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FRACTURED NORTH: THOSE WHO HOLD THE LINE

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Introduction: Who is this chapter about?

Milestones of Chukotka's 30-year recent history of non-governmental Indigenous organizations of coastal communities are collected in this study. The Naukan Cooperative, the Yupik Eskimo Society, the Union of Marine Mammal Hunters (UMMH), and the Chukotka Association of Traditional Marine Mammal Hunting (ChAZTO – *Chukotskaia Assotsiatsiia zveroboev traditsionnoi okhoty*) have been the leading organizations in preserving the coastal communities of Chukotka's traditional way of life. To ensure the preservation of the identity of Indigenous cultures, these organizations prioritized research into the traditional subsistence of the Coastal Chukchi and Siberian Yupik and the wildlife of the Bering Strait region. They collaborated with Russian, international, and foreign governmental and non-governmental research and environmental agencies. Over 30 years, many people and organizations were involved in their founding, operation, as well as destruction and defense.

Their activities were in high demand by Indigenous communities; otherwise it would be hard to imagine why these organizations managed to remained active for so long against the backdrop of constant pressure from the authorities. The authorities consistently sought to seize control over their matters, even used tricks to replace or appropriate their names, with the substitution of the names of organizations. Because of this, confusion and misunderstanding arose among researchers interested in the Indigenous movement in Chukotka. Thanks to interviews and conversations with dozens of participants in the events, a review of correspondence and minutes of NGO meetings, newspaper articles and court verdicts, I was able to build a sequence and a brief description of the events. A detailed overview of all of the listed organizations and of the events and individuals, who led them for over 30 years, is beyond the scope of this study.

The dawn: 1990s

At the end of the 1980s, while the USSR was cracking under the pressure of its citizen wanting to break out of the artificially limited social space, Chukotka was no exception. Chukotkans, including those in power, wanted to know more about their neighbors across the Bering Strait, and Alaskans seemed to have the same intentions. Both

sides viewed the building of contacts as a breakthrough opportunity for business development and life improvement. The most significant events in establishing communications were the Friendship Flight from Nome, Alaska to Provideniya, Chukotka in May 1988,¹ and the subsequent "Alaska-Chukotka Summit" in Nome in 2001.² These events ushered in significant back-and-forth traffic between Alaska and Chukotka, such as relatives' reunification, scientific and cultural cooperation,³ business operations, both wholesale trade and small business,⁴ and religious activities (Oparin 2012).

In this newly forged cooperation, a special place belonged to Indigenous communities and the nascent Indigenous organizations of the region. The leading position was initially taken by the Naukan Production Cooperative (hereafter Naukan Cooperative) and the Yupik Eskimo Society of Chukotka, which started long-term collaborations with their Alaskan counterparts. Reunification of relatives and preservation of the traditional way of life were the main inspirations for this movement.

The Naukan Production Cooperative

The Naukan Cooperative started its activities in 1987 (Klokov 2002). The residents of the closed villages of Naukan, Nunyamo, and Pinakul, who had been resettled in Lavrentia between 1958 and 1976, had by that time suffered for more than ten years without their favorite sea hunting and traditional food. As soon as the authoritarian system of the USSR provided its citizens with at least a modicum of economic freedom (Griffin and Soderquist 1991) and followed by democratic changes in Indigenous politics (Gray 2005), the Siberian Yupik and Chukchi villagers of Lavrentia established the Naukan Cooperative. People like Nikolai Ettytegin, formerly from Nunyamo, Viktor Raikhlin from Enurmino, and Mikhail Zelensky, originally from Kychaun, had dreamed of hunting walruses again for a long time. They became the initial backbone of the Naukan Cooperative, and after its closure of the Lavrentia sea hunting *obshchina* (community).

Mikhail Zelensky was the founding force behind the Naukan cooperative. He was born in a small reindeer herding camp, spoke the Chukchi language fluently, and was one of the notable activists for preserving the Chukchi identity. In addition to hunting for marine mammals, the Naukan Cooperative worked hard to ensure the traditional way of life. The most outstanding and innovative activity of the Naukan

https://www.nps.gov/subjects/beringia/tales-of-the-friendship-flight-era.htm. [accessed 9.12. 2023]

² https://lenta.ru/news/2001/06/19/aboriginals/. [accessed 9.12.2023]

³ https://home.nps.gov/subjects/beringia/projects.htm. [accessed 9.12.2023]

⁴ https://www.beringair.com/russian-travel/. [accessed 9.12.2023]

⁵ https://anadyr.org/pub/ushel-iz-zhizni-pochetnaya-grazhdanin-chukotki-mihail-zelenski. [accessed 9.12.2023]

Cooperative was its participation in research projects. Monitoring of marine mammal migrations, initiated by Dr. Tom Albert from the Department of Wildlife Management of the Alaskan North Slope Borough, and by Mikhail Zelensky from the Naukan Cooperative, through the mediation of his son, Gennady Zelensky, involved dozens of Chukotkan sea hunters in the research (Melnikov et al. 2004). These studies were the first to delineate the actual migration patterns of bowhead whales and their summer distribution areas in the Chukchi and Bering Seas.

The next significant achievement of the Naukan Cooperative was the delivery of darting guns, whaling weapons donated by the Alaskan Eskimo Whaling Commission to the coastal communities of Chukotka. Darting guns greatly improved the efficiency and safety of Indigenous whaling and were therefore recommended by the International Whaling Commission as the prime tool for aboriginal whaling. In 2006, the Naukan cooperative was liquidated by the verdict of an Arbitration Court,⁶ with the debt caused by errors in processing humanitarian aid used as the formal reason for the closure. Due to the complexity of customs protocols, "humanitarian aid", that was not subject to customs duties became "technical aid" that was subjected to taxes. The burden of customs duties turned out to be unbearable for the cooperative and it was forced to file for bankruptcy.

