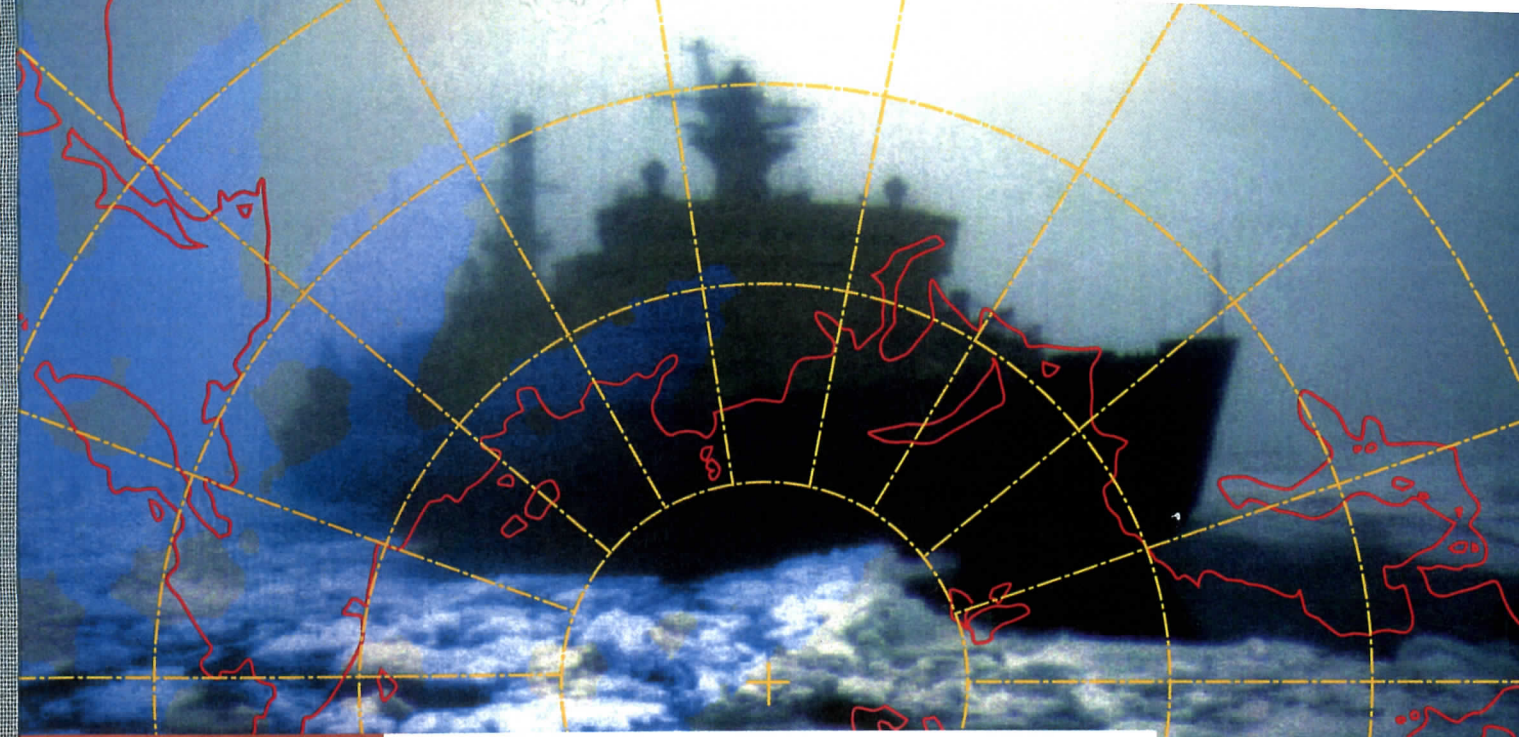

INSROP WORKING PAPER
NO. 93 - 1997, IV.4.1

The Northern Sea Route and Native Peoples

Lessons from the 20th Century for the 21st

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Alexander I. Pika and Dmitry Bogoyavlensky

INSROP International Northern Sea Route Programme

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International Northern Sea Route Programme (INSROP)

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Project IV.4.1:	Social and Cultural Impact on Indigenous Peoples of Expanded Use of the NSR
Supervisor:	Gail Osherenko
Title:	**The Northern Sea Route and Native Peoples** **Lessons from the 20th Century for the 21st**
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What is an INSROP Working Paper and how to handle it:

This publication forms part of a Working Paper series from the **International Northern Sea Route Programme - INSROP**. This Working Paper has been evaluated by a reviewer and can be circulated for comments both within and outside the INSROP team, as well as be published in parallel by the researching institution. A Working Paper will in some cases be the final documentation of a technical part of a project, and it can also sometimes be published as part of a more comprehensive INSROP Report. For any comments, please contact the authors of this Working Paper.

FOREWORD - INSROP WORKING PAPER

INSROP is a five-year multidisciplinary and multilateral research programme, the main phase of which commenced in June 1993. The three principal cooperating partners are **Central Marine Research & Design Institute (CNIIMF)**, St. Petersburg, Russia; **Ship and Ocean Foundation (SOF)**, Tokyo, Japan; and **Fridtjof Nansen Institute (FNI)**, Lysaker, Norway. The INSROP Secretariat is shared between CNIIMF and FNI and is located at FNI.

INSROP is split into four main projects: 1) Natural Conditions and Ice Navigation; 2) Environmental Factors; 3) Trade and Commercial Shipping Aspects of the NSR; and 4) Political, Legal and Strategic Factors. The aim of INSROP is to build up a knowledge base adequate to provide a foundation for long-term planning and decision-making by state agencies as well as private companies etc., for purposes of promoting rational decisionmaking concerning the use of the Northern Sea Route for transit and regional development.

INSROP is a direct result of the normalization of the international situation and the Murmansk initiatives of the former Soviet Union in 1987, when the readiness of the USSR to open the NSR for international shipping was officially declared. The Murmansk Initiatives enabled the continuation, expansion and intensification of traditional collaboration between the states in the Arctic, including safety and efficiency of shipping. Russia, being the successor state to the USSR, supports the Murmansk Initiatives. The initiatives stimulated contact and cooperation between CNIIMF and FNI in 1988 and resulted in a pilot study of the NSR in 1991. In 1992 SOF entered INSROP as a third partner on an equal basis with CNIIMF and FNI.

The complete series of publications may be obtained from the Fridtjof Nansen Institute.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF APPENDICES

List of Figures

FIGURES IN APPENDICES

Acknowledgments

We wish to thank all the authors of papers in the INSROP IV.4.1 series upon whose data, analyses and insights we have drawn to prepare this summary paper (see Appendix 1). Among these, we owe particular thanks to David G. Anderson whose excellent work on the Lower Yenisey Delta provided a useful lens for understanding the impacts of the Northern Sea Route on indigenous peoples across the Russian North whose careful review and suggestions on the discussion draft of this paper have led to some improvements and corrections. One eminent anthropologist, Igor Krupnik, has generously given of his time and deep knowledge of the Russian North throughout the INSROP project. He has helped us to avoid pitfalls, corrected data, challenged us to think deeper, and led us to new sources. He provided thorough and excellent comments on the discussion paper that preceded this working paper, and he reviewed several of the other papers in this series. Retired Admiral Anatoly N. Yakovlev and Dr. Alexander I. Arikainen both of the Institute for Systems Analysis in Moscow provided useful comments on an earlier draft of this paper. We are grateful for all this expertise and help and take full responsibility for any remaining flaws.

Our good friend, colleague, and co-author Alexander "Sasha" Pika prepared the demographic data found in the figures in this paper and its appendices with the assistance of his colleague in Moscow, Dmitry Bogoyavlensky. Sasha died tragically in September 1995 during a research trip in Chukotka. We miss his insight, his humor, and his commitment to a better future for Russia's indigenous peoples. We cannot replicate the detailed work he did to construct meaningful demographic data and to recalculate census data so that it could be presented for administrative units that correspond to those that exist today. Nor can we correct, with any reliability, errors he may have inadvertently made in the tables.

A note on transliteration

In general we have used the transliteration system for Russian Cyrillic as defined by the United States Board on Geographical Names, with the exception of terms now familiar in the English language. Apostrophes denoting hard and soft signs have been kept internally but omitted at the ends of words.

Introduction

We initiated Project IV.4.1 of INSROP in 1994 to look at the effects, positive and negative, of Northern Sea Route (NSR) development on the indigenous populations of Alaska, Russia, and Scandinavia. The studies prepared under the auspices of this Project consider demographic patterns, subsistence and commercial activities, health, education, and social services, political and legal organization, and archaeological and cultural resources. Our findings show that potential risks of increased international use of the NSR include ecological damage, increased impoverishment, loss of livelihood and access to land and resources necessary to economic well-being and cultural continuity, and further political disenfranchisement. Potential benefits include increased access to goods and services, prospects for strengthening local economic activities including reindeer herding, fishing, hunting, trapping and Native crafts, expansion and diversification of local economies, enhanced political and cultural rights, clarification of title to indigenous lands and resources, implementation of existing laws protecting indigenous cultures and activities, and reduction in conflicts with outsiders. Whether the benefits will outweigh the detriments will depend, in large measure, on the institutions, policies and practices put in place to protect Native rights to land and resources, promote self determination of indigenous peoples, and increase local community control. The primary focus of the research to date has been on Russia.

This paper provides an introduction to Project IV.4.1 of INSROP. It introduces readers to the Native peoples in the Russian portion of the study area and provides a brief history of the Northern Sea Route's administration as it relates to indigenous peoples. Our goal in INSROP Project IV.4.1 is to increase understanding of the human component of the North and the position of Native peoples within the relevant historical, economic, and political contexts. The studies are also designed to provide background and baseline data that may be used by commercial and governmental entities in later social and cultural impact studies of specific projects. Development of the NSR in the 1930s dramatically altered the demographic composition of the Soviet North Technological, political, and commercial improvements that lead to increased use of the NSR are likely to further change demographic patterns in the

Russian North. As the NSR provides the infrastructure for development and extraction of arctic and northern resources, its impact has been and will continue to be significant for indigenous residents of the Arctic and northern region.

This paper begins with a discussion of the geographic scope of our investigations and brief identification of the Native peoples in the study areas. This is followed by a history of government administration of the NSR as it relates to Native peoples. The next section of the paper provides general demographic and social characterizations for each of the study areas employing the most recent data available on these subjects. Data at the republic, *oblast*, and *okrug* levels are presented in the text; more detailed data at the *rayon* level can be found in the Appendices. Brief ethnographic descriptions of the Native peoples in the study areas are also provided here along with population data for these groups. In viewing our data, one must remember that statistical materials often create an impression of homogeneity in living and working conditions which is far removed from the truth of the collective circumstances of the various Native groups within the study region. These variations are discussed in individual working papers for the study areas. Change is continuous and often rapid; therefore, statistical materials present only "snapshot" views of northern lifeways and circumstances. In the concluding section of this paper, we summarize the findings from all of the area-specific papers prepared to date for Project IV.4.1. This final section discusses the institutional, physical, social, and cultural impacts of NSR development on indigenous peoples in the Russian North and provides recommendations for reducing and ameliorating negative impacts and enhancing positive impacts.

Methods and Participants

To date, Project IV.4.1 of INSROP has relied on researchers with experience in the region, existing records and reports, and interviews with key informants. In order to develop an accurate picture of past and projected impacts of the NSR, the Institute of Arctic Studies at Dartmouth College identified researchers and institutes across the region able to produce

detailed reports for specific regions. The project expects to produce seven working papers (combining some draft and discussion papers). These papers are listed in Appendix I.

Not all areas influenced by the NSR are covered in depth by the studies in the INSROP project. The studies span the entire NSR but focus on areas likely to be affected first by increased international activity along the Sea Route:

- the *Lower Yenisey Valley* as the central terminal and industrial center of the NSR,
- the *Arctic counties of the Sakha Republic* as the primary regions of impact from shipments to and from the Lena River (and connected river-sea transport network) and the likelihood that the Sakha Republic will be a leader both in resource development and creation of new institutions for the protection of indigenous rights and resources,
- *Yamal* because of the extensive plans for extraction of vast quantities of gas and oil and related proposals for shipment of supplies and products via the NSR, and
- *Chukotka* as the entry point for shipping from the Far East and as a potential base for offshore oil development in the Bering and Chukchi Seas.

The discussion paper prepared by Lars Nila Lasko (not included in this introductory report, although some statistical data from Murmansk *Oblast* is presented) focuses on law pertaining to the Saami population extending from the Kola Peninsula across the north of Finland, Sweden, and Norway. While this region is outside the NSR proper, its growing importance within the Barents Region and its location adjacent to the NSR, make it likely that increased use of the NSR will have both negative and positive impacts on the Saami population. Furthermore, commercial interests using the NSR should be aware of laws protecting indigenous peoples, their cultures, languages, economic activities, and the lands and waters on which these activities are conducted. Likewise, Native populations and communities in Alaska may well be affected by activity in the NSR which is expected to stimulate increased resource extraction from Alaska with associated ramifications for the port community of Dutch Harbor.

We regret the exclusion of coastal areas of the Arkhangel'sk *Oblast* and Nenets Autonomous *Okrug* from this first phase of studies.[1] The extensive exploration and

[1] Some basic data for these areas are provided as Figures in the text and in the Appendices.

development of oil and gas onshore and offshore in this region has already brought an increase in shipping at the western gateway to the NSR. Research on the impact this development will have on indigenous peoples including the potential effects of transport of hazardous cargo, in large part spurred by western investment, is the responsibility of the developers, international investors including the World Bank group and European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and government entities working there. We hope that the set of INSROP reports for other areas will serve as useful models for more detailed social and cultural impact studies in the omitted region.

The institutes and researchers who have conducted the studies for subprogramme IV.4.1 of INSROP include the following: for Chukotka – Dr. Debra L. Schindler, Institute of Arctic Studies, Dartmouth College; for the northern *rayony* (*ulus*) of the Sakha Republic (Yakutia) – a team of researchers headed by Dr. Sardana Boyakova of the Institute of Languages, Literature, and History in Yakutsk (Director, Dr. V.N. Ivanov); for the Lower Yenisey Valley – Dr. David G. Anderson, now located at the Department of Anthropology, University of Alberta, Edmonton; for the Yamal and Gydan Peninsulas – Dr. Andrei V. Golovnev, Institute of History and Archaeology, Ekaterinburg, Russia; for the Kola Peninsula and Scandinavian North – Mr. Lars-Nila Lasko, Equire, the Sami Institute in Kautokeino, Norway; for demographic data for the entire region – Dr. Alexander I. Pika[2] and Dr. Dmitry Bogoyavlensky in Moscow; and for an overview analysis of the NSR's impacts, Dr. Zoya P. Sokolova, Miklukho-Maklai Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Moscow.

Dr. Nicholas Flanders (Institute of Arctic Studies, Dartmouth College) prepared a study based on Alaskan literature that identifies potential impacts of transportation systems related to planned oil and gas activities in the Bering Sea and Alaska. While the Alaskan studies reviewed need updating, they continue to provide insights into the potential effects of the NSR.

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[2] Deceased. Please see the note in the acknowledgements.

Background

The Northern Sea Route extends from the Russian border with Finland on the Kola Peninsula in the west to the Bering Strait in the east. Again from west to east, the five seas which wash the northern coasts of Russia are the Barents, Kara, Laptev, East Siberian and Chukchi. Islands are scattered in these seas and are generally divided into four groups: Franz Joseph Land, Novaya Zemlya, Severnaya Zemlya, and Novosibirskiye. While we initially tried to confine the scope of the study to the area of indigenous habitation along the coast of the Arctic Ocean adjacent to the Northern Sea Route, it quickly became apparent that the impact of the NSR extends far south through each of the northward flowing rivers of the Russian North.

The NSR is the main highway linking the northern rivers with each other and with Europe via the Atlantic Ocean and the Far East via the Pacific Ocean. Seen as a whole, the NSR and northern rivers compose a massive transportation network which has facilitated industrial expansion and economic development throughout the Russian North. The Soviet state fully expected, and even counted on the NSR to have deep and lasting effects on the Native peoples of Siberia. It was not only a transportation route for raw materials and manufactured goods, but was also a vehicle for the social, economic, and political "enlightenment" deemed necessary by the state for Native peoples to become modern Soviet citizens. As with the construction of east-west railroads across the United States in the 1860s and 1870s and the construction of the interstate highway system in the 20th century, the development of the NSR resulted in massive demographic, social, and economic changes affecting indigenous lands and peoples. The Native peoples of Sakha (Yakutia), Chukotka, Taymyr, Yamal, and throughout the North were all within the sphere of influence of the Northern Sea Route.

The history of shipping along the Northern Sea Route has been documented and discussed in numerous volumes dealing with a variety of subjects: the sea route itself, Russian colonization of Siberia, strategic defense, foreign policy, and international economic competition (e.g. Armstrong 1952; Krypton 1953; Horensma 1991; Taracouzio 1938). The historic and current uses of the NSR are also discussed in papers prepared for INSROP (see especially Bulatov 1996, and Armstrong 1996). In addition to its many other venues, *Glavsevmorput* (Main Administration of the Northern Sea Route) was itself in the publishing

business and produced *Sovetskaya Arktika*, a monthly political-economic journal in which the work of the organization was generally praised and only occasionally critiqued. *Sovetskaya Arktika* was an important source of information for this report, but was used with caution. Obviously some subjects were not discussed within its pages, such as the use of convict labor in developing the Northern Sea Route. Few of the above works discuss the impact of "development" (in its various forms) on the Native peoples along the route, but a wealth of information regarding shipping along the NSR can be gleaned from its pages and from its predecessors, *Sovetskii Sever* and *Severnaia Aziia*.. Most Soviet sources deal with the subject only superficially in terms of the modernizing effects of increased supplies of western goods, and the cultural effects of non-Native people moving into the Arctic. In 1985 the Soviet journal *Letopis Severa*[3] devoted an entire issue (Volume 11) to the 50th anniversary of the organization of *Glavsevmorput*. There are extremely few references to Native peoples in the articles in this issue of the journal; the exception is a piece by Vostryakov and D'yachenko (1985) on the history of the development of reindeer breeding in the North. Their article does not, however, discuss the Northern Sea Route or its administration.

Materials addressing the impact of the Northern Sea Route on Native peoples are thus scarce and culled from the works above as well as more obscure sources cited in the text. Further data come from the fieldwork experiences of the authors and of other researchers for the International Northern Sea Route Programme, subprogramme IV.4.1. This paper will provide a summary of available information on the impact of past development on Native peoples and institutions, recognizing that this is an area which was not systematically considered by the Soviet government in its development of the Northern Sea Route and even today has yet to be explored by scholars in a systematic fashion.

Political-Administrative Divisions

The Northern Sea Route today encompasses several types of political-administrative units in Russia : *respublik* (republic), *kray* (territory); *oblast* (Region), *okrug* (district), *rayon*

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[3] *Letopis Severa* was a publication of the Moscow branch of the Geographical Society of the Soviet Union.

(region)[4], and other units which are subsumed under *gorsovety* (city soviets). Throughout this report we will use the Russian terms for these administrative units to avoid confusion, since the literatures of various disciplines often translate these terms in different ways.[5] Of primary concern in this report are six of these divisions, which are directly affected by activities on the Northern Sea Route. Listed from east to west, they are:

1. the Chukchi Autonomous *Okrug* (until 1992 part of Magadan *Oblast*);
2. the Republic of Sakha (formerly the Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic);
3. Krasnoyarsk *Kray* (including the Taymyr Autonomous *Okrug*);
4. the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous *Okrug* ;
5. the Nenets Autonomous *Okrug* ;
6. and Murmansk *Oblast.*

In selecting regions for study we first chose those which are located directly on the coast of the Arctic Ocean (or in the case of Providenskiy, Anadyrskiy, and Beringovskiy *rayony* in Chukotka, the Pacific Ocean). Several other political-administrative units are also included:

- Nadymskiy and Purovskiy *rayony* in the Yamal-Nenets A.O., which are located on the coast of the Ob Bay;
- units which, although not located directly on the sea coast, contain important NSR ports or rivers which flow into the Arctic seas. These are closely tied to the Northern Sea Route and include:

the Dudinskiy *gorsovet* in the Taymyr A.O.; the Noril'skiy and Igarskiy *gorsovety* in Krasnoyarsk *Kray* (along the Yenisey River); the following districts in the Republic of Sakha--Olenekskiy (on the Olenek River), Verkhoyanskiy (on the Yana River), Abyyskiy (on the Indigirka River), Srednekolymskiy and Verkhnekolymskiy (on the Kolyma River); and several

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[4] A *rayon* is somewhat akin to a county. In the Republic of Sakha, these are now called *ulusy* (sing. *ulus*).

[5] As always there are exceptions. The English "Republic" and the Russian "*Respublik*" are always translated as "Republic" and therefore we will speak of the Sakha Republic.The plural forms of *krai*, *oblast*, *okrug*, *rayon*, *sel'sovet* and *gorsovet* are, *kraya*, *oblasti, okrugy*, *rayony*, *sel'sovety*, and *gorsovety*, respectively.

young cities associated with natural gas production in the Yamal-Nenets A.O.: Nadym, Novyy Urengoy, Noyabr'sk, Muravlenkovo.

The borders of the larger administrative units had basically been established and their internal divisions outlined by the end of the 1930s. At the district and *rayon* levels, however, boundaries and names have changed quite often, especially inside Murmansk *Oblast* between the 1940s and 1970s; in the Chukchi Autonomous *Okrug* in the 1950s and 1960s; and in the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous *Okrug* from the 1970s up to the present day. The Avam *rayon* in Taymyr, for example, was liquidated in 1959 and divided between Dudinka and Khatanga districts. Statistical materials on these areas have been continuously recalculated to take the new boundaries into consideration, but these materials usually refer only to general population statistics and do not reflect ethnic composition.

Native Peoples in the Study Area

Several further points of clarification are needed concerning the statistical data on indigenous populations in the study area. In defining the study area, only the populations of the small northern ethnic minorities are being considered, leaving outside the bounds of the study the northern Yakut (Sakha) in the Sakha Republic and the northern Komi in the Yamal-Nenets and Nenets Autonomous *Okrugy* and in Murmansk *Oblast*, although the cultures of these peoples are very close to those of the other northern minorities. Moreover, as part of the indigenous population, we are considering only representatives of those peoples (ethnic groups) who live in a given area, or administrative unit. Thus for example, in the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous *Okrug* we consider the Nenets, Khants, and Sel'kups as representatives of the indigenous groups; in other administrative units (Tazovskiy *rayon* and Nadymskiy *rayon*) only Nenets are distinguished; in Yamal'skiy, Priural'skiy, and Purovskiy *rayony* both Nenets and Khants are enumerated; and the Sel'kups are counted only in Purovskiy *rayon* since this approximately corresponds to the traditional territory on which the Sel'kups lived, although an insignificant number (in the tens perhaps) of Khants and Sel'kups live in areas where they were not enumerated. In urban administrative units such as Murmansk, Salekhard and Dudinka, we distinguished all peoples who were indigenous to that particular *oblast*, *kray*,

or *okrug*. The specific characteristics of census data for Native peoples are discussed later in this report. Throughout this paper, the names for Native peoples used are Russian state official names (with English endings) and, therefore, do not always correspond to the names that Native peoples call themselves.

