they leave school, they often switch automatically to the Spanish language. This is the same phenomenon as in Ireland. A lot of people are able, in theory, to speak Gaelic--or Irish--but in fact they do not speak it. Perhaps they speak Irish at school, but as soon as they leave school, it is

finished. It is a sort of language of the school and for the school. And in the Basque Country, unfortunately, we are seeing something like that happening in our culture as well. Basque, even in the school, is becoming a sort of special language for the school, like Latin: you have to pass the examination, and afterwards you drop it, it is finished.

I will stop now. Each of you can give some impressions. We can go around the table, starting over on this side. Could you give your name at the beginning, please?

Skutnabb-Kangas: I am Tove Skutnabb-Kangas. I come from Finland, but I live in Denmark now. I have one procedural question and then some questions about content. My procedural question is, what kind of outcome are we supposed to have at the end of our six hours in this working group? I think it might be a good idea for us to hear from you (to the Chairman) if you have some sort of guidelines, or to discuss what we want to get out of this group work. I mean, obviously, all of us cannot give a long presentation of the things that we are interested in. We cannot have only descriptive things. I think that we have to be theoretical and political and comparative. But I do not know now what kind of guidelines we have for the working group, and it would be nice to have clarified, somehow, what the goal of our work for these six hours is.

That is my procedural question. Then I have two questions which have to do with the content matter of what you were presenting, which was extremely interesting. One question is to what extent the Basque situation is comparable with the situation of other minorities, and especially what you see as the reasons for the very positive development of Basque, compared to a lot of other minority languages. Obviously, the most, let's say, superficial, easy explanation is the economic richness of the Basque Country, which might explain, for instance, why so many Castilians are so positive towards learning Basque. I mean, if we compare with the Sámi situation--or with almost any situation I know--the majority population has not been especially interested in learning the minority language. But when we look at the attitudinal studies in the Basque Country, both those Castilians who have come in and those who have always been there are extremely positive towards learning Basque and even towards putting their children in the D-model, which is very, very surprising. I mean, the only comparable situation would be the Anglophones in Canada who

put their children in French-medium immersion programs. So that is my first question: how would you explain the causal factors behind the Castilian interest in learning both the Basque language and a lot about the Basque culture, if you disregard the economic factors, and if you also disregard the massive propaganda campaign by the Basque Government, which is not only internal in the Basque Country, but also international? Obviously, all of us know much more about the situation in the Basque Country than we know about any other comparable minority, because your Government has been extremely good at telling other people about the situation.

My second question has to do more with education: to what extent can one compare the models which are used in the Basque Country? Because, for instance, your D-model combines--in a way which I do not think exists anywhere else just now, except in the California and, to some extent, the Massachusetts two-way programs--an immersion model, for those for whom Basque is a foreign or second language, with a language maintenance model, for those who are Basque speakers--or at least have a passive knowledge of Basque from their home--with a revitalization model. So, in your D-model, you have all three models in one classroom. Is that something which has been studied from that point of view? I know some of the studies where you have looked at the results of the D-model, but has it been studied from a sort of typological international comparison point of view? Those are my questions.

Interpreter: Vous voulez un résumé?

Chairman: Non, non j'ai compris, oui! (Laughter) I think your questions are enough to write a big book about.

Skutnabb-Kangas: I know, I have already written some.

Chairman: It is not possible to answer as I would like to. You are, I think, too optimistic. In my opinion, the situation is not so good. You are very optimistic, and perhaps you see things as being better than we do. Concerning the economic richness, for example, it is safe to say that now the Basque industry is in a state of crisis. It is a very difficult situation. There are lots of people without work. So the Basque situation is the same as that in Wallonia, in

Belgium. In Wallonia, there is the situation of people going to Brussels and everywhere, every day, to find work. It is becoming something like that in the Basque Country. The economic situation is not good. And people are leaving the Basque Country. Even Spaniards who came to the Basque Country to work are going back to their original place, because it is not possible to find work. So I think the richness of the Basque Country is a sort of myth. How to explain the Spanish interest? I think we have to distinguish between the Spanish-speaking Basque population and the Spanish-speaking Spanish population. In the Basque Country, most of us are nationalists. So it is very common, for example, in Bilbao to find families which are very interested in the Basque language, but which do not speak it at all. They are nationalists, and since they are nationalists, they send their children to Basque schools. They do not know the language, but they want their children to know it. That is part of it. I mean, the Spaniards...

Skutnabb-Kangas: I was not asking about them. I was asking about Spanish-speaking Castilians who do not have any kind of Basque ancestry. Even they are extremely positive, according to the attitudinal studies which you have.

Chairman: Well, I am not so sure... (Laughter)

Skutnabb-Kangas: Well, that is what the studies say, and that is the only thing I can base myself on.

Chairman: Yes, I know, it was true before the Government of Felipe Gonzalez, before the Socialist party took power in Madrid. Every Spaniard in the Basque Country was convinced that his future lay in the Basque Country and in speaking Basque. But now, since the Socialist party became the leading party in Madrid, they are not so favorable. I think you are very optimistic. I think the situation is not so good. Some of the Spaniards are interested in the Basque Country, that is true; otherwise, it would be impossible to explain the figures. But I think it is necessary to say that the figures you mention are not for the Spanish-speaking population, but, in fact, for the Basque-speaking population. Some of them are Spaniards, who came from Madrid or somewhere else. But the bulk of Spanish people learning Basque now are from the Basque Country. I am not so

optimistic. Ten years ago--even eight years ago--it was the way you say. But now there is a sort of reaction against the national fervor: "We are Spaniards, this is Spain, we are fed up with national separatism, etc." This is the official discussion in Madrid. And people of Spanish origin in the Basque Country feel this way: "We are Spanish, we are in Spain."

As for the models, yes, the ikastolas--the D-model--are in fact immersion schools. But even in immersion schools, it seems that the dominant language is Spanish. Everybody going through the Basque-medium schools learns Spanish very well, not because of the school, but because of the authority of the society. So it is not a problem. But, in reality, they are immersion schools, just as in Quebec. Even people coming from Spanish-speaking families go to school and they totally forget... I mean, in school, they have to give up the language and speak Basque all the time. So it is really an immersion model. And I think it is a good model.

Skutnabb-Kangas: I was asking about the D-model, which is both immersion and language maintenance and language revival in the same classroom. I was not talking about the ikastola.

Chairman: Yes, yes, it is true. It is the only model giving good bilingualism--the only model. Because the B-model depends on the school, on which subjects are taught in Basque or in Spanish. It is not a very clear model. But the D-model is very clear, and statistics show that it is the best model, even for getting good bilinguals. That is my opinion.

Juli Bahnev: (poor acoustic quality) May I ask you something, as the chairman of our discussion? I am going to tell you something about another, very numerous minority. I am from Bulgaria; my name is Bahnev. And what I would like to have in the conclusions of our discussion today--it was said yesterday--is that the mother tongue must be taught. I would like to say something more: that it is the sacred right of a person to study in his mother tongue--or, if you like, it might be good to say an inalienable right to study in his own language. A child or school boy thinks in his own mother tongue. If an individual has no opportunity to study his mother tongue, the development of

his personality, as an individual, will be stopped, his relations with his relatives might be cut off. Even his spiritual life might be affected.

The second question I would like to see in our conclusions is that *studying the mother tongue must be encouraged, not just allowed*. Positive measures must be taken. In my country, in Bulgaria, we are very famous because of discrimination against minorities. Our policy started in 1958; it was a policy of assimilation, forcible assimilation. You know this, so I am not going to speak about it. But as a result of this, the biggest linguistic minority in Bulgaria, the Turks, were denied the right to study their mother tongue for almost fifteen years. Everything we had after the second war was abolished. Now the Turks in Bulgaria are simply asking for their right to study their mother tongue to be restored. In Bulgaria, in general, the treatment of ethnic and linguistic minorities has, of course, improved, especially in 1990. But as far as studying or teaching the Turkish language is concerned, the process has been too slow--very, very slow. Promises were made by two governments after the last election--let's say, the democratic election and the election of a democratic parliament. In April, the Turkish Government started an experiment in order to study and decide what form of teaching the Turkish language is the most suitable for children. We are now approaching the end of this experiment. It has been done in almost twenty schools, but not for all the pupils in those schools--only for some, in accordance with the methodology suitable for this experiment. And on the 10th of June, we hope this experiment will be concluded and we will know the conclusions: what kind of textbooks, what kind of teachers we need in order to introduce from the 15th of September this year the teaching of the Turkish language. The aim of the Government is that, during the next school year, all Turkish students, up to the eleventh grade, will be included in this program. They will learn the alphabet, they will be able to read and write in the Turkish language. But the following school year--the year after the coming school year--it will be decided in which grade they will start to be taught literature, history, and so on. Now the orientation is that it will be in schools, under the control of the Government--the usual control, not a special kind of control. And it will be different from the regime and methodology of those who are just studying another foreign language. Because the methodology must be different for studying and teaching your mother tongue. So it will be something between an optional model of learning and a so-called compulsory model. As

for the reaction of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria to that decision by the Government: in its decision, the Parliament used the notion of "optional" study, and this was not to the satisfaction of the members of the Turkish minority. So they protested. There were many meetings organized in the country. But, in general, the so-called experiment is proceeding smoothly, and, as I mentioned, it will be continued until the 10th of June.

Now, I would like to tell you something more about our legal problems, if you allow. I would also like in our conclusions--following your minority situations--for it to be mentioned that we need a legal basis for establishing schools or other forms. Let me tell you about the other forms. And in brackets, if you allow me, I will state that--in many places, in many towns and villages, small towns and villages--now is the moment for the right and freedom to organize preliminary courses to try to teach small children who are going to be students in the first grade some elementary knowledge of the Turkish language. But the Ministry of Education is against this, thinking that it might be harmful before they have their own model ready.) So, to close the brackets, I return to the idea of having a legal basis for studying in the mother tongue. You show us some laws. We do not have laws. And our Government still lacks the courage to study and push through the Parliament laws on ethnic relations. And such a draft of bill has been proposed. It has been in the bureau of our Parliament for a couple of months. In the Draft of our new Constitution, there is a very peculiar phrase: that the official language, the Bulgarian language, is compulsory in relations within the administrative organs and in public relations. "Public relations," even in Bulgarian, is very vague and difficult to understand. So I would like, if possible, to put in our conclusions, what we found in the drafts and in the papers we received when we arrived for this conference: for example, that you may freely use your own language in private, in all social, economic, or similar relations, and in public; or just in private and in public--something like that. This is my next suggestion. We are proposing, for our constitution, a clause that you can use it freely, but also when the use of the official language is compulsory. But that is another story. I would like to have what we have in our papers here, and I have already quoted it. Do you know why it is important for Bulgaria? Because "public relations" in Bulgarian has another meaning. It means all things that are happening in open air and inside buildings when many people are gathered together. I know that, strictly speak-

ing, in English translation, it might mean only relations related to the State, as a subject of rights, object of duty, or pertaining to a State, relating to the whole body of people, and so on. But in Bulgarian, it does not have the same meaning. An illustration--if you allow--which happened just ten days ago in a region densely populated by members of the Turkish minority, in the southern part of Bulgaria in the city of Kŭrdzhali. Maybe you know the name; it is difficult to pronounce (laughs), but Kŭrdzhali is now famous for having the biggest number of meetings during the electoral campaign, and they are still continuing. So in Kŭrdzhali, inside the theater, for the first time, a concert with folklore songs and dances was organized. And some nationalists, a small group of about 16 people, prevented people from getting in. And the policemen were somehow preventing those 16 people from being harmed; and at the same time, they prevented the entry of people who would have liked to attend that concert. And why did it happen? Because, of course--you cannot help guessing--the songs were in Turkish. Well, the Minister of the Interior promised us next time to notify him personally about such things, etc, etc. So you have an impression of what is happening with the Turkish language now.