Former members of the Naukan Cooperative first continued hunting individually, and then registered several hunting *obshchinas* in accordance with the Russian legislation (Zdor 2021a:77). Mikhail Zelensky, the cooperative's first leader, was elected the mayor of the Chukotsky District and served for more than ten years.⁷

The Yupik Society

While the Naukan Cooperative was collaborating with the hunting communities of the Chukotskiy Municipal District, another non-governmental Indigenous organization appeared within the boundaries of the Providenskiy Municipal District. The Yupik Eskimo Society of Chukotka (hereafter the Yupik Society) was founded by Siberian Yupik communities in 1990. The organization had set as its main goals the preservation of Yupik identity through the cultivation of the Indigenous language and traditional way of life. Much of the Yupik Society's work has been also devoted to supporting research on marine mammals and their habitats. Ludmila Ainana (1934–2021) (Oparin 2012; Krupnik and Oparin 2022) was the inspiration and driver of the Society throughout its history until the authorities finally demolished civil society in Chu-

⁶ https://www.list-org.com/company/11467048. [accessed 9.12.2023]

⁷ Anadyr.org

⁸ https://www.google.com/url?q=https://ansipra.npolar.no/russian/Items/Yupik_SocietyR.ht-ml&sa=D&source=docs&ust=1698431308831972&usg=AOvVaw1mxXE32ROIbtURPwol7fli. [accessed 9.12.2023]

kotka. Ainana was called the Iron Lady for her tenacity in preserving the identity of the Siberian Yupik people.

The Yupik Society and the Naukan Cooperative collaborated with the North Slope Borough Wildlife Management Department (North Slope Borough n.d.) to study the migrations of bowhead whales and other marine mammals. The leading role in Alaska was taken by the Wildlife Management Department senior researcher, Tom Albert, who initiated contacts with Ludmila Ainana and Mikhail Zelensky first and then with Dr. Vladimir Melnikov, Russian biologist from the Pacific Oceanography Institute of the Russian Academy of Science in the early 1990s. The newly created research team launched annual monitoring of marine mammal migration, focused on the cetaceans. The project appeared to be quite successful with the annual technical reports published by the North Slope Borough Wildlife Management Department and used for their research of bowhead whales to get a general pattern of the bowhead whales' distribution. Later, the Yupik Society, together with ChAZTO, also collaborated with the Kawerak Inc. (a tribal consortium and non-profit corporation from Nome, Alaska) in monitoring walrus subsistence harvest.

The Union of Marine Mammal Hunters and the Union of Marine Mammal Hunters of Chukotka (1997 and 1998)

The economic crisis in Russia in the early 1990s made traditional subsistence living the predominant source of nutrition in Chukotka to avoid famine in coastal communities. Resuming subsistence whaling had great potential (Etylin 2012). At the same time, the Yupik Society and Naukan Cooperative's collaboration with Alaska Native organizations launched a movement to involve local communities in the co-management of subsistence hunting. Vladimir Etylin, Ludmila Ainana, Piotr Typykhkak, Gennady Inankeuyas and other Chukotka activists attended federal and international meetings aimed at regulating subsistence management (Etylin 2012). They were also involved in the preparation of co-management agreements, such as the US-Russia polar bear agreement (Meek et al. 2008:1085). Taken together, these actions led to the idea of establishing a non-governmental organization of sea hunters.

Preparations for the founding meeting in 1997 were mainly carried out by Etylin, with the support from Zelensky, on behalf of the Naukan Cooperative, and Ainana, for the Yupik Society. They invited the government of Chukotka to take part in the conference to establish UMMH. The authorities' response was evasive. Then the organizers decided to hold the conference anyway. Etylin recalled:

In Provideniya, I met with Batura, the mayor of the Provideniya district. We discussed organizational issues together. Batura agreed to all the events and the agenda for the conference that we proposed but he did not provide any

assistance. Batura even avoided participating in the conference, leaving Yanrakynnot on the eve of the opening. So, we held the founding conference of the Union of Marine Mammal Hunters without a single representative of the authorities. (Etylin 2012)

In August 1997, hunters from several Chukotka communities around the Bering Strait coast gathered in the maritime Chukchi village of Yanrakynnot. The delegates spent the first two days as their ancestors did: they harvested gray whales and walruses together, and in the evenings, they shared life stories. Then there were traditional sports competitions and dances. Finally, on the day of the official meeting the organizers informed hunters about the current situation with the wildlife co-management, innovations in Russian and international legislation, and the co-managing experience of Arctic Indigenous peoples. It was a truly powerful moment when representatives of coastal villages voted to establish the first non-profit organization of marine hunters, UMMH. The conference approved the structure of the organization and its board made up of a president, vice president, executive secretary, and the chairmen of the whaling, polar bear, walrus, and beluga commissions. Piotr Typykhkak was elected as the first UMMH president, Gennady Inankeuyas as his vice-president, and Vladimir Etylin as the executive secretary. Typykhkak, a Siberian Yupik from the community of Sireniki, was an experienced whaler and a respected elder (Bogoslovskaya 2007). The board of the newly created Union turned to Yuri Tottoto, a Chukchi official with the regional government, to assist in registering their organization with the Ministry of Justice. So Tototto did it, and in September 1997 UMMH was registered (Etylin 2012).

The reasons for the inaction by the Chukotka government regarding the conference of marine hunters soon became clear. It seems they were hoping that the conference would not take place and the initiative to establish the union would fail. As the conference did take place and then UMMH was registered, the government bureaucrats decided to eliminate it. They announced a Congress of the sea hunting enterprises of Chukotka, the successors of Soviet-era *sovkhozes*. Such a Congress of sea hunters of Chukotka, in fact, a meeting of directors and employees of the sea hunting units indeed took place in March 1998. It established the Union of Marine Mammal Hunters of Chukotka (hereafter UMMHC) and elected Yuri Tototto as the Chair of the new organization. Tototo submitted documents to the Chukotka Division of the Russian Ministry of Justice, which in May 1998 duly registered UMMHC.

