

Association of Indigenous Minority Peoples of the North of Khabarovsk Krai For the Protection of Indigenous Peoples' Rights

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Introduction

The regional public organization 'Association of the Indigenous Peoples of the North of Khabarovsk Krai' (hereafter referred to as the Association) was formed by the Constituent Conference convened on 26th March 1990 in Khabarovsk¹. Since this time, the presidency of the Association has been held successively by three different persons. The Association was set up to address the following issues: the preservation and revival of the traditional mode of life of the indigenous minority peoples who inhabit the primordial territories of the North of Khabarovsk Krai (hereafter referred to as the indigenous peoples); the protection of indigenous peoples' rights within governmental bodies and for the promotion of their local self-management; and the revival and development of traditional arts, crafts, cultures and languages. In addition, the Association assists in uniting the various indigenous peoples and so increasing their self-awareness. It differs from other public associations in its electoral system and its structure; it is operative from the federal to the rural level. In 1999, the Association was re-organized into 17 structural divisions.

Modern problems connected with the preservation and development of the traditional wildlife management practices of indigenous peoples represent a complex interplay of legal, ethnological, economic and ecological issues. Thus such problems are relevant at a range of different levels. First, the indigenous peoples represent only a very small proportion (1.8%) of the Krai population². Second, the existing legislative base regulating the

rights of indigenous peoples with respect to traditional wildlife management practices is weak and imperious in nature. Third, the patriarchal/dominant nature of State policy in relation to local people has resulted in local communities adopting a dependent mind-set and the repression of indigenous rights. Fourth, the indigenous peoples do not observe State rights regarding participation of the public in forest management. Fifth, there is a lack of information on the condition of forest resources and the likelihood of industrial exploitation, which together limit the opportunities for local people to participate in inclusive management processes. Sixth, the authority invested in the federal authorities and in the subjects of the Federation are yet to be clearly differentiated. Seventh, there is no currently effective long-term plan for forest exploitation.

1. Challenges Faced by Indigenous Peoples in Utilizing Forest Resources

The rights of indigenous peoples not only to use but also to possess land are basic. That is, in general, the relationship of indigenous peoples with their land is an uneasy one. In the author's opinion, the state of conservation of indigenous peoples is dependent upon the continued existence of their life styles and activities, which in turn are closely connected with their territory and environment. Thus, the protection of their primordial habitat and their rights to the land and natural resources that they have traditionally had access to should be the priority of efforts to sustain indigenous groups.

The lives of the indigenous peoples are closely connected with nature. Indigenous people take advantage of the bounty of the forest; in particular, hunting forms their principal traditional business. Non-timber forest products are used in traditional cooking methods, and trees are utilized for building and to make traditional house-ware, sacred objects, sevens and so on. Indigenous people invest places, objects and life forms within the forests with particular spiritual meanings. Thus, for example, bears are regarded as a sacred animal by the *Priamur* (a people that live beside the Amur River). For these reasons, the task of conserving the forests is closely connected with preserving the traditional cultures of the various indige-

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¹ The charter for the Association was registered under the Department of Justice of the Khabarovsk Krai Administration on 9th November 1992, certificate number 98. The charter was re-worded and re-registered under the Management of Justice of the Khabarovsk Krai Administration on 30th June 1999, certificate number 98. The charter was authorized by the 'Conference of the Peoples of the North and Priamur of the Khabarovsk Krai' on the 26th February 1990. In its new wording, the charter was authorized at the fifth 'Regional Report Election Conference of the Association' on 16th April 1999.

² The total population of indigenous peoples is 23,272 persons (RF Census Data, 1989).

nous peoples. For the Association of the Indigenous Peoples of the North, only rational forest management can be viewed as progress in this respect.

During the period of imperial (Tsarism) rule, indigenous people were in a position to take advantage of certain privileges. Thus, for example, various statements promoting the preservation of the traditional modes of life of non-Russians (*i.e.* indigenous peoples) within their territories were included within State legislation. On the one hand, however, the Russian Empire established limits which defined people's freedoms to travel and their rights to choose the sort of activity they wished to be engaged in.

In order to preserve the environment and traditional modes of life of indigenous peoples, territories of traditional wildlife management (TTWM, which together constitute 38% of the whole land area of Khabarovsk Krai³) were defined and officially recognised in a statement by the Head of Khabarovsk Krai Administration. This was promulgated in 1992 in accordance with a Decree of the President of the RF "On Urgent Measures for the Protection of Places of Residence and Economic Activities of the Indigenous Peoples of the North"⁴ in Khabarovsk Krai and is validated by the associated Regulation effective under current legislation. Because of this legal foundation, the Krai Administration takes into account the opinions of the indigenous peoples in administering forest policies.

However, a lack of definite policy for sustainable forest management, a lack of law enforcement and an associated growth in illegal logging activities, are together a source of great concern. At present the following problems influencing the indigenous peoples in connection with forest resource exploitation within their territories can be identified:

1. Intensive forest resource exploitation in Khabarovsk Krai including illegal operations. A lack of any mechanism with which to combat illegal logging.
2. Lack of ecological expertise in the formulation and practice of cutting regimes and an absence of any legal impetus to rectify this (imperfections in the law).
3. Lack of awareness amongst indigenous people of their rights to forest use and the ecological aspects therein.
4. Problems relating to the distribution amongst indigenous peoples residing in remote villages of information regarding allocation of forest concessions.
5. Sanitary cuttings (e.g. for weed and pest control) and thinnings are implemented without regulation, *i.e.*

the decision is made by the forest authority without first discussing the issue with the local authority. In most cases the operations are illegal.

6. Indigenous peoples have no practical means of challenging industrial companies.

7. Lack of general Krai policy involving youth in nature conservation activities.

In a meeting with the Krai Commission for forest management, the Association offered to conduct an expert ecological assessment of the plants listed in the Red Data Book (*i.e.* the rare, threatened or endangered species of Russia) and the wildlife corridors of Khabarovsk Krai for the development of sound and substantiated cutting regimes in order to help preserve the places and objects regarded as sacred by the indigenous peoples. However, the Office of the Public Prosecutor rejected the offer.

Intensive timber harvesting operations within TTWM which fail to take into account the interests of indigenous peoples can have disastrous impacts upon traditional modes of life if, for example, local plants and animals are forced into extinction, or if fish stocks are depleted as a result of altered hydrology and flow through river systems (fish form the staple diet for the indigenous peoples of the Krai).

Negative impacts upon indigenous peoples are brought about not only by forest harvesting operations, but also by economic activities connected with land exploitation for the development of oil plants. In October 2002, the Association held a meeting with representatives of Exxon Neftegaz Ltd., a large oil company, and members of the Advisory Council to discuss the options for taking into account the various opinions of indigenous peoples on construction of a bulk-oil sea terminal in the settlement of De Kastri in Ul'chski Raion and construction of a pipeline between Chaivo and De Kastri⁵. Having invited experts from Ecodal, HoTINRO and the Dal'lespromproect Institute, the Association organized a visit to the Raion to study materials for the foundation of investments into the 'Sakhalin-1' project. In November, a subsequent meeting was held in the city of Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk (Sakhalin Oblast) in which representatives of the company signed an agreement with the Raion Association to perform all the ecological requirements associated with the industrial development. At present, the Association is preparing a letter to the Government of Khabarovsk Krai highlighting the relevant federal laws on environmental conservation to ensure standards are met and that the public are involved in discussions on the technical and economic feasibility of the project. Alongside environmental organizations, the Association aims to play a role of paramount importance in solving the problems of ecological control and industrial exploitation within TTWM. The task of our organization is to assert our rights to the fullest.

³ The total area of TTWM measured 30,342,000 hectares on 1st January 1999 (results of survey of the Khabarovsk branch of the Wild Animals Fund).

⁴ Decree of the President of the RF, 22nd April 1992, "On Urgent Measures for the Protection of Places of Residence and Economic Activities of the Indigenous Peoples of the North". Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation and Supreme Council of the Russian Federation, 1992. Number 18.

⁵ Project 'Sakhalin-1' (Exon Neftegaz Ltd.).

2. Activities of the Association Directed Towards Improvement of the Position of Indigenous Peoples With Respect to Traditional Wildlife Management Practices

The United Nations declared the period 1994-2004 as the decade of indigenous peoples of the world, with the establishment of policies which promote partnerships between State governments and indigenous peoples being one of its principal objectives. The essence of such a partnership is the recognition of indigenous peoples in a legal capacity. Thus indigenous peoples should be empowered to make their own decisions regarding their development and identity, and they should be entrusted with the right to participate in the development and implementation of governmental and private programmes which affect their traditional territories and areas of wildlife management.

According to the principles and standards of International Law, problems regarding indigenous peoples should be resolved through the participation of all interested parties, including the relevant authorities. Interaction with authoritative bodies should be conducted in a cooperative and inclusive manner.

In order to further promote the laws adopted under the Russian constitution and in accordance with the objectives set out in its Charter, the Association is working towards the resolution of various problems associated with indigenous peoples through interaction with the authorities at all levels. The activities carried out by the Association are planned and approved by the Coordination Council of the Association.

It appears that, first and foremost, to resolve many of the problems listed above requires the amendment and clarification of federal and regional legislation on specific issues so as to legally accommodate the rights of indigenous people.

The methods employed by the Association in defending the rights of indigenous peoples are as follows:

1. Interaction with public environmental organizations.
2. Facilitating amendments and additions to existing laws and to draft laws on environmental protection.
3. Assisting the Raion branches of the Association to maintain a level of control over industrial companies.
4. Ensuring continued control over forest areas allocated as TTWM.
5. Suggesting alterations in the terms of allocation of forest concessions within TTWM to ensure appropriate compensation is paid to indigenous peoples.
6. Informing the Raion branches of the Association of which companies have won the rights to forest concessions.
7. Providing consultative assistance and conducting public discussions based on the materials and data derived from environmental impact assessments.
8. Holding ecological camps and workshops for children within the traditional residential areas of in-

igenous peoples (teaching children rational nature management strategies based on indigenous traditions).

9. Participating in the establishment of specially protected territories.
10. Involving children in nature protection activities by organizing Ecodosor (Ecological Control) youth groups under the banner of the Association.
11. Holding legal training workshops.

Since 1999, the Association has been working actively with regional and federal authorities; a certain amount of this work is carried out in the area of law drafting. In November 2000, the Association formalised an agreement for cooperation with the Legislative Duma of Khabarovsk Krai. In 2001 the Association participated in discussion sessions with the committee of the Krai Duma where two draft laws – “On the Fisheries and Fish Resources of Khabarovsk Krai” and “On the Authorised Representation of the Indigenous Minority Peoples of the North of Khabarovsk Krai” – were considered. In the same year, the Association sent copies of the second of these two draft laws (*i.e.* “On the Authorized Representation of the Indigenous Minority Peoples of the North of Khabarovsk Krai”) to Raion associations for further consideration by local self-management bodies. Specific suggestions were made by representatives of authority bodies in Nanaian, Ul’chi, Amur and Komsomol’ski Raions, and these suggestions were directed to the Legislative Duma of Khabarovsk Krai. In this respect, it seems logical to elicit the views and interests of indigenous peoples via local authorities.

In 2000, the Association filed an application to participate in the decision-making process of allocation of forest plots in forest development activities. As of January 2002, the President of the Association was invited to serve on the Krai Commission on Forest Management. This followed a conflict which arose in 2000 as a result of the allocation of forest concessions to an industrial company in Vaninsky Raion. As a result of the Association challenging the decision, the forest areas in question were reclassified, thereby limiting the economic activity that could be carried out in them. Under the auspices of the Association, the Advisory Council of the Indigenous Minority Peoples of the North for Sustainable Development (hereafter referred to as the Advisory Council) played an important role in lobbying government in favour of indigenous peoples’ rights with respect to traditional wildlife management. The Advisory Council has since remained actively involved in these efforts, in particular working closely with Ecodal, a public environmental organization run by Irina B. Bogdan. Ecodal, in defending the interests of the national collective of Vaninsky Raion, has won two court hearings against timber companies, forcing them to pay compensation for the damage incurred by their logging activities within TTWM. The requirement for governmental support to cover expenses in pursuing such legal injunctions, however, is a hindrance to their more wide spread implementation.

In accordance with Federal Law, indigenous peoples hold rights to the use and ownership of land of a range of

different categories for traditional management practices. In addition, indigenous people have been granted statutory rights under the law on Preservation of the Environment with respect to the industrial exploration and exploitation of land and natural resources.

During the final sessions of the meetings held by the Advisory Council, various issues concerning forest management were discussed. Topics included the ecological impacts of allocating forest concessions within TTWM, and an analysis of the implementation of Federal Law "On Ecological Expertise"⁶ (with particular reference to forest management within areas of WMTT; the fostering of public control within environmental law; the process of application made to federal and regional bodies for approval of long-term forest management plans for exploitation of forest resources within the Krai; environmental impact assessments; and governmental ecological standards during the preparatory stages of classifying forest concessions and allocating them to potential leaseholders).

Beginning in January 2002, the President of the Association made a series of recommendations at the meeting of the Forest Management Krai Commission. The recommendations related to the lease terms of forest concessions tendered for exploitation and were based on an earlier agreement made with the Raion associations. However, after a period of ten months, the Office of the Public Prosecutor rejected the recommendations. Nonetheless, following long discussions with the Commission, the Association has managed to secure official recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples under an agreement which grants the indigenous groups self-management of their traditional territories. In resolving such issues relating to the interests of indigenous groups in forest management, the Ministry of Natural Resources of Khabarovsk Krai has played a key role. In this respect, however, it is necessary to bear in mind that Khabarovsk Krai is the only region in the RF where the interests of indigenous peoples regarding traditional forest use and economic activities within TTWM are taken into consideration.

The Association has also sent recommendations for making amendments, modifications and additions to federal laws to the Federal'noe Sobranie (Federal Assembly) of the RF and to the Association of Indigenous Minority Peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East of Russia. These recommendations covered the following topics:

1. Guaranteed rights for all indigenous minority peoples of Russia.
2. Issues relating to fauna.
3. General principles for the organization of rural communities of indigenous minority peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the RF.
4. The Civil Code.
5. Issues relating to the bill "On the Fisheries and the Fish Bioresources of the Russian Federation".

In addition, in July 2001 the Association presented recommendations to a round table discussion hosted by the Committee on Affairs of the North and the Council of Indigenous Minority Peoples of the Russian Federation entitled "Participation of Representatives of Indigenous Minority Peoples of the North in Activities of Representative Bodies of Subjects of the Russian Federation and in Elective Institutions of Local Self-Management".

Cooperation with executive authorities is carried out to a greater degree on issues of traditional wildlife management. The President of the Association is a member of the Regional Commissions on Hunting and Forest Management, the Khabarovsk Regional Fishery Council and the Far East Scientific Production Council (FESPC at Goskomrybolovstvo (Governmental Committee on Fishery) of the Russian Federation).

One of the founding principles of the Association is to teach local peoples their rights. On 25th and 26th February 2000, the international workshop "Sustainable Development of Indigenous Minority Peoples of the North of Amur Oblast, Khabarovsk Krai and Primorsky Krai with respect to Traditional Wildlife Management" was conducted in Khabarovsk on the initiative of the Association. The organizers of the event were the Association of the Indigenous Minority Peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the Russian Federation, the Association, the Khabarovsk Krai Administration, the Far Eastern Academy for Public Services (FEAPS), and the subsidiary centre of Goskomsever (Governmental Committee of the North) in Khabarovsk Krai. One hundred persons participated in the event, including representatives of the indigenous peoples of Khabarovsk Krai, the Raion administrations, regional executive and legislative authorities, scientific bodies and public environmental organizations. In collaboration with FEAPS, the Association issued the first collection of normative legal acts⁷. On the basis of recommendations made at the workshop, the Administration of Khabarovsk Krai organized a meeting in May 2000 on various issues relating to the social and economic development of the indigenous peoples of Khabarovsk Krai. Representatives from the authorities, indigenous peoples and rural communities took part in this meeting. Subsequently, a Working Group was established to identify priority development activities for the northern Raions and the indigenous minority peoples of the North. Programmes for the development of three Raions (Nikolaevsk, Ul'chski and Nanai) have since been accepted.