The second numerous minority in Bulgaria, the Romany people, do not have any opportunity to study their language. One non-governmental organization is thinking of preparing a grammar, in Bulgarian, of the Romany language and even a grammar in Romany, but they cannot even dream yet about organizing the teaching of their own language. We also have two small minorities which have had problems in this area. The biggest one has about 25,000 people: the Armenians in Bulgaria. They have the possibility of studying their mother tongue optionally up to the seventh grade in the city of Plovdiv, the second largest city in Bulgaria, and already about 200 pupils are studying that language. But this is a very recent thing. In Sofia, a non-governmental Armenian organization is organizing one-day courses on Saturday for two hours, because they have only one teacher. But in the last two years, about 120 people have participated in those courses. And the smallest minority I am going to speak about has about 5,000 members: the Jews in Bulgaria. You know, we used to have a considerable Jewish minority, even after the end of the Second World War--around 55,000 or 60,000 people--but most of them have left the country for Israel. They are the most active in this field. They have four courses for studying Hebrew with about 200 participants, and already about 500

people have participated. They have Sunday schools for children from six to thirteen years of age, where they are taught religion, history, traditions, and so forth. European organizations of Jews help organize camps. They have some seminars for youths, and even for older people, with religious subjects and the history of the Jewish people, and they get some assistance from Israel.

So, Mister Chairman, I am not going to continue my exposé. I think that three things should be repeated: that it should be--if not a sacred right--at least an inalienable right to study your mother tongue or your language, to study it in schools, and to use the language in private and in public. And just to tell you something we still do not have: we have difficulties with mass media. We have one newspaper--edited in Bulgarian and in Turkish--for the Turkish minority, but we still do not have any radio hours. By the way, in some towns, local radios are broadcasting--mostly news programs--in Turkish. We still do not have teachers, or even organized folklore groups, and so forth.

Chairman: Thank you very much. It is 12:35, and I think we must stop for dinner.

Bahnev: Not dinner, lunch. (Laughter)

Budislav Vukas: Mister Chairman, I just wanted... First of all, my name is Vukas, and I am from Yugoslavia, from the University of Zagreb.¹ I am speaking now just in order to ask the same question as the previous speakers: What should be the product of this working group? Perhaps over the lunch break, you could discuss with the organizers and get some suggestions. Personally, I wonder whether the multiplication of demands and suggestions should be the result of our work. Second, concerning a potential intervention, I have not prepared anything; I do not belong to any minority. I could give a general picture of the situation in Yugoslavia, in the past, in the present, and in the future; but at the same time I would like to ask--and perhaps have the answer after lunch from the distinguished representative of Bulgarian science, Mr. Bahnev--how it happened that, among all these minorities, there was no mention

¹ Croatia declared its independence on and was admitted to the United Nations on 22 May 1992 together with Slovenia and Bosnia Hercegovina.

of the Macedonian minority in Bulgaria, which--according to my data and the censuses in Bulgaria--had some 200 members after the war, 150 some years later, and then nothing. I hope that the recent developments would also encourage the rights of these minorities.

Bahnev: Should I answer briefly, because it is a very long, very difficult and complicated subject for some people? But it is not so complicated. You know, I am not a member of a minority. I am not a member of a scientific society or mafia (laughs). I am a politician now. I used to be a diplomat; now I am a politician. (Vukas: "That's even worse!" Laughter) Well, it is even worse; it is a political mafia--but that is another story. But I will tell you something. You know, I am speaking here--and I think everybody will agree--of the interpretation of minorities which is given in the Draft for a European Convention for the Protection of Minorities and earlier in the famous report of Mr. Capotorti. So a minority is a group which is smaller than the majority, which has different characteristics--I mean, history, traditions, language, etc.; I am not going to repeat it all--and they want to keep their characteristics different from those of the majority. So, first, I would like to stress the last words. I am of the opinion that everybody must have the right freely to declare and feel a part of whatever minority or majority to which he belongs. (Chairman: "Yes.") This is the most important thing in my answer to you. Otherwise, as for the so-called--because you have named them thus--Macedonian minority in Bulgaria, they have no such different characteristics. But still, just as in the Republic of Macedonia--I think that is the name now--everybody must be free to declare himself or to feel Bulgarian or Macedonian or whatever he wants.

Chairman: Thank you. It is a pity, but I think we must stop now. We will continue after lunch.

(Lunch break; First interpreter moves to another group; several members absent from the afternoon session)

Skutnabb-Kangas: (beginning missing) ...non-discrimination provision. There is nothing in the international legally-binding instruments which goes as far as permitting minority languages in education and also says something about the

financial means for doing something about that permission. And there is absolutely nothing which would promote minority languages in education in an overt way. And that, I think, is why we have to restrict it even further. So, as I said, none of the general conventions, recommendations, or declarations--nor the ones which have to do with the protection of minorities--have anything that is in any way sufficient for promoting minority languages. We have also shown, among other things in this report, that only overpromotion can guarantee the maintenance of minority languages over several generations. So what we have suggested--long ago--is that we need an international legally-binding declaration about linguistic human rights. And, in fact, there has been work going on under the auspices of UNESCO and with the help of several non-governmental organizations, among them several international teachers' organizations, some scientific organizations, and so on. There has been work going on in the field, trying to formulate--not yet in legal terms, but in more general terms--what kind of demands and recommendations should go into such a universal declaration of linguistic human rights. And, in a way, I think that some of the background papers we were sent before this conference should have included some of the early drafts of that type of declaration. I think it is useless to try, in a sense, to repeat the work that has already been done at several international conferences. There is, for instance, a Draft Declaration from Recife, from a conference organized under UNESCO auspices. That has been improved both at the Conference in Paris and at other conferences. The FIPLV Declaration, which Yvo Peeters was distributing at the door when we came out of the plenary, is one of those draft declarations. It has already been altered and it is going to be altered in Pécs, in Hungary, next summer. I think that if we want to get anywhere, with any kind of goals, all of us should be familiar with the work that has already been done, and we should not repeat that work; we should try to go beyond what has already been done.

Chairman: Could you remind us of the title of the book?

Skutnabb-Kangas: Oh, this is just a working paper. It is called "About Linguistic Human Rights."

Chairman: Yes, but is it in English?

Skutnabb-Kangas: Yes, it is in English. And one...

Chairman: Is it possible to get it?

Skutnabb-Kangas: ...one book which would be more easily available is a book which my husband and I have almost finished editing, which will come out in Cambridge University Press. It is called "Linguistic Human Rights" and has articles from all continents about the situation in the field of linguistic human rights in those countries--especially in the education systems--and a lot of recommendations, and extracts from those bits of different cultural conventions which contain something about linguistic human rights.

Chairman: Could you repeat the title again?

Skutnabb-Kangas: "Linguistic Human Rights." Cambridge University Press, 1992. It is going to press in a few months.

Chairman: Is it possible to get a copy of it now, right now?

Skutnabb-Kangas: Well, I have just this one copy with me. If the organizers are willing to take copies, then, yes... (Brief pause) I am sorry to be so abrupt, and so on, but I do not think we should repeat what has already been done.

Chairman: Yes, you are right. (Pause). Are there any suggestions? How should we manage the discussion? In education, it is possible to distinguish between the primary level and the secondary level, and so on. I mean, university is another, very different level, and we are normally speaking about the school level. Normally, the first norms everywhere are about the school, the school field. Perhaps it is possible to distinguish school levels, and afterwards to go on and speak about education at the university level. What do you think about that? We could start with schools.

Skutnabb-Kangas: Mister Chairperson, if we look at one of the papers which we received--the draft of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages--and look at what was said about education, that, of course, makes

that distinction; it talks about pre-school, it talks about primary education, it talks about secondary education, and so on. I mean, again, I do not see any use in us starting to write a declaration on this in any way. I think it would be more important to discuss how we can get something that is binding in some way. I think even these provisions have all these "or, or, or, or"; there is nothing else but recommendations here. (Pause)

It was also discussed both yesterday, and especially after Professor Tore Modeén's question: What are the rights of those minorities which are not mentioned in any of the present instruments? For example, whether migrant minorities have any kind of linguistic human rights--which they do not really. If we look at the migrant instrument, it also gives only recommendations and not much else. And we know that no States want migrants to become new national minorities, and that territorial minorities do not have any guaranteed rights. That would be one question: to come up with recommendations so, for instance, children of migrants do not need to wait 400 years before they can get their linguistic human rights.

Vukas: My name is Vukas--I have to repeat it; when I was intervening this morning, at the last moment, everybody was hungry. Vukas, from Zagreb, Professor of International Law. And I very much agree with what was said by our distinguished colleague just now. But her intervention brings me to another, even a preliminary, question: whether, in fact, anything should be drafted; because we have so many papers, so many drafts, and I do not think we can have any influence, any input into the protection of minorities. Perhaps instead of suggesting anything to the plenary, we could just inform them, just explain the situations in some countries and expect the minorities to which we belong to take advantage of this occasion to get better knowledge of some problems; and perhaps you could mention which situations of which minorities in which States were discussed. Because simply reading all these papers we have... In three hours, I do not think we will be able to do anything. Because the fact is that even the European States do not want binding texts. This was clear when the Council of Europe rejected the Draft Convention established by the European Commission on Democracy through Law; there are several European countries which do not want obligatory texts--particularly in this field of language and education of minority languages. So why should we...? When we were leaving

the room this morning, I was given a sheet of paper; everybody could sign this "Proposed Draft Articles for a Universal Declaration of Language Rights, 3rd reading, Mr. Peeters." I don't know... We can sign this, but what would it do? There are tens of thousands of similar documents.

Chairman: It is up to you...

Vukas: It was very interesting this morning to hear about the situation of the Basque minority. It was very interesting to hear about the progress in Bulgaria. This is very interesting for the participants in this working group.

Chairman: Yes. Yes?