For an unknown bureaucratic reason, the registration of UMMHC in 1998 dissolved the already existing UMMH, founded in 1997. Etylin, the executive secretary of UMMH, submitted an appeal to cancel the delisting of UMMH, but the Chukotka

⁹ https://vostokmedia.com/news/2013-04-18/gubernator-roman-kopin-prisvoil-zhitelyuanadyrya-zvanie-pochetnogo-grazhdanina-chukotskogo-ao-738272. [accessed 9.12.2023]

¹⁰ https://b2b.house/company/SOYUZ-MORSKIX-ZVEROBOEV_d3254052-a76e-43ad-be14-a8f9c5e6a13a/. [accessed 9.12.2023]

Division of the Ministry of Justice notified him that they had not found legal grounds for restoring UMMH's registration of 1997 (Etylin 2012).

In 1999, the Yupik Society was "unilaterally liquidated by the decision of the arbitration court of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug". The closure of UMMH and the Yupik Society were examples of selective political persecution of Indigenous organizations by the authorities. Vladimir Etylin, Ludmila Ainana, and Mikhail Zelensky argued that the personal hostility of the-then governor of Chukotka Alexander Nazarov towards them was the reason for the closure of the two organizations.

Because the closure of the Yupik Society and UMMH was then more of a personal vendetta by the Governor than a concerted government strategy, both organizations continued to be active. In 2000, the Chukotka Division of the Ministry of Justice registered the new Yupik Society, 12 headed by Ludmila Ainana as the successor to the Chukotka Yupik Eskimo Society. Similarly, ChAZTO (from the Russian *Chukotskaia Assotsiatsiia Zveroboev Traditsionnoi Okhoty*, Chukotka Association of Traditional Marine Mammal Hunting), 13 headed by the Chairman Piotr Typykhkak and Executive Secretary Vladimir Etylin, was also registered as the successor to UMMH. The following year, Gennady Inankeuyas was elected the ChAZTO chairman, and Olga Etylina was appointed its executive secretary.

While the UMMH fought legal battles to keep its registration, the organization continued to strengthen the *de facto* rights of the Chukotka Indigenous people to practice their traditional way of life. Piotr Typykhkak, Gennady Inankeuyas, Evgeniy Siv-Siv, Igor Makotrik, and Vladimir Etylin worked hard to ensure that Chukotka's coastal communities had a voice in government and intergovernmental agencies.

The UMMH, and later ChAZTO established an effective and long-term partner-ship with the Alaska Nanuuq Commission (hereafter ANC). The two organizations launched a series of multi-year studies of traditional ecological knowledge about the polar bear and its habitat, as well as its role in the culture of Indigenous peoples (Kochnev 2014). The most impressive result of this collaboration was the inclusion of UMMH and ANC in the 2000 US-Russian agreement for the conservation and management of polar bears as equal parties (Meek et al. 2008). This was probably the very first example of true co-governance between governments and Indigenous peoples at the international level.

During the same years, UMMH and then ChAZTO established a strong partnership with the AEWC. In 1999, UMMH and AEWC signed a co-management plan to ensure Indigenous participation in the co-management of bowhead whales. A remarkable example of effective cooperation between Indigenous organizations and

https://www.google.com/url?q=https://ansipra.npolar.no/russian/Items/Yupik_SocietyR. html&sa=D&source=docs&ust=1698431308831972&usg=AOvVaw1mxXE32ROIbtURPwol7fli. [accessed 9.12.2023]

¹² https://companium.ru/id/1038700070090-yupik [accessed 9.12.2023]

¹³ https://www.list-org.com/company/1820665 [accessed 9.12.2023]

government agencies took place in 2002 at the annual meeting of the International Whaling Commission (IWC). That year the IWC failed to approve its regularly issued quota for aboriginal bowhead whaling. AEWC and ChAZTO, together with the US and Russian governments, tirelessly negotiated with all interested parties. In the end, an additional session of the IWC approved a joint quota for aboriginal bowhead whaling for both Alaskan and Chukotkan communities (IWC n.d.).

A great team working diligently made possible the incredibly difficult first steps in establishing the Chukotka non-governmental movement. Particularly noteworthy in the maturation of ChAZTO at this first stage was the role played by Piotr Typykhkak and Vladimir Etylin. Valery Skhauge (Huntington et al. 2021) respectfully noted Typykhkak's role in restoring bowhead whaling in his native community after a twenty-year break caused by a government ban. As the head of ChAZTO, Piotr Typykhkak was guided by the wisdom of dozens of generations who ensured the survival of their communities.

Vladimir Etylin is an experienced Soviet and then Russian Indigenous politician who has been working for the Indigenous peoples of Chukotka for several decades. ¹⁴ During the Soviet era, he held leadership positions similar to mayor of a district, and later as chairman of the Chukotka Council of People's Deputies, similar to the regional legislative assembly. Etylin was twice elected as a representative of Chukotka to the Federal Legislative Assembly of Russia. Etylin led research into traditional subsistence in Chukotka for many years, being the head of the laboratory of the Chukotka Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Vladimir Etylin was one of the most influential Indigenous activists in Russia in the 1990 and 2000s. He was instrumental in the establishment of several non-governmental organizations, such as UMMH, ChAZTO, the Union of Reindeer Herders, the Commonwealth of Communities of Indigenous Minorities of the North and others, that strengthened the development of the Indigenous movement. Etylin continued to support and advise ChAZTO throughout its history.