On the initiative of the Association, a conference was held on 1st and 2nd March 2001, which was followed up by a second workshop entitled "Sustainable Development of Indigenous Minority Peoples of the North of Khabarovsk Krai with respect to Traditional Wildlife Management". The organizers of the event were the As-

⁶ Law of the Russian Federation "On Ecological Expertise", 23rd November 1995. Collection of Legislation of the RF, 1995. Number 48; Article 4556.

⁷ Indigenous Peoples of the North: Collection of normative legal acts. V. N. Shiyani, V.I. Kupriyanova, G.M. Volkova *et al.*, 2000. Khabarovsk: FEAPS.

sociation of the Indigenous Minority Peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East of the RF, the Association, the Legislative Duma of Khabarovsk Krai and the Administration of Khabarovsk Krai. One hundred and twenty people took part in this event. A second collection of normative legal acts was issued⁸.

Between 1st and 3rd October 2001, an international conference, "World Bank Consultations on Policy for Indigenous Peoples", was held. The organizers were the World Bank, the Administration of Khabarovsk Krai, the Legislative Duma of Khabarovsk Krai and the Association. Overall coordination of the workshop was conducted by the Association. Further consultations were carried out in two Russian cities: Khabarovsk and Naryan-Mar. In July 2001, when cities throughout Russia were being redefined, representatives of indigenous peoples from the RF including the author met the head of the World Bank committee on indigenous peoples, Navin K. Rai, in Geneva. Representatives from several groups (indigenous minority peoples from 17 Raions of the Krai, the Administration of Khabarovsk Krai, the Legislative Duma of Khabarovsk Krai, the environmental organizations and scientific bodies) submitted final recommendations following the conference.

At the same time, a training seminar for representatives of indigenous peoples from Raions and cities of Khabarovsk Krai was carried out. The workshop was dedicated to an analysis of the Federal Law "On General Principles of the Organization of Communities of Indigenous Minority Peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East Russian Federation"⁹, as well as discussions on the necessity of bringing TTWM into accordance with regional law, tax policy concerning indigenous peoples and the organization of office work.

On 14th and 15th March 2002, again on the initiative of the Association, a third international workshop, entitled "Sustainable Development of Indigenous Minority Peoples of the North of the Khabarovsk Krai with respect to Traditional Wildlife Management", was held.



International Workshop, Khabarovsk, 2002

⁸ Indigenous Peoples of the North: Collection of normative legal acts. G. M. Volkova and M.N. Kasutina, 2001. Khabarovsk: FEAPS.

⁹ Law of the RF "On General Principles of the Organization of Communities of Indigenous Minority Peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East Russian Federation", 20th July 2000. Collection of Legislation of the RF, 2000. Number 30; Article 3222.

One hundred persons, including representatives of the State Duma and the Council of the Federation of the Federal Assembly of the RF, took part. The Association issued a third collection of normative legal acts¹⁰.

In order to involve a wider scope of representatives of indigenous peoples in legal education programmes, the Association has since hosted legal seminars and round table discussions in Amur and Komsomol'ski Raions. Representatives of Raion authorities and indigenous peoples took part in these round table discussions. Recommendations derived from these seminars have been directed to the authorities at all levels, and replies from the range of Ministries have been received.

Workshops have provided an opportunity not only for representatives from indigenous groups to experience applied training programmes, but also those from Krai authorities. The development of detailed national policy that has been carried out by the Centre has united representative bodies from the Krai authorities and from indigenous peoples in a common aim. Such positive results of cooperative action form an important strand in resolving the problems faced by indigenous peoples.



Outreach Workshop in Amursk Raion, 2002

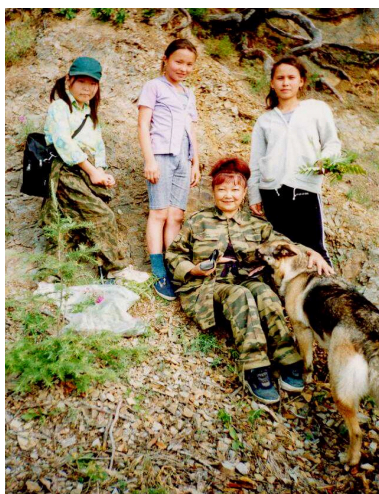
The collections of normative legal acts issued by the Association have become reference texts not only for the indigenous peoples, but for the authorities as well. In November 2002, the fourth collection of normative legal acts was published¹¹.

The Association pays special attention to the development of ecological education programmes targeted at the younger generation. In 2001, for the first time in the Krai, the Association hosted and co-sponsored (along with the W. Alton Jones Foundation of the USA) a children's ecological camp in Khabarovsk Raion. The camp

¹⁰ Sustainable Development of Indigenous Minority Peoples of the North with respect to Traditional Wildlife Management: Collection of normative legal acts. G. M. Volkova and M. N. Kasutina, 2002. Khabarovsk: Khabarovsk State Technical University Publishing House.

¹¹ Sustainable Development of Indigenous Minority Peoples of the Far East of the Russian Federation with respect to Ecology and Traditional Wildlife Management: Collection of normative legal acts. G. M. Volkova and M.N. Kasutina, 2002. Khabarovsk: Khabarovsk State Technical University Publishing House.

was organized with the help of the Administration of the Raion and the Administration of the settlement.



Ecological Children's Camp.
Sikachi Alyan, the Khabarovsk raion, 2001

The programme was developed by the Association's ecological centre based on the traditions of indigenous peoples. Having refined the programme, subsequent children's camps were organized in Ul'chi Raion in collaboration with local authorities in 2002.



Ecological children's Camp in Mongol.
Ul'chi district, 2002

Conclusion

An analysis of the Association's interactions not only with the authorities but also with the organizations reviewed throughout this report suggests that significant experience has been earned for the further development of indigenous peoples and preservation of their traditional environment. The following items are considered as having been central to successful cooperative work:

- An understanding and willingness on the part of the authorities to resolve to the best of their capacity the problems faced by indigenous peoples.
- Agreements made by the Association in collabora-

tion with the authorities.

- The President of the Association is the member of the Krai Commission on Wildlife Management.
- Joint legal workshops.
- Information supply, including bulletins disseminated amongst representatives of indigenous peoples and the authorities.
- Joint cultural and ecological events.
- Outreach legal seminars, allowing institutions of local government to reveal the most urgent problems faced by the indigenous minority peoples in the Raions.
- International connections of the Association.
- The participation of indigenous peoples in the Krai Commissions on distribution of natural resources.

At the same time, it is necessary to note here that currently there is no comprehensive national policy regarding indigenous peoples' rights in the RF. Indigenous peoples have practically no rights to use or own land and natural resources. The legislative base at the federal level is weak. Thus it is necessary to protect indigenous peoples legislatively – in practice, not just in theory as at present – and to demand the universal and uniform application of the law, right up to the level of the supreme authorities. As yet, governmental policy concerning indigenous peoples lacks a systems-level approach.

The author believes that, in order to solve the problems faced by the various indigenous peoples, it is now necessary to implement the following measures:

- The State Duma of the RF should carry out an analysis of the federal legislation relating to the interests of indigenous peoples in accordance with article 69 of the Constitution of the RF and in a fashion that is compatible with international principles, standards and agreements.
- The government of the RF should draw up a suite of measures to be implemented for the appropriate realization of federal law and the development of traditional wildlife management practices.
- The Legislative Duma of Khabarovsk Krai should adopt a package of laws providing indigenous peoples with rights to traditional wildlife management.
- The government of Khabarovsk Krai should give proper consideration to the possibility of imposing quotas for a minimum number of representatives from indigenous groups within the authoritative bodies of the Krai.

By means of conclusion, it is appropriate to state here that the conservation of the territories of traditional wildlife management provides a sound basis for a contemporary and rational utilization of natural resources. The Association of the Indigenous Peoples of the North strives towards achieving this goal.

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Juridical Status of the Indigenous Peoples in the Khabarovsk Region of the Russian Federation

Shiro SASAKI

National Museum of Ethnology

Contents: 1. Purpose of this report. 2. Definition of the indigenous ethnic minorities of the North. 3. Obshshina: voluntary organizations of the indigenous ethnic minorities of the North. 4. Property and granted lands of the obshshina. 5. Forest use and the indigenous ethnic minorities of the North. 6. Rules and rights of the indigenous ethnic minorities of the North on hunting. 7. Definition of 'Territory of Traditional Wildlife Management' 8. Analysis.

1. Purpose of this report

The purpose of this report is to clarify the juridical status of the indigenous people in the North (or indigenous ethnic minorities in the North) that live in the Khabarovsk region of Russia. The constitution and law of the Russian Federation guarantee equal status for all ethnic groups living in the country and assert the rights of these groups to protect and promote their language and culture. However, these only provide a holistic framework. Specific cases, such as the territorial rights of the indigenous ethnic minorities in Siberia and the Far East, are dealt with by the laws effective at a regional level (Oblast', Krai, republics and autonomous districts). Although all regions do not have their own laws concerning ethnic matters, the Khabarovsk region (Khabarovskii Krai) has a set of original laws which govern the rights of the indigenous ethnic minorities living there. At present, eight ethnic groups are registered as indigenous ethnic minorities in the North of this region (see the Figure): the Nanais (Nanaittsy), Ulchas (Ul'chi), Udeghes (Udegeitsy), Oroches (Orochi), Negidals (Negidal'tsy), Evenks (Evenki), Evens (Eveny), and Nivkhs (Nivkhi).

The total population of these minorities is very small. In the census of 1989 (the last census of the former Soviet Union), only 23,484 people registered themselves as indigenous within Khabarovsk region, compared with a total population of 1,811,828 people for the whole of this vast region. That is, the indigenous population forms a minority of only 1.3 per cent (see the Table1). From the point of view of economic development, these ethnic groups play only a minor role in the region. Their primary productive activities – hunting, fishing, collecting and reindeer breeding – have only a very limited effect on the development of the economy at a regional level. As such, it would seem reasonable for the government to promote farming, industry, mining and forestry to develop the region for the benefit of the majority.

However, this paper asserts that the indigenous people should not be neglected in any regional-level development programme for two reasons. Firstly, they are the primary inhabitants of the region. They and their direct ancestors have lived there for several hundred years, while the people of European origin (Russians, Ukraini-

ans, and so on) that account for 98.7 per cent of the population are descendants of immigrants who moved there during recent 150 years. The number of immigrants living in the region grew quickly in the 1960s and '70s, at a time when the Soviet government promoted industrial development in Siberia and the Far East. Whilst many immigrants decided to remain in the region, others came simply to earn money, returning to their home regions after a comparatively short, obligatory period of stay. As such, it would be difficult for such people to form an emotional sense of attachment or responsibility towards the region. In contrast, the indigenous people have no other homelands, and they show a great deal of affection and loyalty towards the region. Whatever may happen, they are unlikely to move elsewhere. Indeed, even during the chaotic period that followed the collapse of the Soviet Union, at a time when many immigrants from European Russia and Central Asia fled from the Far East and Siberia because of economic decline and a breakdown in the social benefit system there, indigenous people remained in their villages. Unlike the immigrants who have often overexploited natural resources in the region, the indigenous people apply moderation and responsibility in resource use.

Secondly, the hunting- and fishing-based economies of the various ethnic groups of the region have shown great sustainability over a long period of time. Though many people believe that these economies are primitive, self-sufficient and operate only at a subsistence level, such a view is unfounded. Most indigenous people in the Khabarovsk region, especially the people of the Lower Amur basin and its tributaries, have developed advanced commercial and market-oriented hunting and fishing economies out of their subsistence strategies over a period of three hundred years or more. Despite having been drawn into the commercial network of the East Asian world, these communities have continuously been engaged in their productive activities without overexploitation of the resources available to them (refer to Sasaki (2002) for information on sustainable indigenous hunting techniques). In these respects, these people and their cultures deserve to be held in high esteem in contemporary efforts to develop the region.

Since 1990, the author has conducted field research on the hunting and fishing systems of the indigenous peoples in the Khabarovsk and Primor'e regions in an attempt to describe and analyze the techniques and seasonality of their productive activities and to examine their economic systems. Though the analyses carried out as part of this research have been fundamentally based on the data collected through observations in the field and interviews with informants, it was noticed that the laws and rules issued by central and regional governments have come to play a significant role in defining the social systems and productive activities of the indigenous groups investigated. For example, the hunting season, hunting techniques and game species are restricted by laws concerning the hunting and protection of wild animals. On the other hand, the establishment of ethnic hunting enterprises is regulated by law for the protection of indigenous people's rights. Though an anthropological study requires that the subject be approached from the peoples' point of view, it is sometimes necessary for anthropologists to analyze the laws and rules issued by governments. Indeed, laws form the regulatory framework which governs people's daily activities. Of course, anthropological analysis is different from that of jurists and political scientists. Anthropologists pay more attention to how people get along with laws and rules in their daily lives than to what extent laws exert control over people. As to the juridical status of the indigenous people in the Khabarovsk region, I will examine the following questions. How do the federal and regional governments define indigenous people? Can the law really guarantee the rights of the people and regulate or protect their activities? How do the people react to the regulations or restrictions imposed by the laws?

In this report, I will mainly analyze descriptions of the following laws, which are published in the booklet named "Indigenous Minorities in the North" (*Korennyye malochislennyye narody Severa*, Khabar'p'sk, 2000). The letters in brackets which appear in the text below refer to the laws as they are listed here:

- (a) As to the guarantee of rights of indigenous ethnic minorities in the Russian Federation (*O Garant'yakh prav korennykh malochislennykh narodov Rossiiskoi Federatsii*; a federal law issued in April 1999)
- (b) As to the *obshshina* of indigenous ethnic minorities in the North (*Ob obshshine korennykh malochislennykh narodov Severa*; a regional law issued in May 1996)
- (c) Forest law in the Khabarovsk region (*Lesnoi kodeks Khabarovskogo kraya*; a regional law issued in December 1998)
- (d) As to the hunting activity in the territory of the Khabarovsk region (*Ob okhotopol'zovanii na territorii Khabarovskogo kraya*; a regional law issued in June 1999)
- (e) As to the Territories of Traditional Wildlife Management of the indigenous ethnic minorities in the

North of the Khabarovsk region (*O territoriyakh traditsionnogo prirodopol'zovaniya korennykh malochislennykh narodov Khabarovskogo kraya*; a regional law issued in December 1999)

2. Definition of the indigenous ethnic minorities of the North

According to a federal law issued in April 1999 concerning the indigenous ethnic minorities of the Russian Federation (a), the "indigenous ethnic minorities" (*korennyye malochislennyye narody*) in Russia are defined as people living in their traditional ancestral territories that maintain a traditional life style, are engaged in traditional economic activities, have a self-consciousness of an independent ethnic entity and have a total population within the Russian Federation less than 50,000 persons (article 1-(1), KMNS 2000: 42). At the same time, the law defines a "traditional life style" as a way of subsistence historically based on the experiences of ancestors in the utilization of natural resources, with a social organization and unique culture which maintain traditional customs and beliefs (article 1-(2), KMNS 2000: 42). In this sense, the above-mentioned ethnic groups in the Khabarovsk region (*i.e.* Nanais, Ulchas, Udeghes, Oroches, Negidals, Evenks, Evens and Nivkhs) are typical indigenous ethnic minorities that fulfill all of these requirements. Their population is in each case less than 50,000 persons (the Evenks are the largest of them and their population is about 20,000), most of them are living in their ancestral territories and although some of them have given up living in their homelands in favour of an urban lifestyle, most maintain a traditional way of life. They are often called the "indigenous ethnic minorities in the North" (*korennyye malochislennyye narody Severa*).