Martin Kofod: My name is Martin Kofod, and I feel distinctly in the minority here as I am a civil servant from the Danish Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Well, I think we could go a little further, in the concluding paper, than just relating to some experience. Yesterday, we went through the various fora where these questions are dealt with. These various fora are not identical; some of them are narrow, some of them are a little wider and the widest is the United Nations. As you (to Skutnabb-Kangas) said, we should get and find, set up some rules--yes, we should. But we also have to face the fact that, for instance, the Convention of the Child took ten years from the time of the idea which came up in Poland to have a Convention of the Child. And before that we had the Declaration of the Child taking four years again. I have only dealt with minorities for a very short time, but I have dealt with the United Nations system and human rights in general. We do not want to wait ten years, we do not want to wait twenty years. I think that there was quite a lot of merit in what Ambassador von Grünigen said yesterday. There is a difference between the legally-binding instrument that takes a terribly long time to work out, especially if it is in the United Nations, and political--let's say "political"--action, meaning that we want to do something. That does not have to be so finely deliberated in the paper, if the will is there. So if we could look at the problem on various horizons--horizons in the middle and the long term, a long-distance horizon--if we could get some kind of language minority rights recognized, more specifically than has been done, for instance, in the CSCE process; if we start, for

instance, with our own group of Europe on a politically-binding idea--at the same time not forgetting that we should, at some point, get to a legally-binding instrument; then we will help, at least in a small area, those who are close to us--if the political will is there. So my recommendation is that we do not use just one approach to it, but that we keep all the options open: to work in the CSCE; maybe the Council of Europe could get some work in connection with the CSCE. Like our Yugoslavian friend here, I am a little worried about the possibilities through the Council of Europe; I am more hopeful about the CSCE process, but the Council of Europe does good work in, say, the formulating of certain problems, the background; they could be given some tasks in a wider context.

Chairman: I myself think the problem is that the level of the languages is very different. I mean, the Catalans have a problem which is not the same as that of the Frisians, for example. It is very difficult to give some advice which is valuable for everybody. It is very difficult, I think, to give an opinion, because there are very different levels: for example, the Kurds in Turkey or the Catalans in Spain.

Kofod: It was not my idea to give advice from this group to anybody, to Catalans or Frisians or anyone; but to have some very clear, general statement for those who are going to deal with it in various fora: how they could promote it, how they could go on with it, within the competence of the various fora and with the instruments that they have at their disposal--or instruments in the making. If we are too specific here in this working group, I think we will not get anything, because then it will be too haphazard. We will pick out some questions that have caught the idea of those who have just haphazardly sat together here in this room. It is the big principal of where to go and how to promote this question. That, in my opinion, is what we have to do.

Chairman: Well, it is a very well-known problem: the problem of collective rights versus personal rights--I mean, the problem in Switzerland or in Belgium. Are collective rights above personal rights, or not? This is the point. But perhaps this point is good in Switzerland, in Belgium, but not in Turkey, or somewhere else.

Kofod: Once again, I question the political will--whether Turkey has the political will. (Chairman: "Yes.") And that is what we should try to avoid getting into: that there is a difference in the political will or in the perception of collective rights versus personal rights, individual rights. I must say that I personally have been somewhat hesitant for years about collective rights. I openly admit this for fear of extending the notion of human rights so far that one day we get into the situation where everything is a human right. We still have to be somewhat restrictive. On the other hand, as far as minority rights are concerned--including linguistic rights--I certainly see that we get nowhere unless we admit that there is something called "collective right." But I will not put collective rights over personal rights, and I will not put personal rights over collective rights. In my opinion, they are equal. Because you are private in different situations. Of course, you can run into the terrible situation where the collective right infringes upon a personal right, where a group right has predominance over a personal right of one person in that specific group. But I think we should forget about that, because then, again, we get into too many details, and we should avoid that; but that could be a problem in the perception of collective rights.

Chairman: Yes, but take, for example, the case of Voeren (Les Fourons), near Liège in Belgium. The problem is, are the collective rights above or below the personal rights? That is the case in Belgium. I mean, in other places the actual need for them is very low. But in Belgium, for example, it is a problem. Around Brussels, there are collective rights--so Flemish rights--or personal rights, which are, in fact, French rights. It is a subject of discussion now in Belgium. It is up to you to give an opinion upon that or not. It is a question. (Pause)

So it is our intention here to define ourselves in these matters. Otherwise, it is necessary to respect the right of everybody to be taught in his own language. Is that enough? I think it is not really enough. If we do something like that, I do not think it is enough. But I agree that it is very dangerous to go on and to define, for example, the matter of territorial or personal rights. But linguistic matters are collective, since linguistic rights are essentially collective rights. It is possible to divorce oneself (se divorcer), but it is not possible to speak oneself (se parler); you have to speak to each other.

So language rights are specifically collective rights. But you are right, it is dangerous to go too far... (laughter) ...perhaps.

Kofod: To a detail: I think if we could stick to some guidelines as to procedure in general in this forum, without mentioning specific problems or areas or countries, or getting into questions that have already been dealt with and--as you (to Skutnabb-Kangas) have said--are down on paper. But I could see our task here on that half page just to give some directives or some ideas for those of us, or the others, or whoever is going to deal with them in the fora; to have a balance between the political will, the political instruments, and the legal instruments--the legally-binding instruments--for those who eventually ratify human conventional rights by a Council of Europe convention; and, at the same time, work on the--let's say--political will, the consensus.

Chairman: I am sorry, but I cannot, for example, forget the things which have happened in Ireland. I mean, we are obliged to keep in mind that the Gaelic language is lost in Ireland. And it is not possible for us to give a very general declaration without taking into account that the language in Ireland is lost and how it was lost. Because the legislation was not enough. Are we giving another declaration which is not enough? This is my question; I know it is a very difficult one. It is easy for us to make a declaration, an original one. But I think, personally, that it is not possible, in 1991, to make more and more declarations. We have many declarations. But I think we are obliged, as people of science, to say something logical or something that is sufficient. Because--I insist--in Ireland the language is lost. So we have to keep this in mind. In our country, in the Basque Country, it is very normal to make declarations like, "All languages have the same rights. It is necessary to respect languages." But this means nothing. It is necessary to give the minimum, because below this minimum, it is useless. Right now we can make very good declarations with a very good will, but is it our intention to write another declaration which is worthless?

Colin Williams: But what you are saying is that in some situations, law follows social change, and in other situations, law leads social change. And the real difference is that in Europe, we have some situations where the law comes after the fact. (Chairman: "Yes") But in most of the rest of Central-Eastern Europe, the law, in a sense, is being used as a platform to establish new realities. And that, I think, is why these declarations are significant, not for the Basques or the Irish or the Welsh--because they already have their language movements--but for the people of Bulgaria, or Romania, perhaps, where there is no legal tradition.

Chairman: I will stop now. It is up to you to speak. I am speaking too much, I think. (Laughter) You must speak as well.

Skutnabb-Kangas: I suggest that, in order to planify what the capacities in our group are, we have a short round of presentation, so that we at least know who is here and what kind of fields we represent, and so on. We may have completely different experiences, different fields of specialization. For instance, the way I see the role of those who, like myself, represent researchers who are also interested in implementation: I see the role of researchers as trying to provide some sort of concept clarification of what we are talking about. And thinking of your example of Ireland, and so on, one concept which does not exist in any of the international declarations and conventions, and which has been suggested in another form, is "linguicide." (Chairman: "Sorry?") Linguicide--cultural and linguistic genocide. I mean, cultural genocide is something that Yugoslavia suggested very long ago, and it was not accepted. "Linguicide" means that a language does not just die; it is killed. Obviously, there is an active agent in killing a language. And laws can do something in order to prevent the active killing of languages. Concepts like that, and their clarification--the clarification of what a minority is, what a native language is, what a mother tongue is, what it means to learn a language, to have the right to learn a language; all sorts of that type of clarification--are one of the fields where people, like myself, who come from research, can do something. Lawyers can do other things, and so on. It is obviously a multidisciplinary task that we have here. And just in order to see what we can do in this group in this short time, it might be a good idea if people said who they are and what they are doing and which aspects of the field they are interested in, rather than give a

description of their own linguistic situation or which minority they represent. I mean, most of us obviously represent some minority, and we could talk at length about that.

Chairman: Do you agree? Because it is possible for each person to explain briefly his subject of activity. Would you like to start, please?

Monica Martinsson: Yes, of course. My name is Monica Martinsson. I work at the Ministry of Education in Sweden in the Department for Compulsory Schooling. That Department handles the question of ordinary compulsory schooling, but also schools for physically handicapped children, and schools for mentally retarded children, and also the Sámi schools. Until last year, I was the one handling the Sámi schools at the Ministry. We have six Sámi schools in Sweden, and they are run by a special Sámi School Board in Jokkmokk, in the very far north of Sweden. The board itself has a Sámi chairman, and a majority of Sámis.

So, I am here because I know a little about the Sámi schools.

Chairman: Yes, very good. How about you?

Raymond Crochet: Je m'appelle Crochet. Veuillez m'excuser, je ne parle pas bien anglais du tout. Alors, je vais parler français. Je suis Français, mais j'habite en Suède. J'ai d'abord fait des études de droit, de juriste, et après je suis devenu prêtre catholique. J'habite en Suède depuis trente ans. Mon expérience, c'est le suivant: l'église catholique en Suède est composée d'étrangers d'un peu partout. Je suis attaché à une des trois paroisses de Stockholm--1,200 catholiques, d'après la cartothèque, 30 nationalités. Nous connaissons d'assez près ce problème des immigrants, les problèmes de langue et les difficultés de toute sorte. Alors la mission catholique en Suède, qu'est ce qu'elle peut pour rejoindre ces minorités linguistiques qui se trouvent là? Il y a des prêtres de langue slovène, croate, hongroise, italienne, vietnamienne--excusez, je ne veux pas faire toute une liste. Alors, c'est une manière de nous adapter un petit peu à ces minorités linguistiques et religieuses, qui sont une énorme famille en Suède. Je pourrais, à ce sujet-là, poser évidemment des questions; ce n'est pas au programme de la conférence. Est-ce que une

communauté linguistique dispersée--par exemple, les hongrois qui sont en Suède sont une communauté dispersée; ont-ils le droit à un certain enseignement dans la langue du pays pour s'adapter? Hors, la Suède a pris des mesures très réalistes et très généreuses en organisant des cours de langue pour les étrangers adultes qui viennent chercher du travail en Suède--cours de langue qui peuvent être pris sur le temps de travail, dans l'usine, par exemple. Et c'est là une chose. Il faut parler d'un autre service qu'on assure alors pour les enfants de tous les immigrants. C'est la deuxième génération qui souvent pose un très grand problème. (Brief exchange in Swedish between Crochet, Martinsson and Skutnabb-Kangas) Alors le Ministère de l'Education Nationale de Suède a de longue date mis sur pied des cours de langue, dite "cours de langue maternelle," pour les enfants des immigrés qui sont de langue arabe, turque, etc. Il y a des cours comme ça pour au moins quinze à dix-huit langues, sans parler d'autres initiatives: par exemple, des petits bulletins d'information en suédois simple pour les immigrants, qui peuvent trouver là dans une langue très simple et correcte un certain nombre d'informations, ce qui est un procédé d'alphabétisation très concret et très pratique.