"Hold the line": 2000s

In 1999, Roman Abramovich was elected to the Russian Dumas as a representative of Chukotka, and in the following year he became the region's governor, overthrowing his predecessor, governor Nazarov. As Abramovich settled into his new role, Indigenous activists like Vladimir Etylin, Ludmila Ainana, and their colleagues gained his support. The newly re-established ChAZTO and Yupik Society could work again in coastal communities without government pressure. Moreover, in 2003, ChAZTO, on the initiative of Russian Duma deputy Vladimir Etylin and with the support of Gov-

¹⁴ https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/%Do%95%D1%82%D1%8B%D0%BB%D0%B8%D0%BD,_%D0% 92%D0%BB%D0%B0%D0%B4%D0%B8%D0%BC%D0%B8%D1%80_%D0%9C%D0%B8%D1% 85%D0%B0%D0%B9%D0%BB%D0%BE%D0%B2%D0%B8%D1%87. [accessed 9.12.2023]

ernor Abramovich, entered into the management of aboriginal whaling quotas for Chukotka communities.¹⁵ It was an incredible step in the history of modern Russia's Indigenous peoples. As a representative of the regional government proudly reported, ChAZTO managed to go through several hoops in the government's long-term plans to include local communities in wildlife co-management. At the same time, UMMHC ceased its activities without support from the government of Chukotka and was closed in 2007, due to the lack of activity.¹⁶

Overtime, the strengthened status of ChAZTO in the region caused some tension in the Chukotka government system. An independent NGO, built into the traditional subsistence system, and even at the international level, was an unusual phenomenon for the Russian socio-political space. Tensions between the regional authorities and ChAZTO increased indicating that the Russian authorities were viewing non-governmental organizations from an old Soviet-era perspective. At a meeting of the Chukotka Fisheries Council, the regional agency responsible for marine wildlife management, one of the officials said in despair that it was "unacceptable for Indigenous peoples to independently distribute whale quotas among themselves."

At this uncertain time, a new generation of leaders emerged to govern ChAZTO. The 2000s became the era of Gennady Inankeuyas in ChAZTO. He was a Chukchi, an experienced sea hunter, renowned whaler, a head of a sea hunting community, and a remarkable leader. The combination of the political skills and of traditional knowledge of the Chukchi Elders made Inankeuyas a sought-after expert for the Russian government to consult at the IWC and the North Atlantic Marine Mammal Commission meetings. He was also an excellent speaker, representing Indigenous peoples at regional, federal, and international meetings.

Inankeuyas's resilience and fortitude ensured his survival at the helm of ChAZTO, despite the pressure and persecution he faced both personally and as a chairman of the organization. While leading ChAZTO, Inankeuyas was also the chairman of a small hunting *obshchina* called Akkani¹⁷ that united people from the former village of Akkani, resettled by the authorities in the 1970s. He was one of the marine hunter leaders who, together with the elders, restored aboriginal whaling in Chukotka. Akkani *obshchina* worked together with research teams, providing transportation ensuring safe travel. Knowledge of the sea, tundra and wildlife guaranteed the successful participation of Inankeuyas's team in research projects to collect biopsies of whales and walruses. He supported the dissemination of research methods and tools among coastal communities, traveling along the Bering Strait coast.

However, Inankeuyas's experience and knowledge did not save him from the difficulties associated with leadership of the organization. In 2003, the Russian Ministry

¹⁵ https://ansipra.npolar.no/russian/Items/ATMMHC-2_R.html. [accessed 9.12.2023]

¹⁶ https://b2b.house/company/SOYUZ-MORSKIX-ZVEROBOEV_d3254052-a76e-43ad-be14-a8f9c5e6a13a/. [accessed 9.12.2023]

¹⁷ https://www.list-org.com/company/3181861. [accessed 9.12.2023]

of Natural Resources issued a permit to ChAZTO to distribute whaling quotas among the Indigenous villages of Chukotka. In 2004, the board of ChAZTO allocated the first quota for Chukotka communities whaling. It is quite predictable that the distribution of quotas by the sea hunters themselves triggered tensions with the directors of municipal enterprises. The organization was accused of mismanaging whaling quotas. To avoid irreparable damage, ChAZTO was forced to hold a re-election meeting in the same year, and Vladilen Kavry was elected as a new chair. In the same year, and Vladilen Kavry was elected as a new chair.

Kavry was born in Vankarem, a small coastal village of the Chukchi Sea. He was engaged in Chukchi reindeer herding and sea hunting while he was in high school and for some time after. Thanks to this experience, Kavry acquired traditional knowledge and his native Chukchi language (Kavry 2020). He was an inquisitive person, with a penchant for research. Together with his fellow co-villagers, he first restored the tradition of spear hunting at the walrus rookery at Cape Vankarem, and later introduced environmental approaches to mitigate conflicts between his community and the wildlife.

Kavry began collaborating with ChAZTO in the late 1990s, working together with Etylin on the project on traditional knowledge of Indigenous peoples of Chukotka about the polar bear. This was one of the first projects to involve Chukotka villagers in traditional knowledge research. Kavry sought to work with scientists, environmentalists, bureaucrats, and the media to study traditional Chukchi knowledge and make it public. He received his first research training from Anatoly Kochnev, a biologist at the Chukotka Pacific Fisheries Research Centre (ChukotTINRO). Soon after, he headed ChAZTO's Polar Bear Commission.

Control over ChAZTO?

As mentioned earlier, ChAZTO had to replace Gennady Inankeuyas as chairman and entrust the organization to another person. It is not surprising that Kavry's research activities and public ambitions ensured his attractiveness as a potential chairman of ChAZTO. In this capacity, he was presented to the government of Chukotka as a more conciliatory face of the organization. Subsequent events revealed that this move did not help ChAZTO, since in Russia a pivot to curb the civil society had already started. By this time, ChAZTO had a strong position at the regional, federal, and international levels; its closure would not have been beneficial to the authorities. Instead, seizing control of the organization seemed to be a better option. The key figure in the transition of ChAZTO under the new pressure was no other but Kavry himself.

In winter of 2005, he convened an extended meeting of the ChAZTO board. The Chukotka government provided funding, logistics, and even a conference room in

¹⁸ https://ansipra.npolar.no/russian/Items/ATMMHC-2_R.html. [accessed 9.12. 2023]

¹⁹ https://studylib.ru/doc/2680896/mir-korennyh-narodov---zhivaya-arktika. [accessed 9.12.2023]

the government building for the meeting. The officials prevailed, condemning the organization's strategy of co-managing wildlife for Indigenous villagers rather than for agribusinesses. All the while, the members of the ChAZTO board were forced to silently observe a public assault on the core principles of their organization.

