#### Ethnos und Demos in Tbilisi (Tiflis) - Armenier, Georgier und Russen in den Stadtdumawahlkämpfen 1890 - 1897

#### Oliver Reisner

"Im Spannungsverhältnis zwischen dem neuzeitlichen Staatsbürgerbegriff als Definition politischer Gleichheit und der Verschiedenheit anderer sozialer und kultureller Solidaritätsgruppen einer Gesellschaft, von Ethnien, Religionen, Klassen usw. liegt der Kern der Minderheiten- und Nationalitätenproblematik", beschreibt R. Lepsius den Widerspruch zwischen der Ebene des politisch verfaßten Demos und der des historischen, vielgestaltigen und (um-)interpretierbaren Ethnos einer Abstammungs- oder Kulturgemeinschaft. Zu Recht gibt er die Priorität dem verfassungsmäßig konkret definierten Demos. Ebenso ist der Aussage zuzustimmen, daß ethnische Zugehörigkeit nicht immer das angemessenste Prinzip sei, nach welchem man soziale Aktivitäten oder Identitäten organisiert. Ethnizität kann nur unter bestimmten situativen Bedingungen als Ressource (v.a. als Deutungsmuster von Realität) einer sozialen, kulturellen oder rassischen Gruppe zu ihrem Vorteil mobilisiert oder zu einem Hindernis werden.

Wie komplex und problematisch sich das Verhältnis von Erhnos und Demos in einem extrem multinationalen Umfeld ohne kohärente, homogene Gemeinschaft mit gegenseitig abhängigen Interessen entfalten kann, soll im folgenden am Beispiel der Kaukasusmetropole Tiflis im späten Zarenreich aufgezeigt werden. Wir konzentrieren uns dabei auf die drei größten ethnischen Gruppen der Armenier, Georgier und Russen und auf die Frage ihrer politischen Repräsentation in der Stadtduma. Dem gerade die Einführung demokratischer Prinzipien der städtischen Selbstverwaltung erforderte notwendigerweise die Definition dieses neuen Souveräns. Gleichzeitig werden mit demokratischen Institutionen erstmals auch Elemente des Wettbewerbs und der Unterstützung von Gruppen eingeführt, da der Zugang zu politischer Macht - wenn auch lokal und beschränkt - gerade vom Grad ihrer Mobilisierung abhängt. Wahlen sind deshalb auch nichts anderes als der Kampf um Unterstützung und Wettbewerb zwischen verschiedenen Gruppen. Ethnische bzw. nationale Definitionen bieten hierfür eine einfache und offensichtliche Basis, um Gruppenunterstützung her- bzw. sicherzustellen. Und damit wird auch - gewollt oder ungewollt - deren Politisierung ausgelöst.

Auf den Rahmen des Zarenreiches kann hier nur bedingt eingegangen werden. Insofern die Konzentration der Kräfte im Zentrum und ihre Zersplitterung an der Peripherie typisch sind, können ethnische Grenzen "Sollbruchstellen" dieser Zersplitterung werden, wenn sie mit sozialer Ungleichheit korrespondieren und von intellektuellen Eliten entsprechend als solche gedeutet werden.

M.R. Lepsius, "Ethnos" oder "Demos". Zur Anwendung zweier Kategorien von Emerich Francis auf das mationale Selbstverständnis der Bundesrepublik und auf die Europäische Einigung, in: ders., Interessen, Ideen und Institutionen, Opladen 1988, S. 247-255, hier S. 250.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> S. Wallman, Forewood and Introduction, in: ders. (Hg.), Ethnicity at Work, London/Busingstoke 1979, S. IX; zit. nach Fr. Heckmann, Ethnische Minderheiten, Volk und Nation. Soziologie interethnischer Beziehungen, Samtgant 1992, S. 32.

Siehe die Analyse des Verhältnisses von Demokratie und Nationalismus beim georgischen politischen Philosophen Ghia Nodia, Nationalism and Democracy, im Journal of Democracy 3 (1992), H. 4, S. 3-22 und die Kommenture dezu von Francis Fukuyamn (ebd., S. 23-28) und Shlomo Avineri (ebd., S. 28-31). Siehe dezu auch des Beispiel des Deutschen Reiches bei Stefan Immerfall, Wahlverhalten und Parteiensystem im Kaiserreicht einige quantitative Befünde, im Heinrich Best (Hg.), Politik und Milleu. Wahl- und Elitenforschung im historischen und interkulturellen Vergleich, St. Katharinen 1989, S. 34-59, hier S. 35 (Hist.-Sozialwiss. Forschungen, Bd. 22).

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