The term "North" (*Sever*) indicates regions in Siberia and the Russian Far East. Though the southern part of the Khabarovsk region cannot be defined as a "northern area" in terms of its latitude, the indigenous people in this region are always classified into this category. Yakuts (Sakha) and Buryats (Buryat-Mongols) can be defined as the "indigenous people in the North" in the sense that they live in their ancestral lands in Siberia and the Far East, and they have their own life style, productive activities and traditional cultural traits. However, they cannot be termed "ethnic minorities" (*malochislennyye narody*) because they have large populations (both peoples numbered more than 400,000 persons in the census of 1989) and are organized into their own political bodies (republics) belonging to the Russian Federation (Republic of Sakha and the Buryat Republic).

3. *Obshshina*: voluntary organizations of the indigenous ethnic minorities of the North

Federal law also clearly stipulates that the indigenous ethnic minorities have a right to form *obshshina* or other autonomous social organizations (*obshshiny ili inyye formy obshshestvennogo samoupravleniya*) that consist of members of the ethnic group that can be integrated on

the basis of kinship or locality. The word *obshshina* can be translated as “commune” or “community”, but it does not have to be organized as a traditional community or social organization, as indicated below. The purpose of such organizations is to protect fundamental aspects of the indigenous peoples’ livelihoods and to safeguard and develop their traditional ways of life, means of house management, production and culture (article 1-(4), KMNS 2000:43).

Before the establishment of the federal law (a), the local parliament (*kraevaya дума*) of the Khabarovsk region issued a law in 1996 that provided indigenous people with the legal basis for establishing *obshshina* (b).

According to this regional law (b), the *obshshina* of the indigenous ethnic minorities are defined as voluntary groups consisting of citizens who are engaged in traditional economic activities that promote and develop the group’s subsistence economy, culture, language and social security. It can be established in the form of a partnership, cooperative, national or municipal enterprise. However, it must be engaged in the traditional activities of the indigenous ethnic minorities, be using natural resources within their territories, and have a minimum of 70 per cent of its workforce made up by members of the northern ethnic minorities (chapter 1, article 1; KMNS 2000: 64).

The regional law defines the following as the traditional activities of the indigenous ethnic minorities in the Khabarovsk region: (1) reindeer breeding, (2) hunting and fishing, (3) hunting of sea mammals, (4) collecting and processing of wild plants, medicinal herbs, and other natural resources, and (5) ethnic arts and crafts (chapter 1, article 2; KMNS 2000:64). In other words, this law restricts the *obshshina* to conducting only five kinds of activities.

Reindeer breeding is conducted in the northern part of the Khabarovsk region, where the Evenks and Evens live, because reindeer only inhabit the arctic forest and tundra zones. Traditionally, these peoples were hunters and fishermen who used the reindeer for riding on. In other words, they essentially lived from forest hunting, river fishing and plant collecting, while keeping a few heads of reindeer for transportation. However, under the policies of the former Soviet Union which aimed to bypass capitalism in favour of a socialist society, the characteristics and functions of reindeer breeding shifted from a complimentary and subsistence format to a primary and industrious one. When the Soviet government organized collective farms (*kolkhoz*) and state farms (*sovkhov*), it promoted the expansion and commercialization of reindeer breeding. As a result, the Evenk and Even reindeer breeders increased the number of animals they farmed and produced reindeer products following the state plan (*Gosplan*).

Hunting and fishing, along with plant collecting, constitute the dominant and most popular forms of production among the indigenous ethnic minorities of the region. Though they are typically implemented as subsistence

activities, hunting and fishing can also be commercialized or market-oriented. Indeed, hunting for fur has been market-oriented since the beginning, and the hunting of large mammals and fishing were commercialized to an extent during the Soviet regime. Indigenous hunters and fishermen were organized into state farms to sell meat, fish, fur and other hunting and fishing products to the government, as directed by the state plan. Medicinal herbs and other products were collected and processed in the same way.

The hunting of sea mammals is conducted only in those coastal areas where species of seals, walrus and whales can be found. The coastal Evenks and Evens, as well as the Nivkhs and Ulchas are engaged in such activities.

The production of ethnic arts and crafts was promoted by the Soviet government as part of state policy directed at the protection of the traditional cultures of the ethnic minorities of the North. Daily utensils made of wood, birch bark, leather, fur, bone and horn were often recognized and esteemed as beautiful arts and crafts. The government established a system of training and honoring the ethnic artists and craftsmen, and often opened exhibitions of their works in galleries and museums. Such exhibitions served as propaganda to show-off the results of the socialist programme for development of the “primitive” ethnic minorities of the North. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the minority people began to utilize their artistic skills as a resource for tourism and so earn income.

It is justifiable to recognize these activities as traditional aspects of the ethnic cultures in the region. In fact, these people have long been engaged in reindeer breeding, hunting, fishing, collecting and craftwork. However, these systems of production had already been commercialized during the Soviet period, as in the case of the Udeghe people in the Primor’e region as has been reported elsewhere (Sasaki 2002). Although the people still know how to sustain themselves from these subsistence activities, commercialized reindeer breeding, hunting, fishing and collecting have become key components for their economic survival during recent critical years. If the activities defined by law were restricted only to subsistence purposes or to means of self-supply, the people would not be able to maintain and manage the *obshshina*.

4. Property and granted lands of the *obshshina*

The regional law (b) defines the property and granted lands of the *obshshina*. The *obshshina* has the right to own the products of hunting, fishing and other productive activities, as well as the basic funds for the management of these activities. Only the court can suspend the rights of the *obshshina* to property and ownership (chapter 2, article 4; KMNS 2000:65).

Lands and foraging territories can be granted to the *obshshina* for permanent use or rental for 50 years following a decision from the organs of local self-government and an agreement from fully authorized

governmental organs for the protection of the natural environment (chapter 3, article 5; KMNS 2000:65). These lands and territories should be located within the 'Territories of Traditional Wildlife Management' (TTP). However, the *obshshina* may also be allotted those lands and territories which are used for federal matters or defined as restricted zones, with permission from the concerned federal administrative organizations.

The *obshshina* can provide the people, enterprises or organizations with whom they hold a legal agreement with committed lands and territories for hunting, fishing, collecting of wild plants or for geological or other scientific research. The *obshshina* is permitted to inspect the activities of these groups or bodies, in collaboration with governmental and nongovernmental organizations. If it finds the group or body to be violating the agreement, the *obshshina* may terminate the agreement and demand compensation to make up for the damage caused by the violation. When a person or enterprise incurs damage within the *obshshina*'s territories or to the *obshshina*'s activities, he or it must pay compensation, in accordance with federal laws and rules. At the same time, however, the *obshshina* is obliged not to waste or overexploit the natural resources within its control, observing the rules concerning the conservation of nature (chapter 3, article 7; KMNS 2000:65).

The *obshshina* holds the primary rights to the utilization of biological resources within its territories. Employing permitted methods, its members can hunt and fish throughout the year for self-supply within the *obshshina*'s territory (chapter 4, article 8; KMNS 2000:66-67).

Indigenous people's rights to engage in traditional activities within their territories are legally guaranteed by the regional and federal governments. However, despite this legal foundation, there are several problems. The most significant problem regards the issue of whether the legal guarantee functions effectively in reality, to support indigenous people in their everyday lives. For example, although the government may designate an area as a 'Territory of Traditional Wildlife Management' (TTP), thus granting the land to the Indigenous people's *obshshina*, if the area is located such that it offers no real benefit to the people in terms of usable hunting grounds and fishing areas, the mandate is effectively useless. Moreover, non-indigenous enterprises occasionally occupy the prime areas for hunting and fishing or buy the rights for their use.

The second problem is that the productive activities in which the indigenous people may be engaged within the *obshshina*'s territories are legally restricted to those activities conducted only for subsistence purposes. As mentioned above, the regional law (b) clearly defines the traditional activities of indigenous peoples as reindeer breeding, hunting and fishing, sea mammal hunting, collecting and processing of wild plants, medicinal herbs and other natural resources, and the production of ethnic arts and crafts. However, all of these activities may only

be conducted for subsistence and self-consumption within the present economic system and situation of the Russian Federation. This is despite the fact that these activities could be commercialized or market-oriented during the Soviet era, when many people practiced productive activities in a commercialized form with firm support from the government. However, it is effectively impossible for this to happen now, because the indigenous communities lack the external support required for business development. I have heard of a handful of successful cases regarding hunting-fishing businesses developed by the indigenous people's enterprises or organizations, but these should be regarded as very exceptional cases¹. If putting a wrong construction on the words of this law, it seems that the central and regional governments demand that the indigenous people be satisfied with the guarantee of their rights to engage in those subsistence activities that the law defines as traditional.

The regional law (b) guarantees the rights of indigenous people to carry out subsistence hunting and fishing in the *obshshina*'s territories. At the same time, however, the government strictly prohibits the capturing of certain species of animals and fish so as to protect natural resources and to benefit regional hunting and fishing businesses. For example, indigenous people have the right to capture dog salmon (*Oncholyneus keta*) for self-consumption up to a limit of 40kg during one season in the Amur River and its tributaries, whereas fishing companies capture a large amount of the species at the mouth of the Amur River to produce salted salmon. Though sturgeon fishing, which was one of main activities of the Nivkh fishermen in the lower basin of the Amur, is now heavily restricted by laws concerning the protection of species in danger of extinction, licenses are distributed to some non-indigenous companies and to individuals. Thus the rights guaranteed by law cannot always help indigenous people in a real life situation. In some respects, the exclusion of indigenous and local people from otherwise profitable fishing businesses promotes the poaching and overexploitation of dog salmon and sturgeon.

5. Forest use and the indigenous ethnic minorities of the North.

Indigenous ethnic minorities of the North in the Khabarovsk region have a preferential right to the access and use of forests, as described in the forest law of the region (c) (article 16-2; KMNS 2000:68). Though the law stipulates that all forest users fundamentally have a right to access and use forests, it also guarantees the privileges of some people and organizations that need special protection, such as people of low income, schools, hospitals,

¹ As to the case of the Udeghes in Krasnyi Yar in Primor'e region, please refer to Sasaki (2002). I have observed one more successful case in Kondon in Khabarovsk region, where a group of Nanais (Samagirs) are living. In this case, their ethnic fishing enterprise, which is still organized in the *kolkhoz*, is managed for the production and sale of crucian carp and salmon, both of which are special products of this village.

and so on. The indigenous ethnic minorities of the North and their *obshshina* are included in this category.

This law contains an article concerning regulation of the usage of forests in 'Territories of Traditional Wildlife Management' (article 121). According to the law, this article is intended to secure the traditional life styles of the indigenous ethnic minorities of the North. The forests in these territories may be made available for traditional forest activities only by the relevant *obshshina* or minority family. Timber production within the territories is permitted only with the agreement of the *obshshina* or family that has the rights over it. The *obshshina* and minority families can produce timber for self-consumption without any commission. However, it is necessary to compete to acquire the rights for commercial timber production in the territories, in accordance with the rules written into this law (KMNS 2000:70-71).

This article also defines the permitted means of forest use. It demands that the use of forests in the territories should be conducted in such a way so as not to obstruct the regeneration of biological resources. It also requires that all activities for usage, protection and regeneration of the forest should be done in a way that is compatible with the establishment of conditions for the development of the traditional activities of the ethnic minorities of the North (KMNS 2000: 71).

6. Rules and rights of the indigenous ethnic minorities of the North on hunting

The Khabarovsk region has its own law concerning the use of animal resources for hunting within its territories ((d) "As to the hunting activity in the territory of the Khabarovsk region"), which includes a special article on the rights of the indigenous ethnic minorities of the North (article 5). According to this article, citizens of the indigenous ethnic minorities of the North have the right to hunt animals using traditional methods, as long as they do not directly or indirectly destroy biological diversity, impact negatively upon the integrity and reproductive potential of animal populations or otherwise disturb the animal life, or expose other people to danger. Their *obshshina* (clan *obshshina* or national hunting enterprise, in which people from indigenous ethnic minorities of the North account for more than 70% of the workforce) holds priority rights for the usage of animal resources in 'Territories of Traditional Wildlife Management' (KMNS 2000: 75).

Article 6 refers to rights to priority usage of animal resources within 'Territories of Traditional Wildlife Management'. This article covers the following matters:

- a) Priority in the allocation of hunting territories.
- b) Privileges with respect to the hunting period, territory, and species, sex, maturity, and quantity of the animals that can be hunted.
- c) An exceptional right on the hunting and usage of particular animal species.
- d) Other means of using game species and their habitat.

These rights and privileges apply to the citizens of the indigenous ethnic minorities of the North who have lived continuously in observance of a traditional life style in a given territory, and to other peoples who live in the same style as the indigenous people. This right cannot be granted to others (KMNS 2000: 75-76).

7. Definition of 'Territory of Traditional Wildlife Management'

The Khabarovsk region has a law which specifically concerns 'Territories of Traditional Wildlife Management' (TTP) ((e) "As to the Territories of Traditional Wildlife Management of the indigenous ethnic minorities in the North of the Khabarovsk region").

The concept and system of designation of territories was established in 1992 by the central government. The system has often functioned for the benefit of the indigenous people in Siberia and the Far East of Russia to some degree, especially in cases of conflict between local people and enterprises that wanted to develop their territories for timber harvesting, mining or oil production. However, many regions lacked their own laws and regulations governing specific cases affecting the people within their territory. Even Khabarovsk region took the decision to issue such a law as recently as the end of 1999. Though we have information which suggests that the central government of the Russian Federation decided to abolish this system in 2002, it is worth describing and examining this regional law in detail.

The first article (article 1) sets out that the purpose of this law is to address the economic, social and demographic problems faced by the indigenous ethnic minorities in the North of the Khabarovsk region by establishing a legal status for the designation, consolidation and usage of 'Territories of Traditional Wildlife Management'. This law functions not only for the indigenous ethnic minorities in the region but also for all inhabitants of the territory engaged in traditional wildlife management practices (KMNS 2000: 83).

7.1. Definition of terms (article 2)

The second article of this law defines the following terms:

- 1) "Territories of traditional wildlife management of the indigenous ethnic minorities of the North" are those territories that ethnic groups have historically occupied to utilize natural resources and to conduct traditional natural resource management practices. Such territories should be designated in order to protect the regeneration of natural resources as well as the natural environment itself and to secure the traditional ways of life of the indigenous ethnic minorities.
- 2) "The indigenous ethnic minorities of the North" are people who live in the traditional territories inherited from their ancestors, preserve their traditional ways of life and home management, number less

than 50,000 persons in total throughout the Russian Federation and recognize themselves as independent ethnic entities.

- 3) "Traditional wildlife management" is a non-exhaustive means of utilizing renewable natural resources historically established by the indigenous ethnic minorities of the North.
- 4) "Traditional management" implies historically established natural resource utilization characteristic of the indigenous ethnic minorities of the North, which are conducted in a form of a natural subsistence economy or for the preparation of equipment and items required in daily life.
- 5) "Traditional life styles of the indigenous ethnic minorities of the North" are historical ways of maintaining livelihoods and securing the cultures of ethnic minorities. They are based on the current generation's ancestors' experiences in natural resource utilization, social organization, culture, customs and beliefs.
- 6) "Plots of the territories of traditional wildlife management" consist of lands, forests and watercourses, which function as habitats and zoological and botanical environments in which local people practice traditional systems for natural resource use and management.