Je ne veux pas parler maintenant de toutes ces choses-là, mais je veux dire clairement que je suis très sensible à ce problème des minorités dispersées, des migrants, etc. Mais d'un autre côté, il me semble qu'il y a des problèmes d'ordre pédagogique. Il est extrêmement difficile d'arriver à être un bilingue vraiment complet du point de vue purement pédagogique, c'est-à-dire, avoir une égale maîtrise dans deux langues vivantes, admettons le suédois et le grec. Si les enfants vont à l'école en Suède, ils apprendront un suédois scolaire, mais le grec de leurs parents risque d'être faible, sauf si les parents eux-mêmes sont des gens très cultivés. Le bilinguisme pose beaucoup de problèmes même pédagogiques, mais je ne veux pas non plus entrer dans ces problèmes-là.

Je dois ajouter que j'ai une longue expérience, parce que je suis prêtre catholique, mais je gagne ma vie en Suède en donnant des leçons de français; je suis enseignant de français. C'est un travail que je fais depuis bien longtemps. Il y a un autre aspect, alors, psychologique qui me frappe. C'est que les minorités linguistiques que je connais, que je vois en Suède--qui ont en tout leurs droits sociaux et même une partie des droits civiques depuis qu'ils sont en Suède--un résidant qui est là depuis un certain temps a le droit de vote aux élections communales (brief explanation in Swedish), aux élections du départ-

tement, mais pas aux élections du parlement; là, il faut être citoyen. Mais c'est énorme comme droit pour ces minorités dispersées! Mais malgré cela, je vois dans la mentalité des groupes nationaux souvent une attitude un peu critique vis-à-vis du monde environnant--la Suède qui, par ailleurs, les accueille--même des réfugiés politiques, que l'on a reçus--je dirais--généreusement, et qui se plaignent. Alors je crois qu'il y a un problème dans toutes les minorités, et peut-être dans une minorité... On parle de minorité dispersée. Mais je prends une autre minorité qui serait plus compacte. Elle a droit au respect de son patrimoine, de sa langue, etc. Mais je me demande si elle n'a pas aussi un certain devoir de solidarité vis-à-vis de la communauté plus vaste dans laquelle elle est insérée? Moi je crois que c'est vraiment très important que toutes les minorités se disent, "Minorité oui! J'ai mes droits et il faut qu'on les respecte. Mais je suis quand-même aussi dépendant d'une autre minorité, la voisine, dans tout l'appareil de services publiques, dans les chemins de fer, les communications, etc: tout ce qui recouvre l'ensemble plus vaste." Dans une éducation bien comprise, il faudrait faire place au droit à la différence, mais aussi au devoir de solidarité avec un ensemble plus vaste. Et ce problème-là, je le vois déjà dans ces petites minorités nationales que forment des groupes. Par exemple, je suis aumônier de langue française maintenant, mais j'ai aussi beaucoup à faire avec des Chiliens, parce que je parle un peu l'espagnol--pas bien du tout mais, enfin, assez pour eux. Et il y a là un problème qui se pose sans cesse. Et je vois une des tâches de l'église--partout ailleurs, non seulement en Suède--d'aider ces gens à avoir le sens de leur différence, mais aussi de leur solidarité avec la nation qui les accueille.

Je n'en dis pas plus. Il faut laisser le temps aux autres. Quant à savoir pourquoi je suis ici à Rovaniemi, c'est parce que j'ai déjà eu l'occasion de collaborer avec la délégation du Saint-Siège à la conférence de Stockholm pendant trois ans. J'étais là comme secrétaire. Et puis alors, après la conférence de Stockholm, on m'a demandé de nouveau d'intervenir comme ça un peu partout, à Copenhague l'an dernier, à Rovaniemi, etc. Bon, ce sont des questions qui me passionnent par ailleurs pour différentes raisons. (Brief explanation in Swedish)

Interpreter: Mister Crochet is a Catholic priest. He said that in Stockholm there are about 1200 Catholics, including, at present, no fewer than thirty

different nationalities. So that is why he is very concerned with the problems of the migrants: for instance, the problem of language. The Catholic Church in Sweden tries its best to help those minorities. Mr. Crochet mentioned a few of these nationalities--Croats, Vietnamese, Italians--and some Catholic priests are actually living with these different minorities. So one way or another, the Catholic Church tries to help those linguistic minorities linguistically, but mainly from the religious point of view, of course, and the families. And he raised a question: how there are scattered linguistic minorities, very scattered, living here and there in Sweden; are they, although they are scattered, entitled to have the right to be taught their own vernacular language? And then Mr. Crochet insisted on the fact that Sweden is well organized, and organizes courses to help these immigrants. There are good services of all kinds for the children: the Ministry of Education has, for a long time, organized language courses for the children of immigrants, fifteen to eighteen languages. There are information bulletins which are printed in simple language where the immigrants can find information about practical things. So, all in all, Mr. Crochet feels concerned about the problems of migrants.

On the other hand, there are pedagogical problems; it is hard for the bilingual person to reach a balance. That is, there is never a real balance. For example, he mentioned the example of the Greek child who studies Swedish at school; his Swedish is scholastic, and his Greek has been learnt within the family setting--that is, he learned it from his parents. So actually the linguistic ability of that person is never quite well balanced.

As a priest, Mr. Crochet has seen other problems. He mentioned that he earns his living by teaching French in Sweden. Then he mentioned the psychological aspects of the question of minorities; immigrants who stay long enough in Sweden have the right to vote on the local level, but not for parliament, for instance. And Mr. Crochet has noticed one thing which seems obvious: that the different nationalities react strongly against the Swedish way of life. They complain quite a lot about the conditions, although they have actually been given the privilege of being accepted within Swedish society. Speaking again about his activities as a teacher and as a priest, Mr. Crochet mentioned that he has a lot to do with Chileans, trying to help these people feel solidarity towards the Swedes who, in the first place, welcomed them into their

society. And then he wanted to stress that all minorities must try to develop a sense of solidarity towards the country that lets them integrate into the society.

Raymond Crochet: ...l'ensemble plus vaste...

Chairman: Do you want to add something? (to the Interpreter)

Interpreter: No, no, I am just here to help with the language. (Laughs)

Lauri Hannikainen: My name is Lauri Hannikainen. I am from the Åbo Academy, Institute for Human Rights, in Finland. I am an expert in Public International Law, and I am just beginning to work on a study of Finland's obligations vis à vis the Åland Islands. As you know, the Åland Islands are one good example of arranging meaningful self-governmental autonomy for a territorial minority. That is naturally good, but in my study I have to address the problem of the status of the Finnish minority on the Åland Islands, which is a Swedish-speaking area. Because, according to the laws concerning the Åland Islands, it is not permitted to give education in schools in Finnish unless the Åland authorities give their consent. And as far as I know, they have not given their consent. Yet there is a Finnish-speaking minority there, and maybe Finnish-speaking children are suffering if they move to the Åland Islands and have to enter a Swedish-speaking school. So that is a special problem, and I am sure that there are similar problems in other countries: for example, the *Belgian Linguistics* case in the European Court of Human Rights. When I look at Finland, I could say that international human rights law has affected Finland quite a lot; we have changed many laws and practices on the basis of Finland's new international human rights obligations. But as far as minority law is concerned, I am not convinced that international law has had a great effect on national practices. And I tend to share the view of our Danish colleague that perhaps it would be better to try to find another way than through the international conventions. Perhaps, for example, the CSCE Process could be helpful.

Finally, I have the conviction, which has been already expressed here, that people who feel that they are members of a minority should have the right to receive their primary and secondary education in their own language.

But I would stress that, for example, in Finland, everybody has to study at least Finnish and Swedish. So I think that it is a good idea that we permit different schools in different languages, but ensure, at the same time, that the predominant national language is taught in a good way as well; that even if a person in, let's say, Spain gets the basic education in the Basque language, he or she also learns Spanish. There has to be also the possibility within the State that all people are able to communicate in the main language of that State.

Chairman: Thank you. It is your turn.

Vukas: My name is Vukas. I am a Professor of Public International Law. Two years ago, a conference was convened where I was forced to deal with minorities. A professor obliged me to deal with Yugoslav minorities abroad. And since then, I have been obliged to participate in different international events, drafting documents on the rights of minorities. Together with Mr. Toševski, we drafted the first all-Yugoslav proposal mentioned yesterday on the rights of minorities and submitted it to the Human Rights Commission. Then again, I was a member of the group which prepared the Draft of the European Convention for the Protection of Minorities, which, unfortunately, was not well received by the Council of Ministers of the Council of Europe. I was also a member of the Yugoslav delegation at the Copenhagen Meeting, and participated in the group which drafted this part of the Copenhagen document on minorities. So this is the main field in which I have been acting on an international level.

The results of all those efforts are well known, but perhaps I will say a few words about our internal situation. Yugoslavia is well known for our great number of minorities. However, it is not the typical situation of minorities, because we not only have certain minorities ranging from... (to Chairman) I hope that is not a new international instrument you are writing! (Chairman: "No, no!" Laughter) We have minorities of about two million people scattered all over Yugoslavia, not only those living in Kosovo—I mean the Albanians; we also have the Hungarians, with about 500,000 people, and some very small minorities of some thousands which enjoy enormous rights. For instance, we even have university education for 12,000 Italians. We have minorities with schools to which people belonging to the majority go, for example, the Italian and

Hungarian schools. On the contrary, we have some minorities which cannot reach the level of secondary school in their own language.

So that is the situation; and I can say that in the past, whatever can be said against the East European regimes--to which we did not, in actual fact, belong--the general position of minorities was never bad in Yugoslavia. The situation has become complicated in recent years, mostly due to confrontations between the Yugoslav nations, and particularly between the two largest Republics of Serbia and Croatia. We have all the different problems of a multinational society. The problem of minorities is only one of the problems. The most crucial problem at this very moment is the problem of parts of the main Yugoslav nations living in the republics among other Yugoslav nations. We do not even use the term "minorities"; we have always used the term "nationalities," in order to prove that they are not to be protected against the majority, that they are equal, that--although being in a minority--they must have equal status with the majority. And really it was not only the Yugoslav legislation and our international efforts, but even in the results, we have succeeded.

But, of course, nowadays everything is so complicated; you know that even the future of Yugoslavia is in question. One of the major problems is the relationship of one of the minorities in respect to the public policy; I mean the Albanians. But if you look at the record of the Albanians, the Albanians were able to have their own schools from kindergarten to university. Everything was done in their mother tongue. They had television, the Academy of Sciences. So the tense situation between the Albanians and the Serbian Republic now is not due to their mistreatment in the past. It is due, perhaps, to a nationalistic attitude of the latest Serbian Government, but at the same time to the expectations of the Albanian population to have a separate republic and perhaps even to secede from Yugoslavia. So the situation described in the speech delivered by President Mitterand some weeks ago perhaps reflected also our situation: that the rights of minorities should not go so far as to endanger the territorial integrity of States.