Native Peoples and the State

Special attention was given by both the Tsarist and Soviet regimes to the indigenous northern peoples. The "small peoples of the North" numbered roughly 124,625 at the time of the first Soviet census of northern peoples in 1926 (Vakhtin 1992: 8). The 1989 Soviet census recorded 197,345 northern Native people within 26 officially-recognized nationalities (*Osnovnye pokazateli...*1990). Historically these groups were engaged in a wide variety of subsistence economies which included hunting, gathering plant foods, reindeer herding, and fishing with attendant variations in settlement patterns and lifestyles. Today, these activities continue to be the primary foci of Native economies, although some individuals are employed in administrative, clerical, manufacturing, and governmental positions. Exchange, in many forms and with many different peoples, was historically an important part of their economies, and kinship provided the basic organizing principle of social relations. Even within the context of modern life today, kinship and exchange are vital aspects of Native lives and lifestyles and often serve to buffer individuals from the deleterious effects of the crumbling Soviet political and economic order.

Imperial Interest in Native Peoples

The primary interest of the Tsarist regime in the Far North was in procuring furs, and to this end the government was interested in maintaining and improving the lives of the northern peoples in order that they might continue to pay taxes and provide furs to the state. The state issued numerous decrees stressing to local officials throughout the Soviet North the desire to protect the rights of the people and their cultures and the need for care in collecting taxes from the local population (Bakhrushin 1929; Minenko 1975). Attempts were also made to protect the water and land rights of the indigenous peoples from Russian encroachment on the

best hunting and fishing grounds. These decrees and protective policies were frequently violated or simply ignored. Russians were not alone in their infringement on the rights of the people; the government had contracts with various countries – the United States and Japan along the eastern coast of the Soviet Union and Scandinavia along the north-western coast, allowing these countries to hunt and fish in Russian territory (Taksami 1967; Ushakov 1972).

Controlling access to furs and creating an efficient means of transport to markets were important considerations in Russian exploration and claims to sovereignty over the northern seas and islands. Russian ships and sailors were by no means the only ones active in the Far North. On more than one occasion, Native peoples played an important part in the Tsar's bid for sovereignty in the Arctic. In 1894 the governor of Arkhangel'sk, worried by Norwegian hunting in the Kara Sea and on Novaya Zemlya, sent some Nenets to occupy Novaya Zemlya and thus establish Russia's claim to the island (Horensma 1991, citing Engelhardt 1897).

While furs and timber flowed out of Siberia, European foods and consumer goods made their way into Siberia. Through participation in the fur trade, encounters with explorers, and simply word-of-mouth, Native peoples in the North were introduced not only to new material goods, but also new concepts and behaviors. Material culture and knowledge flowed out of Siberia as well, with the Russians and other non-Natives who sailed along the coast and up the rivers, where they met Native peoples for the first time.

Soviet Rule in the North

For at least the first twenty years of Soviet rule, the Northern Sea Route encompassed not only the five seas along the northern boundary of the Soviet Union, but reached deep into Siberia along powerful rivers such as the Ob, Yenisey, and Kolyma. These rivers penetrate deeply into Siberia and the Far East, branching off into innumerable tributaries and flowing through a wealth of timber, furs, and mineral resources. Along these rivers and tributaries today are found both the enormous Soviet industrial complexes with their modern cities, and the homelands of Native peoples living in small villages and nomadic camps.

"Mastering the Far North" and "mastering the Arctic" are phrases used repeatedly in Soviet documents concerning the Northern Sea Route and indigenous peoples. "Mastering" (*osvoyeniye*) is possession and absolute control over the past, present, and the future:

> The Soviet state in the full sense of the word [mastering] discovered enormous, new, rich regions in the North. There, where for centuries patriarchal savagery and brutal exploitation reigned, new cities and enterprises appeared with mythical speed; kolkhozy, cooperatives, and sovkhozy were organized; bases to irradicate illiteracy, schools, courses of study began to function; and new people arose. The ancient legends of colonizers about "the insurmountable backwardness" of the peoples of the North were destroyed. The land moved forward on the path to a new life (*Svet*...1937:8).

The establishment of Soviet power first in western Russia and later throughout Siberia and the Far East had little immediate impact on the relationships between Native peoples and the state as far as state interests in natural resources. The state was still interested in procuring furs; the Native people were still the most expedient labor force available for this task; and transportation was still a problem. To bolster their claims to sovereignty over northern seas, islands, and even the Siberian coast, the Soviet government, like its predecessor, used Native individuals as "colonists" to establish a Soviet presence on islands of economic and strategic importance to the Soviet Union. At the same time, Soviet policy focused on developing (i.e. modernizing) Native cultures and increasing contact with Russians. The NSR was an important means to accomplish these goals (Belov 1969; Bulatov and Grekhov 1985).

The Soviet press and scientific literature frequently referred to foreign intervention and exploitation of Natives, in particular by the United States and Canadian schooners in Chukotka, Kamchatka, and elsewhere along the eastern coast, as rationale for intensifying efforts to establish an indisputable Soviet claim to the NSR and for controlling access to landings by non-Soviets (Berg 1923; Horensma 1991; Shvede 1923). Such motivations masked real economic worries over rights to natural resources and political concerns about securing international recognition of the Soviet Union's boundaries. Soviet concerns were not without justification. Some of those foreigners were already claiming certain northern islands, and Native peoples played important roles in some of those claims.

Explorer Stefansson's first expedition to Wrangel Island exploited Canadian Inuit in an attempt to demonstrate that the island could provide a base for commercially viable reindeer herding. Although it is debatable whether Stefansson had the full backing of the Canadian government for this experiment in colonization, to the Russians, it appeared as a threatening claim of Canadian sovereignty over the island. Only one person survived this attempt at colonization in 1923 – an Inuit woman. Stefansson then placed a second group, composed of an American and several Canadian Inuit on Wrangel Island. When the ship, *Krasny Oktyabr* commanded by B.V. Davidov reached the island in August, 1924, the settlers were arrested and taken to Vladivostok. The American died, and the Inuit were repatriated by the Red Cross (Fischer 1960; Horensma 1991). In March of 1926, Native peoples again were employed in the Wrangel Island claim – this time by the Russians. Five Russians and five Yup'ik (Eskimo) families from Chukotka were placed on the island as settlers to establish Soviet sovereignty (Belov 1959; Horensma 1991).

The importance of establishing Russian sovereignty in the Arctic extended to the Siberian land mass itself which the Soviets viewed as essentially uninhabited. Significantly increasing permanent habitation would take too much time and might not be possible; establishing scientific research bases was a more immediate solution. Polar stations were established first on Novaya Zemlya, Franz-Josef Land, Wrangel Island, and Severnaya Zemlya. To significantly increase the volume of shipping along the Northern Sea Route did not seem beyond reach, and this was the direction taken by the Soviet government to solidify its claim to the northern lands and seas. The polar stations would provide meteorological and navigational data to ships and coordinate traffic along the route; ports would be established at the mouths of the major rivers; ships would be fueled by locally-mined coal along the route. Natural resources were abundant in the north, and the available coal could be mined easily without heavy equipment. The shortage of labor, however, was a problem; thus, the gulag prison system played a major role in "mastering" the Arctic (Horensma 1991). "Kulaks" from among the indigenous northern peoples found themselves "building socialism" from inside the gulags alongside impressed convicts from the European and central Asian parts of the Soviet Union.

Native Peoples and the NSR in the 1920s

Concerted efforts to establish a Northern Sea Route began on 20 April 1920 when the Siberian Revolutionary Committee (*Sibrevkom*) organized *Komseveroput* (*Komitet Severnogo morskogo puti*), the Committee of the Northern Sea Route.[6] Its main task was to conduct research and master navigation of the Kara Sea, specifically focusing on passage to and from the Ob and Yenisey Rivers which flow into the Kara Sea.

The new Soviet government also developed policies directed toward the northern minorities. Referred to as "Leninist nationalities policy" in the Soviet literature, these were set out in the 10th and 12th Party Congresses (1921 and 1923, respectively). The 10th Congress resolved that: 1) the northern peoples were to develop administrative forms (including settlement systems) which combined the requirements of the Soviet government with the special features of their own cultures; 2) they were to have legal representation as well as economic and administrative services which functioned in the native languages; 3) they were to be aided in the development of a national press, schools, and cultural establishments; and 4) special attention was to be given to the preparation of indigenous cadres for work in industry and to fill positions in Party and soviet organs (*KPSS*...1953).

Initially, both scholars and politicians argued that the indigenous peoples and cultures must participate for northern industrial development to be successful; after all, Native people best knew and were able to cope with the harsh northern environment (*Preobrazovaniya...1970)*. The indigenous activities of hunting, fishing, trapping, and reindeer-herding, however, had to be "improved" in order to feed not only the Native population but also non-Native residents and provide cash income (Budarin 1968; Gurvich 1961; Taksami 1967). Thus, the early policies were directed at modernizing traditional economic activities and cultures.

The earliest nationalities work in this area was under the direction of *Narkomnats* (the People's Commissariat on Nationalities). The Division of National Minorities within *Narkomnats* formed a Polar subdivision in 1922. Party and soviet workers and specially-

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[6] See Biryukov (1940). Slavin (1939) refers to this organization as the *Komissiiyor* Commission, not Committee (*komitet*), of the Northern Sea Route.

trained cadres were sent to work in the North. The Division of National Minorities directed the creation of written languages and alphabets for many northern peoples. Following the abolition of *Narkomnats* in 1924, the "Committee of assistance to the peoples of the northern regions of the Presidium of the VTsIK" (commonly called the Committee of the North) was created by the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) (TsK RKP(b)) and the Soviet state (*Mestnye organy* ...1934). Composed of both Party workers and ethnographers, the Committee of the North linked central and local organs concerned with the administration of the northern peoples. Beginning in 1925 local committees of the North were established, and in some places, representatives of the local indigenous population served on these committees (Antropova 1972; Gurvich 1970). The Committee supervised ethnographic research on the economies, religions and lifestyles of the northern peoples with the specific goal of employing this information in the transformation of the northern peoples into active, modern participants in socialist society (Schindler 1992; Taracouzio 1938; Vdovin 1973).

The new Soviet regime embodied what Forsyth (1992:242-43) calls a "philanthropic spirit" attempting to alleviate the hardship suffered by Siberian Natives during the civil war when reindeer herds were decimated and famine widespread. Government decrees addressed the most critical social concerns – canceling all debts of native hunters and traders in 1920, banning sale of alcohol (at least between 1923 and 1925), and exempting Natives from state taxes and labor obligations. Medical services increased, and grain was distributed in areas of famine. In practice, however, exploitation of Natives continued unchecked, and Soviet influence on Native life was slight (Forsyth 1992).

The volume of cargo shipped through the Kara Sea throughout the 1920s remained relatively small, but under the direction of *Komseveroput* the increased navigation and knowledge gained in opening up the Ob and Yenisey rivers for shipping had significant impacts on both the national economy and the economies of Native peoples whose communities and camps were located predominately along the major rivers and their tributaries. Foodstuffs, consumer goods, and people moved up the rivers, and timber, grain, and furs moved down the river to the sea and then to European Russia. Inland transportation, however, remained problematic; thus, the newcomers employed reindeer transport as developed and

practiced by the local Native people. Coal mined at Noril'sk was taken by reindeer sledge to the Yenisey and then shipped to the sea, and reindeer were used as well for transport in geological work, despite reported difficulties (Belov 1959; Horensma 1991; *Mekhanicheskom...*1940).

At the same time that advocates of northern development were gaining strength along the NSR, the "protectionist" or "conservationist" advocates of policies protecting indigenous peoples and cultures lost ground in the 1920s to the "radical" advocates of Communist doctrine and collectivization. The policy debates regarding the fate of indigenous peoples occurred within the Committee for Assisting the Peoples of the Northern Peripheries, commonly known as the Committee of the North, which had responsibility for protecting twenty-six northern nationalities numbering 150,000-160,000 people. Proposals for establishment of reserved lands akin to American Indian reservations, prohibition against new settlers, bans on the sale of alcohol, limits on private trade, creation of nomadic schools with Native teachers, and provisions for food, clothing and medical services were dropped in favor of more rapid, assimilationist strategies. The relationship between the NSR and Native peoples had not yet been institutionalized. Cultural progress was measured (for example) in terms of how many Russians were engaged in teaching the Native people how to read and write, and in how many Native people participated in this instruction.

The progress of *Komseveroput* was measured in voyages completed and cargo transported. Trips from the east to the mouth of the Kolyma River had long been made, and beginning in 1923, after Soviet rule took hold in this region, such voyages were renewed and increased with each year. Beginning in 1927, ships from the east reached the mouth of the Lena River. At this time in additional to transportation and research functions, *Komseveroput* began to organize and supervise hunting in the Kara Sea and in other parts of the Arctic Ocean along the Siberian coast (Biryukov 1940; 1939).

In summary, during the 1920s the new Soviet state began to develop the organizational structure for administration of the northern territories. In actual practice, these had little immediate effect on Native life and culture; however, settlements and Native camps along the Ob and Yenisey Rivers and the Kara Sea experienced increased contact with outsiders and influence of the Soviet state.

The First Five-Year Plan, 1928-1932

In 1928 *Komseveroput* was reorganized into a state joint-stock company (*gosudarstvennoye severo-sibirskoye aktsionernoye obshchestvo*) of the same name –*Komseveroput* . Its main task was to transport lumber from the Yenisey and Ob River basins to obtain hard currency (Slezkine 1994: 202). To this end, *Komseveroput* established a permanent base in Krasnoyarsk and used the Ust-Yeniseyskiy port as the center for shipping timber. With the discovery in 1927-28 that the channel around Igarka was sufficiently deep and thus highly suitable for ships, Igarka became the primary port for timber transport to the sea. Forestry began in earnest on the Angar and Yenisey Rivers, and a timber processing plant was built in Igarka with production primarily for export. In the Yenisey basin, timber production and mineral resource development began in sparsely-populated indigenous areas where the absence of roads had previously limited contact with Natives. In the lower reaches of the Ob and Yenisey Rivers, in the Yenisey gulf and the Gydan bay and Ob outlet, fishing, sea mammal hunting and fur trapping were further developed bringing an influx of outside labor, displacing Native camps, and competing with the indigenous population for resources. Discovery and development of coal deposits along the sea route became essential for fueling ships, and Ugol'naya bay and the Soginskoye coal mines at Tiksi bay became important early sources of fuel (Slavin and Stoyanov 1985; Voyevodin 1930).

In the latter half of the 1920s, the Committee of the North ordered establishment of cultural bases (*kultbaza*) in the most remote parts of the far North in order to organize economic, cultural, and educational activity among the indigenous population. Thus, social services and research (study of folklore and natural resources) were clustered around centers of trade.

In 1932 the *Siberyakov* sailed through the northern passage in one season, demonstrating the commercial potential of the route. This set the stage for government policies directed to establishing control over the route and improving the capabilities of the Soviet fleet using the route. Later that year the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. passed a Decree which created *Glavsevmorput*(*Sobraniye ...1932*, I, No. 84).*Glavsevmorput* was "charged with final development of the Northern Sea Route from the White Sea to the Bering

Strait, full equipment of this route, maintenance of it in proper condition, and procurement of means for the safety of navigation over the same" (Taracouzio 1938:383).

During the first Five-Year Plan, agricultural restructuring in the Far North began in earnest. The government directed its early efforts at reindeer breeding which was considered the primary occupation of Native peoples. Basic goals included the reorganization of labor and the creation of simple collective forms, such as the "simple production unions" or PPOs. The *kolkhozy* (collective farms), *sovkhozy*, and the primary production unions established during these periods set the stage for further, more significant and more rapid development of industry, collectivization, and political activism based on communist party directives. In the first and second five-year plans the *sovkhozy* (state farms) served as the backbone of socialist reconstruction of agriculture (Khrapal 1937).

By the end of the first five-year plan, the early institutions created by the Soviet government began to influence Native peoples and restructure traditional economic pursuits. An influx of outsiders increased competition in fishing, hunting and trapping at the same time that initiation of timber production damaged fishing and hunting territories. These intrusions eventually displaced many Natives.

The Second Five-Year Plan, 1933-1937

The formal relationship between Native peoples, the Northern Sea Route and its administrative body *Glavsevmorput* was born and died all in the course of the Second Five-Year Plan. During this period *Glavsevmorput* was given control of the Sea Route, the resources along it and all people (Native and non-Native) within its reach. *Komseveroput* was dissolved in 1933 and the dispersal of its operations handed over to *Glavsevmorput* which maintained most of the former entity's functions. *Glavsevmorput* dispersed some activities to state organs[7] and transferred others, particularly in the Far East such as the Kolyma enterprises, to *Dal'stroy* (Far Eastern Construction).[8]

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[7] The forestry industry on the Yenisey River was transfered to *Narkomles*; graphite mining went to *Narkomtyazhprom*; river transport on the Ob and in the southern parts of the Yenisey went to *Narkomvoda* (Shevelev 1985).

[8] *SobraniyeZak. i Rasp. SSSR* 1933, I, No. 21. *Dal'stroy*was a very powerful state enterprise created in 1931 and run by the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD). Most infamous for running the gulag system, *Dal'stroy* primarily operated gold mining activities in the Kolyma region. It

A decree of the Soviet of People's Commissars and the TsK VKP(b) (Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party, Bolsheviks) in 1934 significantly broadened the territory and responsibilities of *Glavsevmorput.* In the European part of the North, its territory extended to include the islands and seas of the Northern Arctic Ocean and in the Asiatic part of the Soviet Union – all the territory north from the 62 parallel. The responsibilities delegated to *Glavsevmorput* also rapidly expanded to include not only the development of commercial shipping, the construction of sea ports and river transport, but also scientific research in the Arctic, the exploration and exploitation of the natural resources, the establishment of northern settlements and their infrastructures, labor resources, and collectivization. *Glavsevmorput* thus acquired responsibility for development of local resources (such as reindeer) to increase locally-produced food (and reduce expensive imports) and supervision of sea mammal hunting in the White Sea and commercial fishing on the northern rivers and coasts.

The expansion of *Glavsevmorput* 's activities throughout the North required a large number of personnel, and *Glavsevmorput* was expected to provide the necessary technical specialists for its work by establishing educational institutions for the training of northern personnel. It also had special party organs and political departments, as decreed by the Council of Peoples' Commissars and the Central Committee of the Communist Party (VKP(b)) to ensure the proper political education of its labor force (Dikov 1974; Slavin 1975; Taracouzio 1938; Uvachan 1971; Zelenin 1938).

Between 1933 and 1937 *Glavsevmorput* was transformed into a complex government organ encompassing northern transportation, industrial, commercial, cultural, and scientific organizations (Horensma 1991; Shevelev 1985).[9] *Glavsevmorput* and local soviet organs also assumed responsibility for the economic and cultural development of the Native peoples in the northern regions (Bulatov and Grekhov 1985; Uvachan 1971). Economic reorganization,

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also engaged in construction, agriculture, other mining activities and was responsible for colonizing the Russian Far East for the Soviet government.

[9] From the earliest days of its existence, *Glavsevmorput* encompassed the All-Union Arctic Institute which concentrated its research on industrialization in the Arctic. It had two main branches of of work: hydrology and geology. This work was often duplicated in another part of *Glavsevmorput*, the *Geologicheskoye upravleniye* (Geological administration) (Sysoyev, Shiryayev, and Nazarov 1938).

collectivization, and cultural work among the Native peoples were seen as proceeding well throughout the 1930s, so well in fact that the Committee of the North was considered superfluous and was abolished in 1935. Administration and modernization of Native affairs were incorporated into the general plans for developing the Northern Sea Route. *Glavsevmorput* directed its policies regarding political education, cultural enlightenment, and health care at both Native and non-Native residents of the North. The modernization of traditional economies and the introduction of commercial activities were viewed as regular aspects of Soviet economic growth and development, not as special problems involving special groups of people.

On 22 June 1936, the Soviet of People's Commissars of the USSR affirmed the Statute on the Main Administration of the Northern Sea Route (*Polozheniye o Glavsevmorputi*). This statute made *Glavsevmorput* responsible for developing (via collectivization) all forms of agriculture in the North, including traditional activities of Native peoples; further development of collectivized fishing and the sea hunting industries; and providing technical assistance to agricultural and industrial enterprises; supervising hunting regulations along the NSR; and the general organization of state commerce in the Far North. *Glavsevmorput* was also given the responsibility of supervising other state organs working in the Far North, such as *Narkompros* (People's Committee on Enlightenment) and *Narkomzdrav* (People's Committee on Health) as well as numerous state enterprises engaged in mining, ship building, and forestry (Balagul and Zdorovyak 1937; Yanson 1937a)[10].

In short, Glavsevmorput's responsibilities extended into almost all aspects of Native life. The traditional economies of Native peoples were expected to develop along the same industrial models for mining or ship building, with attendant changes in the organization of labor and methods of production. Native men and, especially, women, were expected to be released from traditional economic pursuits. They could then be trained and employed in other aspects of northern economy, such as fur farming, vegetable and crop cultivation, or even be prepared for government and service occupations. Incorporation of women into the labor force

[10] N.M. Yanson was deputy director of *Glavsevmorput* in 1937.

was ideologically as well as economically important, because the Soviets viewed the traditional gender roles in Native communities as highly exploitative of women.

Glavsevmorput and Native Peoples

State policies regarding the social, political and economic "development" (i.e. modernization and assimilation) of Native peoples were institutionalized during the second Five-Year Plan (1933-37). Some of the most specific information on the relationships between Native peoples and the Northern Sea Route is found in materials relating to political education as conducted through the political departments (*politotdely*), the modernization of indigenous cultures through cultural departments (*otdely kul'tury*), and in materials which address agricultural-economic development, specifically the agricultural departments (*sel'khozotdely*) of *Glavsevmorput*. Quite often the work of these departments overlapped when tasks involved the social and cultural life of Native peoples and non-Native workers (*polyarniki*) in the Arctic. Although Native people were the specific targets of modernization policies, all citizens of the Soviet state were expected to participate in their own political education as part of socialist construction. The discussion below refers primarily to Native peoples, but non-Natives were often subject to the same kinds of political and economic (if not cultural) pressures.

Political and Cultural Work

The political departments of *Glavsevmorput* were organized in 1934 with the task of carrying out the work of the government and communist party. This work included the selection and training of cadres and distribution of those cadres among state enterprises; organizing socialist competitions, strengthening of labor discipline, and improving political and labor activism among the *polarniki*; organizing the Komsomol (Communist youth organization); and organizing political, general-educational, and cultural enlightenment studies. Political departments were also charged with the task of searching out "enemies of the people" – Trotskiites, fascist counterrevolutionaries, white guards, and others.

Politotdely were expected to include Native people in the preparation of cadres to work in the North and in the Komsomol. These departments provided Native and non-Native residents of the Far North with musical instruments, movies, books, records, and generally worked at "modernizing" Native lifeways. Intellectual "development" was also important and

mass lectures as well as individual "counseling" sessions were aimed at educating everyone in communist ideology, party procedures and the goals of socialist construction (Bergavinov 1937a).[11] The cultural departments of Glavsevmorput supplemented this instruction by making arrangements for musical, film and other cultural events to be staged in the north among the workers at the polar stations, mines, and among the Native peoples.

After the publication of the Central Committee's (TsK VKP(b)) resolution on the use of the "Short Course on the History of the Communist Party (bolsheviks)" as a basis for political education, the political administration (*politupravleniye*) of *Glavsevmorput* adopted a series of measures to increase its work in the Arctic. It used radio broadcast lectures, speeches, and daily news reports on the Soviet Union and abroad. Lecturers went out with ships and airplane flights, and a network of newspapers were published in the polar regions (Bergavinov 1937a; Leyzarenko 1940).