7.2. Users of the territories and their rights (article 3)

The third article defines who can make use of the territories. Although legal persons and individuals can constitute valid users, both must have lived continuously in the territory, practicing traditional forms of natural resource use and management. The following kinds of organizations can also qualify:

- 1) Companies (*tovarishshestvo*), *obshshestvo*, co-operatives and national or municipal organizations in which 50 per cent or more of the workforce is made up by indigenous ethnic minorities of the North.
- 2) *Obshshina* of the indigenous ethnic minorities.
- 3) Families of the indigenous ethnic minorities.
- 4) Individuals of the indigenous ethnic minorities.
- 5) Other individuals that are constant residents of the territories of the indigenous ethnic minorities and who conduct traditional kinds of natural resource use and management.

The user has priority over gaining permission (*i.e.* a license) to use resources in the territory and to be allocated under contract a plot within the territory for traditional natural resource use and management.

7.3. Traditional natural resource use and management within the territories (article 4)

The fourth article defines traditional natural resource use and management in the territories as follows:

- 1) Reindeer breeding: production and processing of reindeer products including horns, endocrine glands and fur.
- 2) Fishing: production and processing of fish prod-

ucts.

- 3) Hunting: production and processing of hunting products.
- 4) Sea mammal hunting.
- 5) Collecting: production and processing of wild plants (berries, mushrooms, edible grasses, roots and nuts), medicinal herbs and sea products.
- 6) Processing of fur or skins of animals, sea mammals and fish.
- 7) Production of traditional utensils, equipment, fur clothes and shoes.
- 8) Production of ethnic souvenirs.
- 9) Dog breeding for dog sleds.

7.4. Rules regarding designation of the territories and their components (article 5)

The fifth article defines how the territories are designated and what should be included within them.

- 1) The description of the territory including details of its borders, area and component plots should be confirmed by the regional parliament following its presentation to the regional administration.
- 2) The borders of the territory should be established by the regional administration on the basis of the proposal submitted by the local self-government with the agreement of state organs concerning the protection and usage of natural resources and the environment, as well as the agreement of the regional or district associations of the indigenous ethnic minorities.
- 3) Borders of the territory should be decided taking account of the historical significance of locations and the traditional management practices of the indigenous ethnic minorities of the North, the productivity of the natural resources in the area, the population of minorities, and the standard requirements of an individual engaged in traditional natural resource use and management. If the situation changes, the borders can be moved on the basis of the initiative of the local self-government with the agreement of district associations of the indigenous ethnic minorities of the North, which should provide the regional administration with documents stipulating technical and economic reasons for the movement.
- 4) The borders should be designated by the local self-government, in accordance with the projects confirmed by the regional administration, with special signs or posters on which the status of the territory and the regime of its usage are described in Russian and languages of the indigenous ethnic minorities.
- 5) The territories of traditional wildlife management can include areas which belong to the state, regional, or municipal authorities or forest foundations, and water bodies (rivers and lakes) in accordance with federal and regional laws.
- 6) If necessary, areas of nature protection and special

zones in which economic activities are restricted, can be included within the territory following the examination and approval of ecological experts. Such zones should be marked by special information signs describing the status of the land and the regime for its usage.

- 7) Preparation of a technical and economic assessment for the establishment of a territory should be financed by the budgets of the region and the Russian Federation.

7.5. Designation of plots within the territories (article 6)

The sixth article defines how plots are to be designated and allocated within the territories.

- 1) Plots within a territory should be allocated to users of the territory on the basis of an agreement between three stakeholders: executive organs of local self-government, district associations of the indigenous ethnic minorities of the North, and the users of the territory.
- 2) Rules for the distribution of plots within a territory and the form of the agreement for their use should be confirmed by the head of the administration of the region.
- 3) The agreement offering the plots of the territory for use should be settled without any payment.
- 4) Amateur hunting and fishing, plant collecting for private use, and recreational use by other users not defined in the third article of this law, are permitted to make use of the territory. Such kinds of usage can be freely carried out by citizens.
- 5) The rights to carry out free activities may be restricted by regional laws.
- 6) Allocation of the same plot to several users is allowed where the users are engaged in different forms of resource use within the plot.

7.6. Rules for offering natural resources within the territory for use (article 7)

The seventh article defines rules for making use of natural resources within the territory.

- 1) Rights to the usage of natural resources within the plots of the territory, as defined in the first section of article 6, can be offered to the users defined in article 3 with permission (*i.e.* license) and a contract for the free rental of the resources.
- 2) Permission (a license) should be issued by the administration of the region and by fully authorized state organs for the controlled use and protection of particular kinds of natural resources.
- 3) Documents granting permission for users to use natural resources should be formally put under the control of the head of the administration of the region when this law comes into effect. If some users propose to use resources in the same plot in a territory, a special fully authorized state organ should organize a competition to allocate the rights to use

the resource.

7.7. Industrial use of the territory (article 8)

The eighth article defines the possibility of industrial use of the territory.

- 1) The industrial use of forest, mineral, hunting, water, biological, land and recreational resources should be carried out in accordance with the law.
- 2) The industrial use of the territory should be permitted by the administration of the region and the special fully authorized state organs for the use and protection of particular kinds of natural resources with the agreement of organs of local governments and district associations of indigenous ethnic minorities of the North.
- 3) In cases of absolute urgent necessity, the government of the Russian Federation and the region reserve the right to suspend the rights of users to carry out traditional natural resource use and management within plots of a territory. In such cases, the authorities should offer to compensate the users with alternative plots.
- 4) Permission for industrial use of plots within the territory should be issued on the basis of open competition organized by the administration of the region and special fully authorized organs for use and protection of particular natural resources. The rules of the competition should be decided in accordance with regional laws. The committee of the competition should include members of local self-governments and district associations of indigenous minorities of the North.
- 5) The winner of the competition should be the candidate who most appropriately answers demands for the protection of the natural environment and resources, the established regime for natural resource use and management and the socio-economic development of the territory.
- 6) Rules for the realization of the requirements for the socio-economic development of the territory should be established by contract between the administrative organ of the local self-government and the winner.
- 7) Industrial use of the territory can be permitted following examination by national experts and where it has been determined that such use will not violate the principles of traditional natural resource use and management.
- 8) The administration responsible for the construction and development of the industry in the territory should take measures to ensure the protection of the natural environment and socio-economic development of the region in accordance with the requirements of the contract.

7.8. Designation of special protection zones in the territory (article 9)

The ninth article relates to the designation of special zones for the protection of rare species of animals and

plants in danger of extinction and other natural heritage.

- 1) In order to protect animals and plants within the territory and revitalize their regeneration, the administration of the region can designate special zones which prohibit hunting, protect natural monuments, reserve the habitats of rare animals and plants in danger of extinction, protect rivers for spawning, and serve other protective roles.
- 2) The users can conduct traditional natural resource use and management in such special zones with the agreement of special fully authorized state organs controlling the matters of protection of particular sorts of natural resources and the environment.

7.9. Controls for maintenance of an established regime of traditional natural resource use and management within the territory and responsibility for violations against them (article 10)

The tenth article describes the controls for maintenance of the established regime of traditional natural resource use and management within the territory and responsibility for offences against them.

- 1) Controls for maintenance of an established regime of traditional natural resource use and management within the territory should be conducted by organs of local self-government, special fully authorized state organs concerning the protection of the natural environment and resources, and district associations of indigenous ethnic minorities of the North. If necessary, a special office for protection of the territories of traditional wildlife management can be established within the organs of local self-government.
- 2) Violations against the established regime and other rules for the protection of the natural environment and resources should involve acceptance of responsibility in accordance with relevant laws.
- 3) Indigenous ethnic minorities of the North and their associations and *obshshina* can appeal against the decisions of state organs in the region or organs of local self-government that have a negative impact upon their lives and activities.

7.10. Revision of the borders of the territories (article 11 and 12)

This law should come into effect on 1st January 2000 (article 11). The administration of the region has to review the borders of the territories two years after the day of the execution of the law and show the list of the borders to the parliament of the region (article 12).

8. Analysis

Compared with the case of the Udeghe people in Krasnyi Yar in Primor'e region, the social and economic conditions of the indigenous ethnic minorities in the Khabarovsk region seem to be worse, despite the existence of the special law concerning the 'Territories of Traditional Wildlife management' (TTP). Although the Primor'e region has not yet issued such a law, the

Udeghe hunters conduct their jobs in an organized fashion in allotted plots in their 'Territory of Traditional Wildlife management' (TTP) designated along the Bikin River. As I have described in previous reports (Sasaki 2000; 2002), the Udeghe reorganized the former state farm (*gospromkhoz*) into a joint stock company and, taking advantage of its status as an *obshshina* of the indigenous ethnic minorities of the North, were able to successfully monopolize the rights to use the territory. Though the management of the company is very difficult – as if walking a tightrope – hunters, fishermen and other villagers are more active and enthusiastic here than are the people in the Amur basin.

As far as I have observed in an expedition to the Lower Amur basin in the end of 1990s and the beginning of 2000s, life for the Nanais and Ulchas along the Amur River does not seem to be so favourable, though their rights to conduct subsistence-level fishing and hunting are guaranteed by the laws concerning the matters of indigenous ethnic minorities of the North.

When I visited the indigenous village of Naikhin (the centre of the Nanais) in the middle of September 1997, villagers were so busy fishing and processing that we could not conduct our ethnological research. The season for fishing dog salmon is restricted from the beginning of September to the beginning of October by the relevant laws. The people have to be intensively engaged in fishing during this season in order to capture as many salmon as they can.

Members of the indigenous ethnic minorities of the North in the Khabarovsk region can get a free license to fish dog salmon up to a limit of 40 kg per person per season. Such a license is issued by the regional association of the indigenous ethnic minorities of the North. However, 40 kg is so small that the people cannot live on it. They must buy an additional license that allows them to capture more fish (as any other citizen would have to) at the office of the department of the regional administration concerning the protection of natural resources. The central and regional governments protect the dog salmon by the regulated issuance of these licenses.

However, such a system for the protection of natural resources does not always support the rights of indigenous people. Firstly, many of them are people of low income and so they cannot afford to buy the license. Secondly, the indigenous people of the Lower Amur often unsuccessfully reorganized state enterprises (*kolkhoz*, *sovkhos* and *gospromkhoz*) and, as a result, their rights to engage in hunting and fishing within the territory of the enterprise were handed to non-indigenous people. Moreover, non-indigenous people often monopolize the rights to fish in better places. Thirdly, territories of traditional wildlife management were hardly designated within the Amur basin where various people depend upon the use of natural resources. The territories are often designated in areas of tributaries to the Amur River, as is the case with the Bikin River where the Udeghe people live, and the case of the Gorin River where a number of the Nanais (Samagirs) live. However, such

areas are so remote from the trunk of the river that dog salmon seldom reach these parts. Though the people could catch salmon even in parts of the Bikin River – located over 1000 km above the mouth of the Amur River up until the 1950s – this is now impossible because of overexploitation in the lower reaches of the river.

Such issues raise the question of why it was necessary for the Khabarovsk region to issue the special laws concerning the matters of indigenous ethnic minorities of the North. Firstly, we must point out that, as compared with the Primor'e and Sakhalin regions, there are significant numbers of indigenous people living there. In the Khabarovsk region, the population of indigenous people was 23,484 persons in 1989, accounting for about 1.3 per cent of the total regional population; this is compared with an indigenous population of 1,693 persons (0.08%) in the Primor'e region and 2,869 persons (0.4%) in the Sakhalin region. Secondly, the Khabarovsk region has vast areas covered with forest, which have traditionally been used as hunting and fishing territories and as pasture for reindeer breeding by indigenous people. Such areas are located in the upper reaches of tributaries of the Amur River and in the northern part of the region. Thirdly, and as a result of these demographic and geographic conditions, the movements and requirements of indigenous people in the Khabarovsk region have been greater than those in the Primor'e and Sakhalin regions.

The laws concerning matters of indigenous ethnic minorities function better for those people living in remote areas than they do for those living closer to the centre of the region. This is because there are fewer immigrants in more remote areas to disturb the rights of indigenous people to use the territories and natural resources. It may be unnecessary for the regional administration to consider the requirements and interests of the immigrants and non-indigenous enterprises in the designation of territories of traditional wildlife management. Free and monopolized use of common natural resources for subsistence, which do not need special protection by the government, benefits the people. Such resources include various kinds of fish such as crucian carp, carp, pike, catfish, lenok, taimen and others, but not salmon and sturgeon, edible plants and medicinal herbs, and some species of animals that can be hunted without a license. Hunting deer, reindeer, elk, bears, big horns and other large mammals that can be hunted with licenses also provides the people with large amounts of food and materials for daily use. If there are some resources within the territories which can be sold to city dwellers or exported to foreign countries, people can manage their natural resource-based enterprise for profit. In the case of the people in Kondon, a village located along the Gorin River (a tributary of the Amur River), the crucian carp fished from Lake Evoron is recognized as a prime natural resource fit for export. This species was deemed the best crucian carp in Russia during the Soviet period, and was included on the menus of Moscow's restaurants. Though its production is diminishing now because of overexploitation by immigrants, water pollution and climate change, the activities of indigenous fishing *kolkhoz* (the structure of the

kolkhoz is still very much alive there) support the livelihoods of villagers to a great extent.

However, as a whole and including the case of the people in Kondon, juridical guarantees for the status and rights of the indigenous ethnic minorities of the North do not always function well in the daily lives of the indigenous people in the Khabarovsk region. The people are aware of the existence of these laws and the rules which guarantee their rights and, at the same time, which require them to observe. However, the difficult economic conditions and chaotic social situations that have emerged in the post-Soviet era do not allow the people to benefit from their rights in reality. Sometimes they have to make up for shortages of various necessities, violating the rules and laws by poaching – a practice that they know to be wasteful of resources.

In order to realize the spirit of the above mentioned laws and to improve the lives of the indigenous ethnic minorities of the North, it is necessary to revitalize the systems and organizations that have been established to protect the rights and promote the welfare of the people on the basis of the law. Strengthening the functions of the *obshchina*, offering financial and material support for ethnic enterprises and companies, and revitalizing activities of local associations of the indigenous ethnic minorities are all likely to be effective. In order for these aims to be fulfilled, at the same time, it is essential that the indigenous people be better understood and supported by the non-indigenous people of the region, as well as by supporter NGOs and local administrations.

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Table 1. Population of the indigenous ethnic minorities in the Khabarovsk, Primor'e and Sakhalin regions in 1970, 1979 and 1989 (GSK RSFSR, 1990)

	1970		1979		1989	
	Population	%	Population	%	Population	%
Khabarovsk region						
Total	1,345,907	100	1,557,959	100	1,811,828	100
Indigenous	19,982	1.48	20,738	1.33	23,484	1.30
Nanais	8,844	0.66	9,340	0.60	10,582	0.58
Evenks	4,624	0.34	3,583	0.23	3,691	0.20
Ulchas	2,272	0.17	2,311	0.15	2,733	0.15
Nivkhs	2,100	0.16	2,168	0.14	2,386	0.13
Udeghe	525	0.04	609	0.04	697	0.04
Oroches	527	0.04	468	0.03	499	0.03
Negidars	454	0.03	459	0.03	502	0.03
Evens	429	0.03	1,474	0.09	1,919	0.11
Others*	207	0.02	326	0.02	475	0.03
Primor'e region						
Total	1,721,285	100	1,976,600	100	2,256,072	100
Indigenous	1,599	0.09	1,401	0.07	1,693	0.08
Udeghe	763	0.04	666	0.03	766	0.03
Others*	836	0.05	735	0.04	927	0.04
Sakhalin region						
Total	65,652	100	661,778	100	710,242	100
Indigenous	2,904	0.47	2,816	0.43	2,869	0.40
Nivkhs	2,118	0.34	2,053	0.31	2,008	0.28
Uiltas	332	0.05	317	0.05	212	0.03
Others*	454	0.07	446	0.07	649	0.09

* "Others" includes the indigenous ethnic minorities in Siberia and the Russian Far East except for the peoples of the Lower Amur basin, Primor'e and Sakhalin.