To discuss the organization's survival strategies, the ChAZTO board met for several days without officials. Other Indigenous people also attended these discussions. In the end, the board made a decision that was reasonable at the time: the fate of the organization should be decided not by government officials, or even by the ChAZTO leaders themselves, but by coastal communities. At an organizational meeting the board announced the schedule for re-election in the coming summer. The decision appeared to be following the authorities' demand to change the leadership of ChAZTO and, thus, its original strategy. In fact, it turned out to be an indication of distrust in the new chairman regarding the transfer of control over the organization from hunters to regional authorities. At the 2005 summer conference of ChAZTO, Gennady Inankeuyas was re-elected as its chairman, and the original principles of ChAZTO were reinstated.

As soon as it became clear to the Chukotka authorities that control over ChAZTO had failed, they began to push it out of the public space. In 2006, the government of Chukotka announced that receiving regional financial support was directly related to the loyalty of sea hunting enterprises to the authorities. The pressure from the authorities on coastal communities and ChAZTO was so strong that the organization was unable to assert its right to co-manage Indigenous whaling. The next year the whaling co-management was transferred to the Chukotka Association of Indigenous People of the North (ChAIPON), with the condition that any management was carried out only after the approval of the Chukotka Fisheries Council.

Purge of Indigenous NGOs

In the same year, the Chukotka Division of the Ministry of Justice began a broad purge of the non-governmental organizations in the region. If in 2002 the authorities excluded from the register only those organizations that did not confirm their activities, during the 2007 purge it was applied to originally pre-selected NGOs. Formally, the audits by the Chukotka Division of the Ministry of Justice looked like putting things in order in the statutory documents of non-governmental organizations. The audited organization was given an order to eliminate deficiencies in their documents within a certain period. If, within the specified period, violations in the statutory documents were not eliminated, the Ministry of Justice filed a lawsuit to close the organization. In fact, after the end of the specified period, loyal organizations such as ChAIPON, were allowed to correct documents, while the organizations that were red-flagged were summoned to court due to failure to submit statutory documents

in compliance with the law. Most Chukotkan NGOs did not have the funds for legal defense and were therefore unable to defend their existence in court.

And so, it happened: the Yupik Society and the Akkani hunting *obshchina* were closed in the summer of 2007 by a court verdict.²⁰ In the fall of 2007, the Ministry of Justice checked the documentation of ChAZTO for compliance. The audit revealed several inaccuracies in the documentation. The Ministry provided about a month to convene a meeting to eliminate formal inconsistencies in its Charter. It was completely unrealistic to hold a face-to-face meeting of residents of several remote villages within this timeframe. After the expiration of the specified period, the Chukotka Division of the Ministry of Justice filed a claim in court to close ChAZTO. The organization's attempt to defend itself without a lawyer led to the closure of ChAZTO in the court of first instance. In response ChAZTO hired a lawyer to file an appeal with the Chukotka Regional Court, which restored the organization's status.

As ChAZTO was fending off government attacks in 2007 and 2008, several subsistence-oriented projects were successfully completed. ChAZTO and AEWC provided presentations to IWC on the whaling cultures of the Indigenous peoples of Alaska and Chukotka. Both organizations supported research into the migration and distribution of bowhead whales, including genetic research. As a result of these studies, Indigenous peoples in both Alaska and Chukotka received new quotas for aboriginal whaling for a five-year period from 2008 to 2013.²¹ In the same year, ChAZTO participated at an international conference of the five countries party to the agreement on polar bears. In January 2008, the organization signed a cooperation agreement with ANC as part of the US-Russian milestone agreement of conservation and management of the Alaska-Chukotka polar bear population.²² Gennady Inankeuyas, Vladimir Etylin, Vladimir Susyp, Piotr Omrynto, Ludmila Ainana, Irina Suvorova and many others made a great contribution to the promotion and research activities that were instrumental to the survival of ChAZTO. Charles Johnson, Harry Brower, Maggie Ahmaogak, Andrew Crow, Craig George, John Tichotsky and other Alaska Native leaders and researchers were among ChAZTO's notable partners.

Operation GONGO: The revival of UMMH

After a thorough purge of NGO space, the time was ripe for the entry of the Government-Organized Nongovernmental Organizations (hereafter GONGO). New leaders,

- 20 https://www.list-org.com/company/3181861. [Accessed December 9, 2023]; https://www.google.com/url?q=https://ansipra.npolar.no/russian/Items/Yupik_SocietyR. html&sa=D&source=docs&ust=1698431308831972&usg=AOvVaw1mxXE32ROIbtURPwol7fli. [accessed 9.12.2023]
- $\label{lem:problem} 21 \quad https://iwc.int/private/downloads/QS-D-DjY_bfzpYTgNk58PQ/ChairSummaryReportIWC60. \\ pdf. [accessed 9,12.2023]$
- 22 https://ecoportal.su/news/view/26861.html/. [accessed 9,12 2023]

selected or agreed upon by the authorities, were appointed to head prominent and well-known former NGOs. The authorities replaced the unpredictable Nikolai Ettyne in ChAIPON, first with Alexander Omrypkir, a proven but still independent Indigenous leader of the old Soviet training, and then with a very loyal Chukchi politician, Anna Otke.²³ Organizations that did not renounce their independence found themselves marginalized. New organizations were founded or existing organizations were co-opted. The Yupik Society was no longer able to recover, and its place was taken by the "Chukotka branch" of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC), with leadership loyal to the authorities.

In 2009, the Chukotka Regional Department of Agriculture asked municipal authorities to ensure the participation of marine hunting *obshchinas* as founders of a new non-governmental organization, the Union of Marine Mammal Hunters (UMMH2.0.). The idea to use the organization's old name, which was erased in 1999, was to promote a new Indigenous organization under the name included in the 2000 US-Russian Agreement on the Conservation and Management of the Alaska-Chukotka Polar Bear Population.²⁴ The revival of the original name was intended to oust ChAZTO from all international activities. The government of Chukotka funded the newly created organization, mainly for trips to the meetings of IWC, the US-Russian Bear Commission, and other international institutes, but also for minor research projects.