The impact on the indigenous population, nevertheless, was limited and moderated by the continual problems of political departments, the vast territory they had to cover, the lack of transportation and poor communication. In spite of officially enthusiastic rhetoric and an ambitious agenda, the amount of work actually accomplished no doubt differed from that officially proclaimed. The department of propaganda and agitation within the *politupravleniye*, which was supposed to organize and supervise lectures, was itself poorly organized. Lecturers from the political departments and local party organizations did not receive enough materials and often did not know how to lecture or what to lecture about. No one took responsibility for the quality of lectures, and attendance even by the heads of party organizations and political departments was poor (Bergavinov 1937a; Leyzarenko 1940).

Education and Health Care

The establishment of schools and hospitals for both Native and non-Native peoples, their construction, staffing, supply, and maintenance all came under the purview of *Glavsevmorput*, in cooperation with *Narkompros* (People's Committee on Enlightenment), *Narkomzdrav* (People's Committee on Health), and local government organs. *Narkompros* and

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[11] S. Bergavinov was director of the Political administration of *Glavsevmorput* when he wrote this article.

Glavsevmorput also worked together in planning the construction and staffing of cultural bases (*kul'tbazy*) which were the foci of political, cultural, and economic work among the Native peoples (Bulatov and Grekhov 1985; Ostroimova 1937). Traveling nomad schools, (pioneered in the Ob North in the late 1920s and early 1930s) were abandoned in 1935 (at the same time that the Committee on the North was disbanded) and replaced with boarding schools which separated Native children from their parents at an early age (as early as seven to eight years old) and disrupted the transmission of Native knowledge and language from one generation to the next.

Neither *Narkompros* nor *Narkomzdrav* seems to have been any more successful in accomplishing its directives than was *Glavsevmorput* in building schools or hospitals. *Narkomzdrav* had not been able to provide enough staff for hospitals, medications or equipment (*Svet...* 1937). The preparation of teachers for the North was likewise unsatisfactory. Although courses to prepare these teachers were supposed to have been set up at the Hertzen Institute in Leningrad, they were not. Pedagogical schools were inadequately supplied; food and living conditions at the Yenisey technical school were reported to be so bad that 45% of the students left the school. Responsibility for liquidating illiteracy among the northern peoples was directly lodged with the *Narkompros*, although part of this work was also apportioned to *Glavsevmorput* (Volodarskiy 1938). The *kul'tbazy* under *Glavsevmorput* supervision were also in trouble and some had already been closed for lack of buildings, supplies, teachers, and other personnel (*Svet...* 1937).

Agriculture

As with the political and cultural departments, there were significant problems in the agricultural departments as well, including lack of organization, corruption of administrators, incompetence, etc. During the second five-year plan (1933-1937), *Glavsevmorput* exercised primary control over agricultural research and development in the North.[12] *Glavsevmorput* was charged with the task of establishing a food production, preparation and distribution system in the North which could supply the indigenous population and, more importantly, the influx of

[12] The role of the agricultural administration (*sel'khozupravleniye*) of *Glavsevmorput* was defined by a decree of the SNK SSSR of 22 June 1936.

non-Native workers with "modern" foods. The shipment of food to the North was very costly; production in the North was thought to be more cost effective. *Glavsevmorput* thus strengthened existing *sovkhozy*, organized new networks of *sovkhozy*, and established farms which would produce vegetables, dairy products, and in southern regions, grains. Agricultural "development" included broadening the agricultural industry, collectivization, strengthening *kolkhozy*, and creating machine-tractor stations (MTS) and motor-hunting stations (MPS). These steps were regarded as necessary conditions for settling the nomadic population (Khrapal 1937; Tolmachev 1937). Most of the agricultural (livestock) and horticultural operations under *Glavsevmorput* control were located in regions to the south; however, two of its horticultural *sovkhozy* were located in the Far North, one in Igarka and one on the Kola Peninsula (*Svet...*1937).

Hunting was never successfully organized or supported by *Glavsevmorput.* Wild reindeer were expected to serve as a source of meat for workers throughout the North, but especially in the rapidly growing industrial centers such as Noril'sk, Dudinka and Igarka (Sdobnikov and Romanov 1940). Trading stations which were supposed to organize hunting and procurement worked poorly in some places (like Chukotka) and were nonexistent in other areas (for example between Cape Billings and Cape Shelagskiy. The organization of fishing activities was no more successful.

Glavsevmorput managers considered reindeer breeding the primary economic activity of Native peoples in the Far North and regarded other activities, such as hunting and fishing, as subsidiary to indigenous subsistence. This skewed view of indigenous economies served to focus the state's attention on the potential role of reindeer breeding in socialist construction. The Reindeer trust which was now part of *Glavsevmorput* was responsible for the organization and maintenance of its reindeer *sovkhozy.* All scientific work on reindeer breeding was concentrated in the Institute of Reindeer Breeding (*Institut olenevodstva*) during the years 1931-1935. The Institute accomplished little, however, and in 1935 it was reorganized into the Department of reindeer breeding within the Arctic Institute of *Glavsevmorput* (*Otdel olenevodstva Arkticheskogo instituta Glavsevmorputi*) (Shchepetov 1938).

Narkomzem, *Glavsevmorput* (through its reindeer *sovkhozy*), and local authorities were all expected to be responsible for modernizing the reindeer herding economy of the Native peoples, and for increasing the participation of Native households and individuals in the *kolkhozy* and *sovkhozy*. Almost without exception, authors writing in the journal *Sovetskaya Arktika* criticize all of these organs for their neglect of reindeer herding. "Leftist extremes" such as forced collectivization and "gigantomania" are cited for large losses in all reindeer herds prior to 1934 with only a slight increase in herd size (3.3%) in 1935. In the early years the herds of *Glavsevmorput*, which were concentrated in the *sovkhozy* also decreased almost by half. In 1935 there was a 2.6% increase in the *sovkhoz* herds, but this was quite small in comparison with the 16% called for in the Plan (*Svet*...1937).

Most problems in reindeer breeding were attributed to the natural conditions of the activity, the lack of veterinary procedures, failure to prepare and maintain pastures, and inefficiency of land use (*Svet*...1937). Thus, *Glavsevmorput* focused attention on breeding to produce stronger, healthier and more productive deer. The improvement of reindeer and dog transport were seen as important factors in the overall plan for economic growth. Reindeer products such as meat, skins, and antler had to be more efficiently processed. The creation of machine-tractor, motor-hunting, and reindeer stations were expected help the *kolkhozy* and PPOs increase production and utilize their resources more efficiently. The organization of subsidiary economic activities in the reindeer *sovkhozy*, such as vegetable growing and livestock raising was an important aspect of the restructuring of Native economies. Plans called for each reindeer *sovkhoz* to have a dairy farm, raise pigs, and grow vegetables. Not only would these additions provide "modern" foodstuffs for the *sovkhoz* workers, but this type of agriculture, based in Russian experience would serve as a "cultural hearth" from which would spread the life experience of Russians to the Native population. This work too went poorly due, in the view of commentators at the time, to ineffective administrators, lack of supplies, and untrained personnel (Tolmachev 1937:75).

The Soviet organs failed to complete the collectivization of herding households and their deer. The *kolkhozy* were under the authority of *Integraltsentr* and *Narkomzem*; the *sovkhozy* were supervised by *Glavsevmorput*. No one, however, was responsible for the

"independent" herders (*edinolichnye)* and deer who still roamed the taiga and tundra. Only 20% of the deer were in the socialist sector in the early 1930s, while the other 80% were in the hands of the *edinolichniki.* Almost nothing was known about how these households and their herds were managed, where they pastured, etc. (Skachko 1934). The *sovkhozy* of *Glavsevmorput* were expected to serve as examples for the other collectives and yet their level of organization was described as "almost as primitive" as that of the *edinolichniki* (*Svet...*1937:9). Nevertheless, the large number of reindeer held by herders operating outside the state system of collectivized property and labor caused serious concern within *Glavsevmorput* and higher government organs. The fact that eighty percent of the herds remained in private hands demonstrates the independence herders maintained despite attempts by *Glavsevmorput* to bring them under state control.

In 1936 *Glavsevmorput* directed numerous agricultural enterprises: 19 reindeer *sovkhozy* and 10 vegetable-livestock *sovkhozy*, reindeer and dairy farms (*fermy*), greenhouse farms (*khozyaystva*). These enterprises were divided into three territorial groups (Tolmachev 1937: 71-72):

1) in the non-agricultural areas, north of the 62 parallel, these were reindeer and vegetable-livestock *sovkhozy*: Polyarnyy, Murmanskiy, Obdorskiy, and Chukotskiy; Ust-Portovskaya dairy farm; greenhouses on the islands of Dikson, Spitzbergen and in Tiksi Bay, and a reindeer herding *sovkhoz* on Novaya Zemlya.

2) in the home-agricultural areas, vegetable-livestock *sovkhozy* along the main rivers, the Yenisey, Ob, and Lena- *sovkhozy* Krasnogorskiy, Tayezhnyi, Tobol'skiy, and Peleduyskiy.

3) *sovkhozy* in the European North- Gribtsovskiy and Talagi.

In 1937 local agricultural production in the north met less than ten percent of local needs, providing only 7.2% of the potatoes consumed, 3.4% of the vegetables, 9.6% of the meat, and 4.3% of the milk. The reindeer herds of the *sovkhozy*, which totaled 150,000 deer, had only increased by 5.5% for the year, instead of by 18.5% as called for in the Plan. The motor-hunting stations which began working in 1937 under *Glavsevmorput* but were poorly organized, and cadres were insufficient and poorly trained. The five existing motor-hunting stations serviced areas with a total population of 27,000 of which 20,000 were Native. They

serviced 30 *kolkhozy*, or 40% of all *kolkhozy* in the area of their activity. Recruitment and training of cadres from among the Native population was a very slow process (Kolesnikova 1938). Providing fodder for the roughly 80,000 head of cattle and more than 9,000 pigs close to the Northern Sea Route in 1937 proved problematic. Grain from the south was very expensive, so farm managers were encouraged to use fish and sea mammal resources for fodder (Gul'chak 1939). This led to increased pressure on fish and marine mammal resources. Walrus and whales became a primary source of fodder for fox farms on Chukotka.

The industrialization of traditional activities attempted to alter gender roles and totally reorganize labor. Production now was not for individual or community consumption and redistribution, it was for the state. The state then redistributed the products of herding and hunting (in cash or in kind) back to the people. Not only did this change the nature of gender relations, but it altered the ways in which the obligations and responsibilities of kinship could be carried out and created dependency relationships between the people and the state. In the *sovkhozy*, men and women were employees of the state with little vested interest in the success of the enterprise. In Chukotka, for example, hunters and herders often had little or no control over the conduct of traditional economic activities. Now, however, many women in the villages have come to depend on and value their jobs in the new economic spheres of northern agriculture, such as fur and dairy farms.

Commercial Activities

Since the local production of foods and consumer goods in the north would take some time, increasing shipping along the NSR would allow more of these items to flow into the north, supplying both Native peoples and non-Native workers. The importance of supplying Native people with "modern" goods was not to be taken lightly, as part of Leninist nationalities policy called for the cultural and economic development (i.e. modernization) of Native lifestyles. Many government organs, including *Glavsevmorput* participated in provisioning the northern regions.

Goods shipped to the North, however, were often of poor quality or unsuitable for the region (e.g. inappropriate clothing) and, in some cases, could even have been produced in the North. Although policy dictated that local needs in the North be locally-met, furs and skins

were shipped from Chukotka to Vladivostok and then to central regions of the country where, in Moscow and other cities, they would be sewn into clothing, boots, etc. and then shipped back to Chukotka for use by workers, aviators and scientific expeditions in Chukotka. This was all done in spite of the fact that there were experienced seamstresses in Chukotka who produced clothing of higher quality than that from Moscow workers (Margolin 1938). Theft from warehouses, dishonest workers, etc. were not uncommon problems (*Svet*...1937). In the Anadyr area prices at the commercial stores located in the Russian settlements were lower than the prices of the same goods in Native villages. *Glavsevmorput* was criticized for not paying more attention as individuals worked more for personal gain than the collective good (Tabelev 1938). Tabelev noted that the situation was not any better in the Chukotka Trust, where the communists were not performing their duties (e.g. looking for spies, utilizing fish resources to the maximum extent possible, supplying hunters, etc.). As a result the fishing industry and other activities of the Trust had failed to meet production expectations. The political administration of *Glavsevmorput* was to be held accountable for all of these problems (Tabelev 1938).

The 17th Party Congress mandated increased production from northern coal mines. *Glavsevmorput* placed particular importance on the development of coal resources in Yakutia and Chukotka which could be used to fuel its ships and provide energy to the polar stations as well as provide heating fuel for the growing populations of these areas. In Chukotka, for example, the government estimated that three *rayony*[13], Markovskiy, Vostochnyi Tundrinskiy, and part of Anadyrskiy (with a total of about 3,630 people or 700 households), could change from using sea mammal oil for heat and light to the use of coal. For millennia the indigenous peoples in these areas had used sea mammal oil to provide heat and light in their tent dwellings (yarangas). By the 1930s, however, the commercial value of the oil was much greater than that of coal. If, as estimated, five tons of coal could replace 24 poods[14] of oil required by one yaranga for a year, then 3,500 tons of coal could replace sea mammal oil for domestic needs of the population in these three *rayony* (Fridliand 1934).

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[13] The other two *rayony* in Chukotka at that time were Chukotksiy and Chaunskiy.
[14] One pood is equivalent to 36 lbs. or 16.38 kg.

Glavsevmorput had difficulty finding qualified personnel to run its commercial operations, and corruption was widespread. Outsiders who came to work in these areas were often unqualified and knew little or nothing about the North (Kostyuk 1940; Mikhalev 1934). Bergavinov (1937b), head of the political administration of *Glavsevmorput*, wrote that although there were roughly 4000 workers in the commerce network, 1500 of whom were specialists, very few workers were communists or were active in party business. The turnover of personnel at all levels was high. After two years in the North, workers received a five-month vacation (*otpusk*). For two to three months they might rest, but then they grew restless and often went to work for some other enterprise. After such long periods away from their jobs, only a small number returned to *Glavsevmorput* (Savinskiy 1940).

Bergavinov felt that the preparation and training of Natives to run the stores, work as clerks, process furs, etc. would significantly decrease the turnover rate of personnel. He suggested that the territorial administrations (*terupravleniye*) should organize schools where Native peoples could learn commercial skills, but cautioned local authorities, and particularly local political departments to be watchful for kulaks and "other parasites" who would try to infiltrate the commercial network (Bergavinov 1937a). The journal *Sovetskaya Arktika* (see for example 1939, 7:109-110) occasionally made special mention of Native cadres, such as a Nenets radio operator and a Nenets mechanic at the polar station Matochkin Shar and two Chukchi pilots, but these were showcases and do not reflect a significant Native involvement in cultural "development".

It became obvious during this second five-year period that gradual processes of transforming Native activities failed to meet the Soviet objectives. Thus, assimilationist strategies for rapid industrialization of native activities prevailed. The job of industrializing traditional economies, however, turned out to be much more difficult than *Glavsevmorput* anticipated.

The Third Five-Year Plan, 1938-1942

The progressive transformation of artels, PPOs and other early forms of socialist production into *kolkhozy* and *sovkhozy* during the third five-year plan was expected to provide for the complete support northern residents (Native and non-Native) with locally-produced

goods and food products, an expectation that has never been met. The process of transformation to socialist forms of production, however, had far-reaching impacts on native cultures, altering gender roles and leadership patterns, relocating indigenous peoples, and increasing their dependence on goods and supplies from outside the region (Golovnev and Osherenko 1996).

During the third five-year plan, government policies anticipated significant increases in the pace of sociocultural development of the Native peoples, collectivization, sedentarization of nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples, and the creation of national (e.g. Native) cadres. Thirteen *kul'tbazy* served the Native population in 1936, and five new ones were planned for construction in the third five-year plan (Yanson 1937b). By the end of the third five-year plan there were supposed to be 24 vegetable-livestock *sovkhozy* and farms (not including those in the Murmansk and Arkhangel'sk North), 30 reindeer *sovkhozy* and farms (where in 1936 there were only 19), two vocational-technical schools (in Omsk and Krasnoyarsk), and four *rayon* schools to prepare cadres for work in the machine-tractor and motor hunting stations (Khrapal 1937).

The state had given *Glavsevmorput* the right to direct the activities of most government organs in the North. Questions of resource development, arctic research, transportation, communications, political activism and enlightenment, nationalities policy in regard to Native peoples, culture, health care, etc. were the direct responsibility of *Glavsevmorput*, even when such tasks overlapped with the work and responsibilities of other organs such as *Narkompros* and *Narkomzem*. The vast dimensions of *Glavsevmorput* 's responsibility illustrate the extent to which the Northern Sea Route affected not only the Arctic coast, but the deep, interior regions of the Far North. In 1939, however, the position and influence of *Glavsevmorput* fundamentally changed.

In a decree of the Soviet of People's Commissars of the USSR, the government began to curtail the activities of *Glavsevmorput* as a complex territorial organization. Between 1938 and 1940, *Glavsevmorput* was reorganized and its mission narrowed to focus on mastering the Northern Sea Route itself: ship building and repair, management of ports, fueling bases, and operating icebreakers (Shevelev 1985). *Glavsevmorput* entirely left the basins of the Ob and

Yenisey Rivers, and *Narkommorflot* took over its operations in the Kara Sea. Most mainland polar stations were transferred to *Gidrometeosluzhby Soyuza* (Hydrometeorological Union). A series of air transport lines went to the Main Administration of air transport, although the air route itself continued to receive support from the scientific research organs and material-technical bases of *Glavsevmorput* (Horensma 1991; Papanin 1978). The territorial trusts were abolished; all their functions connected with serving the population (trade and cultural bases) were transferred to corresponding administrative and local organs. *Glavsevmorput* did continue its involvement in trade and fur trapping/hunting at this time, working in seven *rayony* of the Yakut ASSR and in Chukotka.

In 1938 and early 1939, purges within the ranks of *Glavsevmorput* attempted to eliminate "hostile, adventuristic, and doubtful elements." Comrades Stalin and Molotov were said to be paying special attention to *Glavsevmorput* (Slavin 1939:37). The inability of *Glavsevmorput* to effectively administer all aspects of economic, political and cultural development in the North was obvious. While an endless flow of official rhetoric hailed the successes and achievements of the Main Administration of the Northern Sea Route, there are perhaps equally numerous accounts of the problems and failures of this administration some of which were noted above. These facts are fairly well documented in Soviet archival data which has only been made available to foreign scholars in the past few years. Supplies never kept pace with demands mandated by the five-year plans. Party loyalty, and not necessarily training or experience, often determined one's employment. Incompetence at the highest and lowest levels took its toll, and institutional directives often contradicted the goals of policy. The purges within *Glavsevmorput* no doubt found many "spies" and "saboteurs" to hold responsible for the many problems in its commercial activities.

By World War II work among the indigenous peoples in the North had been completely transferred out of *Glavsevmorput* 's hands and passed to central and local party and soviet organizations. The NSR played an important role in the war, as the Alaska-Siberian Air Ferry Route moved 12,000 aircraft to the Western front, and was supported by Lend Lease shipping between 1942 and 1945. The dependence of northern residents on shipping for foodstuffs and goods was perhaps never more evident than when traffic along the NSR was disrupted during

World War II. Severe shortages in northeastern Siberia resulted in extreme deprivation and hardship, especially for the Native peoples (Armstrong 1952; Shimkin and Shimkin 1975). Reindeer herds declined dramatically during the war dropping to a low of only 178,000 head across the Russian North in 1945 and creating a deep crisis for Native peoples. In 1943, when the government compelled herders on the Yamal peninsula to turn over their private herds to the *kolkhozy* , the herders rebelled (Golovnev 1995: 190-94, Golovnev and Osherenko 1996). Ironically, one of *Glavsevmorput's* most striking impacts on Native peoples occurred four years after its period of extensive involvement in Native affairs ended. In 1942, the mining and geological branches of *Glavsevmorput* discovered oil and gas on the Taz peninsula, a discovery that would lead to destruction of thousands of hectares of reindeer pastureland in the 1980s (Golovnev and Osherenko 1996: 185-187).

Glavsevmorput in the post-war years

In the post-war period, policies of industrial development and modernization led to massive relocation of the indigenous population (especially in Northwest Siberia), depletion of natural resources, pollution, and another infusion of newcomers (Golovnev and Osherenko 1996). The decision in the 1920s and 30s to orient industrial development around the infrastructure of a Northern Sea Route predetermined the fate of the northern regions. Although *Glavsevmorput* itself no longer exercised such wide authority as it had enjoyed in its heyday (1933-38), the work that it had done earlier laid the foundation for northern development that has had deep inroads in the lives and cultures of Russia's northern Natives.

In 1953 *Glavsevmorput* became the central committee (*glavkom*) of the newly created Ministry of sea and river transport (*Ministerstvo morskogo i rechnogo flota*). This ministry, however, failed to perform well, and in 1954 was divided into two ministries: marine transport and riverine transport. As the central committee, *Glavsevmorput* became part of the Ministry of marine transport of the SSSR (*Ministerstvo morskogo flota SSSR*) (Afanas'yev 1985). Khrushchev, at the 20th Party Congress in 1956, called for further expansion of the Northern Sea Route and for the route to be used for "mass transportation" which required more ships and new icebreakers (Guzhenko 1984:102). Bits and pieces of *Glavsevmorput* (e.g. ship repair, air transport) continued to be transferred to other organs. In 1957 the Arctic shipping

organizations which had been under *Glavsevmorput* were transferred to the Far East and Murmansk shipping companies. More attention was given to economic aspects of shipping (Horensma 1991). At the same time the Ministry of marine transportation changed the structure and function of *Glavsevmorput* limiting its work to coordination of ice breakers, improvement of navigation along the route, and coordination of these activities with all the other relevant ministries and departments (Afanas'yev 1985). As Poelzer (1995: 210) points out, transfer of shipping to regionally based companies "was of no particular consequence during the Soviet period, when the state was highly centralized." In the 1990s, however, with devolution of power to the regions, the central government has had great difficulty ensuring shipment of essential supplies (heating fuel and food) to the North.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the NSR played a key role in the concerted effort to develop mineral and fossil fuel resources in the northern regions (Slavin and Stoyanov 1985). The Council of Ministers of the USSR officially dismantled *Glavsevmorput* in 1964 (Bulatov 1996). To ensure the safety of arctic shipping, in December 1970 the Administration of the Northern Sea Route (*Administratsiya Severnogo morskogo puti*) was created within the Ministry of marine transport of the Soviet Union (Chubakov 1985, Bulatov 1996).

Native Peoples and the State Today

Government Administration

With the dissolution of the Committee of the North in 1935, Native peoples were declared "Soviet" peoples, requiring no further special consideration in regard to their former "backwardness", and as such could and would participate as regular citizens of the Soviet state. Between 1935 and 1965, no special organization had responsibility for supervising nationalities policy in the Far North. In place of the Committee of the North, a department on issues of the economy and cultures of the northern peoples, created within the managing department of the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR, had the potential to do much good. In fact, it did very little (Sangi 1988).