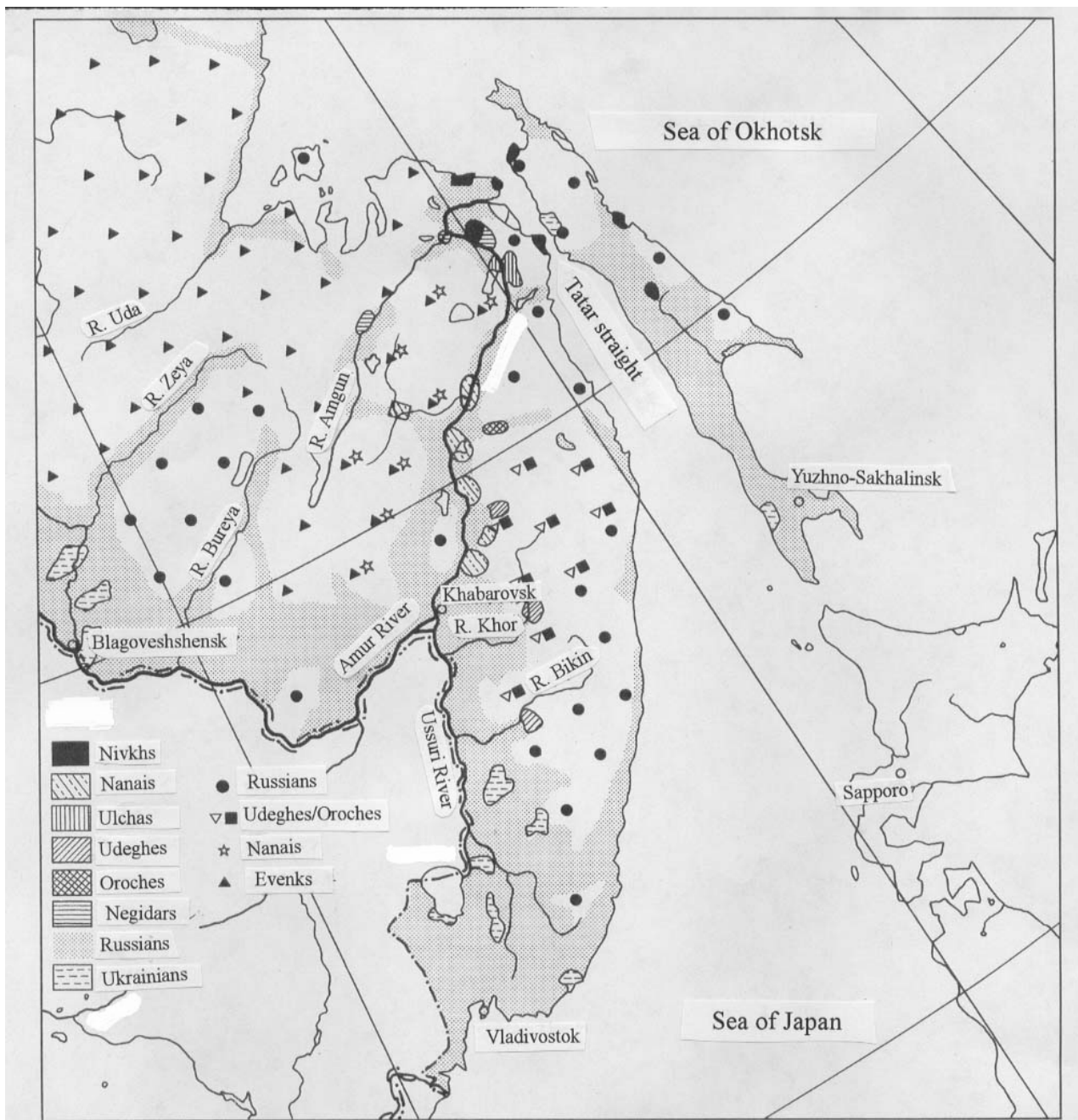


Figure: Ethnic Map of the Southern Part of the Far East Russia

Forest Problems in Today's Culture of the Khor Udeghe*

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Contents: 1. A brief history of the Khor Udeghe. 2. The size of the population of the village of Gvasyugi and its ethnic structure. 3. Ethnic structure of families. 4. The traditional life style of the Udeghe in the village of Gvasyugi. 5. The annual cycle of household activities. 6. A brief history of the village of Gvasyugi. 7. Economic activities of the Udeghe in the GPKh Lazovsky. 8. Annual cycle of an Udeghe hunter in the GPKh Lazovsky. 9. Socio-economic situation of the Udeghe in the village of Gvasyugi since 1992. 10. The role of social organizations in the life of today's Khor Udeghe. 11. The role of ethnic communities in the life of today's Gvasyugi Udeghe. 12. The present-day infrastructure of the village of Gvasyugi. 13. The Gvasyugi Udeghe's opinion of the activity of the timber companies and their own future life.

1. A brief history of the Khor Udeghe

It is well known that the Udeghe language had no written form. It was thanks to the efforts of E. R. Schneider that it began to develop as a literary language in the 1930s, with the dialect of the Khor Udeghe being used its basis. After a long interval, the Udeghe people have once again been making efforts to revive their own language since the 1980s (Kormushin, 1998, p. 8). However, because of a lack of written records, it is a very difficult task to research documents and obtain written information on their ancient history.

The mass arrival of Slav colonizers in the area of the Amur basin began in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Primary sources of information pertaining to the Udeghe people date back only as far as that time. The expeditions of Russian pioneers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to the South of the Russian Far East were too brief. For example, the Cossacks guided by Onufry Stepanov as well as other Cossack detachments stayed for a short time in the Khor basin in 1655-1656. Nonetheless, they collected some useful information concerning the indigenous population of the Amur region (Bereznitsky, 1999, p.334-335). Chinese chronicles present certain problems to researchers, because they use generalized terms for the indigenous population, for example, *Yu-Phi-Da-Zsi*, meaning “the fish-skinned non-Chinese” or “people wearing clothes made of fish skin”.

The Japanese ethnologist S. Sasaki is absolutely right in saying that one should be cautious when identifying the medieval population of the Amur basin at a time when the Udeghe lived in the Maritime and Khabarovsk Provinces (Sasaki, 2002, p.86). However, some medieval Chinese sources contain ethnonyms – *Ugi*, *Udi*, *Udaha* and others – which agree closely with the Udeghe ethnic community (*Istoriya i kultura udegheytsev*, 1989, p.21). The term “Udeghe” entered into the scholarly vocabulary in the twentieth century, whereas earlier they had been known under a number of other names: *Orochi*, *Orochony*, *Kyakla*, *Udihe*, *Udige* and others. In the linguist I. V. Kormushin's opinion, the term *Kekar* and some others of the same root mean “inhabitants of the coast.” The etymology of clan names is testament to the fact that the majority of today's Udeghe surnames come from the names of rivers. For example, *Kimonko* means “an inhabitant of the Kimy River” (Kormushin, 1998, p. 5-6). It is thought that the *Kyalundzyuga* clan originally lived along the sea coast. The clan began to split in the seventeenth century, with a strong Manchurian influence being one of the causative factors (*History and Culture of the Udeghe*, 1989, p. 23).

The folk-etymology of ethnonyms is of particular in-

* The results of this work coincide, in many respects, with the material published in the collection of papers “Developing a forest conservation strategy for the Russian Far East: Interim report for the first year study” (Khabarovsk, 2002. P. 1-79). So as not to repeat what has already been presented, I have concentrated here upon questions that were not given a due consideration in the previous publication. I have also tried to give as much information as possible on the Udeghe and Nanai living in the village of Gvasyugi at the present time. Being no specialist in economics or business I do not make any claims in these fields. My objective here was to give a brief account of the history of the Khor Udeghe as well as details of how they live today, and to throw light on their attitude towards forest-related problems.

The following ethnological report was compiled from materials collected in the course of a research expedition to the village of Gvasyugi in the Lazo District of Khabarovsk Krai in the Russian Federation. The author worked with the following eleven informants. 1) Valentina Tunsyanovna Kyalundzyuga (Udeghe, born in 1936); 2) Anton-ina Kufesovna Kyalundzyuga (Udeghe, born in 1924); 3) Anisia Aleksandrovna Kyalundzyuga (Udeghe, born in 1948); 4) Olesya Vladimirovna Alotova (Udeghe, born in 1978); 5) Vladimir Konstantinovich Belyaev (Udeghe, born in 1958); 6) Filipp Dmitrievich Ukomenko (Nanai, born in 1929); 7) Gennady Filippovich Ukomenko (Nanai, born in 1963); 8) Irina Valentinovna Kimonko (Ul'chi born in 1969); 9) Lubov Andreevna Kyalundzyuga (Russina, born in 1931); 10) Vladimir Nikolaevich Derbentsev (Russian, born in 1953); and 11) Valentina Nikolaevna Spasskaya (Russian, born in 1948). Besides interviews with the informants, the author also collected a number of documents regarding the administration, associations and clan communities of the Khor Udeghe.

terest. According to V. T. Kyalundzyuga, the Udeghe of the *Kimonko* clan lived by the Sukpay and Chuken Rivers, while the *Kyalundzyuga* clan lived by the Kafen and Katen Rivers. However, some generations before, these people lived along the sea coast. One day during a period of famine, some of them tried to eat sea-kale and died. The others went off to live in the forest where they began to eat Siberian pine nuts, or *kimukte*. Hence they became known as the *Kimonko*. The term *Kyalundzyuga* came from two words: *Kyalu* meaning 'raw', and *Dziga* meaning 'many' or 'a great number of something'. So the name of this clan means literally the people who ate much raw food (Kyalundzyuga V.T. 2002, Gvasyugi).

Neither the modern ethnology nor the works of ethnologists, archaeologists and historians can tell us exactly how long the Udeghe have been living in the Khor basin. Some researchers identify the Udeghe ethnic community with the indigenous Neolithic population of the region. For example, an archaeologist from Novosibirsk, V. T. Medvedev, insists that there are many archaeological sites in the Khor and Kiya basins that include those from the Neolithic period (10-15,000 years ago), sites of the early Iron Age (2,000 years ago), and medieval walled towns. The latter are assumed to belong to the culture of the Jurchens, who were among the forebears of the peoples living in the Amur region today (Medvedev, 1985, p.207-211). Specialists in art consider that petroglyphs of the Khor basin can be identified with the present-day art of the Nanai, Ulchi and other peoples (History of the Far East, p.74). The well-known researcher E.V. Shavkunov also insists that the Udeghe were lineal descendants of the Jurchens, though the findings of linguists do not confirm this theory (Kormushin, 1998, p.9). The Khor Udeghe themselves believe that they are descended from the Neolithic population of the Khor and Sukpay Rivers, whose representatives left drawings on rock walls about 2,000 years ago. The Udeghe believe that the drawings are sacred and can be connected to a certain Udeghe clan, the *Kimonko* (Documents of the Administration of the Village of Gvasyugi # 21 of 10 February, 1997).

On the whole, the concept of the ethnogenesis of the Udeghe including the Khor group is similar to those of other indigenous peoples in the Lower Amur basin. In their ethnic structure, one may distinguish an aboriginal stratum composed of representatives of taiga, coast and sea cultures. Some part of the Udeghe could be incorporated into the Jurchen ethnic community or some part of the Jurchen may be seen to have played an ethno-consolidating role among the forebears of the Udeghe. When studying the ethnogenesis of the Udeghe, a Tungus stratum becomes evident, and some components of Ainu, Manchurian, and other ethnic types are noticeable as well. Since the middle of the 19th century, the Udeghe have been a focus of active ethno-cultural processes, experiencing a strong influence from Slav culture.

Geographically and naturally, the Khor is a mountain river. Its banks are covered with various coniferous and

deciduous vegetation types. Mineral water springs were discovered in the vicinity of the Muhen, Si and Nemptu Rivers in the middle of the 1930s which have since become famous (Bogatkov, 1985, p. 205-206). The Khor basin forms part of the extreme northernmost boundary of the natural habitat of the Far-Eastern long-haired tiger. Ginseng, a relict plant, grows in the vicinity of Ko mountain, out of which the Katen, Kafen and Chuken Rivers flow (Sisoev 1985, p.212-214; Suhomirov 1976, p.5).

2. The size of the population of the village of Gvasyugi and its ethnic structure

According to the census of 1897, the total number of the Udeghe at the end of the nineteenth century stood at 1,841. At the beginning of the twentieth century, V. K. Arsen'ev counted 1,100 Udeghe, the decrease in number being caused by epidemics. At that time, the group made up by the Khor Udeghe was already distinguished from the other communities (History and Culture of the Udeghe, 1989, p.25). The 1973 census taken in the Khabarovsk Province registered 609 Udeghe. According to the 1989 census, the Udeghe numbered 1,902 in total. In 1992, there were 301 persons in the village of Gvasyugi, among them 187 Udeghe and 12 Nanai. At that time, the number of Udeghe working in the Sukpaisky timber industry enterprise (LKh) was 13 persons, in the Oborsy State timber industry enterprise (LPKh) one person, and in the Lazovski State foraging farm (GPKh) 21 persons. Twenty-three persons were working as hunters on the staff, and 17 were unemployed (Feasibility Study Report, 1992, p. 1). In 1997, the number of unemployed Udeghe had increased to twenty-seven. In 1994, the Udeghe numbered 198 (Development Programme, 1994, p. 1). On 1 January 1999, the number of the Udeghe living in the village of Gvasyugi stood at 174 (Charter of the Municipal Formation, 2000, p. 3). On 1 January 2000, they numbered 169 (93 men and 76 women); of them, 94 were employed, 48 were students and 21 were unemployed (Document of the Administration)

At the end of September 2002, the population of the village of Gvasyugi numbered 227 in total. Of them, 165 were Udeghe (89 men and 76 women), 8 were Nanai (4 men and 4 women), and one an Ulchi woman. Among the indigenous population, there were 45 unemployed (20 men and 25 women), 37 school pupils, 7 students, 9 pensioners (of them, 4 old age pensioners and 5 disablement relief receivers), and 23 community hunters (16 in the Ude Community and 7 in the Buli Community). A huntsman and a watchman worked in the Chukensky reserve. Two tractor drivers worked in the Sukpaisky LKh. Two cooks were occupied in the Malaysian timber cutting company Rimbunan Hijau International.

The staff of the Administration is composed as follows: 1 Head, 1 specialist, 1 bookkeeper, 1 driver and 1 office-cleaner. The secondary school has 7 teachers, 1 assistant teacher, 1 cook, 1 librarian and 3 cleaners. The Obstetric Station (FAP) has 1 Head, 2 hospital nurses

and 1 hospital attendant. The kindergarten has 1 director, 1 supervisor, 1 assistant supervisor, 1 cook, 1 worker and 2 watchmen. In addition, there is 1 baker, 1 motor mechanic at the power station, 1 postman, 1 mechanic at the boiler, 1 water system fitter, and an operator of the meteorological station. The age structure is as follows: 1 child under one year (a girl), 1 boy and 3 girls between 1 and 17 years, 30 men and 9 women between 18 and 40 years, 27 men and 35 women between 40 and 49 years, 18 men and 13 women between 50 and 59, 1 man and 5 women between 60 and 69 years, and 1 man and 1 woman between 70 and 80 years of age.