Coordinated destruction: 2010s

While regional authorities were promoting the updated UMMH2.o., the government agencies together and in turn continued their incessant attempts to destroy ChAZTO. In August 2009, the regional newspaper *Krainii Sever* (Far North) published a large article titled "Self-proclaimed Diplomats," in which ChAZTO was accused of illegally representing the people of Chukotka and the Russian Federation.²⁵ In the old Soviet practice, incriminating publications in government newspapers were always harbingers of the subsequent criminal prosecution of a person or organization. Therefore, ChAZTO decided to defend itself in court. The organization's lawyer, Evgenii Vasilenko, worked hard to protect the interests of the organization. Chukotka legal proceedings in those years still adhered to some spirit of legality, in contrast to other regions of Russia, where the letter of legality became a means of following the wishes

²³ https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%9E%D1%82%D0%BA%D0%B5,_%D0%90%D0%B-D%D0%BD%D0%B0_%D0%98%D0%B2%D0%B0%D0%BD%D0%BE%D0%B2%D0%B-D%D0%B0. [accessed 9.12.2023]

²⁴ https://2009-2017.state.gov/documents/organization/215549.pdf. [accessed 10.12.2023]

²⁵ https://ecodelo.org/1201-pobeda_samozvannykh_diplomatov-obshchestvo. [accessed 9.12.2023]

of the executive branch. The Anadyr City Court, by its verdict in case No. 2-161/10 of 8 October 2010, ordered the newspaper *Krainii Sever* to publish, albeit a partial, refutation of its article.²⁶

In 2011, the Interdistrict Inspectorate of the Federal Tax Service of Russia No. 1 for the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug conducted an audit of ChAZTO. The auditors sought to identify as many errors as possible in the tax calculations of ChAZTO's finances and its payments. A persistent prosecution of ChAZTO indicated a high probability of forced closure for the systematic violations of the Tax Code. During 2012 and 2013, ChAZTO went through a long series of appeal hearings, until in April 2013 the Federal Arbitration Court of the Far Eastern Okrug finally overturned the unfounded charges (Archive 2013).

In April 2013, K.S. Prokhorov, the prosecutor of the Chukotka Autonomous Okrug, issued an official warning to ChAZTO about the inadmissibility of violating the law on public organizations. The new legal term, "foreign agent," introduced by the amendment to Federal Law No. 7-FZ on November 21, 2012, provided government agencies with significant leverage over the civil society. In the warning, the prosecutor referred to the fact that the activities of ChAZTO to protect the rights of Indigenous peoples involved political activities due to the need to interact with regional, federal and international government agencies and indicated that the organization received grant funding from foreign sources.

The prosecutor, while adhering to the letter of the law, in fact violated the spirit of the law. ChAZTO received grants to conduct research projects, the results of which were in the public domain, while advocating for coastal communities was a public activity. Probably because the legal meaning of "foreign agent" was only being tested, the prosecutor's warning acknowledged that according to the law, environmentalism and social aid were not political activities. Nevertheless, the prosecutor demanded that ChAZTO be registered as a foreign agent and warned that the organization's leaders who violated the law would be subject to administrative and other liability. Other attempts to add ChAZTO to the list of foreign agents followed, but that year the prosecutor's office limited itself to just a warning.

In the fall of 2014, the Ministry of Justice suggested that ChAZTO voluntarily accepted the status of a "foreign agent;" otherwise it would be imposed on it by the authorities (IWGIA 2014). To protect itself, ChAZTO launched a large-scale information campaign, involving Russian and international environmental and Indigenous movements (Laskin 2014).²⁷ The Chukotka Division of the Ministry of Justice was forced to retreat and ChAZTO was not included in the register of foreign agents.

²⁶ https://ecodelo.org/1201-pobeda_samozvannykh_diplomatov-obshchestvo. [accessed 10.12. 2023]

²⁷ https://nazaccent.ru/content/14139-smi-associaciyu-zveroboev-tradicionnoj-ohoty-vynuzhdayut.html. [accessed 10.12.2023]

In August 2014, V.V. Maksimenko, Deputy Prosecutor of Chukotka, requested information about the participation of ChAZTO in a project to collect biopsy samples of walruses. The request was initiated based on information from the Federal Security Service (hereafter FSS) about the alleged implementation of the project without federal permits for the collection and transportation of walrus biopsy samples. The FSS even forced researchers from ChukotTINRO, the local research institution, to testify that ChAZTO carried out the project alone and illegally. A criminal case was not initiated, since ChAZTO provided the prosecutor's office with documentation indicating the scope of its responsibility in the project, in accordance with agreements with other project participants, including ChukotTINRO. ChAZTO's mission was to ensure the participation of Indigenous hunters as experts on the marine mammals. Federal and international permits for the collection of biopsy samples, their transportation, and especially their export, as well as their analysis were the responsibility of research agencies.

ChAZTO had to constantly defend itself in public, official, and judicial spaces. These efforts took a lot of time and financial resources from both the organization and government agencies. The only reasonable explanation why the activity of a small Indigenous organization, not even political, seemed to be a headache for the authorities, was that the old Soviet-era rejection of an independent civil society was returning to Russia.

ChAZTO research activities in the late 2000s and early 2010s

Behind these constant battles with various government agencies, ChAZTO carried out research projects. Between 2006 and 2011, ChAZTO, ChukotTINRO, and the Tan-Bogoraz Regional Library, in collaboration with ANC, conducted a multi-year study of the role of the polar bear in the culture of Indigenous peoples of Chukotka (Kochneva and Kochnev 2020). In 2009 and 2010, ChAZTO, members of the closed Yupik Society led by Ludmila Ainana, the Chukotka Science Support Group headed by Gennady Zelensky, and ChukotTINRO, in collaboration with the Eskimo Walrus Commission from Alaska, conducted research on monitoring walrus harvesting in Chukotka by sea hunters (Kochnev 2010) and a study of the traditional ecological knowledge of Indigenous peoples of Chukotka about walruses (Zdor et al. 2010).