In 1990 *Goskomsevera,* the State Committee on the Social and Economic Development of the Northern Regions, was created and charged with the duty to coordinate government activities in the North regarding the economic and social development of the region and environmental issues. *Goskomsevera* had four main programs : 1) environment and health of northern residents, 2) problems concerning indigenous peoples, 3) economic development, and 4) improving the efficiency of resource utilization and development. The government allocated 6.4 billion rubles (1984 prices) for the development of the indigenous peoples in the period 1991-1995. The work of *Goskomsevera*, however, was not focused on indigenous issues. Its broader mission was to overcome the socioeconomic crisis in the North. It thus promoted and developed policies including the following: special privileges for northern residents, special legislation on privatization, prices, and taxation, guarantees of consumer goods and food, and the provision of social assistance to the needy (RA Report 1993 (15):158-159). In the early 1990s, *Goskomsevera* was integrated into the Ministry of Nationality Affairs and Regional Policy relegating northern and northern Native affairs to a less prominent position within the government. Arctic specialists continued to lobby for recreation of a separate ministry for the North. In 1996, after much internal discussion, Yeltsin reestablished *Goskomsevera* as a separate entity, restoring its former independent status. The director, V. Kuramin, has ministerial status. A department within *Goskomsevera* is responsible for Native affairs and policy.

Native Rights and Organizations

The Native peoples in the INSROP study area are part of a larger classification of the Russian Federation's peoples, the "numerically-small peoples of the North" (*malochislennye narody Severa*). The 26 northern indigenous peoples that composed this group under the former Soviet Union were the target of government policies aimed at modernizing their economies and assimilating their cultures into the dominant Russian culture. Figure 1 lists the groups of indigenous people who are classified as "numerically-small" and shows population size (in the RSFSR) over the course of the Soviet period. As noted earlier, the Komi and Sakha (Yakut) peoples, although part of the INSROP Native population being evaluated, were not part of this classificatory group in the USSR, due to their large population sizes (over 50,000).

Fondahl (1995) draws attention to the fact that there are several groups (Alyutor, Kerek, Taz, Chulimtsy, and Todzha) which had never been considered distinct ethnic groups in the censuses, but which are now petitioning for legal status as such. This is not surprising, due to the fact that census questionnaires limited the number of choices from which an individual could identify himself or herself as a member of a particular ethnic group. In the current economic and political climate of Russia, some rights, entitlements, and privileges are attached to membership in a legally acknowledged indigenous ethnic minority.

In March 1990, the first "Congress of the Numerically-Small Peoples of the North" was held in Moscow to discuss the political and economic situation of Russia's First Nations and to consider what direction further development should take. At this Congress the "Association of Numerically-Small Peoples of the North" was created, and Vladimir Sangi (a Nivkh) was named as its President (*Materialy*...1990). Since this time regional branches of the Association (now called the "All-Russian Association of the Peoples of the North") have been formed throughout Russia. The Second Congress of Peoples of the North, held in Moscow in 1993, elected Yeremey Aypin (a Khant) as president, replacing Sangi.

Ethnic Group	1926 Census	1959 Census	1970 Census	1979 Census	1989 Census
Dolgany	656	3,932	4,718	4,911	6,571
Koryaki	7,439	6,287	7,367	7,637	8,942
Mansi	6,095	6,449	7,609	7,434	8,266
Nentsy	13,217	23,007	28,487	29,487	34,190
Khanty	17,334	19,410	21,007	20,743	22,283
Chukchi	12,221	11,727	13,500	13,937	15,106
Evenki	38,805	24,151	25,051	27,041	29,975
Aleuty	353	421	410	489	644
Itel'meny	859	1,109	1,255	1,335	2,428
Kety	1,428	1,019	1,161	1,072	1,084
Nanaitsy	5,860	8,026	9,911	10,357	11,877
Nganasany	867	748	823	842	1,262
Negidal'tsy	683	---	495	477	587
Nivkhi	4,076	3,717	4,356	4,366	4,631
Oroki	162	---	---	---	179
Orochi	647	782	1,037	1,040	883
Saami	1,710	1,792	1,836	1,775	1,835
Sel'kupy	1,630	3,768	4,249	3,518	3,564
Tofalary	413	586	570	576	722
Udegeitsy	1,357	1,444	1,396	1,431	1,902
Ul'chi	723	2,055	2,410	2,494	3,173
Chuvantsy	705	---	---	---	1,384
Eveny	2,044	9,121	11,819	12,452	17,055
Entsy	482	---	---	---	198
Eskimosy	1,293	1,118	1,265	1,460	1,703
Yukagiry	443	442	593	801	1,112
Total	121,512	131,111	151,325	155,675	181,556

Figure 1. Population Figures for the Peoples of the North, RSFSR. [15]

In each of the INSROP study areas, these organizations have taken different forms and have created their own agendas. In the Lower Yenisey Valley, for example, the Association of the Native Peoples of Taymyr and a lower level organization, the Association of the Native Peoples of the Dudinka City Council, both focus on environmental and health problems associated with industry in Noril'sk as well as poverty, alcoholism, and land use rights (see Anderson 1995). In Chukotka, the Association of Numerically-Small Peoples of Chukotka has defined four major areas of activity 1) political rights, 2) economy, 3) spiritual development and rebirth of Native cultures, and 4) health (see Schindler 1996). In the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous *Okrug*, *Yamal Potomkam* (Yamal for Our Descendants) played a key role in the

[15] Population data compiled from *Osnovnye pokazateli...*(1990:5), Pika and Prokhorov (1994), and Fondahl (1995). The official Russian plural designators for ethnic groups have been preserved in this table as these were the categories used to gather the data.

late 1980s in calling attention to the destruction of reindeer pasture by gas development. The multiplicity of organizations which have come to life in recent years testifies to the serious interest of Native groups in their own survival. Their widely varying agendas attest to the wide range of ecological, political, economic, and cultural crises which Native peoples face.

The Constitution of the Russian Federation (Article 15, section 4) recognizes principles and norms that have become "universally recognized" as well as international treaties ratified by the Russian Federation as valid law within the RF. Article 69 specifically guarantees the rights of indigenous minorities embodied in such international law or in the treaties of the RF. Russia has not yet ratified ILO Convention No. 169 Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries (1989) which is the most far-reaching statement of indigenous rights embodied in an international treaty today. Legal scholar James Anaya (1992:5,6) has argued that "the [ILO] Convention is at least partly expressive of new norms of customary international law." Although the Convention has not come into force, some of its provisions are becoming established norms in international law to which the RF might adhere even in the absence of ratification. The Constitution of the RF is not clear on whether principles of customary law not embodied in a ratified treaty would prevail over other laws of the Russian Federation with which they might conflict. Constitutional protection of indigenous rights is further discussed in Lasko (1996). The Constitution as well as various laws of the Republic of Sakha contain more far-reaching provisions protecting and guaranteeing indigenous minorities' rights within that Republic. These are discussed in Boyakova, et al. 1996: 52-54.

Laws of the RF guarantee access to lands and resources for Native peoples and protect their rights to cultural autonomy, but these need further development and implementation (Fondahl 1993, 1995; Grant 1993; Schindler 1992; Vakhtin 1993, Lasko, 1996, Boyakova et al. 1996):

- Presidential edicts (*ukazi*) and legislation at the federal, *oblast*, and *okrug* levels provide some specific rights and protections to indigenous peoples; however, these are often inconsistent, and the courts have not yet resolved the conflicts.
- Implementation and enforcement remain difficult tasks for local political organs focused on issues of housing, fuel, and food supplies in their communities. Legal reform in the area of

Native rights has little priority in the political arena, and indigenous rights are mistakenly thought to conflict with economic concerns. Thus, there is little incentive to sort out the tangle of legislation regarding Native priority of land use or environmental protection.

- Funds to carry out the mandates in the legislation are unavailable.
- Without political power indigenous groups remain trapped within the paternal embrace of the dominant culture where they have little ability to speak for themselves and protect their own interests as they deem fit.
- The absence of legal representation severely limits the ability of Native peoples to exercise their rights, protect their land and natural resources, and maintain their cultures as they choose. There are no law firms promoting and protecting the rights of indigenous peoples in Russia. The one environmental law firm today in Moscow, Eco-Juris, has not yet pursued cases protecting indigenous land rights.

General Social Characteristics of the Study Areas

This section presents data on population size, ethnic composition, demographic characteristics, and educational institutions in each of the six study areas. In Appendices 2-7, each of these six areas is further divided into its constituent administrative divisions: brief descriptions of each research area and data on ethnic composition and population size are presented. Not all administrative divisions are listed, however, since some fall outside the bounds of the NSR study area. All of these data must be viewed with the knowledge that each of these characteristics is rapidly changing.

Following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, non-Native peoples began leaving the Far North in large numbers: their jobs were no longer so attractive, high northern wage increments and retirement benefits were uncertain, and the possibility of losing their homes in the central parts of Russia, and in the Newly Independent States sent many of the able-bodied, working age, non-Native people back to the central parts of Russia and beyond. This outmigration, more pronounced in some regions (such as the Far East) slowed after a few years and in some regions (such as the Yamal-Nenets Okrug) has even been reversed. The

Native peoples, as well as many non-Native elderly, pensioners, and war veterans have remained in the Far North.

Population Statistics

The information we have on population size and ethnic composition is based on census materials compiled for the whole of Russia. Each census, however, has features regarding data collection, geographic coverage, etc. which are specific to it and require at least some explanation in relation to the INSROP project. For example, the 1920 census did not collect data from the northern regions, and census materials collected in the 1937 census were not completely analyzed. In the opinion of many scholars, the 1939 census materials were falsified to show an increase of two million persons in the population of the Soviet Union. We are using the official data from the 1897, 1926, 1939, 1959, 1970, 1979, and 1989 censuses, as well as intercensal data gathered from local sources in our report. Appropriate caveats are noted in the text and footnotes.

Data on the population from the 1897, 1926, and 1939 censuses were analyzed in the central statistical organization in 1940 (at that time TsGANKh *Gosplan SSSR*), after the 1939 census had been taken and using the 1939 boundaries of administrative units. Thus the results of these three censuses are fully comparable among themselves. Nevertheless, there are some difficulties; for example, the majority of the indigenous population of the North at that time was still nomadic and did not observe the boundaries of the various administrative or territorial units.

Data from the 1959 census and later censuses reflect the administrative boundaries present at the time the census was taken, and thus are not fully comparable with each other. Moreover, in Murmansk *Oblast* the internal boundaries have been so extensively changed that we had to recalculate population figures in accordance with boundaries present in 1989 (the most recent census), and it is possible that there are some inaccuracies. We have also used calculations from regional (*kray* and republic) statistical organizations for some administrative units in the Sakha Republic and Krasnoyarsk *Kray*.

Materials on the ethnic composition of populations at the level of the smaller administrative units are generally kept in state and departmental archives. These materials were never intended for publication and, until recently, were not published in the free press. Up until the mid-1980s, statistical materials such as these were stamped "For Official Use", and researchers were not allowed access to them. In many cases today scholars must still obtain special permission from local authorities to receive even basic demographic data on local populations. Data from these sources are critical to understanding the impact of development projects and environmental affects on local population demographics and migration.

It is also important to clarify some data peculiarities, especially as these concern the definition of populations as ethnic groups and the means by which census figures were gathered and analyzed. In all censuses between 1926 and 1979, Enets were enumerated as Nenets; the 1926 census also enumerated Nganasan as Nenets. In this report Chuvans will be enumerated with Chukchi. They were not reported in any census between 1939 and 1979 as a distinct ethnic group and are only numerically represented in the Chukchi population figures for the entire Chukchi Autonomous *Okrug*.

The censuses often confused Evenk and Even peoples due to the consonance of their names. This is especially true in those areas where both groups live, such as the Sakha Republic. It is known, however, that Even live east of the Lena River, and therefore we have combined the figures for both Evens and Evenks living in the eastern *rayony* (Nizhnekolymskiy, Srednekolymskiy, Verkhnekolymskiy, Abyyskiy, Allaikhovskiy, Ust-Yanskiy, Verkhoyanskiy) and listed them as "Even*" with a notation (*) explaining our method of enumeration. Similarly, Evenk counted in the western *rayony* (Bulynskiy, Olenekskiy, Anabarskiy) are listed as "Evenk*."

In the censuses of 1939 and 1959, Dolgan were enumerated as Sakha in a separate category distinct from "Yatuts". In 1940 when the earlier census data were analyzed and recalibrated to take into account changing administrative boundaries, Dolgans were described as an individual ethnic group. In the censuses of 1939-1979, Dolgans living in Anabarskiy *rayon* (Sakha Republic) were enumerated as Yakut. Between 1959-1979 Dolgan in

Anabarskiy *rayon* were not enumerated separately, and their numbers are unknown for this period.

The censuses often confuse Khants and Sel'kup peoples, since these groups and sometimes others have used the ethnonym (*samonazvaniye*) *Ostyaki* to identify themselves; in the study area this is true of Purovskiy *rayon.*

In general, the northern peoples often live mixed one with another and with non-indigenous, numerically-greater peoples. The result of such mixture is often a less-precise ethnic self-consciousness. For many of the individuals in this "metis" group, coexistence increases the possibility of cultural assimilation. Political and economic factors also often play important parts in the construction of ethnic identity. Against a background of generally heightened ethnic self-awareness, people who previously identified themselves (their nationality or ethnic identity) as members of one of the larger national groups, identified themselves in the 1989 census as members of northern indigenous minority groups. A clear example of this is seen in the Sakha Republic where the number of Evenks and Evens identifying themselves as such in the 1989 census grew by more than 2000 individuals. In the study area this is clearly visible in the number of Evenks in Anabarskiy *rayon.*

Figures 2-7 below show recent population data for each of the six study areas.

Administrative Unit	Year Formed	Population 1992	Population 1993
Chukchi Autonomous *Okrug*	1930	145,700	124,300
Providenskiy *rayon*	1957	9,400	8,200
Chukotskiy *rayon*	1927	6,600	6,000
Iul'tinskiy *rayon*	1954	14,400	12,300
Shmidtovskiy *rayon*	1973	14,600	11,700
Bilibinskiy *rayon*	1932	25,900	22,300
Anadyrskiy *rayon*	1927		
Beringovskiy *rayon*	1957		
Chaunskiy *region*	1933	28,000	23,300

Figure 2. Administrative Divisions and Population of the Chukchi Autonomous *Okrug.*

Administrative Unit[16]	Year Formed	Population-1992	Population-1993
Sakha Republic (Yakut ASSR)	1990 (1922)	1,092,500	1,073,800
Nizhnekolymskiy *rayon*	1931	12,900	11,400
Srednekolymskiy *rayon**	1930	10,00	10,000
Verkhnekolymskiy *rayon**	1954	9,800	9,200
Allaikhovskiy *rayon*	1931	5,100	5,000
Abyyskiy *rayon**	1930	5,900	5,800
Ust-Yanskiy *rayon*	1967	36,500	29,500
Verkhoyanskiy *rayon**	1967	21,500	20,000
Bulunskiy *rayon*	1930	15,900	14,300
Olenekskiy *rayon**	1935	4,200	4,300
Anabarskiy *rayon*	1930	4,000	3,900

Figure 3. Administrative Divisions and Population of the Sakha Republic

Administrative Unit [17]	Year Formed	Population-1992	Population-1993
Taymyr Autonomous *Okrug*	1930	52,600	50,700
Khatangskiy *rayon*	1930	9,200	8,800
Diksonskiy *rayon*	1956	3,500	2,400
Dudinskiy *gorsovet**	1930 [18]	36,300	36,000
Ust-Yeniseyskiy *rayon*	1930	3,600	3,500
Igarskiy *gorsovet**	1931	22,800	20,500
Noril'skiy *gorsovet**	1935/1952[19]	260,200	263,200

Figure 4. Administrative Units and Population of the Northern Krasnoyarsk Kray.

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[16] Administrative units marked by a "*" do not have borders directly on the coast.

[17] Administrative units marked by an "*" do not have borders directly on the sea coast.

[18] The territory comprising Dudinskii *gorsovet* came under its jurisdiction in 1955. Before this date it was Dudinskiy *rayon*. Until 1959 it included Avamskiy *rayon*. In 1959, Avamskiy *rayon* was divided between Khatangskiy and Dudinskiy *rayony*.

[19] Until 1952, the territory of the Noril'sk Industrial District was a subdivision of the Internal Security Ministry ("Norlag"). Thus, the people of Noril'sk count their anniversaries from the 1952 date.

Administrative Units[20]	Year Formed	Population 1992	Population 1993
Yamal-Nenets A.O.	1930	479,000	464,800
Tazovskiy *rayon*	1930	17,600	16,700
Purovskiy *rayon**	1930	57,600	54,100
Novo-Urengoyskiy *gorsovet**		101,000	96,600
Noyabr'skiy *gorsovet**	1982	94,100	94,100
Nadymskiy *rayon**	1930	26,300	25,900
Nadymskiy *gorsovet**	1972	51,100	49,100
Yamal'skiy *rayon*	1930	14,300	13,700
Priural'skiy *rayon*	1930	6,800	6,800
Labytnangskiy *gorsovet**	1975	34,400	32,400
Salekhardskiy *gorsovet** [21]	1938	30,800	29,900

Figure 5. Administrative Divisions and Population of Yamal-Nenets A.O.

Census Year	Nenets	Total Population
1897	3,260	6,705
1926	4,818	11,963
1939	5,602	47,617
1959	4,957	45,534
1970	5,851	39,119
1979	6,031	47,218
1989	6,423	53,912

Figure 6. Population of the Nenets Autonomous *Okrug* (A.O.)

[20] Units marked with an "*" do not have borders directly on the sea coast.
[21] Salekhard city was founded in 1595.

Administrative Unit [22]	Year Created	Population 1992	Population 1993
Murmansk *Oblast*	1938	1,147,400	1,117,300
Lovozerskiy *rayon*		17,900	17,300
Severomorskiy *gorsovet*	1938	96,500	93,600
Polyarnyy *gorsovet*	1938	29,200	27,100
Kol'skiy *rayon*		73,400	71,600
Murmansk City and *gorsovet*	1916	468,300	455,300
Pechengskiy *rayon*	1945	57,500	55,900

Figure 7. Administrative Divisions and Population of Murmansk *Oblast*

Health Care and General Demographic Characteristics

The health care system in the North is inadequate by all measures. Health care is administered from *okrug, oblast*, and republic centers, where primary hospital facilities are located. Smaller hospitals are located in *rayon* centers, and villages usually have a small hospital or clinic. Data on medical personnel and health care facilities in each of the study regions can be found in Appendix 8. Mobile medical units are available in theory for dispensing aid to reindeer herders and others who live deep in the tundra, but in fact such units have fallen on hard times in the current economic crisis. Attracting and keeping medical personnel is extremely difficult. In many parts of the North, medical personnel have left and are not being replaced, due both to a lack of financial means and a lack of available personnel. This situation has left hospitals and clinics throughout the North seriously understaffed. In addition, medical equipment is outdated, is often in poor condition, and medicines are either unavailable or in short supply.

The rapid social and economic changes which have taken place throughout the North have had devastating effects on the physical and mental health of Russia's indigenous people as evidenced by patterns of morbidity and mortality, and the increasing incidence of violence (Pika and Prokhorov 1988; Sharov 1988). Only in recent years have scholars begun to examine the differences in morbidity, mortality, and fertility between Native and non-Native

[22] Severomorskiy *gorsovet* was founded as Teriberskiy *rayon*; Polyarnyy *gorsovet* was founded as Polyarnyy *rayon*.

peoples in Russia. Native northerners are treated for diseases of the ears, nose, and throat, heart, liver, and kidneys, and other ailments far more frequently than are members of the non-indigenous population and the incidence of death from these conditions is also higher. Infant mortality is high. Alcohol abuse creates serious health problems.

Government statistical organizations only analyze demographic data (e.g. birth and death rates) in terms of the entire population of small administrative units, such as *rayony* and cities. Demographic characteristics of various ethnic or national groups are generally not distinguished in regional data. In order to study the characteristics of the indigenous peoples in specific administrative units, it is necessary to work with documents in the regions of interest (in *oblast* centers and/or in *rayony* themselves). On the other hand, in the majority of administrative units, the number of indigenous people is too small to estimate with confidence these basic demographic indicators, and is even more difficult in terms of more complex indicators. Therefore, to provide the most accurate data on demographic characteristics, we are using *okrug, oblast*, and *kray* data. At these levels statistical organizations collect and analyze fertility and mortality data by nationality, which allows us to see how indigenous populations change through time (see Figures 8 and 9). Even here, however, the size of some indigenous groups is so small that fluctuations in demographic features (especially coefficients of infant mortality) may appear to have a fortuitous character (see Figure 10). The data presented below have been gathered from official, but unpublished sources.

Inaccuracies and mistakes in the gathering of census data are present in the demographic data. Some effort has been invested in improving the data. For example, a research team went to Sakha to gather data on Evenks and Evens, since the fluctuations in their populations as seen in previous censuses and general demographic data were unexplainable. Data presented here benefited from this additional research. It is also important to bear in mind unregistered births and deaths among the indigenous peoples. In the mortality data "infants" (*mladentsy*) are defined as birth to age one. These unregistered acts were especially high in earlier years (this is clearly visible in the improbably low indicators for the years 1970-1974 among the Dolgans and Nenets in Taymyr). Unregistered births and deaths are significantly higher among peoples leading a nomadic lifestyle. Perhaps as a result of this, the coefficient of

birth rate among the Nenets of the Yamal-Nenets A.O. are lower than among the settled Khants. Unregistered infant deaths have historically been high and continue to be so today. At the present time it is impossible to evaluate the degree to which births and deaths have been unregistered.

Life expectancy data, especially as regards Native peoples, is difficult to find or calculate for any but the most recent years in the former Soviet Union. It is expected that there will be considerable variation in life expectancy data according to region, but this information is not available. Data from Chukotka indicate that in recent years life expectancy for Native people is between 41-49 years, more than 13 years lower than for the non-Native population in Magadan *Oblast* (Robert-Lamblin 1993). Figure 11 below is a compilation of life expectancy calculations from a variety of sources Fondahl 1995; Pika and Prokhorov 1988; Robert-Lamblin 1993; Sharov 1988. Figures for all categories are not available for all years, but the data presented demonstrate the wide disparity in life expectancy between the Native and non-Native populations.