As one can see, at present, there are virtually no aged persons in the village of Gvasyugi. The data also makes evident a steady decrease in the number of Udeghe living in the village over the last ten years. The decrease is affected by a high death rate, low birth rate, and migration of the young to cities. The average life expectancy is 56 years. The primary causes of death are tuberculosis, heart diseases and alcoholism. Income per head makes up less than 50 per cent of the subsistence wage. The indigenous peoples live in decrepit houses, which mostly require renovation (Historical Information on the village of Gvasyugi, p. 1-3).

3. Ethnic structure of families

There are 28 pure ethnic Udeghe families in the village, of which 15 are complete and 13 are incomplete (*i.e.* one or both of the parents are absent or children live with their grandmothers). The highest number of children found in the former category is 5, while that of the latter is 3. There are 11 households made up of only a single (Udeghe) person. The number of fully ethnically mixed families are as follows: those consisting of Udeghe and Nanai – 2, those of Udeghe and Ulchi–1, Udeghe and Russian–11, and those of Nanai and Russian–3. In mixed Russian-Udeghe families, 50 per cent of children are defined as Russian, and 50 per cent, as Udeghe. In ethnically mixed Nanai-Udeghe families, children are defined mainly as Udeghe (Book on Economic Activities # 1-2). At present, several Udeghe families live in the village of Sukpay, three in the village of Srednekhorsky, and one in each of the following three villages: Sita, Mukhen and Sidema.

4. The traditional life style of the Udeghe in the village of Gvasyugi.

The principal occupation in the traditional culture of the Udeghe was hunting, an activity typically practiced throughout the year. In winter, the Udeghe went to the upper reaches of rivers where they hunted ungulate and fur-bearing animals with the help of dog teams, dogsleds, skis, spears, bows, crossbows and traps. In warmer seasons, they stayed in their summer camps to fish, using hollowed out boats and boats made of boards, and to hunt male deer for their antlers. They built their dwellings from poles and wood bark. The products of fishing and hunting as well as those of collecting were used in tradi-

tional households. They made clothes out of fells of forest animals and fish skin, and bartered fur-fells for fabric, food, and things they needed in their activities from Chinese and Manchurian tradesmen. The Khor Udeghe had a certain knowledge of nature, the weather, forests, rivers and habits of birds, animals and fishes. From the middle of the nineteenth century, the Udeghe hunters began to use firearms, which they obtained from Manchurian tradesmen and, from the end of the 19th century, from Russian tradesmen as well (Istoriya i kultura Udegheystev, 1989, p. 29-30).

All activities were strictly divided into men's and women's duties. Parents taught their children; men went out hunting and fishing, whereas women processed the game-bag and catch for meals and prepared provisions. Within the household, men were involved in the working of hard materials such as wood, bone and metal. Women's occupations included working the fells of animals and fish skins, and sewing and adorning clothes and footwear.

According to A. K. Kyalundzyuga's recollections, the Udeghe formerly had their camps in Dzhango, Buge, Kafen, Sukpay and Matay. They ate raw fish and raw meat of Manchurian red deer and goat. Meat and fish underwent dry curing and jerking. Later, in 1932, they united into one camp and began to corn fish. Besides this, they also dried ramson and wild onion in the sun and made flat cakes out of bird-cherry and red deer fat. Berries were usually kept in birch-bark baskets. They did not lay Siberian pine and Manchurian nuts into a stock for the winter, but they ate them immediately. A. K. Kyalundzyuga's mother often went to China on the ice of the Ussuri River. In order to make the journey, she would chose a night on which there was a snowstorm so as to avoid being seen by frontier guards. There she bartered fur-fells and antlers for food-stuffs. The Udeghe learned from the Chinese how to make *pel'meni* (a kind of ravioli). They painted their fabrics with alder bark. Before the *kolkhoz* (collective farms) were organized, the Udeghe had never eaten farmed vegetables. In February, they saw in the Chinese New Year. Earlier, the Udeghe men usually had two wives each. The second wife, more often than not, was a mere female servant deprived of any rights. (Kyalundzyuga A.K., 2002, Gvasyugi).

5. The annual cycle of household activities

In October, the Udeghe hunters made preparations for the winter hunting season. They mended their outfits, dogsleds and skis, and stocked up on foodstuffs. Usually, there were 3-5 dogs to draw each sledge. Under the Soviet regime they began to use horses to deliver meat to their villages. In November, they hunted ungulate and other large animals: wild boars, Manchurian red deer, elks, bears and so on. An active hunt for sable began approximately at the end of the nineteenth century when traders appeared wishing to buy fur-fells. In December, during their winter hunting, they hunted sable, Siberian polecats, otters, squirrels, and ungulate and other large animals. In January, they went out hunting sable, squirrels, otters, Siberian

polecats and badgers. By the beginning of February, the hunters went back from the taiga to see in the Chinese New Year. In March, they had a rest. Meanwhile, women processed the game-bag brought by the hunters. At the same time, they fished through holes made in the ice. In April, they fished for *lenoks* and umbers. In May, they gathered birch-bark to make various things and utensils. They hollowed out poplars for boats. Under the Soviet regime they began to plant kitchen gardens. In June, they fished and hunted male deer and goats. Women gathered wild plants: ramson, roots of fern and those of wild lily. In July, they fished, carried out household activities and mended their hunting outfits. Women gathered berries: bird cherry, red currants and great bilberry. In August, they fished, gathered wild plants and berries: honeysuckle, cowberry and cranberry. Under the Soviet regime, they began to plant kitchen gardens. In September, they fished dog salmon, which they set in store for the whole year. Men started preparations for the winter hunt, whereas women carried out their household occupations.

6. A brief history of the village of Gvasyugi

In the 1920s, the Udeghe finally adopted the principle of territorial settlement instead of that of a clan-type settlement, and aboriginal Soviets appeared. The Khor Aboriginal Soviet united all the Udeghe of the Khor basin who had lived in numerous little settlements scattered along the Sukpay, Kafen, Katen and Chuken Rivers. In the largest camp of Dzhango, they organized a village Soviet and the first Udeghe school. The manuscripts of the recollections of the old residents of the village bring the events of those times to light. The Udeghe women Agdenka recalls that, on one winter's night, the bodies of people sleeping in the traditional Udeghe dwelling were covered with hoar-frost. N. I. Kimonko recalls how, in the 1930s, she taught the Udeghe of the village of Gvasyugi to read and write the Latin alphabet. Apparently, old folk did not attend the lessons as the old Udeghe Goldu are not mentioned in the vivid descriptions given in the book by the Udeghe author Kimonko (Kimonko, 1972). Kimonko Ehunda remembers the days when, in the 1930s, the young Udeghe began to plant corn and vegetables and build houses, evoking condemnation from the old Udeghe. Potato seeds were borrowed from Russian old believers who had been living in the upper reaches of the Katen River.

In 1929, the Khorsky Integralsoyuz and four co-operative associations of Udeghe hunters and fishers were established. The Udeghe hunters were given sporting guns, cartridges and other things. The difference between the cooperative associations of the Khor Udeghe and those of other Udeghe was that the former, up to the 1940s, preserved a clan structure. The clan structure the Khor Udeghe stuck to was evident in the way they settled. For example, the Udeghe of the Kyalundzyuga clan lived in the mainland part of the village of Gvasyugi, while he member of the Kimonko clan lived in the island part of the village located behind the bridge (History and Culture of the Udeghe, 1998, p. 115-116) (photos 1-4).



According to some Udeghe people in Gvasyugi, the original land that they come from lies by the Sukpay River, where, on the rocks, there are still petroglyphs made by the people considered to be their forebears. The majority of researchers agree that the village of Gvasyugi (named after the river) was founded in 1931-1932 (The Charter of Municipal Formation, 2000, p. 2). It united about 300 Udeghe from two principal Udeghe clans living in the area: *Kimonko* and *Kyalundzyuga* (Kyalundzyuga, 1985, p. 200-202). At that very time, three *kolkhozes* were established: 'Pervaya Pyatiletkta' by the Chuken River, 'Imeni Ilyicha' in the area of Dzhango, and 'Udarniy okhotnik' in the village of Gvasyugi.

The *kolkhoz* 'Udarniy okhotnik' was a complex agricultural enterprise, hunting being its leading branch. It was headed by an Udeghe chairman. In the 1940s, an Udeghe woman was chairperson. Hunting grounds in the upper and middle reaches of the Khor were allotted to the *kolkhoz* (Startsev, 2000, p. 121). In addition to hunting, the Udeghe grew vegetables and feed for cattle in a field of 25 hectares. There was a cattle farm, a pig farm and a fur farm where they bred foxes for some time. Initially, specialists in breeding directed the farms, though later the task was passed on to the local Udeghe who did not know how to care for and feed the animals. Consequently, a short time later, several foxes died, and others fled to the forest, so that very few fox fur skins could be produced (Kyalundzyuga V.T., 2002, Gvasyugi).

Within the 1950-1960s, the earnings of the Udeghe working in the *kolkhoz* steadily grew. In 1953, a State foraging farm (GPKh) 'Lazovsky' was established with several branches. One of them, the 'Verkhnekhorskoë' GPKh branch, was instituted in the village of Gvasyugi (History and Culture of the Udeghe, 1989, p. 117-118).

7. Economic activities of the Udeghe in the GPKh Lazovsky.

The Udeghe members of the GPKh used to team up to hunt. They hunted in winter and in summer, took wild plants for the winter, and built hunter's huts. In 1967, the *kolkhoz* 'Udarniy okhotnik' was re-organized as a branch of the GPKh 'Lazovsky'. Because of the mistakes made by governing bodies, the Udeghe often obtained the less productive sections of the taiga. As a result, up to the end of the 1960s, Russian hunters earned three to four times as much as the Udeghe. As a consequence of this, the number of the Udeghe hunters steadily decreased, so that, by 1985, there remained only a handful (Startsev, 2000, p. 130). In subsequent years, the number of Udeghe hunters started gradually growing. According to Mr. V. N. Derbentsev, an expert in hunting who had worked in the GPKh 'Lazovsky' from 1979 till 1983, the staff included 30 hunters in 1983. In that year, V. N. Derbentsev became head of an area belonging to the GPKh 'Lazovsky', which covered more than one million hectares including the Khor River and all its tributaries. Hunting territories were comparatively small: 15,000 - 20,000 hectares. Usually sons obtained them from their fathers by inheri-

tance. The GPKh provided hunters with guns, cartridges, clothes, petrol and means of transportation (both air and overland). The hunters built themselves winter huts and were paid for the work. In 1989, purchase prices for sable fells were raised and the hunters began to sell them willingly to the GPKh. Before this, they preferentially sold them on the black market, because the GPKh paid only 1000 rubles for one fell. According to the plan, the GPKh had to yield, 1000 sables, 10 tons of honey (the GPKh had an apiary, as well did several private owners), 1 ton of meat of wild animals (approximately 12 heads of red deer), 5 tons of Pteridium fern, 50 tons of birch juice, and 10 tons of fresh *schizandra* berries, all within a single season. The *schizandra* berries were delivered to the village of Bichevaya, where the villagers manufactured juice out of the crop and selected grains to be dried later (V. N. Derbentsev, 2002, Gvasyugi). The Udeghe hunters hunted Amur sables, squirrels, Siberian polecats, American minks, otters, beavers (only in the areas of Mukhena and Sidema), muskrats, brown and Himalayan bears, red deer, wild boars, roe deer and muck deer. In the area of Sukpay, they hunted red deer. Badgers were caught only incidentally. With regards to fowl, the Udeghe hunters usually hunted hazel grouse and wild duck. In the 1980s, dog salmon still entered the Gvasyuginka River. Nowadays, only lenok, umder and taimen can be caught there.

The surrounding forests consist mainly of spruce, fir and linden; a few Siberian pines still remain, though these have for the most part been hewn down over the last 50 years. Berries are few around the village of Gvasyugi except for several bushes of cow-berry. Down the Khor, however, Siberian grape, barberry, red currant, and honeysuckle grow. There is no ginseng, but bird-cherries are plentiful. There are some mushrooms as well: honey agarics, milk-agarics, coral milky caps, russels and others. For themselves, the hunters gathered pine nuts, Manchurian walnuts and hazelnuts.

8. Annual cycle of an Udeghe hunter in the GPKh Lazovsky

The hunter's calendar started in earnest in October: this was the month of preparations and visits to the hunting territory. Prior to this, there would have been the so-called 'hunters' gathering', a festive occasion for hunters to meet, impart their skills and experience, get traps, cartridges and food-stuffs, and after that they went out hunting. First of all, the hunter had to catch a red deer or a wild boar to prepare meat for the winter hunt. He would then set traps for a sable, an otter or a mink. They shot squirrels with a small-bore rifle or with a short gun. Fur fells were delivered to the fur depot in Irkutsk. In December, too, the hunter killed ungulate animals for meat and checked up on his traps. By the New Year, almost all hunters came back to the village; they brought fur fells, passed them to the *kolkhoz* fur depot and went out to the taiga again. In January and February, they went on hunting and trapping.

By the beginning of March, the hunters returned from the taiga to the village. They delivered fur-fells to the depot, had a week of rest, and began to make stocks of firewood for the kindergarten and school, on behalf of the teachers and pensioners. In total, by the middle of April, they managed to make a stock of about 1000 cubic meters of firewood and 500 cubic meters of commercial wood which went for sleepers and boards. After that, they began to gather birch sap, which they continued collecting up to the beginning of May, delivering up to 50 tons to the factory producing tinned vegetables. Besides this, they gathered *Pteridium* fern, this being corned and sold to the Japanese, and excavated as much as 10 tons of *eleutherococcus* roots. They were also engaged in hunting wild duck and male red deer in this season. By the 1980s, there were no longer any specialists who could process antlers. In July, the hunters usually took leave and cultivated their kitchen gardens, repaired their houses and made boats. In August, they gathered honey and *schizandra* and repaired their hunting huts. In September, they gathered dog rose (V. N. Derbentsev, 2002, Gvasyugi).

So, one can note that, for about a century and a half (from the middle of the 19th century to the 1990s), the Udeghe calendar of traditional occupations remained virtually unchanged. The reasons of the changes that occurred later were of a global nature. They were connected with the changes in the hydrology of rivers and those in the vegetation cover caused by excessive logging, which in turn resulted in changes to the quantity and quality of the available game.

Active felling started everywhere, except Chuken, in the 1950s. Timber was floated down the Khor until the 1980s. Later, timber lorries were used to transport timber out of the forests. In 1996, a Malaysian company took on a lease covering the entire area of the upper reaches of the Sukpay River for 50 years. Now, this company has almost finished cutting a road through the forest to the Samarga River to ship timber. Some Udeghe work in the Malaysian company as tractor drivers, whereas Udeghe girls work as cooks.

In 1997, the Hunt Department, Khabarovsk Province Administration, together with the Wild Nature Foundation, established a tiger reserve by the Chuken River, which is to function for 60 years. In the reserve, shooting ungulate animals is prohibited as tigers feed on them. The Foundation allocates money to be paid to two huntsmen and two watchmen and be spent on petrol for motor transport and boats. The Chukensky reserve covers the area of the entire Chuken basin along the watershed (V. N. Derbentsev, 2002, Gvasyugi). The initiative to establish the reserve was also that of the inhabitants of the village and the Dzhanggo Community. In March 1996, the community held a meeting, during the course of which they discussed the possibility of establishing a reserve by the Chuken River to protect animals and salmon spawning grounds from annihilation, and the forest from felling. The community advanced a proposi-

tion that the Udeghe should be permitted to pursue their traditional occupations and develop ecological tourism within the territory of the reserve. In June 1998, a tourist centre with an inn, a huntsman's hut, a bathhouse, and auxiliary facilities were organized in the reserve.