Listening to the reports these last two days, I am more and more sure that, in fact, in the future we should not deal only with minorities. I think that the concept of minorities suffices only for some European States. For example, now we have had the problem explained to us, which, in fact, also concerns the problems of migrant workers. We have societies like Switzerland,

the Soviet Union or Yugoslavia, where the problems of minorities are linked to the general problems of a multinational society. We see the situation in Finland, where--as was very clearly stated yesterday--the United Nations system distinguishes minorities from indigenous populations; but at the same time, all day today, we have been listening, and we see that the problem is the same. The same problem is faced by the Sámi people, as well as the Basques, and others. I think that, in general, in the future the international community should solve these problems only taking into account all the multinational societies and all the groups having similar problems, whether they are called minorities, indigenous populations, migrant workers, immigrants, etc.

I am sorry to have taken so long (laughs). So, my final word: I have no suggestions, I do not dare to suggest anything for the future, working within two hours. But perhaps one thing we could do would be to send to the plenary our impressions concerning the relevant texts which are going to be discussed in the forthcoming months, to have a look at this article on education in the Draft for a European Convention for the Protection of Minorities, to see what was said in Copenhagen, and perhaps to see what was said in this Charter for Minority Languages of the Council of Europe, and just to suggest, perhaps--if we are to suggest anything--what our opinion is and what we think is missing or exaggerated in these three texts which are to be discussed in the forthcoming months.

Chairman: Thank you. Would you like to say something?

Toševski: Why not? My name is Toševski. Well, the first thing I would like to say is that this is not the first time that we have come to a conference or a meeting to discuss minority problems. And maybe we will draft something, a report or suggestions or recommendations. And after a period of time, we will find out that, practically, we have done nothing, adding only another paper to the bulk of papers produced by conferences and meetings and seminars and symposiums, and so on and so forth. That would be the disappointing part of our exercises. But there is another one which I would like to suggest. We have to understand that this is a process, a very complicated one--one of the most complicated--and that even those small, invisible, invaluable steps are something in the process. We have to continue to discuss, to debate, to exchange views,

and, most importantly, to push things, to create an atmosphere. Because it is my impression that, regardless of whether we have excellent international in

struments or not, the basic thing is the social atmosphere--or the political atmosphere--in different countries, and as a result the atmosphere in the world. And, in such an atmosphere, I think that the crucial point is the activity or the place of the minorities themselves within a society. We usually speak of governments and minorities, it is true; and the relationship between governments and the rights of minorities is essential. But on the other hand, governments are not that autonomous. They depend on the general atmosphere of a society. And that is why it is very important in every society--and in the world--for a favorable atmosphere to be created for the people to understand the meaning of such endeavors for minorities to have their rights, linguistic or other rights.

May I give you an example, a recent one? We know that in Turkey, since the time of Kemal Atatürk, the Kurds have always been considered a forbidden subject. As you know, the Kurds have been labelled "Mountain-Turks," regardless of the difference in language, culture, and so on. And I believe that--as a result of certain pressure from outside, not inside--recently, a group of Members of Parliament in Turkey tried to propose a law allowing the Kurds to be called Kurds and introducing some kind of official recognition and a process of normal treatment of the Kurds in Turkey, although it is very early to say anything. Such an attempt would not have been possible a year ago; but I believe that, within a certain period of time, the Kurdish question has to be taken up by the Turkish society. This is a result, first of all, of the activity of the Kurds in the international community, which, as we have noticed--I personally have noticed--has increased considerably in the last couple of years; and secondly, of the anti-Turkish attitude in the European Community and in the United Nations forum. So those are the elements which might create a favorable atmosphere in Turkey--I can not say when--for the problem of the Kurds to be solved.

Another example, also a recent one, is that of Corsica, in France--an interesting case. I would not like to analyze the history and so on, but we have seen after so many years of controversies, struggles, and misunderstanding, a certain solution which is not--I would say--within the legal and ideological sys-

tem of France. It is something new, as far as I can find. So this is another example of how things could proceed.

So I am very pessimistic concerning any additional achievements in the field of international instruments; I do not believe it will be possible to have any binding instruments on the international level; I do not think it is possible. I mean, in another twenty or thirty years, maybe more... But what is possible, is to create, through the United Nations human rights bodies and different international non-governmental bodies, such an atmosphere and to support the idea, or the struggle--it is better to say the struggle--of the minorities. Because without such a struggle, without such a desire of the minorities to be recognized or for their languages to be officially included in the educational systems, we can only talk without achieving anything. So, in conclusion, maybe to the prevailing pessimistic note, an optimistic one should be added. This is a process which should be sustained and supported; and in our record, I think it is not so unimportant even to repeat certain things and to insist that the educational aspect of the life of minorities is, at least in my opinion, one of the most important. The educational aspect is even more important than the linguistic--purely linguistic--part. Because without the linguistic institutions--and education is an institutional system--without such a system, even linguistic rights are nothing. And that is why I would suggest some sort of formulation in which we insist that, as a result of our deliberations, our exchange of views, we have found that the introduction of any level of education for minorities--I mean, any level--it depends on the situation, the size of the population, and so on--but any level of education is the crucial measure to be followed by any government that is willing to participate in this process of, let's say, reviving the rights of minorities. Well, thank you, I have been talking for a rather long time, but since I had the floor...

Skutnabb-Kangas: I would just like to add some information to what you said about the Kurds and the recent changes in Turkey--or suggested changes. In fact, what the Turkish Parliament did, was to decide on the 12th of April, one and a half months ago, to make extensive amendments to the penal code and to annul the Act which has been the most awful one, No. 2932. But what they also did, on the same date, was to pass a new Act, an anti-terrorist law to combat terrorism, No. 3713, which not only retains some of those things which they

took away, but also added some new things. So what Sertac Bucak says in the paper which he is going to distribute--or maybe has already distributed a few copies (Chairman: "Yes I have a copy here.")--is that it does not make the situation the slightest bit better now that the Kurds are allowed to speak Kurdish in their homes and in their gardens--which they have always done anyway, even if it was forbidden. But, in addition to all the prohibitions and penalties, now there are also extensive fines for speaking Kurdish in public places and for separatist propaganda, in addition to heavy prison sentences which the earlier Penal Code and Act No. 2932 imposed. So, in fact, the situation is not better than it was. Kurdish is still prohibited in almost everything but private use in homes. I would just like to add this, so that nobody gets the false impression that Turkey has now, in fact, allowed the Kurdish language to be used. The human rights initiative in Kurdistan has just translated that new law into English, so it should be available next week.

Chairman: Yes, very good.

Skutnabb-Kangas: I mean, what I said was not a correction, it was an addition.

Toševski: Yes, yes, my idea was... I mean, what I wanted to emphasize--knowing the legal situation in Turkey, and how they have treated the Kurds--is that small act, that small attempt to raise the question of the Kurds. Willingly or unwillingly, they have raised internally the problem of the Kurds. (Skutnabb-Kangas: "Yes") And that is very important.

Chairman: The difficulty I see, for us, is to define what to do, what to write here. We agree that the situations are so different that we cannot see any way to do something by law, really. I am rather lost. It is not easy to find a way. It is possible to make a declaration, a very general declaration, but that is not enough.

Toševki: I think it is not that complicated. I mean, we can draft one page as the result of our deliberations here, and point to a couple of ideas about education, its place and importance in the lives of minorities. I mean, we would more or

less repeat things (Chairman: "Yes"), but *repetitio est mater studiorum*, at least in Europe.

Chairman: What do you think?

Toševski: I have not come here to invent anything.

Chairman: Would you like to say something?

Williams: My name is Colin Williams. I am from Wales. I teach in a Polytechnic in England. I am a professor of geography, an environmental scientist by background and an ecologist. But I teach courses in ethnic and minority relations and in international politics on the environment. My interest in language minorities is also biographical, because my mother started the first Welsh school in Wales, and I was the first child--along with twenty others--to be educated entirely through the medium of Welsh from 1950 to 1969. And although I am not responsible for anybody, and I do not represent anything, I am certainly involved in some agencies in Britain and in the European Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages.

Two things which concern me about education and about minorities are that, obviously, "minorities" is a relative concept. It is not an absolute definition or concept; it depends entirely on the context. As we have heard, the Québécois consider themselves to be a linguistically threatened minority in North America; and yet Montreal is the second largest French-speaking city in the world. So it is all conjectural, contextual and epiphenomenal: it depends on timing as well as on place. And perhaps the reason why minorities have emerged is that they are no longer seen as being the threat they once were. I think we are the first generation since 1648 in Europe not to have suffered continental warfare. So people aged forty and under might be forgiven for assuming that peace is the norm, whereas people over forty might be forgiven for thinking that war is the norm, because every generation, somewhere or other in Europe, has been basically involved in major warfare. And minorities have been either the victims or the protagonists or the typical scapegoats for that complex situation.

So my view of minorities is more of an ecological view, a holistic view. And the questions that I ask are questions of species, imperative questions, rather than legal or social questions. At the moment, we are riding a tide of interest in threatened species: the whales, the Amazonian rainforest, or whatever; and on the back of that tide comes an interest in minorities. The problem with that is that, as we heard this morning, the minorities are seen through the majorities' eyes as esoteric, of use to mankind when it suits us, but not at other times when they are inconvenient or difficult or demanding resources.

I see the whole situation of minorities not as being a question of legal rights or international conventions, but of struggle. It is about conflict, it is about power, it is about struggle. And we should not assume that most minorities are supportive of each other, because if you change the context, one linguistic minority sees another minority as a threat. So I think the whole notion of a fairly cozy, liberal view of minorities being, by definition, a good thing has to be debated and argued for each particular case. Because at different times and in different contexts, you can even define minorities according to different criteria, depending on what situation you want to advance or defend. Take Britain, for example: I am obviously Celtic and involved in Welsh, Scottish and Irish questions; but many of my co-Welsh-speakers would not be supportive of Urdu or Punjabi speakers, not because they do not see them as deserving support, but because the very money that goes to Wales or Ireland or Scotland--before Urdu or Punjabi speakers were encouraged to have their own schools--would be taken from the Welsh, from the Irish, and from the Scots. So what we have is a competitive situation, not a supportive situation.