Administrative Unit	Nationality	1970-1974	1975-1979	1980-1984	1985-1989	1990-1992
Murmansk *Oblast*		16.3	16.5	16.6	14.9	10.0
	Saami	22.8	24.6	22.1	21.1	17.1
Nenets A.O.		19.3	20.8	20.3	19.5	15.5
	Nenets	29.4	29.5	30.3	34.0	28.8
Yamal-Nenets A.O.		20.3	18.6	21.0	20.0	14.8
	Nenets	22.1	21.7	29.3	39.4	38.5
	Khants	32.8	31.3	37.1	42.1	26.6
	Sel'kups	28.3	25.9	30.6	30.2	21.4
Taymyr A.O.		18.4	19.2	20.5	20.0	14.5
	Dolgans	19.6	25.6	29.3	35.8	30.0
	Nenets	15.7	25.9	28.1	40.7	37.2
	Evenks	30.6	28.5	34.7	29.8	24.0
	Nganasans	37.6	25.9	30.2	30.2	23.8
Sakha Republic (Yakutia)		20.8	20.3	22.9	23.0	18.0
	Yakuts (Sakha)	23.0	22.5	26.0	29.2	24.6
	Evenks and Evens	28.6	27.3	31.8	33.1	30.1
	Yukagirs	31.3	19.4	26.6	27.7	26.1
Chukchi A.O.		17.3	16.3	17.0	16.5	13.2
	Chukchi	25.1	28.2	31.8	32.6	27.6
	Evens	24.0	37.7	33.9	32.8	30.0
	Eskimo	28.0	29.0	26.1	23.4	22.3

Figure 8. Birth Rates (per 1000 population)

Administrative Unit	Nationality	1970-1974	1975-1979	1980-1984	1985-1989	1990-1992
Murmansk *Oblast*		5.0	5.6	6.2	5.7	6.6
	Saami	14.9	19.0	18.6	13.2	16.6
Nenets A.O.		8.2	9.2	8.0	6.1	7.4
	Nenets	14.1	16.5	14.2	9.3	9.5
Yamal-Nenets A.O.		8.7	6.8	5.4	3.2	3.7
	Nenets	12.8	12.1	14.0	9.4	10.2
	Khants	19.2	17.9	17.1	11.4	7.5
	Sel'kups	14.3	20.3	19.8	10.2	10.2
Taymyr A.O.		6.6	7.7	7.2	5.5	6.9
	Dolgans	17.1	21.2	19.5	14.0	14.0
	Nenets	8.1	11.1	13.9	13.8	13.6
	Evenks	22.9	32.5	21.9	12.7	18.8
	Nganasans	18.2	27.7	21.5	14.9	12.5
Sakha-Republic (Yakutia)		8.0	8.0	8.0	6.3	7.2
	Yakuts (Sakha)	9.8	10.1	8.1	8.2	8.5
	Evenks and Evens	10.7	12.4	11.8	8.0	9.9
	Yukagirs	9.2	6.3	7.5	6.0	7.7
Chukchi A.O.		5.4	4.8	4.6	3.4	4.6
	Chukchi	21.2	21.2	18.9	12.7	12.7
	Evens	16.9	18.8	12.7	8.3	5.6
	Eskimo	17.0	16.9	14.0	8.7	13.1

Figure 9. Death Rates (per 1000 population)

Administrative Unit	Nationality	1970-1974	1975-1979	1980-1984	1985-1989	1990-1992
Murmansk *Oblast*		19.3	18.0	18.3	16.9	16.4
	Saami	31.4	30.6	17.1	11.8	0
Nenets A.O.		41.3	40.4	32.3	17.7	23.7
	Nenets	85.4	75.6	50.4	25.9	27.3
Yamal-Nenets A.O.		44.4	30.2	23.6	20.9	19.3
	Nenets	79.1	53.3	40.7	36.0	26.6
	Khants	77.9	61.1	36.0	35.2	34.3
	Sel'kups	33.6	109.0	33.1	42.7	19.4
Taymyr A.O.		40.5	32.8	20.9	29.3	29.7
	Dolgans	127.1	82.6	63.0	57.5	23.6
	Nenets	55.9	56.3	41.2	62.3	66.0
	Evenks	100.0	160.0	70.2	63.8	130.4
	Nganasans	104.9	82.5	16.9	111.1	47.6
Sakha-Republic (Yakutia)		29.8	29.3	27.9	21.4	21.2
	Yakuts (Sakha)	36.4	35.9	25.1	22.9	21.3
	Evenks and Evens	32.3	42.9	34.1	26.1	25.4
	Yukagirs	58.8	40.8	76.9	10.8	0
Chukchi A.O.		29.1	31.0	27.1	18.2	22.0
	Chukchi	91.9	85.0	78.5	41.3	45.1
	Evens	70.3	64.0	40.4	14.1	23.3
	Eskimo	78.3	54.9	45.7	35.9	20.0

Figure 10. Infant Death Rates (per 1000 population)

Year	Total Population of the RSFSR		Population of the Russian North		Native Peoples in the Russian North	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1978-79			61.7	73.1	44.5	54.1
1988-89	64.2	74.5	64.5	74.4	54	65

Figure 11. Life Expectancy (Years).

Education

Providing basic elementary education remains a problem throughout the northern regions of Russia. In some areas, such as Chukotka, the consolidation of Native villages and the sedentarization of the nomadic population made possible the local schooling of most children. Most Native (*natsional'nye*) villages in Chukotka have schools to the 8th (*nepolnaya srednyaya*) or 10th (*polnaya srednyaya*) class; in some areas boarding schools (*internaty*) provide housing and schooling to children of herders who must stay with the reindeer in the

tundra and to other children whose parents are unable to care for them. For education beyond these levels, students must travel to *rayon*, *okrug*, and *oblast'* centers or even to Moscow. Such a journey for young people can be quite daunting emotionally and difficult to effect financially, especially in recent years when the cost of air transport has risen dramatically. In some areas, such as the Yamal Peninsula, schools in smaller settlements were closed in the 1970s forcing even young children (from about the age of seven) to attend boarding schools. In some cases, these are hundreds of miles from their parents and communities.

As is the case with medical personnel, non-Native teachers have also been leaving the northern regions and returning to central parts of the country. In Chukotka, for example, the *okrug* government in Anadyr has created financial incentive programs in an attempt to attract and keep teachers in the *okrug* (*Sovetskaya Chukotka* 6 February 1992), but the success of these programs is still uncertain.

Indigenous Peoples in the Study Areas

The brief ethnographic descriptions below provide very basic economic, geographic, and population information about each of the indigenous groups represented in the study areas. Although "traditional" economic activities are still important to all of these groups, the reader must remember that these activities were all restructured within the collectivized economic system of the Soviet Union. The changes brought by restructuring vary considerably across the Russian North. While many people continued hunting and herding activities and, in some cases, remained nomadic or semi-nomadic, many individuals left traditional economic pursuits and worked in non-traditional fields, such as education, industry, and social services. Today, equally significant restructuring is underway, and just as the success of Soviet reforms was variable from group to group, so are today's economic reforms in Russia. Figures 12-17 present data on the ethnic composition of the population in each of the six study areas. Readers should refer to the specific area reports (listed in Appendix 1) and text citations for further ethnographic details and should consult volume 6 of the *Encyclopedia of World Cultures* (hereafter referred to as *Encyclopedia*) for more detailed, yet concise information about indigenous peoples in the study area (Friedrich and Diamond, eds. 1994). Figure 1 of this

paper shows the population of minority indigenous peoples from 1926-1989. Our figures differ slightly from the figures given in other sources such as the *Encyclopedia* and Fondahl (1995:216). Map 2 shows the general distribution of indigenous peoples in the study areas.

Chukchi, as the titular nation are numerically superior to all other indigenous groups in the Chukchi Autonomous Okrug. Nevertheless, they composed only 7.3 percent of the population of the *Okrug* in 1990 (Schindler, 1996, p. 13). They are also resident in the Sakha Republic and in the northern regions of the Koryak Autonomous Okrug. In the 17th and beginning of the 18th centuries, Chukchi spread to the coastal territory of Yup'ik (Eskimo) people and, in the 19th century spread west into territory between the Kolyma and Indigirka Rivers. Historically, Chukchi have been divided into two general groups based on economic characteristics: 1) nomadic reindeer herders who move throughout the tundra with their herds on a seasonal basis, and 2) semi-sedentary coastal hunters. The 1989 census recorded a total of 15,106 Chukchi in the Russian Federation.

The Yup'ik (Eskimo) population, though small (1,703 individuals in 1989), is well known due to international press coverage regarding the reunification of Yup'ik families split between Alaska and Russia by the Cold War. Yup'ik peoples are coastal hunters and historically were semi-sedentary. They located their settlements on the coast where sea mammals and other resources were most abundant. Soviet authorities closed seven Yup'ik villages between 1942 and 1959, leaving only Sireniki at its original location where it is thought to have been for roughly 2000 years. The inhabitants were relocated (with terrible psychological, demographic, social and linguistic impacts) to sites that proved less accessible to essential resources (walrus, seals, and whales, especially). In the 1990s, with high unemployment and high prices for imported food and other goods, some families have returned to the previous settlements of Naukan, Ungazik, and Avan. Reunification with relatives on St. Lawrence Island and the larger Yup'ik population of Alaska has led to renewed appreciation of their ethnic identity and a growing movement for self-determination and a real role in decision making (Vahktin, in *Encyclopedia,* pp. 37-42.)

Chuvans (total population 1,384 in 1989) are found in Chukotka primarily in Anadyrskiy *rayon,* although small groups can also be found in the Koryak Autonomous

Okrug. Reindeer hunting and fishing or small scale domestic reindeer breeding were traditional economic occupations of Chuvans. This creole population originated as a "mixture of a Yukagir tribe with a similar ethnic name and a few families of other Yukagir, Even, and Koryak ethnicities, and people of Russian peasant and Cossack descent" (Krupnik, "Chuvans," in *Encyclopedia*, 1994). In the larger inland town of Markovo (pop. 2,200), Chuvans, many of whom have intermarried with Russian newcomers, engage in commercial fishing, gardening, and community services. In the smaller villages, Chuvans are more likely to have retained their ethnic character, to be reindeer breeders, and to speak Chukchi or Koryak (Krupnik 1994).

Yukagirs (1,112 in USSR in 1989) live in the Sakha Republic and the Chukchi A.O. intermingled with Sakha (Yakuts), Chukchi, Even, and Russians. Traditional economic activities focused on hunting and fishing; reindeer breeding existed in the 17th century, adopted perhaps from Tungus tribes (Stepanova et al. 1964).They live today by reindeer herding, hunting, and fishing. In precontact times, their territory extended from west of the Lena to the Anadyr Basin in the east, but they were forced into smaller, isolated pockets in the period of Russian conquest as Tungus, Even and Sakha moved into their homelands. Their numbers dropped drastically in the latter half of the 19th century and early 20th century from 2,350 recorded in 1859 to fewer than 500 by the late 1920s. They suffered from famine (due in part to disruption in wild reindeer migration as well as reindeer plagues), epidemics, and "reprisals by Even and Chukchee for helping or guiding Russians during colonization" (I.S. Gurvich in *Encyclopedia*: 412). The increase in numbers of Yukagir recorded in censuses from the 1970s to the present are a result of interethnic marriages. Today Yukigirs are divided into two groups: the taiga group lives on the Upper Kolyma of the Sakhà Republic and the Saimanchanskoi District of Magadan Oblast along tributaries of the Kolyma; the tundra Yukagir live along the Lower Kolyma in the Sakha Republic between the Kolyma and Indigirka Rivers. The languages of these two are mutually unintelligible. Provisionally classified as Paleoasiatic, their language is related to Uralic languages. Only 288 Yukagir speakers remained in 1970. Historically, they have been multilingual speaking Chukchi, Even, Sakha, and even Russian. Today they ordinarily speak Sakha, Russian, or both. (Gurvich, in *Encyclopedia*: 411-414.)

Evens (formerly referred to as Lamuts) are widespread in the Sakha Republic and the Far East (Chukotka and Magadan *Oblast*, Kamchatka, Khabarovsk Kray, and on the shores of the Okhotsk Sea). Traditionally most Evens were nomadic reindeer herders and hunters, although a small group on the Okhotsk Sea focused their activities on fishing and sea mammal hunting (Levin and Vasil'yev 1964, Spevakovsky in *Encyclopedia* 1994: 115-119). The 1989 census recorded about 17,055 Evens in the Russian Federation.

Most Koryaks (pop. 8,942 in 1989) live to the south of Chukotka in the Koryak Autonomous *Okrug*, but a few remain in the Chukchi A.O. (see Figure 22) and some in Magadan *Oblast.* Traditionally, they were divided into two groups: sedentary coastal dwellers who focus on sea mammal hunting and fishing, and nomadic tundra reindeer breeders.[23]

Sakha (Yakut), the titular nation of the Sakha Republic (Yakutia), were not considered by the Soviet state to be one of the "numerically-small peoples of the North" due to their large population size (382,000 in 1989), but they are "indigenous" by international standards. Sakha are concentrated in the Republic that bears their name although they comprise only 35 percent of the population there. Traditionally Sakha could be roughly divided into two groups based on economy: they were cattle and horse herders in southern regions, and hunters and reindeer herders in northern areas. These occupations are still important to many, but Sakha today also hold many positions in industry, education, and government within their Republic. Though many are urbanized, many villages in central and northern Sakha remain predominantly Sakha. Most speak their own language, *Sakha-tyla* (the northernmost Turkic language of the Altaic Language Family) as well as Russian.(Balzer, in *Encyclopedia* 1994: 404-407.)

Dolgans (1989 pop. 6,571) are one of the titular nations of the Taymyr (Dolgan-Nenets) A.O. Traditionally they were reindeer herders, hunters, and in some regions, fishermen. All of these activities continue to be important (Popov 1964a, Gracheva, *Encyclopedia* 1994: 99-102, Fondahl 1995:216).

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[23]In recent years, Kereks, who had previously been considered as Koryak or had been counted in censuses as Chukchi, have been considered for inclusion as distinct entities among the officially recognized list of minority nationalities of the Russian North. They are thought to number about 100 and reside along the Bering Sea coast in northeast Kamchatka and in the Chukchi A.O. (Vdovin and Volodin, in *Encyclopedia*: 207-210).

Evenks (1989 pop. 29,975) are widely scattered across Siberia and are living in the Sakha Republic, Khabarovsk Kray, Irkutsk Autonomous Oblast, Amur Autonomous Oblast, the Buryat Republic, and are the titular nation of the Evenk Autonomous Okrug. There are two territorially and economically distinct groups of Evenks: those who live in more northern areas and focus on reindeer herding and hunting, and those who are horse and cattle pastoralists in southern regions (Vasilevich and Smolyak 1964, Fondahl, *Encyclopedia* 1994: 120-124).

Nganasans are found almost exclusively in the Taymyr (Dolgan-Nenets) A.O. The Nganasan economy was traditionally focused on hunting (especially wild reindeer) reindeer breeding, and fishing (Popov 1964b). The 1989 census listed 1,262 Nganasans in the Russian Federation (Grachova, *Encyclopedia* 1994).

Half the Enets population (198 total pop. in 1989) lives within our study areas. They were assimilated by their neighbors, the Nenets and, although the Nenets and Enets languages are distinct and mutually unintelligible, Enets are bilingual in Nenets. They are nomadic reindeer breeders, hunters, and fishermen and could roughly be divided into two groups - tundra and forest/tundra nomads. They are linguistically and culturally closely related to the Nganasans and Nenets (Dolgikh 1964).

Kets are primarily hunters, although fishing is also an important part of their economic life. In the late 1960s, Kets spent most of the year in their hunting areas but lived in log cabins while staying in central settlements to trade. Domestic reindeer were kept by some Kets, but this facet of their economy was not well-developed (Popov and Dolgikh 1964). Only a few Kets (out of a total population of 1,084) were recorded in the 1989 census in the Noril'skiy industrial district and Igarskiy *Gorsovet* (see Figures 38 and 39). Shimkin relates the decline of Kets between 1926 and 1959 to intermarriage (especially of Ket women) with Russians, Sel'kup, and Evenks.

Nenets, the largest of the "numerically-small" indigenous peoples with a population of 34,190 in 1989, are widespread in western Siberia. They are a titular nation in three political-administrative units: the Nenets A.O., the Taymyr (Dolgan-Nenets) A.O., and the Yamal-Nenets A.O. Their homelands spread east to west along the tundra adjacent to the Northern Sea Route from the Kanin Peninsula to the Taymyr Peninsula (including Kolguyev and

Vaigach Islands and southern Novaya Zemlya, though they were removed from the later in the 1950s due to nuclear tests). Their territories reach south into the forest taiga to the middle Ob and upper Pur River reaches. Although reindeer herding has historically been the primary economic focus of all Nenets, they can be roughly divided into two groups, forest and tundra, based on differences in herding requirements in the tundra and forest areas, and their attendant cultural variations; more than 95 percent of the Nenets population belong to the tundra group (Prokof'yeva 1964a; Janhunen 1994: 276-279).

Khants and Mansi (often referred to jointly as the "Ob Ugrians") are closely related in both linguistic and cultural terms. Hunting, fishing and reindeer herding were and are all essential elements of traditional Khant and Mansi economies, although the relative importance of each activity varies according to local environmental conditions (Prokof'yeva, Chernetsov, and Prytkova 1964). Khants and Mansi are the titular nations of the Khanty-Manskiisk Autonomous Okrug, where the majority of their population is found. Other Khants and Mansi live in neighboring regions of western Siberia. The 1989 census recorded a total of 22,283 Khants and 8,266 Mansi in the Russian Federation (see Balzer, *Encyclopedia* 1994: 189-192; Fedorova and Koester, *Encyclopedia* 1994: 252-255).

Sel'kups (1989 population, 3,564) can be found in Tomsk Oblast, Krasnoyarsk Kray, and Tyumen Oblast. They can be roughly divided into two groups: northern tundra dwellers who herd reindeer and southern forest dwellers whose primary economic activities are hunting and fishing (Prokof'yeva 1964b; Golovnyov [Golovnev], *Encyclopedia* 1994: 325-328).

Saami of Russia are related in language and culture to the Saami of Finland, Sweden, and Norway. Most of Russia's Saami live on the Kola Peninsula where reindeer herding was the traditional focus of their economy, though a significant number live in cities. The number of Saami in the Russian Federation was 1,835 at the time of the 1989 census.

Census Year	1897	1926	1939	1959	1970	1979	1989
Total Population	14,220	13,749	21,524	46,689	101,184	139,944	163,934
Indigenous Population	14,068	13,280	15,369	12,005	13,381	13,875	15,901
Chukchi	11,178	11,336	12,720	9,997	11,001	11,292	12,858
Evens	1,276	528	938	774	1,061	1,077	1,336
Eskimo	1,307	1,281	1,304	1,059	1,149	1,278	1,452
Yukagirs	130	43	96	103	109	144	160
Koryaks	177	92	311	72	61	84	95

Figure 12. Indigenous Peoples of the Chukchi Autonomous *Okrug*.

Census Year	Dolgans	Nenets	Evenks	Nganasans[24]	Enets	Total Indigenous Population	Total Population
1897	921	1,915	896			3,732	5,043
1926	1,334	2,730	832			4,896	7,539
1939	1,899	1,704	558	738		4,899	14,825
1959	3,884	1,878	412	682		6,856	33,382
1970	4,344	2,247	413	765		7,769	38,060
1979	4,338	2,345	338	746		7,767	44,953
1989	4,939	2,549	311	849	103	8,751	55,803

Figure 13. Population of the Taymyr A.O. (excludes Noril'sk)[25].

Census Year	Nenets	Khants	Sel'kups[26]	Total Population
1897	4,368	4,106	48	10,686
1926	9,384	3,842	---	18,166
1939	13,454	5,367	87	45,840
1959	13,977	5,519	1,245	62,334
1970	17,538	6,513	1,710	79,977
1979	17,404	6,466	1,611	158,844
1989	20,917	7,247	1,530	494,844

Figure 14. Population of Yamal-Nenets A.O.

[24]Nganasans were counted with Nenets in 1897 and 1926; Enets were also counted with Nenets in the years 1897-1979.

25 Note that although Norilsk is surrounded by the Taymyr A.O., it is not within it. The large population of non-natives in Noril'sk, if included, would make the disparity in numbers between the indigenous and non-indigenous population much greater.

[26]The sharp increase in population between the 1939 and 1959 censuses can be explained by the fact that part of Turukhanskiy *rayon* was taken from Krasnoyarsk *Kray*and transfered to Yamal-Nenets *Okrug*, forming Krasnosel'kupskiy *rayon*.

Census Year	Saami	Nenets	Total Indigenous Population	Total Population
1897	1,742	47	1,789	9,291
1926	1,708	108	1,816	32,131
1939	1,755	132	1,887	291,178
1959	1,687	116	1,803	567,672
1970	1,715	137	1,852	799,589
1979	1,565	134	1,699	977,965
1989	1,615	176	1,791	1,164,586

Figure 15. Population of Murmansk *Oblast*

Findings

This section summarizes briefly the key findings and conclusions from this paper as well as the other papers prepared for INSROP IV.4.1 to date. The development and use of the Northern Sea Route has produced direct and indirect physical, cultural, and social impacts on the indigenous population of the Russian North. These impacts have reached not only the coastal and port communities but spread deeply into the northern territories, especially along the connecting northern rivers and related railroad transport corridors. The most striking finding of these studies, however, is the impact that the institutional and administrative apparatus of the NSR has had on indigenous peoples in the Russian North. It was not only the physical opening of a Northeast Passage through the Arctic for regular shipping that affected indigenous peoples, but the creation of powerful administrative organs of the central government that intruded on the lifeways of the Arctic region's permanent residents. The NSR made possible the whole pattern of economic development and industrialization of the Russian North. The creation of the NSR, an enormous undertaking of the central government of the Soviet Union in the late 1920s and 1930s, extended the control of the Soviet government throughout a vast territory and undermined preexisting indigenous institutions – laws, norms, customs, rules and patterns of life – governing economic and social activities of indigenous peoples.

The historical overview of government administration and its interaction with Native peoples, presented above, illustrates the importance of the NSR as a keystone in the North for the building of socialism and industrial development of the former USSR's northern territories.

Native peoples who had inhabited the territories for centuries were valued for their potential contribution to this transformation rather than for their unique and distinct cultures. Soviet authorities noted their ability to survive and produce food and furs, but they sought to increase this productivity by industrializing hunting, fishing, and reindeer herding in order to feed an influx of workers from outside the region. They also created fur farms to provide a steady supply of furs. People deported from as far away as the Baltic, Azov, and Black Sea regions, Volga, Urals, and southern Siberia were deprived of their property and exiled to the North as compulsory laborers. Prison laborers and exiles constructed wood processing and fish factories, dug mines, constructed railroads, and extracted the resources of the North for shipment outside via the NSR (Golovnev, Osherenko, and Pribyl'ski, 1996). The labor camp system was dismantled after Stalin's death, and the central government provided labor for Northern industrial development from the 1950s-1990s with policies of special bonuses and vacation privileges triggering large-scale migration and creating huge cities in the North (Slezkine 1994:338).

As summarized in the study of the Sakha Republic (Boyakova et al. 1996:63):

> The processes of collectivization, transformation from nomadic to settled patterns of living, division into regions, the "cultural revolution", transfer of hunting grounds and reindeer pastures to control by industrial enterprises, conversion of natural resources to state property, and state monopoly of fur trade production all provoked negative changes in the demographic development, traditional models of economy, environmental, social, and cultural systems of the Arctic's original people.

These changes are detailed for each study region in the reports produced by project IV.4.1 of INSROP.

The institutional setting today is fragmented, transitional, and complex. The NSR remains a crucial link in the international commerce of the northern regions, especially in the lower Yenisey Valley (Anderson 1995). The industries operating there, as well as the oil and gas industries operating in Northwest Siberia and mines in the Sakha Republic, continue to underwrite a complex chain of subsidies to indigenous peoples and communities. Thus, the social welfare system, expenses of electricity generation and provision of fuel for heating in settlements, emergency administrative grants, capital for construction of apartment houses, bakeries, and bathhouses are all linked to continuation of international trade.

Regional administrative units have had to replace former state centralized subsidies for infrastructure and social welfare, but these government entities are highly dependent on the extractive oil, gas, and mineral industries in the regions where they exist. The extreme dependency on such industries continues to restrict the bargaining power of the indigenous population which remains linked to former collective institutions. *Sovkhozy*, although legally disbanded, continue to operate on Yamal, in the Lower Yenisey Valley and in Chukotka as collective entities. In the Yamal-Nenets *Okrug*, the *sovkhozy* have few options for survival in the transitional market economy. Some have become subsidiaries of the monopolist oil and gas companies in the *okrug*, a strategy that allows their continued activity in the short run but reduces their ability to achieve self-determination (Osherenko 1995a and 1995b).

