

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 (un-)interpretierbaren *Ethnos* einer Abstammungs- oder Kulturgemeinschaft. Zu Recht gibt er die Priorität dem verfassungsmäßig konkret definierten *Demos*.¹ 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.²

Wie komplex und problematisch sich das Verhältnis von *Ethnos* 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. Denn 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.³

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.

¹ M.R. Lepsius, „Ethnos“ oder „Demos“. Zur Anwendung zweier Kategorien von Emmerich Francis auf das nationale Selbstverständnis der Bundesrepublik und auf die Europäische Einigung, in: ders., Interessen, Ideen und Institutionen, Opladen 1988, S. 247-255, hier S. 250.

² S. Wallman, Foreword and Introduction, in: ders. (Hg.), Ethnicity at Work, London/Basingstoke 1979, S. IX; zit. nach Fr. Heckmann, Ethnische Minderheiten, Volk und Nation. Soziologie innerethnischer Beziehungen, Stuttgart 1992, S. 32.

³ Siehe die Analyse des Verhältnisses von Demokratie und Nationalismus beim georgischen politischen Philosophen Ghia Nodia, Nationalism and Democracy, in: Journal of Democracy 3 (1992), H. 4, S. 3-22 und die Kommentare dazu von Francis Fukuyama (ebd., S. 23-28) und Shlomo Avineri (ebd., S. 28-31). Siehe dazu auch das Beispiel des Deutschen Reiches bei Stefan Inacker, Wahlverhalten und Parteiensystem im Kaiserreich: einige quantitative Befunde, in: Heinrich Best (Hg.), Politik und Milieu. 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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