I think that, without saying that there aren't comparisons and that there aren't supported international treaties and there aren't things that we can learn from each other, we have to be careful not to fall into a cozy convention which is basically up in the air. It is what I call "legalese": drafting conventions and assuming that that influences anything. In the long run, such international conventions can be very determining, depending on who uses them. So, it is the utility which concerns me. And, as a private citizen, I feel very ambiguous about trusting the law for anything in all sorts of spheres, not just language, but health, cars...anything. But I recognize it as a necessary evil, and therefore something that has to be encouraged. But I agree with you (to the

Chairman) that, in the long run, it is the social will, it is social action, it is the minorities themselves who often influence their own future. They do not determine their own future, they influence their own future. But the major thing, I think, in these conferences and in meeting other people, is that we can learn from each other. And maybe the example in Europe, at the moment, is the Catalans and the Basques, who are very, very different--I know--from many other minorities. But increasingly, as I go around listening to other people, I find that the models, the examples I held up for ammunition, for imitation--even if we knew it long ago; the Turks in Bulgaria, I mean, would be close to the Catalans in terms of their economic development, in terms of their access to education, technology, television--the fact that it has been proven to be possible in one circumstance gives hope for many others. But I am fairly skeptical, to be honest, about the future of linguistic minorities in Europe, because if we change the context again, even the Danes are a linguistic minority. Even though you have your own State, at a European level, functionally, you perform in English or in another language. So it is a hierarchy that we are concerned with, rather than just a continuum.

The important thing, I think, is that we gather data from whatever sources we can, and that choices are framed in a very realistic fashion, not in a romantic fashion. And that, above all, if we do plan things, we anticipate the consequences of all the different likely positions that can be taken, so that we do not, first of all, raise false expectations or encourage people to believe that the future is going to be better than the past; because often it isn't. And, although we talk about educating the majority in many contexts, often what we are really talking about is the decision makers. So I would suggest that we go for the jugular: we do not concern ourselves with mass education generally; we concern ourselves with very well-articulated specific interest groups who decide things. And that is where, although I am not for intervention in the law or in politics, I see the essence of our presence as being political. The questions are not cultural, linguistic, educational; they are essentially political, and highly-charged political, at that. And we should recognize that. There are diplomatic ways of being forcible, and there are undiplomatic ways of being forcible. We need to develop a system, which is what every other group in society does. It gets in the system, it works the system to its own advantage. And, in that sense, I think education is the platform. The problem with education, of course, is that

once you start at a junior level, a primary level, the expectation is that you have to go up to the secondary level and possibly the technical and university level in time.

You (to the Chairman) keep repeating the Irish question. 1.3 million people claim to speak Irish; specialists argue that only 60,000 actually use Irish in the daily situation. And there, the problem, I think, is that Irish was made compulsory to serve other ends, rather than to serve the material needs of people who want to earn a living, make love in their language, or whatever it may be. The problem with Irish is that the language has been used for an overtly political end, to separate Ireland from its British role in history, rather than as the language for earning a living, getting to know people, using it for the literary language, and so forth. My cynicism and concern is that we do not want languages to be hijacked by language professionals (Someone: "Yes"), which, I think, is what may be happening in parts of Europe. "Big fish in small pools" is what I call them; I do it myself, because I am on many boards of education. But often it becomes language professionalism for its own sake, rather than for a popular, democratic will of the people; because in many cases, as I understand, in different parts of Europe, the people do not choose to behave as language professionals claim they should behave. They do want to learn English or French or German, and I would encourage that. Because without that, I would not be able to speak to you here. So I think there is an element of choice. It has to be encouraged. And there is no point in passing laws without also making structural transformations of society to enable those laws to be enacted.

And so I think we need what you (to Kofod) mentioned: a pluralistic approach. Many streams looking in towards the same social goal, which is really about choice, not about limited opportunities or repression. But to encourage choice, we have to have a holistic view of society. It is not about economics or law or politics, but all of those things put together; and fundamentally, I think, it is about economics, not linguistics. It is about jobs, employment, wealth, the creation and distribution of goods in society. So I would encourage us to have a holistic view, which is education as serving certain functions, not for perpetuating the language, but allowing people to earn a living, to learn about the world, to have social and psychological satisfaction from knowledge. Those are basically my own private comments.

Chairman: So, do you intend to...?

(Brief interruption in tape; then several voices at once)

Chairman: Oui, oui, on peut rompre, et puis...

Vukas: Puisqu'il va y avoir une pause, peut-être vous pourriez rencontrer les autres présidents et...

Chairman: Oui, oui, je vais le faire.

Skutnabb-Kangas: Could we have a translation, please?

Vukas: I just suggested that during the break, our chairman could meet the other chairmen and see what their intentions concerning the product are.

Chairman: I will ask that.

Williams: In a sense, we've got two goals, haven't we? One is to satisfy our masters, to write a half page. And the other is to make use of ourselves (Skutnabb-Kangas: "Yes"), which I think is much more important. We could choose not to write a half page, or, maybe write the half page, but also learn about other situations, learn what we can give and take from each other. I think that would be very useful. But I would feel ill at ease if I had spent all this time and all this money just to write a half page of something else to be put on the shelf.

Chairman: Yes.

Skutnabb-Kangas: I think there were a lot of extremely interesting things in what the last speakers said, and especially--Colin knows, because I have said. And I would like very much to comment from the point of view of some of the work that I am doing; and especially the question of power, which he raised. I have been working quite a lot with the question of minority women and power.

And I have tried, together with several groups of minority women, to work out some sort of theories which would feed our experience of trying to gain power over ourselves in our fight for our children's future, and also in the educational system and in maintaining languages. The only thing I disagreed with, the way Colin presented it, was what he said about learning English, French and German. I think that is one of the great dangers and one where we in Europe and Europeanist countries certainly have to learn from other parts of the world. And what we can learn, for example, from some of the so-called "fringe areas" in Europe like Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union--but especially from Africa and Asia--is not to put our choices in a way which is an "either/or" choice: either you learn your minority language, or you learn the official language and some other languages in addition. I think that a lot of Europeanist countries' thinking is based on this myth of monolingualism and monoculturalism with some foreign languages, a sprinkling of foreign languages, in school. So we do suffer from monolingual stupidity and monocultural stupidity when we very often put the choices as "either/or" choices instead of "both/and" choices. I mean, even the English language does not give more choices than two: "both/and"; and every time I say, "Both that and that and that and that," my English husband says, "You cannot say that. If you say 'both,' then it can be just one in addition." So it seems like bilingualism, biculturalism is the most that the English language, and we in Europe and in Europeanist countries, can think of. And when one talks to one's colleagues in India... For example, once I was talking to the former director of the Central Institute of Indian Languages; I happened to say to him by mistake, "we bilinguals," and he looked at me and said, "Which seven of my nine languages are you wanting to kill?" So all these "either/or" choices, I think, are... (Brief interruption from loudspeaker) One of the things that we could and should discuss is plurality, which presupposes that it is normal to have several different identities: not only a monocultural and monolingual one, not only an identity as a minority person--where you are always and only a minority person--but to have several different identities which are focussed alternatively, and to know several languages without that meaning that you are less loyal to the country where you happen to live; to have several cultural identities, and so on, without always having this "either/or," this monolingual stupidity, a choice which restricts us.

The second thing which has to do with power is that, I think, when we talk about the resources and the power that minorities want to have access to, it is extremely important to see in which ways those resources which minorities do have--minority languages, minority cultures, and so on--are socially constructed so as to be seen as handicaps rather than resources, or so as to be made invisible. And I think, for example, the type of educational organization where the Sámi schools are under the same department which also has to do with the mentally-retarded and the handicapped (Martinsson protests), inevitably, in some way--even if it is not the same--forces them into the same category (Chairman protests), meaning that "minority" is the same as "mentally-retarded," as "handicapped." I mean, in a lot of small ways in which we use language ideologically, or in which we structurally organize our educational systems, we socially construct minorities as handicapped. And then we say minorities need help and support. We do not need help and support; we need justice, we need basic justice. (Chairman: "That's right") And likewise, we are made to seem invisible in the ways minority children are defined by the school system, not in terms of what they know and what they are, but in terms of what they are not, what they do not know, in relation to foreign norms. For instance, in the United States: all these terms like "LEP-children," Limited-English-Proficient children, or "NEP-children," Non-English-Proficient children. I mean, minority children are defined in terms of what they do not know. Majority children, American-English-speaking children in the United States are not defined in the same way, for example, as "non-Mohawk-proficient children" (laughter), which, obviously, they should be, if we were fair in seeing how we socially construct our identities. And how we are socially constructed obviously is reflected in the type of power we feel over ourselves. And if we want minorities to have the possibility of influencing our lives--not determining, but influencing them--obviously we also have to demand basic justice in our own right to construct ourselves socially, so that we are constructed in a way which is worthy. And we choose our resources as resources, rather than handicaps.

Chairman: I think you are totally right. The only bilinguals are we ourselves; the minority members are bilinguals. The American-English people, the French are not bilingual. So I mean...

Someone: So they are handicapped!

Chairman: (Laughs) Yes, that's true.

Skutnabb-Kangas: I mean, they are the ones who cause stress. Now the two of us are the ones who cost because we have to have an interpreter, because we do not know French. We are handicapped. And when will the majority people accept that they are the handicapped ones? They are the ones who cause costs to the society. The Sámi people have had lots of real struggles with that, when bilingual Sámi are sitting in meetings, and somebody says, "Oh, you need an interpreter, because you want to speak Sámi at this meeting." And they say, "Oh, no, we don't need an interpreter; it is you, the monolingual Norwegian, who need an interpreter, because you don't know both languages." (Laughter)

Chairman: In the Basque Country, we hear the same question all the time: Do you need an interpreter? No, I can speak Basque, French, Spanish. It is your problem, not mine. Yes, that's true.

Skutnabb-Kangas: So I think we have to analyze minority situations on an ideological level, on a structural level, and on a practical level. I think we are quite right to do all of that.

Chairman: Well, I think it is a point to be written down afterwards: the necessity of a multilingual situation--something like that; respecting their own language, but going to other languages. (To Kofod) You are writing, I think? Is it possible to write that?

Skutnabb-Kangas: How do we get rid of monolingual stupidity in the world without accusing monolinguals of stupidity in an undiplomatic way?

Chairman: Yes, you are right. Well, should we stop here and come back in half an hour? (Murmurs of agreement) Okay, fine!

(Coffee break)

Chairman: Well, I noted three ideas, which, I think, perhaps Mr. Williams should write down, since he speaks English better than me. (Laughter) One is that the main aim of the Conference of Rovaniemi is the protection and promotion of minority languages in our field of education. Another idea: a very rich exchange of views took place. Another one: the system of education is the essential--or the most important--means of promoting the languages. Or something like that. Well, I have these three ideas.

Toševski: Well, I think that is enough.

Vukas: Could I make a procedural suggestion? That you (to Williams) sit by the Chairman so that when we have an idea, you can write it down.

Toševski: (to Williams) You must be on the committee. And you, too (to Crochet).

Crochet: Moi?

Vukas: The Vatican is really important! (laughs)

Toševski: I would suggest that, practically, we have put a number of ideas on the table. So it is a question of how to formulate them in words.

Chairman: I think one of us has to take the pen and paper and write while I...

Toševski: I mean you or the lady. Well, she is not here...

Kofod: During the coffee break I sat down and scribbled a few sentences...

Toševski: Very good! Excellent!