The high mortality of walruses that occurred in 2007 along the coast of Chukotka (Fischbach et al. 2009: 4) prompted ChAZTO and ChukotTINRO to establish an extensive network of observers in 2009 to monitor at least nine coastal walrus rookeries. The Walrus Haulout Guardian project spanned several years and provided research and Indigenous communities with much-needed data to determine how Pacific walruses were adapting to a changing environment. The observation results were reflected on a special website built by the project (Zdor 2021b). In 2011 and

2012, ChAZTO and ChukotTINRO, in collaboration with the WWF of Russia, conducted research on the interaction between Chukotka communities and polar bears (Kochnev and Zdor 2016). Dozens of Indigenous researchers interviewed hundreds of residents of coastal communities in the Bering and Chukchi Seas. The results of the study provided the US-Russia Polar Bear Commission with the relevant information for decision-making. In response to a sharp increase in unusual mortality events (UME) among small pinnipeds that occurred in 2011 throughout the Arctic, ChukotTINRO and ChAZTO conducted a rapid survey along the coast of Chukotka (Kochnev et al. 2012). Anatoly Kochnev, a biologist at ChukotTINRO, was the key senior researcher, or at least consultant, for most of the studies in which ChAZTO participated. He made great efforts to meet the cultural and nutritional needs of the Indigenous peoples of coastal Chukotka by researching the marine mammals.

In the early 2010s, ChAZTO collaborated with ChukotTINRO in a project to collect biopsy samples of beluga whales and walruses (Meschersky et al. 2013: 134). A group of sea hunters from across Chukotka provided biopsy samples to international research groups to support genetic studies of marine mammal populations. Denis Litovka, a biologist at ChukotTINRO, provided the ChAZTO research team with federal permits, methodological documentation, and assisted in the supply of research tools and equipment. The research results contributed to the assessment of the structure of the Anadyr subpopulation of beluga whale that inhabited the Northwest Pacific.

The last leaders of ChAZTO

In the mid-2000s, Eduard Rypkhirgin, a hunter from Lorino, joined ChAZTO. Thanks to his deep traditional knowledge of the sea and sea ice, ChAZTO sent him on an international expedition in 2006 to study the Pacific walrus population. The population census was conducted by aerial photography and satellite tagging from an icebreaker. Rypkhirgin's knowledge provided the expedition members with valuable information about walrus behavior and safety measures on sea ice (Speckman et al. 2011:548). Participation in the expedition sparked Eduard's interest in research, and he joined ChAZTO, being elected the chairman of the polar bear commission and a member of the board, a common path of local activists in the organization.

Gaining experience working with researchers and officials at various levels, Rypkhirgin strengthened his leadership skills. Over time, he replaced Gennady Inankeuyas as chairman of the Whaling Commission, and in 2013, Rypkhirgin was elected the chairman of ChAZTO. As a successful hunter and keeper of traditional knowledge, he continued to hold the line of the ChAZTO leaders, advocating for the needs of Chukotka sea hunters at meetings with governmental and intergovernmental agencies, as well as non-governmental organizations. The decade of the 2010s was

extremely difficult to ChAZTO, as the authority's intensified attacks on the organization. A much heavier burden was the excessive requirement imposed on ChAZTO by FSS to regularly report on any activities at internal, governmental and intergovernmental meetings. To avoid the dilemma between being law-abiding citizen, even in a state that itself violates basic human rights, and the immorality of providing security forces with the information about friends and colleagues, Rypkhirgin decided to leave the organization.

The time has come for the youngest leader in the history of the organization, Vladimir Susyp, from the Siberian Yupik village of Uelkal, to serve as the last chairman of ChAZTO in 2014. Susyp considered himself a descendant of the Siberian Yupik from Naukan, who had strong ties with the inhabitants of the Diomede Islands. During ChAZTO meetings in Alaska, he made sure to meet with his long-separated relatives. These meetings were filled with both joy and sadness.

It was Susyp who asked the question, the ambiguous symbolism of which is featured in this paper's title. In the summer of 2005, I witnessed a discussion among several hunters who were pondering the future of their communities and how an organization they led could protect the cultural heritage of their ancestors. Susyp, then-the youngest person in this discussion, asked his comrades: "What is the main goal of the leader of our organization? What should he achieve?" The question caused a slight pause, and then Igor Makotrik, one of the experienced middle-aged leaders, responded: "I believe that the duty of the chairman is to hold the line." He did not offer any explanation, so that each had to think about the meaning in their own personal way.

I would not have remembered this story if not for the fact that when Susyp was elected the chairman of ChAZTO in 2014, he said at the first board meeting: "I'm here to hold the line in defense of our way of life." And he did. Susyp persisted and did everything possible to keep ChAZTO useful for the Chukotka communities. In the meantime, Makotrik, who uttered the right words, left ChAZTO in favor of his home community and like his predecessors in the Soviet era, became a new regime activist to protect his people's identity no matter what.

Throughout the 2010s, the authorities' persecution of ChAZTO continued with increasing pressure. In 2016, the Chukotka Division of the Russian Ministry of Justice launched a new attack on ChAZTO via a lawsuit to close the organization, due to its presumed violations of federal laws. The regional newspaper *Kranii Sever* again, published an article discussing the Ministry of Justice's accusations against ChAZTO (Nikolaev 2016). Susyp and Ettyne together again defended the dignity of organization in court. This court victory was the latest in ChAZTO 's efforts to hold the line. Russian legislation had become increasingly aggressive towards the civil society, following the orders from federal authorities. Criminal prosecutions of the NGO leaders had become commonplace. Under these conditions, employees of the executive secretariat of ChAZTO were forced to stop working. Their departure eliminated the provision of complex bureaucratic and financial reporting to the Ministry of Justice and to

the tax authorities. The advocacy for Indigenous communities was no longer possible. In 2019, the Chukotka Division of the Ministry of Justice finally closed ChAZTO and removed it from the Unified State Register of Legal Entities as an inactive legal entity.²⁸

Conclusion: Hold the line No matter what

This paper does not address the larger events and political processes in Russia, although they are inseparable from the present narrative. The Naukan cooperative, Yupik Society, and ChAZTO were founded by Chukotka coastal communities to provide for their traditional way of life. The idea was to bring hunters together to collaborate with government, research, and environmental agencies to find a consensus that would protect the identities of the Coastal Chukchi and Siberian Yupik.