In November 1994, at the meeting of the Dzango Community, basic properties of the GPKh 'Lazovsky' were assigned for the benefit of the community. These included a diesel power station, five motor cars, three tractors, an office building and sporting guns. The latter caused heated disputes.

9. Socio-economic situation of the Udeghe in the village of Gvasyugi since 1992

In 1991, the Far Eastern State Project Institute of Land Tenure Regulations (DALGIPROZEM) took a measurement of grounds and borders of the village of Gvasyugi and assigned 287 hectares of land, including 62 hectares of agricultural land for market-gardening, haymaking, and grazing, 8 hectares of ploughed fields, and 284 hectares of woodland, to the village Soviet. In 1991, there were 6 cows, 29 pigs, 7 she-goats, and 73 hens in the village. According to the prospective plan for the development of the village, Gvasyugi's population was planned to increase by 10 per cent by 2005, making up 316 persons (Materials on the Allotment of Lands, 1991, p. 1-6, 13, 14, 17). Today, it is evident that this reckoning has failed to materialize and that the number of Udeghe people has been declining.

In 1992, the administration of the village addressed the administration of the district in a proposition backed up by a feasibility study that the Udeghe should be allotted a TTP (territory of traditional wildlife management) in the basins of the Khor, Sukpay and Kafen Rivers. The hunters of the village were allotted 640,000 hectares of hunting grounds. According to the estimations made by the specialists of the GPKh 'Lazovsky' in 1990 on the territory of the TTP, there were 2,880 sables, 480 minks, 4,300 squirrels, 484 Siberian polecats, 170 otters, 75 red deer, 1,450 elks, 320 roe-deer, 310 wild boars and 2,700 musk deer. Hunting activities, however, require 830,000 hectares of hunting grounds. It has therefore been proposed that 367,000 hectares of additional forest, which spreads throughout the territory of the Chuken, Buli, Kilami and Midza Rivers, should be acknowledged as a TTP in which felling is forbidden. As to the rest of the territory, felling should be carried out only with the consent of the district and village administrations. Since the 1950s, several timber enterprises have been carrying out timber cutting operations within the territory inhabited by the Khor Udeghe. These are the Joint Stock Companies Sidiminskoe, Sukpaysky Lesnoy Dom, Partnerships Ltd. Kalitva, Dersu, Sokolov, Ethnic Foraging Communities Dzhanggo and Buli. The volume of cut timber amounts to 300,000 cubic meters per year. The stock of commercial wood makes up about 4 million cubic meters (spruce, fir, ash, birch, elm and oak) (Development Programme, 1994,

p. 2-3).

To revive their traditional livelihoods, the Udeghe planned to establish a natural ethnic enterprise dealing with the gathering and processing of wild plants, the making various articles out of fur and wood, and the development of tourism. In addition, they plan to buy 20 cows, 100 pigs, and 1000 items of fowl, to plough up 20 hectares of arable land to grow potatoes, vegetables and fodder grain, and to start an apiary containing 100 beehives. At the same time, the Udeghe intend to increase timber production to 800 cubic meters a year and to start processing wood to meet the needs of the village for constructing and repairing materials, up to an amount of about 5 cubic meters a year (Feasibility Study, 1994, p. 1-9). Moreover, the Udeghe plan to build a garage, a cowshed and a pigsty, ten two flat houses, and a tourist centre for 20 persons (Development Program, 1994, p. 1-9). No plans have yet been realized, the main reason being the lack of funds.

In July 1992, V. I. Ishayev, Head of Khabarovsk Province Administration, signed a decree, according to which the Udeghe of the Lazo District TTP were allotted a territory of 850,441 hectares, including 429,723 hectares of the Verkhne-Sukpaiskoye Forest, 367,218 hectares of Gornoye Forest, and 52,500 hectares of Kafenskoye Forest belonging to the Sukpaisky Forestry Enterprise (The Decree of the Head of the Khabarovsk Province, 1992). However, the Governor did permit felling in certain sections of the Sukpaisky and Gornoye Forests.

In October 1993, the Dzhango Village Council of People's Deputies was abolished and its functions passed on the Village Administration (Materials on the Abolishment, 1993, p. 1). In April 2000, a charter of the village of Gvasyugi as a municipal formation was formulated. At this time it was registered by resolution No. 852 of the Khabarovsk Province Legislative Duma. In April 2001, the charter was discussed and adopted at the general meeting of the residents of the village. In accordance with the charter, the Administration was to take control of the land, forest and water resources; in addition, the Administration assumed the right to grant lands on lease and collect payments for their exploitation (The Charter of the Municipal Formation, 2000, p. 1-3, 13, 19).

10. The role of social organizations in the life of today's Khor Udeghe.

Since 1999, the Association of the Indigenous Peoples of the North of the Khabarovsk Province has been playing a central role in the life of the Gvasyugi Udeghe. The Chairperson of the Association is G. D. Alotova, a Udeghe woman. The Udeghe are guided by the charter of the Association, as adopted on 11 September 1992. The purpose of the Association is to protect the rights of indigenous people and solve their socio-economic and cultural problems, as well as to revive their traditional livelihoods and occupations. According to the charter, the Udeghe association may possess land and undertake business operations.

However, the majority of the Udeghe have never seen

the charter of the Association. Perhaps this is the fault of the leaders of the Association, who do not inform people of their work. The Association is occupied mainly with fishing operations or with the buying of fish, which is then sold onto the Udeghe for 15 rubles per kilogram. When the Association sells fish, the Russian inhabitants of the village are always angry. Aged Russian women are offended that they, though they were born and grew up in the village, have no right to buy the fish allotted to the Udeghe. Mrs. V. T. Kyalundzyuga does her best to defend the chairperson of the Association, Mrs. G. D. Alotova, her daughter. In her opinion, the Association does much to make the federal laws work in favour of the Udeghe (Kyalundzyuga V. T., 2002, Gvasyugi).

11. The role of ethnic communities in the life of today's Gvasyugi Udeghe.

In the life of the modern Udeghe in the village of Gvasyugi, two ethnic communities, the 'Ude' and the 'Buli', play a considerable role. The Buli Community deals with timber cutting, hunting and fishing. The Ude Community specializes in gathering roots and wild plants, applied art, hunting and fishing. Every year the Communities conclude an agreement with the administration, which addresses issues relating to the maintenance of the social sphere of the village and providing people with firewood and diesel fuel (Historical Comment on the village of Gvasyugi, p. 1-2).

Previously, there were other Communities as well: 'Dersu' and 'Dzhango'. According to the charters of the communities, both representatives of the indigenous peoples and those of colonizers could become members, as long as they pursued traditional occupations and cared for the nature and culture of the indigenous peoples. The Dzhango Community was registered on 7 September 1992. The leading activities of the community were hunting, fishing, timber cutting and processing, gathering and processing of wild plants and endocrine raw stuffs, construction of dwellings, trading and procuring activities, external trading, and other activities that are not forbidden by Russian legislation (Charter of the Dzhango Community, 1999, p. 1, 2, 5, 6). The Community was allotted 800,000 hectares of TTP.

In January 1996, at a meeting of the Dzhango Community, it turned out that its debt to various bodies stood at 47 million rubles. They managed to pay off their debts through selling commercial wood derived from Community-owned forests. The Community bought vegetables for its workers and rendered sponsored assistance to the kindergarten and school, and, as an act of charity, bought fuel for the diesel generator in the village. The Community sold firewood to the inhabitants of the village for 39,000 rubles per cubic meter.

In March 1999, at a periodical meeting of the Dzhango Community, it turned out that their debts had increased to a total of 580 million rubles. Despite the debt, the community went on rendering assistance to the inhabitants of the village, though the Head of the Administration, Mr. V. N. Derbentsev, came in for heavy criticism. In 2000, the Dzhango Community was addressed with heavy criticism

from both the Administration and the residents of the village. The members of the community felled wood and sold it without documentation or the appropriate financial reports. In the opinion of some Udeghe, the receipts were appropriated. Several items of the community's timber harvesting equipment fell into disuse, while other machinery was taken as payment for debts. In the end, a decision was made to dissolve the Dzhango Community as having no prospects, and to establish in its place a new community, the 'Ude'. In the same year, the Dersu Community was also dissolved and a decision was taken to hand over its TTP and hunting grounds to the Ude Community. The head of the new community, Mrs. V. T. Kyalundzyuga, announced that the focus of the community's economic activity would be gathering of wild plants and pursuing other traditional occupations typical of the Udeghe.

Later, however, production of commercial wood again became one of the main articles in the charter of the community. The charter was formulated in accordance with the demands of the federal law "Of General Principles of the Organization of Communities of the Indigenous Peoples of the North, Siberia, and the Far East of the Russian Federation" adopted on 20 July 2001 (N 104-Ф3). Despite the fact that the charter termed the community a non-commercial organization, the latter was granted a right to cut timber and manufacture it, re-sell oil products and electric power to tourist installations, and pursue various ethnic occupations. Moreover, the charter stated that the community had a right to buy and sell forest grounds. The revised variant of the charter stipulates that foreigners cannot be members of the community, but that they may sponsor it (The Charter of the Ude Community, 2000, p. 2-5, 9).

In 1998, 28 promoters organized themselves to constitute a new community, the 'Buli', which sheltered some Udeghe from the dissolved Dzhango. The charter of the Buli Community was formulated based on the articles of the Khabarovsk Province Law "Of Communities of the Indigenous Peoples of the North" adopted on 29 May 1996 (N 46). The office of the Buli Community and all its financial and founding documents are in Khabarovsk. Its principal activity is timber production and the sale of commercial wood (Charter of the Buli Community, 1998, p.1, 2, 6, 9, 10). The Head of the Community is Mr. G. F. Ukomenko. The Community presently numbers 30 persons (one Nanai, 11 Udeghe from the village of Gvasyugi and the rest being residents of the village of Gorny). Two Udeghe from the village of Gvasyugi work in the Community's felling operation (one is a feller, whereas another is a tractor operator).

The community has concluded an agreement with the Provincial Forest Department which is valid for 25 years. According to the Agreement, the community possesses an operating area which includes almost the entire Kafen, Kilomi, Buli and Tulomi River basins. Every year, the community purchases a timber cutting patent for 15,000 rubles, which enables it to work throughout an area of 20,000 - 25,000 hectares. The work of a felling team lasts 20 days; labourers do not receive extra pay for food. There are six tractors and a staff of huntsmen. The other

Udeghe members of the community are engaged in hunting within the 25,000 - 30,000 hectare territory. The Chinese buy fur-fell, meat and musk of a musk-deer from the hunters. The Udeghe engaged in felling operations earn 4,000-5,000 rubles a month. The community sells wood to the purchaser offering the highest sum.

The Buli Community cannot compete with the Malaysian timber company, because the Malaysians have obtained a legal lease for 50 years and act directly through the provincial authorities. The district authorities, in Mr. G. F. Ukomenko's words, have made the community conclude an agreement that obliges its members to supply firewood to meet the needs of the inhabitants of Gvasyugi (600 cubic meters of wood a year), and nobody pays for the delivery of the wood. Therefore, the indebtedness of the Village Administration to the community already totals 450,000 rubles. The Ude Community delivers firewood to the pensioners, the kindergarten and the hospital in the village. An examination of the agreements concluded by the administration of Gvasyugi in 1990-2000 with various organizations who were contracted to deliver firewood to the inhabitants of the village (including a State timber industry enterprise and Joint Stock Companies Lesnoy dom, Amadeo, Musson and others), demonstrates that a number of timber companies have made good use of the status of the Udeghe as an indigenous people and fell not only to supply firewood, but for commercial gain as well.

Various activities run by the Administration are also connected with the forest. For example, they organize annual summer camps for children of pre-school and school age. And in addition to sports activities, they organize walking tours to the forest to gather medicinal herbs, ramson and berries and planting vegetables.

At the end of the 1990s, the Administration of the village of Gvasyugi carried out a medico-sociological examination of the indigenous population. It turned out that the physical shape of local people was mediocre, that their health was poor, and that the number of alcoholics and drug addicts was high. The shortage of necessary medicines, the absence of telephones and a regular bus system has made it virtually impossible to render emergency medical aid. The tuberculosis infection rate has increased sharply and the majority of children suffer from dental diseases. In connection with this, the administration takes measures to propagate traditional treatment methods using medicinal herbs that are gathered seasonally in the taiga.

In recent years, the activity of various American companies, foundations, banks and organizations in the area has increased. Some of them – for example, the GFMG, a union of sawmills – support and even subsidize felling in the Russian Far East, including the territories where the Udeghe live. The Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) provides investment grants and supports the intention of the GFMG to fell 300,000 hectares of mountainous virgin spruce and fir forests in Khabarovsk Province. Not so long ago, the US Trade and Development Agency allotted 500,000 USD to the timber industry Mafia of the Russian Far East. The latter was set a task to build a

road across the upper reaches of the Khor and the forests growing in the Samarga basin to a port on the coast.

Other organizations (such as WWF and USAID, for example) pursue nature protection activities and spread printed versions of their projects among the Udeghe of the village of Gvasyugi. The USAID supports several initiatives aimed at the maintenance of the biological diversity of Siberia and the Far East, as well as that of the Sikhote-Alin. At a meeting held in August 1995, the inhabitants of Gvasyugi discussed the realization of a project proposed by the EPT/USAID. Under the project, specialists from the Hunting Practice Institute informed the Udeghe about commercial hunting possibilities within the TTP, the prospects of gathering wild plants and the mushroom processing technology. They stressed the necessity for the Udeghe's participation in the project, securing them financial aid through one of the project's components entitled "Development of Local Communities".

In June 2001, at a general meeting of the inhabitants of Gvasyugi, the results of the Administration's work over a period of a few years were pulled together and analysed, and the conclusion that 99 per cent of the families of the village live below the subsistence wage was drawn. That is why the survival of the people in the future seems to depend only on the exploitation of forest resources. The money gained from firewood, construction materials and commercial wood could be used to improve the infrastructure of the village. Sponsors appear only very rarely. For example, in 2001, the German Catholic Church allotted 600 marks to the administration of the village to promote the development of traditional Udeghe occupations including the production of applied art articles and medicines.

In the opinion of some Udeghe, when the Communities appeared, some people began to take on new jobs and so, by and by, earn money. The Udeghe finally realized that they should work and maintain themselves and their families. The Buli Community is getting on better than the others because its members are busy with timber production. At the same time, the Ude Community suffers constant shortages of money, sporting-guns, petrol, motor transport and snowmobiles (Kyalundzyuga A. A., 2002, Gvasyugi).

12. The present-day infrastructure of the village of Gvasyugi

From the 1930s until the 1990s, the Udeghe could get to the village of Gvasyugi by railway or by bus. Now there is no public transport. One can get to the village from Khabarovsk or the district centre only by hired transport or by hitch-hiking. The surface of the road leading to Gvasyugi has been badly damaged by timber lorries.

Bakery and shop

Bread and farinaceous foods became part of the Udeghe's diet long ago. In the village of Gvasyugi, there is a bakery which produces about 50 loaves a day, each of about 1.5 kg (photo 5). The bakers start preparing for the next batch soon after the previous lot has been sold. The shop has two sections: food commodities and industrial ones (photo 6).

There is no refrigerator in the shop, so only the most necessary commodities are in stock: flour, salt, sugar, sweets, cookies, crackers, alcoholic drinks, stationery, and household chemicals. The monthly receipts of the shop total only 10,000 rubles. The administration of the village makes lists of goods people wish to buy for a certain sum, which is paid later (for example once pensions, wages, etc. have been received). Sometimes, individual dealers come to the village and bring Chinese clothes and footwear for sale.