Today, policy for northern regions and northern nationalities is unsettled. Some prominent Moscow and Novosibirsk scientists remain proponents of central control and paternalistic provisioning of northern communities. Another group advocates "neotraditionalism" – a blend of increased control by indigenous peoples of lands to be continuously and permanently restricted for use by those engaged in traditional trades of hunting, fishing, herding, and trapping (Pika and Prokhorov 1994). At the same time, power and some measure of legal authority over indigenous homelands has shifted to "subjects" of the Russian Federation – the Republic of Sakha, the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous *Okrug*, etc. (see Fondahl 1995; Poelzer 1995). As indigenous minorities compose only a small fraction of the population of each of these republic and *okrug* level governments, Native peoples would have little say in control and management of lands and waters they have traditionally used and occupied. While there are some indications that policies made closer to home by regional authorities will better serve the interests of indigenous peoples, there is little reason to expect these governments to share power willingly with the indigenous minorities within their borders despite the claims of indigenous peoples to international and national rights to protect their land, economic base, and cultures.

Some of the historical impacts of the NSR are directly caused by use and maintenance of the sea route itself. For example, operating ice-breakers year-round at the mouth of the Yenisey River in order to maintain open sea lanes has interfered with the migration of wild

reindeer. The resulting chaotic migratory behavior of the Taymyr population of wild reindeer threatens the staple food source for Native groups throughout the Lower Yenisey Valley. This in turn has destroyed the local economy of the reindeer herding Dolgan and Nganasan population (Anderson 1995).

More widespread impacts identified in each of the regional studies are associated with industries that developed in connection with the NSR, and which are dependent upon the NSR. These include:

- nickel smelting in Noril'sk resulting in widespread air and water pollution,
- gas pipelines throughout Northwest Siberia as well as in the Lower Yenisey Valley which form barriers to domestic and wild reindeer herds,
- oil, gas, and mining complexes that have removed land from use by Native peoples engaged in herding, hunting, and trapping, or have polluted rivers of fishing communities and spoiled many seasonal habitation sites of Native peoples.

The authors of the study report on the Sakha Republic observed that

> [f]ormerly, the whole territory of Arctic Yakutia belonged to the ancestors of today's indigenous inhabitants. However, the state and its departments redrew the map of ancient lands over a long period. They moved peoples away from locations of industrial development. The natural ecological and cultural reserves of the Arctic zone became prison colonies and industrial wastelands. The phenomenon of the development of Russia's northern territories has not been studied by anthropologists and sociologists from the viewpoint of its influence on indigenous ethno-psychological health. Filling this gap would put a moral accent on individual and public perception of the place of the indigenous population in the "prison without bars" (Boyakova et al. 1996:39).

The paper on Sakha's Arctic *rayony* (*ulus*y) enumerates six key problems resulting from the development of the NSR, problems highlighted and described as well in each of the other papers. They are: demographic change, aggravation of social conditions, environmental damage, injury to the traditional economic base (reindeer breeding, fishing, and hunting trades), lack of involvement of indigenous peoples in the northern work force, and the destruction of cultural values.

The NSR has also brought some positive benefits identified in the regional studies. The NSR ended transport isolation of Yakutiya's northern regions and opened navigation possibilities on its rivers. Administrative authorities for the NSR opened trade posts and

improved the material well-being of northern and Arctic populations providing equipment and food.

It would be absurd to blame development of the NSR for all of the ecological, social, and cultural ills that plague northern communities today. At the same time, it is naive to assume that the impacts of such a large scale transportation network financed and carried out by government authorities would be limited to only the direct physical impacts on immediately adjacent populations. The social and cultural changes triggered by major transportation projects (interstate highways, transcontinental railroads, and waterways) ricochet through the social fabric of society; in fact, developers often intend to effect many of the social changes which accompany their projects. As might be expected, the NSR brought massive demographic changes necessitated first by construction of the transportation network and related industries and later by an influx of workers to these industries. Demographic changes brought widespread and dramatic economic, social, and cultural changes to indigenous people.

The impacts were multiplied in the case of the NSR by the nature of Soviet power and authority, the use of forced labor, and later by conscious government policy favoring creation of large cities in the Far North. The influx of newcomers caused Native peoples whose land use practices are "extensive" to flee from the centers of conflicting "intensive" land use around industrial development (Anderson 1995). In some cases these migrations increased land pressure by Natives in the most remote regions such as the Yamal Peninsula resulting in overgrazing and degradation of pasture lands. The concentration of population around industrial centers exceeded the ecological carrying capacity causing fires, water pollution, soil destruction and damage to flora and fauna. Politically the dramatic demographic change (nearly an eight-fold increase in the population of the five Arctic *rayony* of the Sakha Republic) undermined indigenous power leaving Native populations as tiny minorities in almost all political divisions of the Russian North. In most cases, the "small-numbered peoples" compose not more than five to ten percent of any *okrug* population.

Lessons for the 21st Century

Expanded international use of the NSR has the potential to bring similar impacts, positive and negative, to Native settlements and villages as those experienced earlier. As

concrete plans for use of the NSR and related industrial activities that may be served by the NSR develop, detailed social and cultural impact studies will need to be prepared. Even in the absence of concrete plans for the future use of the NSR, however, we are able to recommend specific actions which, if initiated early, would ensure that the infrastructure for expanded use of the NSR will bring benefits to the indigenous population and avoid or reduce negative impacts. These recommendations would need to be implemented by a combination of actors from the governmental and private sectors including for-profit corporations and non-profit organizations. Opening of the NSR to increased international traffic represents an opportunity to apply international standards in the treatment of indigenous peoples in the Russian North. The recommendations presented here are drawn from the papers prepared for INSROP IV.4.1 or are based on actual practices in other countries.

Although the recommendations below cover the entire study area, the formulation and implementation of each recommendation should be crafted to allow flexible application to differing local conditions and cultures as well as to increase decision making by local communities of indigenous minorities. Policies should avoid the mistake of the centralized Soviet command system which instituted plans for the entire region as if it were undifferentiated.

1.0 Address the crisis conditions in the Far North.

The social service infrastructure providing education, health care, trade, social, and cultural services, built mainly during the 1930s and 1940s, is now in poor condition. Suffering from years of underfunding, services have all but collapsed in recent years (see Finkler 1995 for a recent discussion of the health care crisis in Chukotka). The current outmigration of non-indigenous peoples from the North has reduced the availability of teachers, doctors, and medical personnel. Housing, health care, education, and welfare are wholly inadequate. Life expectancy for Native northerners is significantly lower than the average for the non-indigenous population (Finkler 1995; Fondahl 1995; Levshin 1988; Pika and Prokhorov 1994; Sangi 1988).

Communities in all Arctic regions (Alaska, Canada, Greenland, and Northern Scandinavia as well as Russia) require some form of government subsidy to exist as modern

communities located far from central services. This is a reality which government and private entities need to recognize. Several recommendations below address this reality.

1.1 Support civil infrastructure, social services, retail trade posts, and regular provision of equipment and supplies to remote locations.

The NSR will play a role in facilitating and stimulating business in the Russian North. Some of the economic rents of this activity will undoubtedly filter into the social welfare and civic infrastructure upon which indigenous and other northerners depend. The economic benefits of industrial and transport activity could be more directly channeled to the needs of indigenous communities through the development of a reliable retail network and revival of remote trading posts that might gradually replace the barter economy that has grown up to provision remote lands (see Anderson 1995). Golovnev et al. (1996) suggest that development of a trading post system would be the most convenient variant for connections between Nenets nomadic and modern cultures, could regulate trade and supply, make available relatively quick communication in case of accidents, and potentially provide the infrastructure for establishment of small schools for the nomadic population. Additionally, Anderson (1995:30) correlates the epidemic alcoholism in most indigenous communities with the decline of reliable supplies of equipment that allow people to engage in their work. If a retail trade network were established, a leading cause of alcoholism in these communities may disappear.

Central government assistance will continue to be needed for specific projects and programs directed to the indigenous minorities to increase public health, education, housing, and locally owned business. Support for cultural activities in remote communities is also necessary. This assistance should be provided directly to the local settlements and villages. The current practice of allocating state aid to indigenous settlements through regional authorities with their own (often conflicting) interests has resulted in diversion of funds, so that very little assistance actually has reached local communities.

1.2 Establish funds for compensation, alternative development, and basic needs

Environmental degradation from industries dependent on the NSR such as nickel smelting in Noril'sk has been substantial. Even were these industries to stop production,

restoration could not take place immediately and in some cases the damage may be irreparable. Compensation of, or alternative development for, affected people is needed and could be provided by establishment of special compensation funds supported with a percentage of proceeds from commerce on the NSR as well as industries using the NSR.

A trust fund should be established for the supply of transportation, heating, and electricity to northern communities with special attention to provide for outlying villages. There are numerous models from which to draw to develop such a fund. Funds could come from reserving a percentage of profits (or could be based on smaller percentages of either gross or net revenues) from commerce on the NSR. The permanent fund of the State of Alaska, funded by a royalty on oil produced on state owned land, is used in part to benefit all Alaskans (not only Alaska Natives). We would not recommend the distribution of income that is used in Alaska whereby dividends are distributed annually to individuals who meet certain residency requirements. Funds might be better spent not only for infrastructure and basic needs of outlying communities, but also invested in locally sustainable traditional trades. The Alberta Heritage Fund in Alberta, Canada, provides another model for consideration in establishing a fund to enable the indigenous peoples along the NSR to share the economic benefits from commerce and development in their homelands.

1.3 Create a transportation consortium and a reliable trade organization.

In order to ensure transport of cargo and regular provision of supplies to Native villages at a subsidized cost, it is necessary to create a transportation consortium and a reliable trade organization. These could be placed under the direction of the Administration of the NSR.

2.0 Improve branches of the indigenous economy

The studies in this project identify some opportunities for improvements in those branches of economic activity in which indigenous people participate. We have seen that the Soviet efforts to industrialize indigenous activities resulted in negative impacts on indigenous peoples and cultures and at the same time were not successful in making northern villages with their increased population of outsiders self-sufficient. Privatization and transformation to a market economy is again imposing changes on the local economy from outside without

addressing the negative impacts of this substantial shift. The Northern Sea Route could provide benefits to indigenous peoples.

2.1 Use the NSR to link outside markets to Native producers of fish, fur, reindeer products, handicrafts, and ecologically sound tourism.

In Northwest Siberia, increased NSR transport of high quality fish could help reverse the near collapse of fish factories at Novyy Port, Puiko, and local subdivisions such as Yaptik-Sale which have lost former markets and means of distribution. Renewal of sea and river transport might strengthen Novyy Port and all of southeastern Yamal which is heavily dependent on the fisheries.

The western Yamal shore historically had no network of commercial fisheries due to the short fishing period (along the Mordy-yaha river), and difficulty in shipping (sand banks at the mouth of the Yuribey). Transport being developed in the areas of Kharasavey and Mare-Sale, might allow development of local fisheries and development of trade posts on the Yuribey River, restoration of trade posts of Mordy-yaha, renewal of the trade post at Drovyanoy, and supply of herders with imported food and technology.

2.2. Provide low or no interest loans, technology and training.

Rarely are the raw materials (skins, furs, fish) gathered, hunted, and produced by northern peoples processed for sale as finished products such as fur clothing and footwear, jams, canned mushrooms and berries, nuts, herbs and other foodstuffs, souvenirs and handicrafts. Making capital, technology, and training available to indigenous inhabitants of Arctic communities for storage and processing would raise the standard of living and increase employment for women, old, and young people.

3.0 Develop NSR tourism to benefit indigenous minorities.

Tourism is already developing rapidly along the NSR with luxury cruises aboard icebreakers both to the North Pole and to various destinations along the NSR. Increasingly, international tourists are embarking on Arctic sport fishing and hunting trips, cruises on the Arctic rivers, and other types of trips. Tourism can benefit indigenous residents, but too often it exploits Natives and their culture. Tourism even displaces indigenous peoples from their

traditional hunting and fishing grounds as is occurring with the development of sport fishing tours on the rivers of the Kola Peninsula in the Saami homelands. Government policies and international investors should support and encourage development of Native owned and operated tourist bases and businesses. The following recommendations address ways to ensure that the growth of tourism along the NSR and related rivers benefits rather than exploits indigenous residents of the region. This is an area that has received relatively little, if any, attention in INSROP. Thus, we also recommend that additional studies be undertaken by INSROP to explore opportunities for expansion of tourism using the NSR which would address and respond to the recommendations set forth here.

3.1 Develop tourism and shipping guidelines.

Guidelines for ships, travel companies, and travelers traveling and transiting the NSR should be developed in cooperation with the Indigenous Peoples Associations in each region. Such guidelines should particularly address tourism. Guidelines should be designed to protect archaeological, cultural, and sacred sites, fishing and hunting grounds, and reindeer pastures from undesirable intrusions.

3.2 Establish a fund supported by tourist fees or a share of proceeds.

A fund should be created to support development of Native owned and operated tourist bases, accurate and appropriate information for tourist about Native peoples and cultures, and the guidelines discussed above. The fund should be managed by a board composed of indigenous representatives throughout the NSR region.

3.3 Establish appropriate mechanisms to achieve compliance with tourism and shipping guidelines

Once guidelines are developed regarding tourist activities, land use, and environmental protection, including protection of archeological, cultural, and sacred sites, mechanisms must be developed to achieve compliance with these. Such mechanisms could be established within currently existing law enforcement agencies (by expanding their jurisdiction and increasing personnel), or created in the form of a Natural and Cultural Resources Agency which would focus specifically on these issues and which would have the authority to pursue and prosecute violators.

4.0 Future social and cultural impact assessments.

The placement, pace, and timing of increased activity on the NSR and increased industrial activity linked to the NSR should be planned to minimize negative impacts on indigenous peoples. Development facilitated by the NSR should be timed and phased so as not to overburden infrastructure. Using shift workers rather than placing permanent settlements in the Arctic and reducing in the size of permanent populations in existing industrial complexes would limit or even decrease pressure on fishing, hunting, and herding grounds upon which the indigenous population depends. Conflicts with indigenous settlements and nomadic herders can be minimized by early and careful planning.

4.1 An indigenous peoples plan should be a component of any plan to develop industrial or transport activities using the NSR that could affect indigenous peoples.

The World Bank's Operational Directive on Indigenous Peoples (O.D. 4.20), developed in 1991, provides a mandatory policy and processing procedures for Bank projects that affect indigenous peoples. It is a useful guide for all projects connected to the NSR that affect indigenous peoples. The Bank's strategy "is based on *informed participation* of the indigenous people themselves ... through direct consultation, incorporation of indigenous knowledge into project approaches, and appropriate early use of experienced specialists ... for any project that affects indigenous peoples and their rights to natural and economic resources" (O.D. 4.20, section 8). The indigenous peoples plans particularly address "the rights of indigenous peoples to use and develop the lands that they occupy, to be protected against illegal intruders, and to have access to natural resources ... vital to their subsistence and reproduction" (O.D. 4.20, para. 15a). The policy, if faithfully implemented, would comply with the Russian Constitution and laws protecting the indigenous rights and territories. International developers and lenders should initiate development of such indigenous peoples plans well in advance of specific project proposals and well before finalizing a choice among alternatives that could be costly to alter.

4.2 Project developers should comply with guidelines for environmental assessment in the Arctic.

Guidelines for Environmental Assessment (EA) in the Arctic were prepared at the request of the Senior Arctic Affairs Officials (SAAOs) of the eight Arctic countries. These guidelines (developed under the Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy by the Finnish Environment Institute in cooperation with government agencies and NGOs from all the Arctic states) address the role of indigenous knowledge and assessment of impacts on sociocultural systems. In socio-cultural terms, those engaged in environmental assessment should particularly note four characteristics distinguish the Arctic from the temperate zones: high subsistence dependence, extensive versus intensive patterns of land use, close land/culture links, and low population density. The Guidelines are designed to address impacts related to these four characteristics. In June 1997, the Ministers of the eight Arctic states meeting in Alta, Norway, recommended that these Guidelines be applied regionally and nationally (Alta Declaration on the Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy, June 1997).

4.3 Port expansion and new port construction should take into account potential impacts on local communities and indigenous peoples.

Alaskan studies have shown how the development of Dutch Harbor as a last port of call before entering the NSR could overburden the existing infrastructure of the city of Unalaska. Housing, supplies, medical care, and education that serve the Aleut and non-Native population would need to be increased (Flanders 1996). These burdens could be compounded if port expansion in connection with NSR development takes place at the same time as port expansion to service oil development in the Bering Sea.

Similarly, plans to construct a large, year-round, deep water port in Petsjenga fjord in connection with transport and supply of offshore oil and gas fields in the eastern Barents Sea would impact Saami of the region . The effect of expanded use of the NSR is closely connected to the radical expansion of activities of the Euro-Arctic Barents Region (Lasko, 1996: 80, 81). The cumulative impacts of the multiplicity of industrial, commercial, and transport activities in the Euro-Arctic Barents Region must be assessed in order to reduce or mitigate adverse impacts and ensure that benefits accrue to the indigenous population.

4.4 Use shift workers and reduce the population of Arctic industrial centers.

Throughout the historical development of the NSR, government policies fostered a growing population of immigrants in the North. The demographic and political changes produced by policies of forced labor, exile, and later incentives to relocate to the North are well documented in this paper as are the negative consequences of such policies for indigenous peoples. For this reason, the authors of various papers in this series recommend the use of shift workers rather than establishment of permanent populations in the North. Such policies are regularly employed in oil, gas, and mineral development in Arctic regions of Canada and Alaska. The RF itself has pursued a policy in this decade of facilitating the return of northern workers to the regions of the former Soviet Union from which they came or their relocation south. Although funds to make relocation possible are woefully inadequate, there has been a substantial outmigration from the North, which has also had serious negative consequences for indigenous minorities and for northern communities generally. Thoughtful social and cultural impact assessment is likely to result in recommendations to use available northern labor and shift workers rather than inducing increased populations in the arctic and northern regions.

5.0 Shape new institutions for the Russian North.

We previously identified the institutional and administrative apparatus of the NSR as having had a striking and predominately negative impact on indigenous peoples in the Russian North. Today, the giant industrial plants at Noril'sk and Murmansk (both owned by Noril'sk Nikel) and the oil and gas industry in the Yamal-Nenets *Okrug* (among other similar industrial entities) are gaining autonomy from government and, of necessity, assuming responsibility for the well-being of outlying Native areas. They are replicating the paternalism and therefore control of the former state system in which indigenous people have little bargaining strength to gain control over their own lives. Promoters of the NSR can play a positive role in shaping a new institutional framework. Allocation of property rights and creation of market based economic institutions that enable indigenous peoples to participate in land management and protection and to receive a fair share of economic rents from industrial development would enable indigenous northerners to escape the past paternalism and loss of control and play a

significant role in shaping their own future. The more specific recommendations that follow would return considerable control over their own lives and communities to indigenous peoples and avoid some pitfalls that would undermine the goals.

5.1 Transfer private property rights to land and natural resources to indigenous or community groups who use the land for culturally based economic activities rather than to individuals.

This approach to privatization will not impede economic development, but will enable the Arctic's indigenous peoples to provide for future generations of both those who will continue traditional trades and those who wish to participate in the industrial economy (Osherenko 1995a and 1995b).

5.2 Establish an indigenous peoples advisory committee on use of the NSR

In order to enhance communication among indigenous peoples within the sphere of influence of the NSR, an indigenous peoples advisory committee on the use of the NSR should be established. This would facilitate input and exchange of ideas among those who otherwise have very limited opportunity for communication. Nenets, for example, live in three administrative regions in the sub-Arctic with no communication or opportunities to visit each other. Travel among these regions for most inhabitants is practically limited to reindeer sleds, thus constricting most interconnection. (The administrative centers of Naryan-Mar in the Nenets Autonomous *Okrug*, Salekhard in the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous *Okrug*, and Dudinka in the Taymyr Autonomous *Okrug* are not connected to each other by air or rail, requiring northerners to travel south and then north again to make the link). The waters of the NSR are critical at present to maintain transport and communication links.

Prospects for increased linkage, transport, and communication are important in this era of increasing international indigenous political organization and activity. The special role assigned to indigenous peoples in implementing the international Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy (AEPS) could be enhanced and facilitated through establishment of a NSR indigenous peoples network. At the September 1993 ministerial meeting on AEPS in Nuuk, Greenland, the eight Arctic states agreed to establish an Indigenous People's Secretariat (based in Copenhagen) to coordinate indigenous participation for AEPS. An NSR indigenous peoples

forum could provide input to this secretariat and more directly to those involved in development of the NSR.

5.3 Provide equity shares in the NSR to Native communities.

5.4 Create an "ecological service" composed of indigenous northerners in the Arctic and North to supervise protected areas and to monitor and enforce environmental protection in the region.

5.5 Create indigenous transport associations, corporations, stock companies, and firms building on the experience of such organizations in the Canadian and U.S. North.

5.6 Create a legal foundation to protect northern peoples and cultures.

5.7 Encourage and support the formation of self-governing communities of northern peoples.

Such communities have been established or are being established in Sakha, Yamal, Buryatiya, and elsewhere. They need financial support in order to function effectively and support of the international community in order to flourish.

5.8 Support passage of a law clarifying the rights of indigenous peoples in Russia.

A bill "On the legal status of the small numbered Northern peoples" has been before committees of the Russian parliament, but indigenous issues have not had sufficient priority in either the legislative or executive branches of the government to move this bill forward. The international community and particularly proponents of expanded use of the NSR should indicate their support for rapid passage of a law clarifying the status of indigenous peoples in Russia, conforming to principles and norms of international indigenous rights law, and conferring on northern peoples the rights to self-determination (see Sokolova et al.1996). Laws should support the elimination of excessive state wardship and increase the responsibility of northern peoples for their own future by providing them with necessary rights, structures, land and state aid during the period of transition.

The Northern Sea Route together with the administrative organs of the state responsible for its creation and operation produced dramatic changes for the indigenous peoples of Northern Russia. By providing the infrastructure for industrial development and creation of

large cities in the North, the NSR triggered significant demographic, social, economic, environmental and cultural changes in the homelands of Native peoples. The policies and decisions regarding use, operation, and promotion of increased activity in the Northern Sea Route will continue to impact indigenous peoples. Further work must be done to anticipate and understand the potential benefits and costs of using the NSR to facilitate transport and development in the North. The findings and recommendations produced by the researchers of INSROP IV.4.1 only lay a foundation for more detailed studies as specific projects and plans evolve.

Appendix 1

List of papers prepared for INSROP IV.4.1

Anderson, David G. Northern Sea Route Social Impact Assessment: Indigenous Peoples and Development in the Lower Yenisei Valley. INSROP Working Paper No.18-1995, I.V.4.1

Boyakova, S.I., V.N. Ivanov, L.I. Vinokurova, B.V. Ivanov, T.S. Ivanova, V.B. Ignatiyeva, S.P. Kistenyov, and D.A. Shirina. The NSR Impact on Social and Cultural Development of Indigenous Peoples of the Arctic Zone of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia). INSROP Working Paper No. 49-1996, I.V.4.1.

Flanders, Nicholas.E. 1996 Impacts of Transportation Systems on the Communities of Western Alaska: Analysis of the Literature. INSROP Working Paper No.33-1996, IV.4.1.