Kofod: ...so, maybe I could read them out, so we can just coordinate. Well, I said something like this: "The working group had an exchange of views and situations in some countries. We proceeded to discuss how best to protect and promote linguistic minority rights. We took into account that various

international fora have already under preparation texts to this effect. The group realized that the legally-binding texts have a difficult road to travel. And as the question is of an urgent nature, the group was of the opinion that the question could be pursued in the various fora, with the aim that, through political consensus, the protection and promotion of linguistic minority rights should be insured." Yes, it should be something like that. But then, I forgot something which you (to the Chairman) mentioned, about the social will.

Chairman: Yes, social will, something about will.

Kofod: We should have not only the political consensus, we should also put the social will into it.

Chairman: Yes, I think that is very important.

Kofod: Well, these were just some suggestions, or scratchings...

Williams: And then, to add on about education...

Kofod: Yes, since this is our field. Or maybe we should leave out the situations in the countries. But it is a fact: several situations were mentioned, and we should reflect what was said in our report to the plenary. (Murmurs of agreement)

Chairman: I think we need to add something about the will, the necessity of the will of the people. It is not a matter of law only, but also a matter of will. (Murmurs of agreement)

Kofod: I think the last sentence is horribly long... (Pause) I think this is something to be read out in the plenary tomorrow, so that is why I have made it rather formal.

Chairman: And perhaps it is possible to say that the educational field is essential, or most important, for the future of the languages, and so on. One sentence or so.

Crochet: Moi, j'ai une idée. Je l'ai déjà dite, mais j'y reviens, parce que cela me semble important: c'est que chaque minorité a droit à sa différence, linguistique, ethnique, etc.; mais elle a également un devoir de solidarité avec l'ensemble plus vaste dans lequel cette minorité est insérée.

Chairman: Oui, c'est très bon. I think it is very important...

(Throughout the following exchange, the Chairman and Crochet often both speak at once)

Crochet: Très important. Sinon on a abouti à quelque chose qui est complètement...

Chairman: Oui, c'est le cas de la Suisse. Le devoir d'affiliation qu'utilise la Suisse.

Le devoir d'affiliation. Quelqu'un qui vient à Genève doit se préparer à parler français. Autrement, il n'a qu'à faire sa valise et aller à Zurich, où il peut parler allemand. Ce devoir d'assimilation est dans la voie démocratique.

Crochet: Oui, naturellement, mais c'est très difficile de réaliser en pratique...

Chairman: ... Bon, solidarité--on peut l'appeler comme on veut, mais je pense que l'idée est là. Que quelqu'un qui arrive dans un pays doit s'assimiler, s'adapter au pays.

Vukas: Pas "assimiler." "Intégrer."

Crochet: (indéchiffrable) ... intégrer ... le bien commun ...

Chairman: Intégrer, oui... En Suisse on ne peut pas imposer sa propre langue en dehors de la maison. Dès que vous quittez la maison, vous êtes dans un milieu différent; il faut parler la langue de ce milieu et pas imposer votre langue au milieu. Je pense qu'il faut le dire aussi, parce que c'est une idée profonde d'adaptation, de solidarité...

Crochet: Pour moi, la différence est le devoir

Chairman: (Indecipherable) ... de solidarité. Je ne vois que solidarité ...

Crochet: C'est là le point difficile. Pour la différence, tout le monde est d'accord; pour la solidarité, c'est plus douteux.

Chairman: Oui, mais c'est là justement le point le plus nécessaire.

Crochet: (Indecipherable) ... comme le devoir d'éducation de Monsieur l'Ambassadeur ...

Chairman: Oui, c'est-à-dire, le droit à la différence et plus le droit de solidarité...

Crochet: Le devoir de solidarité.

Chairman: ...le devoir de solidarité, le devoir de s'adapter...

Crochet: ...dans l'ensemble plus vaste...

Chairman: ...de ne pas imposer sa propre langue à la communauté qui vous reçoit...

Crochet: (Indecipherable) ...cela seulement au titre individuel. Les minorités ont la longue expérience qu'une minorité qui se veut chaleureuse et fraternelle risque toujours d'être un petit peu à distance de l'ensemble plus vaste, du groupe dans lequel elle s'insère et dont elle bénéficie des services et tout. Bon, moi, je n'ai rien d'autre à dire.

Chairman: Alors, c'est ça: d'ajouter cette idée-là, n'est-ce pas? We also have to think about that, to have something about the right to be different, but included with that, the duty of solidarity.

(Several voices at once)

Interpreter (summarizing Crochet's position):

A minority has the right to enjoy its difference; it is recognized with its difference. That is not difficult to achieve. But the next step is that that minority, the same minority, has a duty, in the country where it happens to be, of solidarity towards the others--that is, the majority, the language of the majority, for instance. The case of the immigrants in Sweden--they should integrate within the Swedish society. So, we are looking for the word... Is the word "solidarity" all right?

Williams: That is a principal value, isn't it?

Interpreter: No, it depends on the will power of that minority. It must go towards the community in which it tries to integrate.

Chairman: Perhaps "integration"...

Interpreter: "Integration" is a better word.

Chairman: On parle en Suisse du devoir d'assimilation, du devoir d'intégration culturelle.

Williams: But that presumes all sorts of things about State legitimacy, State boundaries, national integration; that is another...

Interpreter: We are talking about attitude, aren't we? Mr. Crochet is talking about the attitude. Minorities should have a positive attitude. That is, they fight for their rights. They get their rights, but in return they should not live in...

Chairman: ...a ghetto.

Interpreter: ...in isolation, separated. They should go towards the community where they are living.

Williams: Yes, but that presumes all sorts of things about different minority situations. I can think of lots of minorities who would not want to justify them living in the State where they live at the moment. Am I not right?

(Several voices at once)

Interpreter: Do you think it is not realistic?

Williams: Well, it is too statist, too State-centered, isn't it? It presumes the legitimacy of each State boundary as it exists; it is a status quo. Whereas some minorities, presumably, would like to see a change of State boundaries in Europe.

Interpreter: We are not talking about boundaries.

Williams: I think it is superfluous; we do not need to open that discussion.

Vukas: I think it has been explained in terms that are quite useful. I think it is very useful that, in order to be accepted as minorities, in order to be granted rights, they must not separate themselves; they must integrate, they must be part, not of those who are especially different from them, but in all the senses, in all the fields of life where they need cooperation. I think "solidarity," although not a legal term, is a very useful one.

Crochet: C'est le principe de tout fédéralisme au fond, d'avoir à la fois des droits à la différence, mais d'accepter de s'intégrer dans un ensemble plus vaste. Et l'équilibre difficile...

Chairman: Cela a un double sens: on m'accepte, et moi j'accepte.

Crochet: Voilà, un devoir!

Vukas: I think it is very useful. And, as I said earlier, when you (to Williams) stress the importance of languages in the field of education--and we say that this is the most important--I would even say that this is a precondition of the preservation of the existence of minorities; not only that this is the most important aspect of the use of languages, but a precondition for the existence, the continuation...

Kofod: I have written the following here: "The group stressed that education is a principle public agency in language reproduction, which is of special importance in minority situations." Maybe we could just add a little sentence...

Williams: It is of crucial importance. (Murmurs of agreement) It is not just special, it is crucial. (Pause) Here is why I do not like this idea: Take, for example, Ireland--Northern Ireland. If the Gaelic speakers, the Irish nationalists, were given grants by the British government to have Irish-language schools, but in return they were expected to integrate closer to Britain, they would not want the rights, because then they would have to become closer to the United Kingdom. They would rather be without the rights, and Irish, than with the rights, and British--if that is what solidarity means. (Chairman: "Yes). If not, then I agree.

(Several voices at once)

Chairman: The idea is symmetry.

Toševski: "Solidarity" is not a good term.

Chairman: Do you mean legally? You don't like "solidarity"?

Toševski: I do not like the word.

Interpreter: In English, it is not a good word, but in French it is all right. "Solidarité" in French is not the same as in English.

Toševski: Well, that is the problem!

Vukas: I do not see that it has any connotation of any territorial... It does not require any changes in relation to territorial boundaries. It just means a relationship of individuals in the community.

(Several voices at once)

Williams: It is about mutual respect. (Murmurs of agreement)

Vukas: Yes, that's it: mutual respect. It could not be interpreted in a way that the whole of Northern Ireland should be closer...

(Several voices at once)

Toševski: I think that "mutual respect" is the term. It is better than "solidarity."

Chairman: Yes, yes!

Crochet: Oui, mais solidarité...

Interpreter (to Crochet): Oui, mais les mots ne sont jamais les mêmes d'une langue à une autre.

Williams: Funny things, languages! (Murmurs of agreement)

Interpreter (to Crochet): Il y a une connotation différente...

(Several voices at once: suggestions for procedure in writing the report for the plenary session)

Kofod: So we must have a sentence about "solidarity" or "mutual respect."

Toševski: I think "mutual respect" is better.

Kofod: Or "integration."

Interpreter: "Integration" is better than "mutual respect." Mr. Crochet does not agree, because it is not enough. It is not like "solidarity."

Chairman: I prefer "integration." If I think about the Basque Country, I prefer for the Spaniards to be integrated into the Basque society.

Williams: Yes, but it works both ways, doesn't it?

Kofod: It could be misinterpreted. (Williams: "Yes.")

Toševski: "Integration" is another concept.

Williams: The price of minority rights is assimilation, really. That is one way of interpreting it.

Interpreter: But what is wrong with "solidarity"? The word "solidarity" in English?

Williams: Because it assumes... Well, for example, I am Welsh. Now, I would not argue for one moment that the price of my having more Welsh rights is to support the conservative government in England.

Interpreter: We are not talking about the government, but about the people with whom you are living. We are talking about the other linguistic community which surrounds you. You have to accept it; you do not fight against it, you do not isolate yourself.

Williams: My view is that you do not need to say that, because that is reality. (Interpreter laughs) Why say it? It has been like that for 500 years. (Skeptical laughter) For immigrants, perhaps, I would agree with you; that is a different situation.

(Several voices at once)

Vukas: One aspect of solidarity would be not to ask for education in your language, if the community, the majority, cannot afford it. For example, we have education in Albanian at the university level. But then for Hungarians, we have only some faculties; for Italians, we have just two high schools; and for the Slovaks, who number 40,000, the Croatian Republic cannot afford a university. So this is solidarity: also to understand the economic level and

development of the whole society. Of course, in principle, under natural law, you have the right to have education and to speak your own language. But you must have the feeling that you live in a society where others are also living.

Chairman: It is the same thing in Switzerland. The Italian Swiss do not have an autonomous university. But they are allowed to get ... (indecipherable) in Italy.

(Several voices at once)

Vukas: Even in our language, "solidarity" has a different meaning. But I understand what it means in French.

(Several voices at once)

Someone: How about "loyalty"?

Toševski: "Loyalty" implies more of a State or legal relationship. What we need here is something that covers the social atmosphere.

Interpreter: Why not a simple word, like "openness"?

Crochet: Le mot "solidarité" en français, c'est un autre effort. Parce que cela veut dire "solidarité" aussi dans le concret.

Toševski: Well, then why not "mutual understanding"?