Kindergarten

The head of the kindergarten says that previously there were more than 60 children divided into several age groups. Now, only 15 children remain. All of them are children of mixed marriages. They are fed at their parents' expense, the food being bought in the shop. They are not taught the Udeghe language. At kindergarten performances, children recite verses of European folk lore (photo 7).



School

In 1941, a boarding school was opened in the village of Gvasyugi. It was closed after World War II and then opened anew. It functioned until the 1980s, at which point a new school was built. At present, there is an eleven-year secondary school in the village (photos 8-10). Five of the teachers are Udeghe, and two are Nanai. The Udeghe language has been taught in the first four classes since 1992. The teacher is Mrs. A. A. Kyalundzyuga who has set up the language programme by herself, the Nanai language classes being an example. Mrs. V. T. Kyalundzyuga has written an Udeghe primer for the first and the second classes. The Nanai children also learn the Udeghe language. However, neither Udeghe nor Nanai are spoken nowadays within families and households.



8



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School ethnographical museum

The museum is housed in a room of the school and maintains several non-inventoried collections. The exhibits represent samples of ornamental art. The museum also keeps written recollections of old inhabitants. The director of the school, Mrs. Spasskya, is also director of the museum on a voluntary basis.

Ethno-cultural Centre

The idea of developing an Ethno-Cultural Centre was formulated as early as 1991. However, it was only in April 2001 that a land lot and the old kindergarten building were granted to establish the Ethno-Cultural Centre 'Ude' and an open-air Ethnographic Museum (photos 11-14). Mrs. V. T. Kyalundzyuga was appointed director of the Centre. The open-air museum consists of a traditional Udeghe dwelling made of Siberian pine bark, a barn on piles, and a little prayer hut. A bear skull is fastened to a tree near it. The planned staff of the Centre is to number 16 persons. Mrs. V. T. Kyalundzyuga has devised a three-day tour of the site and other local places of interest. On the first day, tourists are taken, via the village of Kutuzovka, to the animal rehabilitation centre where they can see bears and tigers. On the second day, they arrive at Gvasyugi, stay at the inn of the Ethno-Cultural Centre, visit the museum, buy some souvenirs and watch a performance of the folk lore company. On the third day, the tourists are taken to the Chuchken River where they can admire the natural scenery and ancient petroglyphs and fish in the upper reaches of the Sukpay River.



11



12



Mr. V. K. Belyaev, head of the Village Administration in Gvasyugi since 2002, is an Udegehe only by his father, though he considers himself to be an Udegehe by his ethnic self-consciousness. Mr. Belyaev has determined three main directions of his activity: to provide the population with firewood, procure fuel for the diesel generator, and maintain telephone communication with the administrative centre of the district, so as to be able to call out for help in cases of emergency (fire, flood, medical problems, etc.). He realizes that, nowadays, people must earn money themselves by, among other things, rendering tourist services. To begin with, an inn should be built, outboard engines and snowmobiles purchased, the delivery of tourists from the district centre to the village organized, and guides trained. However, very few Udegehe base their hopes for a future revival of the village upon the Ethno-Cultural Centre, even though it is anticipated that the Centre will generate employment. The enterprise requires a great deal of money to start, but neither the authorities of the village nor those of the Centre know where the money will come from.

Employment Centre

Despite there being a considerable number of jobless people in the village of Gvasyugi, people avoid being registered as unemployed in the district branch of the Centre. Young Udegehe girls work willingly as cooks in the Malaysian timber company. There, they work in

shifts (two weeks of work followed by two weeks' break) and have fixed wages (up to 5,000 rubles). Periodically, specialists of the Khabarovsk Employment Centre come to the village. They hold interviews with locals and assess their skills and potential on the spot. Individuals are given a certificate confirming the bearer's qualifications and abilities, for example as skilled artists, craftspersons and the like (needle worker, carver etc.).

The Village Library and Palace of Culture

Mrs. O. V. Alotova, the director of the Palace of Culture, is, at the same time, the director of the Folk Dance and Song Company SU GAKPAY (literally, "A Ray of Sun") (photos 15, 16). The company started in the 1960s, and it performs on various occasions showing Udegehe dances and singing Russian songs to the accompaniment of Udegehe musical instruments. More often than not, the members of the company perform in European dress. There are Udegehe costumes as well, all of which belong to Mrs. V. T. Kyalundzyuga, who looks after them. They perform in the Udegehe costumes mainly before foreigners. The role of shaman is often played by A. A. Kyalundzyuga dressed in the costume of shaman.

During their fetes, the inhabitants of the village take part in Udegehe sports and games, including, for example, *Demo Sindi* (Catch the lenok!), tug-of-war, and others. An analysis of the activities practiced in the village kindergarten suggests that only one per cent of children's games are connected with the myths and characters of Udegehe folklore. Predominant amongst playground games as well as in school theatrical performances are characters of European origin, for example Baron Munchhausen, Neptune, Doctor Dolittle, and others. The list of organized events of the Palace of Culture includes New Year balls, Farewell to Winter festivities, contests, relay races, etc. In 1997, a festival titled "Meeting Kinsfolk", which gathered representatives of indigenous people of the North of the Maritime Province and those of the Khabarovsk Province, was organized (Historical Comment of the village of Gvasyugi, p. 4).

The stock of books of the library is old and has not been replenished over the last few years.





Cemetery

The Gvasyugi cemetery lies within the boundaries of village. There are only 56 graves in it. Of these, only seven are graves of indigenous people. The Udege graves are placed along an East-West axis, with a gravestone made of wood or metal set at the feet on the Eastern side. Only a few of the Udege graves have a fence around them. At the head of some graves, a tree has been planted (an alder or a nut-tree).

13. The Gvasyugi Udege's opinion of the activity of the timber companies and their own future life

The oldest Udege resident of the village, Mrs. A. K. Kyalundzyuga, is of the opinion that earlier, the life of her people was better, because they did not depend on money and everything they needed they took from the taiga or bartered from the Chinese (photo 17). She says as follows (Kyalundzyuga A.E., 2002, Gvasyugi):

Earlier, the Udege were more numerous, because they ate much red fish and meat of wild animals. Now the Udege are dying out. There are no pure-blooded Udege any more, because all have mixed with the Russians. It may be bad or it may be good. Our grandchildren are Russian, both by appearance and by spirit. This is the main danger, and not the fact that they felled the forest. They will go on felling as they do and did, and even if they fell it out totally, life will go on, because a new forest will grow and it will be a forest, although another one.



Mrs. I. V. Kimonko, an Ulchi woman, came to the village in 1990s, married an Udege and bore two children who were registered as Udege (photo 18). At present, she works for the Administration. Being observant by nature, she has noted many interesting aspects of today's life of the Udege and their economic activities. In her opinion, nowadays, only several Udege live taking all they need from the taiga and thus justifying their ethnic name *Udege* ("forest people"). However, alcoholism is a veritable plague for the Udege. The young almost invariably drink and smoke hemp. At the same time, both calendar and ethnic holidays are merrily celebrated in the village. Before 1997, Hunter's Day and Meeting the Kinsfolk Day were celebrated annually. The Udege visit each other when seeing the New Year in and the Old Year off, and on the 8th of March (Women's Day), when marrying or baptizing somebody. The present-day Udege marriage is virtually the same as the Slav one (Mendelssohn's march, ransoming the bride, Russian drinking songs, etc.) (I. V. Kimonko, 2002, Gvasyugi).

Mrs. L. A. Kyalundzyuga recalls that, in the 1950s, there were no acts of stealing in the village, and that the Udege surprised her with their generosity and kindness. Many Udege women owned cows. Today, only two Udege women and one Nanai woman keep cows. After Perestroika, a Christian preacher came to the village to institute the message of Jesus Christ's Church. After her, the church was headed by L. A. Kyalundzyuga. One of the first people who came to the church was a Udege woman, Mrs. A. A. Kyalundzyuga, who began to propagandize actively the ideas of the church among the Udege (L. A. Kyalundzyuga, 2002, Gvasyugi).

Mrs. A. A. Kyalundzyuga related how, because of her hard life, shortage of money and personal misfortunes,

she had gradually turned to the Christian faith. Now she attends church services every Sunday. On Sundays, the believers gather in their meeting house where they say their prayers and pray to God for good fortune. In her prayers, Mrs. A. A. Kyalundzyuga asks God to offer help to the communities of Gvasyugi and so that part of the money gained from the sale of wood should pass to the Udeghe. In general, more than ten Udeghe (mainly women and several schoolboys) attend the church. (A. A. Kyalundzyuga, 2002, Gvasyugi).

A former hunt expert and head of the administration in 1991-1993 and 1997-2001, Mr. V. N. Derbentsev, considers that the Udeghe themselves are to blame for many of their misfortunes today. They permit the forest to be felled on their territory, the two Udeghe communities are constantly quarrelling with each other, and the leaders of the Association avoid resolving their problems (V. N. Derbentsev, 2002, Gvasyugi).

In the opinion of Mrs. V. N. Spasskaya, director of the school, the Udeghe are lazy and that they have always needed a proactive element to take lead and suggest what should be done. Recently, extremist undertones have appeared in the speeches of some Udeghe. Statements to the effect that "this is the Udeghe land", and "that the Udeghe were born here, whereas the Russians migrated in and colonized" are becoming increasingly prevalent. Some Udeghe wait for the Chinese to come, hoping that the latter, as their blood relatives, will help them to improve their livelihoods. At the same time, inter-ethnic marriages with the Russians are quite common (Spasskaya V. N., 2002, Gvasyugi).

Throughout his life, the Nanai F. D. Ukomenko was busy cutting timber and floating it down river (photo 19). He earned a lot of money and could buy an outboard engine every month. In the beginning of the 1990s, he came to the village of Gvasyugi and noted the Udeghe for their red hair because of their having been assimilated by the Slavs. Earlier, the Udeghe sent their children to the boarding school which offered complete material State maintenance, whereas they themselves went out hunting to the taiga. Gradually, children got used to receiving their needs gratuitously. Later, the Soviet economy broke down and people started stealing in order to survive. Today, there are many officials in the village who do nothing. Though the taiga is near, the people get firewood today only with great difficulty so as not to freeze to death in winter. In the upper reaches of the river, they mine for gold and pan it out using chemical additives, which they pour off into the water. Therefore, the fish die. The Udeghe have a bad life today, because they have not got into the habit of working and do not wish to work. Though there is still a lot of forest around, one must have sufficient wit when cutting it or otherwise working there to treat it with care so as not to turn the area into a desert. The Malaysians have bought a section of our taiga by the Sukpay River for 50 years. They cut everything and have built a road to the seacoast to deliver timber to ships. When the term of the lease expires, they will go away and there will remain only naked hills. Why do the Russians allow it?



There are no Russian songs on TV any more, they are forbidden. In order to overcome today's difficult situation, one should restore the Soviet power. Under the Communist rule, as well as under Stalin, there was order. It is not understood that, once the forest is felled out, there will be no hunting and fishing any more. It's time to grow corn, vegetables and potatoes and rear domestic animals such as pigs and cows. Only then will we have enough meat, bread, milk, and eggs to survive (F. D. Ukomenko, 2002, Gvasyugi).

Mr. G. F. Ukomenko, head of the Buli Community, wants to unite all the communities of the village of Gvasyugi, so that part of the Udeghe could hunt, whereas the others could fell and sell timber. Nowadays, hunting is insufficient to live on. There are many that are eager to hunt, and that is why hunting grounds have become so small. Now the Udeghe of the Ude Community have no rifles, outboard engines and snowmobiles. Even if a hunter catches an animal, he will not be able to bring the meat out of the taiga. In G. F. Ukomenko's opinion, today one should work with the support of some real and respectable organization, since the Association, which is a public organization, can't afford to offer financial and

legal support. Now it is vital that one should undertake business seriously and become a business specialist, get to know the market well and be able to work and to trade.

There are many old problems and nobody solves them. For example, there has and always will be a diesel generator in the village, because no one will never install an electric power line gratuitously. On several occasions the village Soviet and the Administration have addressed the higher organs of power to ask them to connect the village to a power plant. The absence of electric power determines the absence of power saw-benches, communication lines and a good hospital service (photo 20-22). The community tried to fish for red fish and smelt in the Amur. However, when they summed up the cost of fishing (road, petroleum, freezing, accommodation for two teams of fishers), the fish turned out to be golden rather than red. Today's Udeghe are very different from those of the olden days. Whereas before they used traditional foods, clothes and hunting equipment, and they paid homage to forest spirits, nowadays there is nothing of the kind. Old women only say that they can make traditional clothes and footwear. In reality, they do nothing because they have no materials. Once the times have changed, one should live in a modern style. The Buli Community has work, but they suffer from a shortage of manpower. As to the Ude Community, it has manpower, but insufficient work. I offer them a job: let them fell wood and I'll pay them 2,500 rubles a week. However, the Udeghe don't accept the offer. They prefer to go hungry because of their laziness (G. F. Ukommenko, 2002, Gvasyugi).



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So, one can draw several conclusions concerning the influence of forest problems upon the life of the Khor Udeghe. A certain part of them (mainly the old Udeghe and almost the entire younger generation) do not worry about their future. They seek oblivion in drugs and alcoholic drinks. A minority puts up with the fact that numerous timber companies carry on felling and there is no way to struggle against them, because the management of the companies has enlisted support of criminal circles and that of State bodies at various levels: from the district level to the national one. That is why some Udeghe appeal to God and join Jesus Christ's Church.

Some Udeghe and Nanai of the village of Gvasyugi have finally realized that the Communist epoch has passed forever and that the State will no longer take care of indigenous people as it did before. It is now up to them to earn money by themselves by, among other things, forest felling. However, the mentality of the modern Udeghe has been strongly influenced by a typical Russian dream: to grow rich immediately, to get a great deal of money at once. The documents of the Administration and the charters of the Communities demonstrate that timber cutting is an essential aspect of their economic activity. Unfortunately, nobody takes care of forest management and replanting after felling. Many failures experienced by the Udeghe in their economic activities have been conditioned by another problem characteristic of today's Russian business: nobody is protected from being deceived, and thus the terms and conditions of agreements are often infringed.

For the most narrow stratum of the Udeghe population (mainly pensioners), it is not felling that is the main danger, but the eventual disappearance of the Udeghe caused by ethno-cultural processes, assimilation, inter-ethnic marriages, and the powerful influence of Slav culture. With great difficulty, some representatives of the Udeghe intelligentsia (V. T. Kyalundzyuga, A. A. Kyalundzyuga, O. V. Alotova) manage to preserve some grains of the Udeghe traditional culture in dances performed by the Folk Dance Company, in the establishment of the Ethno-cultural Centre and Museum, as well as in their attempts to organize ethno-ecological tours

and revive the Udeghe language. However, all these initiatives have no permanent financial support. Besides, the processes of the revival of traditional culture and its preservation are being constantly hindered by the mutual animosity of the leaders of the two ethnic communities, the misunderstanding of the Udeghe's problems on the part of the district administration and that of the region, amongst other problems. The majority of the Udeghe regard the forest problem only as a problem of supply of firewood for heating, and building materials for construction and repairing houses. Parents try to send their children to study in the city and they do not wish them to come back to the village. That is why the number of the indigenous population of the village of Gvasyugi is constantly declining. At present, one may note a considerable social apathy among indigenous people. They have got tired of unemployment, a hard life, lack of money, and they do not believe that anything may change for the better. It should also be taken into consideration that the Udeghe idealize, to a certain degree, their traditional life, as well as their life under the Communist regime, when they also had problems, including those connected with the forest.

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