Golovnev, A.V., Gail. Osherenko and Yuri P. Pribyl'ski. Indigenous Peoples and Development on the Yamal Peninsula. INSROP Discussion Paper, I.V.4.1., forthcoming.

Lasko, Lars-Nila 1996 Laws Pertaining to Sami People Affected by Expanded Use of the Northern Sea Route. INSROP Discussion Paper, April 1996, I.V.4.1.

Osherenko, Gail., Debra L. Schindler, Alexander I. Pika, and Dmitry. Bogoyavlensky. 1996 Social and Cultural Impact on Indigenous Peoples of Expanded Use of the Northern Sea Route: An Introduction, History, and Summary Recommendations. INSROP Discussion Paper 1997, I.V.4.1.

Schindler, Debra L. 1996 Northern Sea Route Social Impact Assessment: Description of the Chukchi Autonomous Okrug. INSROP Working Paper No.51-1996,I.V.4.1.

Sokolova, Z.P., A. Yakovlev and V. Pavlenko. Social and Cultural Impact Assessment on Indigenous Peoples of Expanded Use of the NSR. INSROP Discussion Paper 1996, I.V.4.1.

Appendix 2

Chukchi Autonomous Okrug

The Chukchi Autonomous *Okrug* was created in 1930. It is located in the northeastern corner of present-day Russia and covers an area of 737,700 square kilometers, one-third of which lie above the Arctic circle. Approximately 36 communities are situated directly on the coastline, but the coastal population centers are linked to inland communities through economic and administrative ties and all communities rely almost exclusively on the NSR for supply with construction materials, foodstuffs, consumer goods, etc. Mining is the most important aspect of Chukotka's economy from a national perspective, but reindeer breeding and hunting are the most important aspects of the local indigenous economy. The majority of the indigenous population is Chukchi, but the Okrug is also the homeland of the Siberian Yup'ik (Eskimo) and a small number of Even, Chuvans, Yukagirs, Koryaks and Kereks reside there as well. The Bilibino Atomic Energy Station, Chaunskiy Heat and Electric Power Station, and the Egvekinot Regional Power Plant provide electricity to many settlements, but many others have their own electric-generating plants, using coal as fuel. The majority of the population is Russian.

Figures 16- 23 provide specific population data for the indigenous peoples of each administrative unit within the Chukchi A.O.

Census Year	Chukchi	Eskimo	Total Indigenous Population	Total Population
1959	1,028	562	1,590	6,267
1970	1,310	629	1,939	8,728
1979	1,331	718	2,049	8,736
1989	1,467	808	2,275	9,981

Figure 16. Population of Providenskiy *rayon*, Chukchi A.O. [27]

[27] Prior to its founding in 1957, Providenskiy *rayon* was part of Chukotskiy *rayon*.

Census Year	Chukchi	Eskimo	Total Indigenous Population	Total Population
1897	4,057	1,307	5,364	5,364
1926	4,052	1,177	5,229	5,277
1939	4,338	1,067	5,405	6,694
1959	2,222	288	2,510	3,595
1970	2,384	290	2,674	4,859
1979	2,620	323	2,943	5,991
1989	3,067	340	3,407	6,935

Figure 17. Population of Chukotskiy *rayon*, Chukchi A.O. [28]

Census Year	Chukchi	Eskimo	Total Indigenous Population	Total Population
1959	1,466	117	1,583	8,400
1970	1,611	30 [29]	1,641	15,947
1979	1,074	152	1,226	13,408
1989	1,136	160	1,296	16,121

Figure 18. Population of Iul'tinskiy *rayon*, Chukchi A.O. [30]

Census Year	Chukchi	Eskimo [31]	Total Indigenous Population	Total Population
1979	664	25	689	13,158
1989	722	35	757	16,695

Figure 19. Population of Shmidtovskiy *rayon*, Chukchi A.O. [32]

Census Year	Chukchi	Eskimo [33]	Total Indigenous Population	Total Population
1897	1,707	----	1,707	1,792
1926	1,806	35	1,841	1,908
1939	2,003	36	2,039	2,747
1959	851	36	887	10,500
1970	961	19	980	22,958
1979	776	----	776	30,077
1989	786	----	786	33,563

Figure 20. Population of Chaunskiy *rayon*, Chukchi A.O.

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[28] Chukotskiy *rayon* was formed in 1927, before which time it included the territory of Providenskiy *rayon*.

[29] The sharp decrease in population here reflects the transfer of the Eskimo village of Uel'kal to Anadyrskiy *rayon*, and then in 1979, its transfer back to Iul'tinskiy *rayon*.

[30] Iul'tinskiy *rayon* was formed in 1954, from parts of both Anadyrskiy and Chukotskiy *rayony*.

[31] The Eskimo were enumerated on Wrangel Island in Shmidtovskiy *rayon*.

[32] Shmidtovskiy *rayon* was formed in 1973 from parts of Iul'tinskiy and Chaunskiy *rayony*.

[33] The Eskimo were enumerated on Wrangel Island.

Census Year	Chukchi	Evens	Yukagirs	Total Indigenous Population	Total Population
1897	591	506	39	1,136	1,147
1926	244	670	0	914	921
1939	548	905	15	1,468	1,665
1959	779	443	----	1,222	3,600
1970	965	639	33	1,537	20,742
1979	847	646	28	1,521	26,348
1989	1,022	807	31	1,860	29,216

Figure 21. Population of Bilibinskiy *rayon*, Chukchi A.O. [34]

Census Year	Chukchi	Chuvans	Evens	Koryaks	Yukagirs	Eskimo	Total Indigenous Population	Total Population
1897	4,502	406	604	177	90	0	5,779	5,927
1926	4,450	338	258	85	43	90	5,264	5,643
1939	4,753	553	378	293	57	159	6,193	10,418
1959	2,627	n.a.[35]	323	38	68	65	3,121	11,367
1970	2,657	n.a.	369	36	75	172[36]	3,309	22,155
1979	2,865	n.a.	293	47	107	56	3,368	34,293
1989	2,498	899	448	63	120	90	4,118	42,124

Figure 22. Population of Anadyrskiy *rayon*, Chukchi A.O.

Census Year	Chukchi[37]	Total Population
1897	n.a.[38]	n.a.
1926	n.a.	n.a.
1939	n.a.	n.a.
1959	1,007	3,966
1970	1,107	5,795
1979	1,115	7,933
1989	1,216	9,249

Figure 23. Population of Beringovskiy *rayon*, Chukchi A.O.

[34] Bilibinskiy *rayon* was formed in 1932 under the name Vostochnoy Tundry.

[35] In the years 1959-1979 the Chuvans were counted as Chukchi.

[36] The village of Uelkal in Iul'tinskiy *rayon* had been transferred to Anadyrskiy *rayon* and thus over 100 Eskimo living in the village were counted among the population of Anadyrskiy *rayon*. By the 1979 census, the village of Uelkal had been transferred back to Iul'tinskiy *rayon*.

[37] Any Kereks who may have been present were counted among the Chukchi.

[38] During the 1897, 1926, and 1939 censuses Beringovskiy *rayon* was part of Anadyrskiy *rayon*.

Appendix 3

The Sakha Republic

The Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (Yakutia) was formed in 1922 recognizing the Yakut-Sakha people's homeland. The Republic of Sakha declared its republican status within the Russian Federation in 1990. The Sakha Republic is in northeastern Siberia, covers 3,103,200 square kilometers, and has as its northern boundaries the Laptev and East Siberian Seas. Russians form the majority of the population, but the Sakha (the titular nation) are a numerically-large presence as well. The Sakha accounted for 35 percent of the Republic's population in 1989 while all of the other indigenous peoples combined composed only two percent of the population. Industrial development in the Republic is directed toward the wealth of natural resources-- gold, diamonds, coal, and timber. The Republic has an extensive hydroelectric power system. The basins of the Indigirka, Kolyma, and Yana Rivers in the northeast are important for mining activities and transportation to ports on the Northern Sea Route. Some areas (such as the Vilyuy River) have suffered extensive pollution, including from radioactive materials, due to extensive mining activity. Agricultural emphases are on beef production, dairy products, and furs. In the northwest, reindeer breeding, which is significant to the economy of the indigenous population, is extensive and is concentrated in the *sovkhoz* system. Detailed data for the numerically small indigenous peoples of the five northern administrative units (*ulus*) may be found in INSROP Working Paper No. 49-1996 (Boyakova *et al.*.).

NOTE: The column labeled "Total Indigenous Population" throughout the figures in the Appendices refers to the total population of officially recognized numerically small indigenous peoples (those listed in the previous columns combined). This column does not include the larger indigenous groups, such as Sakha/Yakuts who compose a substantial part of the total population in the Sakha Republic.

Census Year	Dolgans [39]	Chukchi	Evenks	Evens	Yukagirs	Total Indigenous Population	Total Population
1897	46	389	6,900	1,221	531	9,087	247,844
1926	150	386	8,759	2,450	396	12,141	287,625
1939	183	400	10,367	3,199	251	14,400	413,876
1959	----	325	9,505	3,537	285	13,652	487,343
1970	10	387	9,097	6,471	400	16,365	664,123
1979	64	377	11,584	5,763	526	18,314	851,840
1989	408	473	14,428	8,668	697	24,674	1,094,065

Figure 24. Population of Nizhnekolymskiy *rayon*, Sakha Republic

Census Year	Evenks	Evens	Evens*	Total Indigenous Population	Total Population
1897	0	29	29	29	3,694
1926	8	198	206	206	6,207
1939	6	175	181	181	8,158
1959	12	197	209	209	5,500
1970	5	222	227	227	6,921
1979	14	288	302	302	8,099
1989	25	364	389	389	9,421

Figure 25. Population of Srednekolymskiy *rayon*, Sakha Republic

Census Year	Evenks	Evens	Yukagirs	Evens*	Total Indigenous Population	Total Population
1959	95	18	129	113	242	5,400
1970	23	116	161	139	300	6,583
1979	20	141	180	161	341	8,728
1989	9	197	186	206	392	10,147

Figure 26. Population of Verkhnekolymskiy *rayon*, Sakha Republic

* The censuses often confused "*Evenki*" (Evenks) and "*Eveny*" (Evens) due to the consonance of their names. This was especially true in those areas where both groups live, such as Sakha/Yakutiya. We know, however, that the Evens live east of the Lena river, and therefore combined the figures for both Evens and Evenks living in the eastern regions (Nizhnekolymskiy, Srednekolymskiy, Verkhnekoymskiy, Abyyskiy, Allaikhovskiy, Ust'-Yanskiy, Verkhoyanskiy) and listed them as "Evens*" with an asterisk (*). Similarly, the Evenks counted in the western regions (Bulynskiy, Olenekskiy, Anbarskiy) are listed as "Evenky*."

[39] Our reviewer, Igor Krupnik, pointed out that Dolgans have never lived in the Nizhnekoymskiy district. This is the one serious and obvious error in the demographic data provided in the paper's figures, which we are not able to reconstruct without our colleague Alexander Pika. The error in this table occurred in the original tables he provided.

Census Year	Evenks	Evens	Yukagirs	Evens*	Total Indigenous Population	Total Population
1897	1	198	349	199	748	1,238
1926	0	57	264	57	321	890
1939	212	0	142	212	354	1,679
1959	109	118	51	227	278	2,400
1970	23	299	49	322	371	3,838
1979	16	377	47	393	440	5,169
1989	15	544	95	559	692	5,361

Figure 27. Population of Allaikhovskiy *rayon*, Sakha Republic

Census Year	Evenks	Evens	Evens*	Total Indigenous Population	Total Population
1897	1	324	325	325	2,147
1926	0	211	211	211	2,401
1939	124	3	127	127	2,984
1959	50	68	118	118	3,200
1970	14	52	66	66	3,688
1979	20	75	95	95	4,919
1989	45	142	187	187	6,228

Figure 28. Population of Abyyskiy *rayon*, Sakha Republic

Census Year	Evenks	Evens	Yukagirs	Evens*	Total Indigenous Population	Total Population
1897	2	142	46	144	190	1,814
1926	365	200	11	565	576	2,196
1939	250	497	21	747	768	3,035
1959	77	212	0	289	289	----
1970	68	518	2	586	588	15,436
1979	32	578	1	610	611	25,664
1989	49	939	10	988	988	42,937

Figure 29. Population of Ust-Yanskiy *rayon*, Sakha Republic

Census Year	Evenks	Evens	Evens*	Total Indigenous Population	Total Population
1897	3	11	14	14	5,479
1926	44	18	62	62	5,711
1939	59	25	84	84	10,044
1959	176	966	1,142	1,142	22,400
1970	182	583	765	765	19,358
1979	32	783	815	815	20,377
1989	49	189	238	238	22,116

Figure 30. Population of Verkhoyanskiy *rayon*, Sakha Republic

Census Year	Evenks	Evens	Evenks*	Total Indigenous Population	Total Population
1897	164	142	306	306	1,014
1926	856	0	856	856	2,603
1939	1,782	1	1,783	1,783	4,992
1959	1,663	16	1,679	1,679	10,200
1970	697	1,069	1,766	1,766	12,620
1979	1,953	49	2,002	2,002	15,199
1989	2,086	384	2,470	2,470	17,630

Figure 31. Population of Bulunskiy *rayon*, Sakha Republic

Census Year	Evenks	Evens	Evenks*	Total Indigenous Population	Total Population
1897	1,565	0	1,565	1,565	1,616
1926	1,397	44	1,441	1,441	1,695
1939	1,426	0	1,426	1,426	1,964
1959	1,124	1	1,125	1,125	3,400
1970	1,673	0	1,673	1,673	3,196
1979	2,005	13	2,018	2,018	3,726
1989	2,179	30	2,209	2,219	4,011

Figure 32. Population of Olenekskiy *rayon*, Sakha Republic

Census Year	Dolgans	Evenks	Evens	Evenks*	Total Indigenous Population	Total Population
1897	46	1		1	48	267
1926	150	0		0	150	1,015
1939	183	4		4	187	1,782
1959	---	14		14	14	1,400
1970	---	21	34	55	55	1,906
1979	---	6	68	74	74	2,180
1989	323	372	97	469	800	3,954

Figure 33. Population of Anabarskiy *rayon*, Sakha Republic

Appendix 4

Krasnoyarsk Kray and the Taymyr Autonomous Okrug (A.O.)

Krasnoyarsk *Kray* was formed in 1934, is located in Eastern Siberia, and covers an area of approximately 2,401,600 square kilometers primarily in the basin of the Yenisey River. It encompasses not only the Taymyr A.O., but also the Evenk Autonomous *Okrug* (and, until 1991, the Khakass Autonomous *Oblast*. The city of Krasnoyarsk is the administrative center of the territory. The majority of the population is Russian.

The Taymyr (Dolgan-Nenets) A.O. lies north of the Arctic circle, encompasses 862,100 square kilometers, and is bounded to the north by the Kara and Laptev Seas. The administrative center is the city of Dudinka. The majority of the population is Russian. Primary branches of the economy are fishing and mining; reindeer breeding, concentrated in the state farm system, is important in the indigenous economy. In addition to sea transport, river transport along the Yenisey and Khatanga Rivers is very important. The primary ports in the *Okrug* are at Dudinka, Khatanga, and Dikson.

In his report, Anderson delineates the Lower Yenisey Valley as "that corridor of cultural and economic activity extending inland along the Yenisey River" from the village of Turukhansk in the south to the port of Dikson on the Arctic Ocean. His study area extends east on the right bank of the Yenisey to the tundra lands surrounding the headwaters of the Pyasina and Kheta Rivers in the Taymyr (Dolgan-Nenets) A.O. and to the south of the Taymyr into the mountainous and forested sections of the Igarka Industrial County along the Kureika River valley. On the left bank of the Yenisey, he includes the tundra marshes south of the Gydan peninsula and the first forests further south. Map 1.3 included in his report illustrates the extension of overland trading routes east, west, and south beyond the Lower Yenisey Valley and shows the migratory routes of wild reindeer herds that are important to the subsistence economy of indigenous peoples. Map 1.2 in his study shows the current direct impacts of heavy metal pollution from industry developed in conjunction with the NSR that affect the health of the human as well as the plant and animal communities. Figures 34-39 provide

specific population data for the indigenous peoples of each administrative division within the study area.

Census Year	Dolgans	Nenets	Evenks	Nganasans[40]	Total Indigenous Population	Total Population
1897	465	197	129		791	1,382
1926	547	330	190		1,067	1,904
1939	654			224	878	3,115
1959	---	---	---	---	---	5,485
1970	3,098			157	3,255	7,471
1979	3,051			128	3,179	8,561
1989	3,343			101	3,444	10,514

Figure 34. Population of Khatangskiy *rayon*, Taymyr A.O.

Census Year	Total Indigenous Population	Total Population
1959	0	3,470
1970	0	3,889
1979	0	4,126
1989	0	4,537

Figure 35. Population of Diksonskiy *rayon*, Taymyr A.O.

Census Year	Dolgans	Nenets	Evenks	Nganasans[41]	Enets	Total Indigenous Population	Total Population
1897	453	985	763			2,201	2,585
1926	687	1,015	642			2,344	3,570
1939	1,174	168	674	514		2,530	7,425
1959	---	192	409	---		---	20,000
1970	1,184	236	402	604		2,426	22,691
1979	1,214	301	324	615		2,454	28,440
1989	1,543	751	298	742	54	3,388	36,769

Figure 36. Population of Dudinskiy *gorsovet*, Taymyr A.O. [42]

[40] Nganasans were counted with Nenets in 1897 and 1926.

[41] In 1897 and 1926 the Nganasans were counted with the Nenets; until 1989 the Enets were also counted with the Nenets.

[42] Dudinskiy *rayon* was formed in 1930; the figures here include the territory subsumed under the *gorsovet* from 1956, and up until 1959 excluded Avamskiy *rayon*.

Census Year	Nenets	Evenks	Enets[43]	Total Indigenous Population	Total population
1897	733	3		736	1076
1926	1385	100		1485	2065
1939	1529	71		1600	4285
1959	---	---		---	4427
1970	---	---		---	4009
1979	2032			2032	3826
1989	1672		49	1721	3983

Figure 37. Population of Ust-Yeniseyskiy *rayon*, Taymyr A.O.

Census Year	Dolgans	Nenets	Evenks	Nganasans	Enets	Kets	Total Population
1939	77	82	5				12,803
1959							123,513
1970							159,206
1979							234,665
1989	141	47	32	28	5	10	277,603

Figure 38. Population of Noril'skiy industrial district

Census Year	Dolgans	Nenets	Evenks	Kets	Total Population
1939		14	180	53	13,147
1959					18,021
1970					16,195
1979					20,494
1989	16	6	44	22	26,506

Figure 39. Population of Igarskiy *gorsovet*

[43] In the 1897-1979 censuses the Enets were enumerated along with the Nenets.

Appendix 5

Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug (A.O.)

The Yamal-Nenets A.O. encompasses 750,300 square kilometers, is bordered on the north by the Kara Sea, and approximately half of the *Okrug* lies above the Arctic Circle. The administrative center of the *Okrug* is Salekhard. The primary emphases of the economy are natural gas and fishing; reindeer breeding is the primary aspect of the indigenous economy and is concentrated in the *sovkhoz* system. Fur production is also very important. Most of the population of the *Okrug* is Russian. Figures 40-49 provide specific population data for the indigenous peoples in each administrative unit within the study area.

Census Year	Nenets	Total Indigenous Population	Total Population
1897	1,411	1,411	1,534
1926	2,052	2,052	2,181
1939	3,323	3,323	4,939
1959	4,285	4,285	6,994
1970	5,082	5,082	9,381
1979	5,170	5,170	12,882
1989	6,214	6,214	18,810

Figure 40. Population of Tazovskiy *rayon*, Yamal-Nenets A.O.

Census Year	Nenets	Khants	Sel'kups	Total Indigenous Population	Total Population
1897	480	0	0	480	480
1926	1,523	0	0	1,523	1,585
1939	1,538	82	48	1,668	2,295
1959	1,711	284	94	2,089	3,316
1970	2,118	98	336	2,552	6,354
1979	1,977	96	355	2,428	20,703
1989	2,330	206	241	2,777	56,365

Figure 41. Population of Purovskiy *rayon*, Yamal-Nenets A.O.

Census Year	Nenets	Total Indigenous Population	Total Population
1897	360	360	369
1926	949	949	1,452
1939	1,321	1,321	3,565
1959	1,340	1,340	3,475
1970	1,415	1,415	3,921
1979	1,340	1,340	21,144
1989	1,682	1,682	30,379

Figure 42. Population of Nadymskiy *rayon*, Yamal-Nenets A.O.

Census Year	Nenets	Khants	Total Indigenous Population	Total Population
1897	1,320	3	1,323	1,338
1926	3,229	4	3,233	3,233
1939	5,273	246	5,519	8,430
1959	4,533	147	4,680	8,245
1970	5,852	232	6,084	9,727
1979	6,251	289	6,540	12,334
1989	7,181	272	7,453	15,119

Figure 43. Population of Yamal'skiy *rayon*, Yamal-Nenets A.O.

Census Year	Nenets	Khants	Total Indigenous Population	Total Population
1897	507	1,780	2,287	2,287
1926	1,457	1,070	2,527	3,551
1939	1,623	1,666	3,289	6,403
1959	1,127	1,219	2,346	5,466
1970	1,793	1,746	3,539	5,793
1979	1,677	1,571	3,248	6,080
1989	1,930	1,669	3,599	6,652

Figure 44. Population of Priural'skiy *rayon*, Yamal-Nenets A.O.

Census Year	Nenets	Khants	Sel'kups	Mansi	Total Indigenous Population	Total Population
1897	164	94	0	27	285	1,249
1926	130	64	0	29	223	1,872
1939	206	103	0	19	328	12,764
1959	441	310	47	50	848	16,894
1970	629	360	37	35	1,061	22,169
1979	571	626	63	30	1,290	25,213
1989	744	723	63	52	1,582	33,470

Figure 45. Population of Salekhardskiy *gorsovet*, Yamal-Nenets A.O.

Census Year	Nenets	Khants	Total Indigenous Population	Total Population
1959	263	261	524	6,279
1970	166	46	212	10,348
1979	189	138	327	22,270
1989	220	181	401	38,925

Figure 46. Population of Labytnangskiy *gorsovet*, Yamal-Nenets A.O.

Census Year	Nenets	Khants	Sel'kups	Mansi	Total Indigenous Population	Total Population
1979	11	8	1	1	21	8,658
1989	72	56	1	12	141	108,055

Figure 47. Population of Novo-Urengoyskiy *gorsovet* (in Purovskiy *rayon*), Yamal-Nenets A.O.

Census Year	Nenets	Khants	Sel'kups	Mansi	Total Indigenous Population	Total Population
1989	31	39	7	9	86	116,469

Figure 48. Population of Noyabr'skiy *gorsovet* (in Purovskiy *rayon*), Yamal-Nenets A.O.

Census Year	Nenets	Khants	Sel'kups	Mansi	Total Indigenous Population	Total Population
1979	48	37	5	12	102	26,444
1989	143	87	8	12	250	53,659

Figure 49. Population of Nadymskiy *gorsovet* (in Nadymskiy *rayon*), Yamal-Nenets A.O.