Williams: Well, that expresses our liberal values, doesn't it? It is what we would like to see happen. But in lots of legal documents, that would be a right, an after-the-fact thing; you would not really have to put it in the documents. In a sense, what we are asking for is recognition of the simple importance of education. And everything that comes after that is secondary. Because we could also say that people should clean their teeth twice a day, or lots of other things which I would like to see happen. But I would not even include "mutual respect." Because it is almost as if you are hinting that if you don't... It is

trust. I am a minimalist; I would rather write less and less. (Pause) Perhaps a better word is "mutual accommodation," because "accommodation" suggests flexibility and give and take.

(Several voices at once)

Crochet: "Devoir de solidarité" en français dit clairement une chose, un devoir sérieux.

Williams: Perhaps what we should do is write the text in French.

(Several voices at once)

Crochet: (Indecipherable) ...parce que il y a le droit à la différence, ethnique, religieuse, etc. Chaque minorité a droit à sa différence linguistique, ethnique, etc. Mais elle a également un devoir de solidarité dans le peuple, la nation, où elle est insérée, parce qu'elle bénéficie aussi des services publics de l'ensemble, éventuellement même de subventions. Alors, il faut un programme éducatif, je crois que cela a sa place. Mais si le mot "solidarité" ne va pas... Il n'y a pas de fédéralisme sans droit et sans devoir. (Murmurs of agreement) C'est à voir dans cette ligne-là. Reste à trouver le mot anglais, alors. Mais je ne suis pas jaloux de cette idée, je ne suis pas jaloux du texte, si l'on trouve qu'il n'est pas bien. Enfin, j'ai fait ma proposition.

Interpreter: Have we given up the word "integration" in English?

Williams: Well I think "integration" plays into the hands of the State.

Crochet: Est-ce que "loyauté" leur plaît? C'est trop, parce que c'est la négation. "Intégration," c'est la négation de l'identité. Cela risque d'effacer l'identité, la différence. C'est pour cela, enfin, dans la formulation française, "solidarité" respecte bien l'identité, mais implique aussi qu'on est conscient d'un devoir. Mais si le mot "loyauté" leur va mieux...

(Several voices at once)

Chairman: But linguistically, "loyalty" in English is the will to maintain one's own language, isn't it?

Williams: Well, the reason I am suspicious is that it hints that there is mistrust. If you talk about loyalty, you can also have disloyalty. (Someone: "Sure!") So if you do not have loyalty, what will the State do to you? It will revoke your rights, won't it? So even raising the question, in a sense, suggests mistrust. I mean, I will accept it, but...

(Several voices at once)

Interpreter: Well, if we write this sentence in French in the first place, if we start from the French text, the word "solidarity" works well and everybody understands what it means. But what would the translation be? It is a problem of translation.

Williams: Really, what you are talking about is mutual support, isn't it? Mutual accommodation.

Interpreter: The amazing thing is that "accommodation"--the same words do not mean exactly the same thing.

Vukas: It is the will to do your best to live together with the rest of the...

Williams: ...in harmony.

Vukas: Yes, in harmony.

Interpreter: To strive for harmony! (Laughs)

Williams: "Harmony" is a much more positive thing, whereas "solidarity" means that you are really supporting...

Vukas: It is your commitment to contribute to harmony. (Murmurs of agreement)

(Several voices at once)

Interpreter: (to Crochet)

Ils parlent de l'harmonie. "Harmonie" c'est compris dans le mot "solidarité" en français.

Vukas (to Crochet): C'est une promesse de contribuer à l'harmonie.

Crochet: ...au bien commun. (Murmurs of agreement)

(Several voices at once; Interpreter summarizes the previous discussion for Crochet)

Interpreter: Il faudrait dire "Le droit à la différence, mais le devoir de contribuer au bien commun."

Williams: Shall I read out one sentence about education? "The group stressed that education is the principle public agency in language reproduction, or language transition, which is of crucial importance in minority situations; and could be a significant instrument for the establishment of mutual harmony in multilingual societies." Or perhaps "for the construction of harmony." Because, in a sense, what we are saying is that education serves not only the minority, but by granting educational rights to the minority, you are also making the rest of the society stronger, because you are removing one of the grievances. Is that what we are saying, or not? That education serves two purposes: it serves the minority, and it also serves the majority, because it reduces elements of tension.

Toševski: Well, the education of minorities might enrich the national educational level, so the educational system for minorities should not be understood as a sort of failure or weak point in the existing system, but as an enrichment of it.

William: But, in a sense, that is our wishful thinking, because in some countries, people would argue that providing education for minorities trains nationalists or separatists or irredentists. That is the accusation in the Basque Country, in Wales, in Ireland. They would say that what you are really doing

is training the next generation of nationalists. I mean, I accept what you are saying, but...

(Several voices at once)

Toševski: Any promotion of any minority might be used for nationalistic purposes.

Williams: But then not giving any rights is a worse situation.

Toševski: That's right.

Vukas: There is another part missing, because you are formulating it so that the rights of minorities automatically contribute to the harmony, while our colleague, Mr. Crochet, is suggesting that there must be some moral obligation of the minorities.

Crochet: Un devoir de la part de la minorité. Un fait automatique. Et c'est ça le plus difficile.

Toševski: This idea of solidarity... I mean, we are here to discuss the rights of minorities, not the duties. Solidarity might be interpreted as one of the duties; but we are not talking about duties here.

Someone: Of justice.

Toševski: Well, that is the business of government, or somebody else--not us. So the emphasis should remain on rights only, not on duties. (Murmurs of agreement)

Williams: I can write, "And thus the minority has an obligation to contribute to the mutual harmony of society." But I would not like to do that, because I am rather in the minimalist position, which is to say what should happen in terms of rights. And that is the end of the story. And then somebody else could say, "That also means..." and somebody else could say, "And that also means..."

And those should not be put down; they should be unspoken assumptions, because each society is going to be different.

(Several voices at once; summary in French for Crochet)

Crochet: Je ne crois pas qu'une étude sérieuse sur les droits d'une minorité puisse se conclure sans au moins une allusion à ses devoirs. Même si on ne les développe pas.

Chairman: Je crois que si.

Crochet: C'est l'un des composants du problème les plus difficiles à résoudre, du point de vue psychologique, pédagogique, politique. Parce que c'est facile d'enflammer les gens sur une idée séparatiste. Mais un jour viendra où on dit, "Ah, ça ne marche pas."

Chairman: Mais je pense, par exemple, à l'Estonie, où il y a une minorité russe importante. Ils ont des devoirs aussi par rapport aux Estoniens.

Crochet: Même si on ne le détaille pas, vous estimez que c'est superflu. Moi, non! (Chairman disagrees)

Someone: Bon, c'est écrit. Colin, could you read it again?

Williams: It is conditional, isn't it? (Someone: "Oui.") "And thus the minority has an obligation to contribute to the mutual harmony of society." That is what you are saying, isn't it? "I will give you rights, if you play the game, if you respect me." I do not agree, but I will write it.

Vukas: Not "me." You respect the necessity of a quiet life, the prosperity of the whole society. (Murmurs of agreement)

Interpreter: Do you feel it could be used the way you put it just now?

Williams: Yes, because, in a sense, what the minority is, is powerless. It is asking for a privilege, not a right. Do you see?

Ilna Tomova: Which privilege? I am sorry to interrupt. This has been a very interesting discussion. But I would rather say that minorities are almost always in a worse situation, so they need some extra privileges, just to have the same justice, equality. So, would you please explain to me, what is the objection to this right for minorities to receive some extra rights, some extra linguistic rights? What are the objections?

Williams: Well, basically, the question is whether we should write a draft on education which only talks about the rights of minorities--and we all agree that minorities should have more rights. But Mr. Crochet wants that right to be in return for the minorities' mutual consideration, accommodation, support for the construction of a more harmonious society. So it is a give and take. What I am saying, is that we should just concern ourselves with the rights of minorities; and what others feel is that we should also add more positive statements: that if the minorities receive rights, they should also be under an obligation to contribute to the mutual harmony and peace of the whole society. Now, I think that is superfluous, because it presupposes that minorities are devious and cheating.

Chairman: I think it is necessary, because if you think about the Basque Country, or the Baltic Republics now, with the Russian militia and the Russian minority asking for their rights, I think they must recognize that they also have a duty to Latvia or Estonia or Lithuania, since they are a minority, since they are not of the country--I mean, they are newcomers. I think it is necessary to point that out.

Vukas: And does this apply also to the Basques in Spain?

Chairman: Yes, of course! That is not a problem. The problem is the Spaniards in the Basque Country, and the Russians in Latvia. The Latvians in Russia are not a problem.

(Several voices at once; long pause)

Williams: Could we suggest a compromise? Instead of saying, "And thus the minority has an obligation to contribute to the mutual harmony of society," which puts the onus upon the minority--making them, in a sense, victims--it might be better to say, "The group stressed that education was a principal public agency in language reproduction which is of crucial importance in minority situations, in the expectation of constructing a more harmonious society." So, in a sense, that makes it an obligation for all.

Toševski: Yes, that is much better.

Williams: Otherwise, by focussing on the minorities, you are victimizing them, and--my earlier concern--suggesting a lack of trust.

(Several voices at once; General agreement with Williams' proposal)

Toševski: (to the Chairman) Are you happy?

Chairman: I think it is a good formulation.

(Several voices at once; summary in French for Crochet)

Chairman: A minor point: since my English is not very good, shouldn't Mr. Williams give the exposé in the plenary, instead of me? I mean, you could read it, you could explain better than me.

Williams: Yes, that's no problem. As long as you trust me to say...
(Laughter)

Kofod: "The working group had an exchange of views on the language situations in some countries. It proceeded to discuss how to protect and promote linguistic minority rights. The group stressed that education was a principal public agency in language reproduction which is of crucial importance in minority situations, in the expectation of constructing a more harmonious society. It took into

account that various international fora have already under preparation texts to this effect. The group realized that legally-binding texts have a difficult road to travel. The group was of the opinion that the question should be pursued in the various fora, with the aim that, through political consensus, protection and promotion of linguistic minority rights should be ensured as widely as possible.

Chairman: What about the will of the population, the social will? I think we should add something about that.

Toševski: I agree.

Williams: "The group stressed that education was a principal public agency in language reproduction which is of crucial importance in minority situations." What we are really trying to say is that it is more important in minority situations than in normal ones. (Toševski: "Yes.") So perhaps we should say, "of especial importance."

Tomova: "Essential."

Toševski: Why not use the word "essential"--if it is an English word. (Laughter)

Someone: It is a French word! (More laughter)

Williams: Well, it is not essential, in the sense that lots of languages have survived without formal education. What we think is that it is the one public agency without which a minority really does not have much hope of transmitting its language, except within the family. (Pause) How about "...and was deemed essential in minority situations." (Murmurs of agreement)

(Williams summarizes the afternoon discussion to Skutnabb-Kangas, who apologizes for her absence, as she was being interviewed on the radio. General discussion and break-up of the working group).