Establishing cooperation is a complex, time-consuming, and even painful process. Some agencies have embraced the idea of working with Indigenous communities, while others have not. Environmentalists managed to accept the Indigenous peoples' rights to their traditional food, although, at first, they categorically denied the need for any consumption of threatened wildlife. Research agencies accepted Indigenous knowledge, although they debated its place in the knowledge system. Russian authorities generally have accepted the rights of Indigenous peoples but only if these rights correspond to government priorities. As in the Soviet era, authorities only accept those non-governmental organizations that have confirmed their loyalty. Any organization viewed as disloyal sooner or later will be forced out of the public space.

Russia's invasion of Ukraine in 2022 has radically intensified this policy, once hidden behind the screen of the so-called "rule of law." Now any actions to protect the rights of Indigenous peoples that are not coordinated with the authorities, even those for which doing so is not critical and/or justified, are viewed as treason against Russia. Cooperation with international and foreign governmental and non-governmental research and environmental agencies, without the approval of the Russian authorities, is also considered potential treason. Attempts to continue international research in Chukotka have come to a naught. Independent Indigenous organizations in the region have been destroyed, relations with the neighboring Alaska communities reduced to a minimum, and closely related Indigenous peoples of the Bering Strait region are once again divided. Whether those "who hold the line" among the Indigenous peoples in Chukotka are able to maintain their identity and restore the once-again Fractured North will reveal how resilient they are.

This article is dedicated to those who "hold the line" of the identity of the Indigenous peoples of Chukotka (Appendices 1 and 2). This activity did not begin in the 1990s with the advent of democracy and has not stopped today, when only loyal non-

²⁸ https://checko.ru/company/chazto-1028700589587. [accessed 9.12.2023]

governmental agencies are registered in Chukotka. While this paper focuses only on independent Indigenous organizations and their leaders, there are activists in every village who hold the line for the good of their community and people. They did so, are doing so, and will do so, regardless of the political atmosphere in Russian society. I am grateful to my fellow villagers, mentors, colleagues, friends and opponents for their desire to preserve the identity of the indigenous peoples of Chukotka, no matter the cost. These efforts and their diversity make me believe that the Chukchi and Siberian Yupik will preserve their identity, land, and sea for future generations.

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Appendix 1:

Chronology of Major Events Related to Indigenous Organizations in Chukotka

- 1989 Naukan Cooperative founded by residents of displaced Naukan and Nunyamo villages.
- 1990 Chukotka Yupik Eskimo Society founded by the Siberian Yupik of Chukotka.
- 1994 Chukotka communities re-established their whaling.
- 1997 Union of Marine Mammal Hunters (UMMH) founded by marine hunters of Chukotka.
- 1998 Union of Marine Mammal Hunters of Chukotka (UMMHC) established by the Congress of Marine Hunters of Chukotka (convened by the Chukotka government) and replaced UMMH when registering with the Chukotka Division of Ministry of Justice.
- 1999 Chukotka Yupik Eskimo Society shut down by the Chukotka Division of Ministry of Justice on the initiative of Governor Nazarov.
- 2000 Yupik Society founded by the Siberian Yupik.
- 2000 Chukotka Association of Marine Mammal Hunters of Traditional Hunting (ChAZTO) founded by sea hunters of Chukotka to replace the liquidated UMMH.
- 2002 Akkani hunting *obshchina* established by former residents of the resettled village of Akkani.
- 2003 Naukan Cooperative declared bankrupt and ceased operations.

- 2003–2006 ChAZTO managed Chukotka's whaling quotas with permission from the Russian government,
- 2007 UMMHC excluded from the Unified State Register of Legal Entities as an inactive legal entity.
- 2007 Management of Chukotka's whaling quota transferred from ChAZTO to ChAI-PON. In fact, the quota is managed by the Chukotka Fisheries Council.
- 2007 Akkani hunting *obshchina* excluded from the Unified State Register of Legal Entities as an inactive legal entity.
- 2007 Yupik Society closed by verdict of the Anadyr City Court on the claim of the Chukotka Division of Ministry of Justice.
- 2008 Verdict of the Anadyr City Court to close the ChAZTO based on the claim of the Chukotka Division of the Ministry of Justice canceled by the Chukotka Regional Court.
- 2008 ChAZTO and ANC signed a co-management agreement under the 2000 US-Russian Polar Bear Agreement.
- 2009 UMMH2.o. re-founded by newly created sea hunting *obshchinas* (communities) on the initiative of the Chukotka government.
- 2010 ChAZTO won a city court case with *Krainii Sever*, a regional newspaper, on defamation.
- 2011 Official warning from the Chukotka prosecutor's office to ChAZTO about the activities of foreign agents.
- 2013 Chukotka Division of Ministry of Justice launches a case to recognize ChAZTO as a "foreign agent."
- 2014 Chukotka Prosecutor's Office requests information from ChAZTO in order to search for signs of criminal offenses at the request of the Federal Security Service.
- 2016 ChAZTO wins a hearing in the Anadyr City Court on the closure of ChAZTO for violations of statutory activities in a lawsuit filed by the Chukotka Division of the Ministry of Justice.
- 2019 ChAZTO excluded from the Unified State Register of Legal Entities as an inactive legal entity. In fact, due to the lack of legal opportunity to hire employees due to pressure from the authorities.

Appendix 2:

List of ChAZTO Chairmen, 1997–2019

1997–1998 Piotr Typykhkak

2000–2001 Piotr Typykhkak

2001–2004 Gennady Inankeuyas

2004–2005 Vladilen Kavry

2005-2012	Gennady Inankeuyas
2012-2014	Eduard Rypkhirgin
2014-2019	Vladimir Susyp

List of ChAZTO Executive Secretaries

1997–1998 Vladimir Etylin 2000–2001 Vladimir Etylin 2001–2002 Olga Etylina 2002–2015 Eduard Zdor 2015–2018 Nikolai Ettyne