Appendix 6

Murmansk Oblast

Murmansk *Oblast* covers 440, 900 square km., has international borders on Norway and Finland, and to the north is bounded by the Barents Sea. Its population is overwhelmingly Russian. The *Oblast* is heavily industrialized: mining is well developed and commercial fishing is a major part of the economy. Reindeer breeding is the primary facet of the indigenous economy. Figures 50-54 provide specific population data for the indigenous peoples in each administrative unit within the study area.

Census Year	Saami	Nenets	Total Indigenous Population	Total Population
1897	821	47	868	1,390
1926	784	95	879	2,341
1939	999	114	1,113	4,232
1959	1,057		1,057	9,391
1970	1,022		1,022	9,258
1979	897	80	977	13,239
1989	915	100	1,015	18,805

Figure 50. Population of Lovozerskiy *rayon*, Murmansk *Oblast*

Census Year	Saami	Nenets	Total Population
1897	186		2,130
1926	199	13	3,583
1939	137	15	19,528
1959	94		51,325
1970	156	---	92,721
1979	122	---	129,987
1989	24	---	125,765

Figure 51. Population of Severomorskiy and Polyarnyy *gorsovety*, Murmansk *Oblast*

Census Year	Saami	Total Population
1897	560	1,460
1926	547	2,376
1939	327	17,450
1959	269	37,585
1970	264	61,315
1979	226	75,608
1989	220	74,787

Figure 52. Population of Kol'skiy *rayon*, Murmansk *Oblast*

Census Year	Saami	Nenets	Total Population
1926	5		9,018
1939	20		117,069
1959	22		221,874
1970	56		308,642
1979	68		382,047
1989	183	20	472,274

Figure 53. Population of Murmansk City, Murmansk *Oblast*

Census Year	Saami	Total Population
1959	4	26,047
1970	10	55,240
1979	11	53,152
1989	13	61,539

Figure 54. Population of Pechengskiy *rayon*, Murmansk *Oblast*

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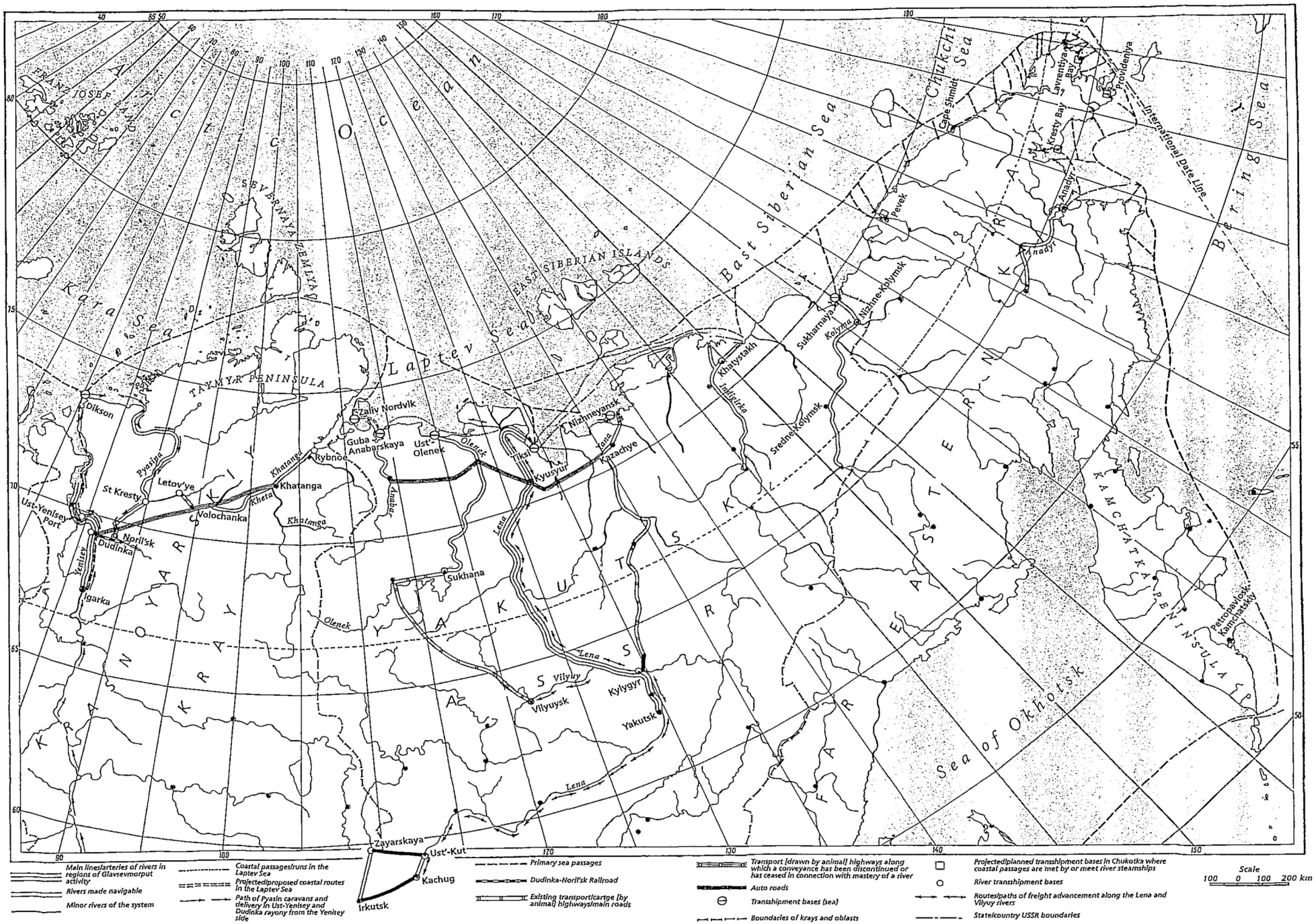
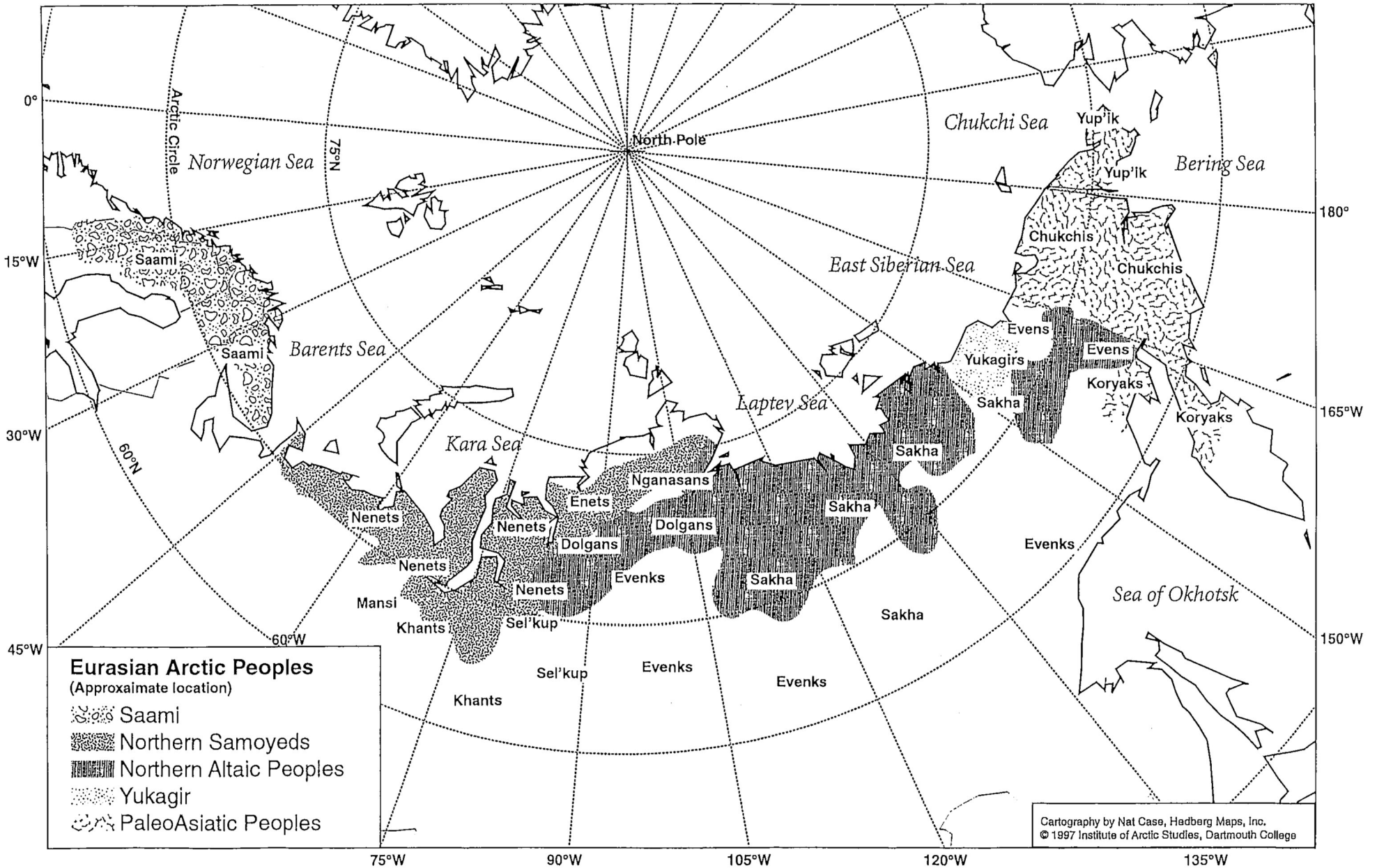
Map 1. Freight Shipment Routes in the Russian Far North (1939)

SOURCE: "Putl Zavosa Gruzov na Krayniy Sever," *Sovetskaya Arktika*, No. 6 (1939), pp. 32-46

New cartography Nat Case, Hedberg Maps, Inc. © Institute of Arctic Studies, Dartmouth College

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East Siberian Sea
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Bering Sea
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Northern Samoyeds
Northern Altaic Peoples
Yukagir
PaleoAsiatic Peoples
Cartography by Nat Case, Hadberg Maps, Inc.
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Map 2

David G. Anderson
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February 2, 1997

Dr. Claes Lykke Ragner
Programme Secretary
INSROP Secretariat
Fridjof Nansen Institute, P.O.BOX 326
Lysaker, NORWAY

Dear Dr. Ragner,

I have just finished reading the discussion paper entitled "The Northern Sea Route and Native Peoples" by Osherenko et al. I would highly recommend that it be published. The paper presents a fine summary of the statistical and historic material surrounding the NSR as it applies to social development in the Soviet North. Moreover it gives pertinant and important recommendations based on a comparative view of development in the circumpolar North.

The strongest point of the paper is its summary of the institutional history of the NSR as a set of institutions with a direct impact on local peoples. The weakest point of the paper is the lack of a local voice. This is somewhat compensated by a critical reading of Russian language texts, however these criticisms remain as unsubtaiated deductions. Nevertheless the massive amount of literature is summarised concisely and productively making this an important first work for research on the region.

I have a number of small corrections which I will enumerate on a page-by-page basis. My corrections mostly refer to the Lower Yenisei Valley. It is possible that there are small but significant errors for other regions of which I am not aware. Depending on how important accuracy is in this document, you may need readers to evaluate the statistics for other regions of Siberia.

p. 1 (& generally) - the adjective Native is not usually capitalised. It is not a proper name.

p.1 2nd line from bottom - period missing after Soviet North

p. 5 line 7 - the word "tentacle" biases an otherwise objective account

p. 7 second bullet (middle) - within many of the units not located on the sea coasts are important PORTS. This should be mentioned here. Many of the NSR ports are not on the coast.

p. 7 bottom - There were distcit changes in ALL NSR regions - in 1959 Avam rayon was liquideated in Taimyr and divided between Dudinka and Khantanga districts.

p. 8 heading "Native Peoples in the Study Area" It should be mentioned here that the names for native peoples are Russian state official names (with English endings) and not the names that native people call themselves.

p.10 heading "Soviets in the North" Soviets are institutions. This word should be replaced with "Bolsheviks" or "Russians" or perhaps changed to "The Soviet North". See also p. 15 line 8.

p. 15 heading "First Five Year Plan" This is important. The Committe of the North should be mentioned here in a short paragraph. Currently we learn of it only as it is being dismantled. At that point it is confusing as to why this was a tragedy. This paragraph would strengthen the recommendations at the end that suggest that the NSR can be administered in a socially responsible manner.

p.21 line 5 (and elsewhere) - didn't = did not

p. 24 6th line from bottom - word "hands" missing after private.

p. 38 last paragraph - In 1939 and 1959 Dolgans were enumerated as "Sakha". "Yakut" was a separate and additional census category. This was changed in 1960. The last sentence suggests that the population of Dolgans in 1959 to 1979 is generally not known while this is true only for Anabar district.

I should probably note here that I find the phrase "the Dolgan" or "the Enets" objectionable. If this style is acceptable then for consistency the term "Russians" (for example p. 9 7th line from bottom) should be replaced with "The Russian" ("The Russian were not alone in their infringement ...")

p. 40 Figure 4. Until 1952 the territory of the Noril'sk Industrial District was a subdivision of the Internal Security Ministry ("Norlag"). 1952 forms the date of celebrations for Noril'chany on anniversaries. In general this paper refers to the Noril'sk Industrial District. If the term gorsovet must be used then the paper should list the data for the Kaerkan and Talnakh gorsovety as well. Early on it should be mentioned that the Noril'sk Industrial District since 1940 is significantly NOT part of Taimyr. Neither is Igarka. Thus the title of Figure 4 must be changed to "Northern Krasnoyark Krai". Other important details: Dudinka is an important port even if it is not on salt water. Footnote 19 (which is not in the text) should read "The territory comprising Dudinksii gorsovet came under its jurisdiction in 1955. Before this date it was Dudinskii rayon. In 1959 Avamskii rayon was divided between Khatngskii and Dudinskii rayon.

p. 43 line 11. The sentance begining "A research team ... is a non sequitor. What did they find? What does this mean?

p. 47 heading "Indigenous Peoples in the Study Area" These short summaries need to be standardised. Some of them give ethnonymns; some of them demography; some of them lack both of these aspects. It is no longer proper to quote from _Peoples of Siberia 1964 [1955]. In 1995 there has been a new reference work entitle *Narody Rossii.* For some reason in this section the title of Taymir has been changed to its subtitle "Dolgan-Nenets AO". The full title is "Taimyr (Dolgano-Nenets) Okrug" or "Taimyr" for short. p. 49 "The Enets were" I think they still are.

p. 50 Figure 13 Here there should be a footnote that total population excludes Noril'sk (which trumps all of these numbers about ten fold!)

p. 63 last line It might be useful here, or earlier, to mention that the giant industrial plant at Noril'sk is run by the same people who run the Murmansk plant. They are both owned by Norilsk Nikel.

p. 65 first line The point about travel is overstated. I know people who have travelled to Salekhard by rail (you have to take a hydrofoil for 30 km). There is a railroad connecting Dudinka nd Norilsk. Finally, there are very significant airports in Dudinka, Norilsk and in Naryan-Mar.

p. 75 line 4 The Khakass Republic is not part of Krasnoyarsk Territory (since 1991).

p. 76 Figure 36 Footnote 39 should have the word "included" changed to "excluded"

p. 77 Figure 38 These figures are for the Norilsk industrial district and not the Norilsk gorsovet. The numbers for the gorsovet are considerably smaller. Norilsk is not part of Taimyr

p. 77 Figure 39 Igarka is not part of Taimyr

Sincerely,

David G. Anderson

9 September 1997

Mr. Douglas Brubaker
Fridtjof Nansen Institute
Lysaker, Norway

Dear Douglas:

I have just sent you "The Northern Sea Route and Native Peoples: Lessons from the 20th Century for the 21st." This letter responds to the review by Dr. David Anderson of the discussion paper.

Dr. Anderson's review very helpfully pointed out a number of small, but some significant errors, which we have attempted to fix. I will respond point by point.

• We regard capitalization of the adjective Native as appropriate here when referring to indigenous peoples in order to distinguish the meaning from "native" of a particular country. This is a stylistic choice. In Canada, other terms are employed to refer to indigenous peoples, such as First Nations. While widely understood in Canada, this term has not come into general use throughout the circumpolar world.

• Changes have been made to respond to suggested minor corrections on pages 1-10, 21, 24.

• We added a paragraph and some additional sentences regarding the Committee of the North to provide the necessary background and prepare the reader for the later discussion. One paragraph was added in a previous section and other information in the section on the first 5-year plan.

• We are grateful that Dr. Anderson caught the error in our explanation of data regarding Dolgans. We have corrected this explanation which now appears at the bottom of p. 41 to top of 42. Additionally, we have tried to remove the article "the" preceding all names of peoples for consistency throughout.

• Re Figure 4 (now at p. 42), we have retitled the figure and attempted to correct the other errors. See footnotes 18 and 19 in this regard. We have not, however, added data for the

Kaerkan and Talnakh *gorsovety.* As explained in the revised introduction, all demographic data was assembled for this paper by Alexandre Pika prior to his untimely death. We have not been able to make all the corrections and additions that would normally be made in the data but have tried to point out problems in the data where we are aware of them. Any commercial or industrial ventures in this region should obtain current data for environmental and social assessments. This would be essential before proceeding with a specific project.

• Re Figure 13 (now on p. 57), footnote 25 now makes clear the disparity in numbers of indigenous peoples and non-indigenous in Noril'sk.

• I have tried to clarify the statement (now on p. 45) about research done in the Sakha Republic to improve demographic data on the Evens and Evenks. I assume that Dr. Pika and his colleagues did this research in the field.

• The short summaries on indigenous peoples in the study area have been revised as has the introduction to that section. We included only basic information about demography and economic activities in most cases, but did augment the summaries where we thought that additional information would be useful to our INSROP audience. We have been unable to locate the new reference work, *Narody Rossii* to which Dr. Anderson refers. We did check references in the most recent English language reference book, *Encyclopedia of World Cultures.* Volume 6 which includes Russia was published in 1994. Often this *Encyclopedia* in turn referenced earlier works we had used. Our short summaries are consistent with other current scholarly work. Our population statistics (taken from Figure 1 at p. 36) tend to be slightly lower than those found in the *Encyclopedia.*

• We have qualified the statement about travel (now on p. 71). The point here is not overstated as regards the average or even the dominant part of the population. Yes, there are airports, but there are not many flights between northern cities, so that people have to fly south to fly north again. Cost is prohibitive as well, but that is not the main point. I am not entirely sure what David is referring to in the case of transport to Salekhard. There are boats and hydrofoil between Labytnangi and Salekhard (basically across the Ob River from each other). One takes the train from the south, crossing the Polar Urals and arrives at Labytnangi. After that you must wait for the ferry or arrange some other boat to cross to Salekhard. But this hardly makes a case that travel from one Siberian region to another (travel that would facilitate interaction among northern peoples) is feasible or easy.

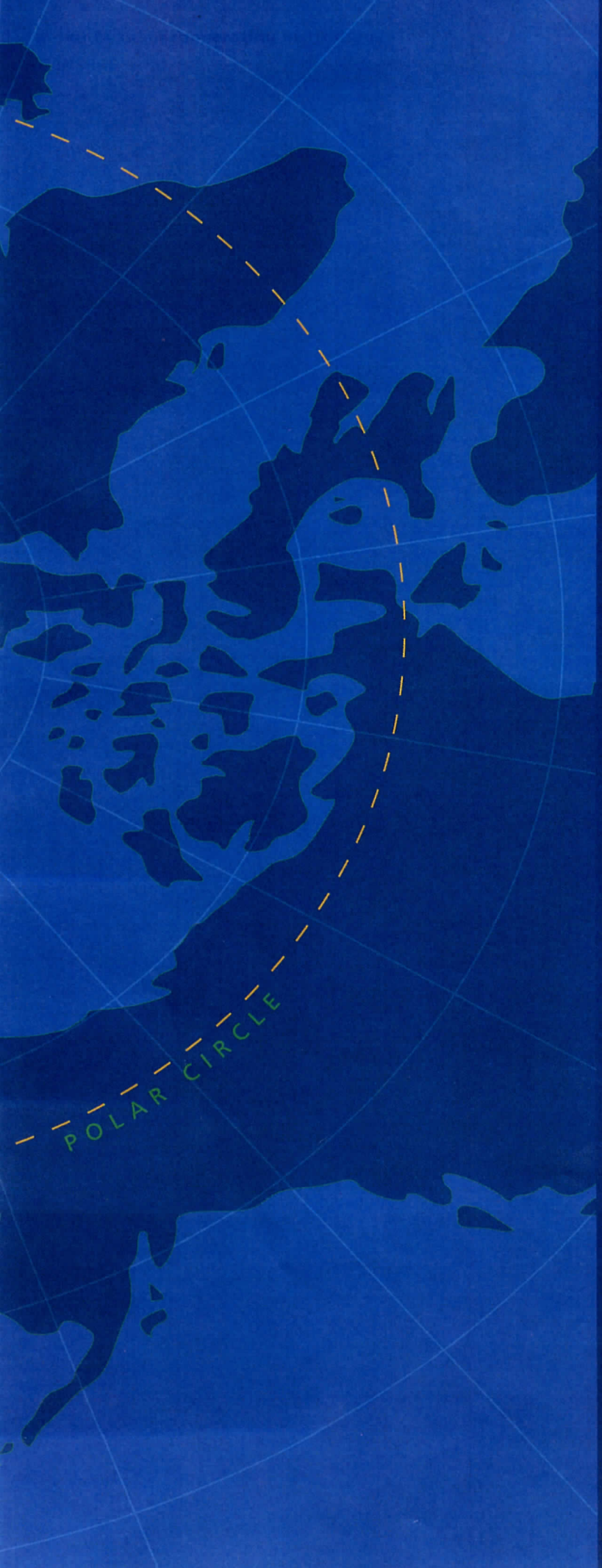
• We have taken care of the remaining points in David's letter regarding pages 75-77.

Dr. Igor Krupnik also provided thoughtful feedback and comments to the authors on the Discussion Paper. We have made a number of changes and corrections in responses to his recommendations including deletion of Appendices 7 and 8 which contained obsolete data on medical facilities and schools.

We are extremely grateful for the detailed and careful comments of both David and Igor. They have improved the final product.

Sincerely,

Gail Osherenko



The three main cooperating institutions of INSROP

Ship & Ocean Foundation (SOF), Tokyo, Japan.

SOF was established in 1975 as a non-profit organization to advance modernization and rationalization of Japan's shipbuilding and related industries, and to give assistance to non-profit organizations associated with these industries. SOF is provided with operation funds by the Sasakawa Foundation, the world's largest foundation operated with revenue from motorboat racing. An integral part of SOF, the Tsukuba Institute, carries out experimental research into ocean environment protection and ocean development.

Central Marine Research & Design Institute (CNIIMF), St. Petersburg, *Russia*.

CNIIMF was founded in 1929. The institute's research focus is applied and technological with four main goals: the improvment of merchant fleet efficiency; shipping safety; technical development of the merchant fleet; and design support for future fleet development. CNIIMF was a Russian state institution up to 1993, when it was converted into a stock-holding company.

The Fridtjof Nansen Institute (FNI), Lysaker, Norway.

FNI was founded in 1958 and is based at Polhøgda, the home of Fridtjof Nansen, famous Norwegian polar explorer, scientist, humanist and statesman. The institute spesializes in applied social science research, with special focus on international resource and environmental management. In addition to INSROP, the research is organized in six integrated programmes. Typical of FNI research is a multi-disciplinary approach, entailing extensive cooperation with other research institutions both at home and abroad. The INSROP Secretariat is located at FNI.