

2 FROM "FRIENDSHIP OF PEOPLES" TO "BIG PROBLEMS": INDIGENOUS SMALL-NUMBERED PEOPLES OF THE NORTH IN THE EARLY PERESTROIKA-PERIOD SOVIET PRESS – TOWARD AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Anna Shibarova

Concept, background, and sources

The annotated bibliography presented here is a pilot project that received its initial impetus in early 2026, when the Indigenous rights activist Tjan Zaotschnaja (Munich)¹ introduced me to a substantial thematic collection of Soviet newspapers and magazines from the late 1980s and early 1990s. This archive, held in her private home, consists primarily of press clippings reflecting the debate surrounding the *malye narodnosti* [small peoples] of Siberia, the North, and the Far East – public discourse that unfolded as censorship collapsed and Soviet citizens were suddenly confronted with the catastrophic conditions in which Indigenous peoples found themselves after decades of Soviet rule on the country's remote northern frontiers. Yuri Slezkine describes this awakening in his seminal monograph *Arctic Mirrors: Russia and the Small Peoples of the North* in the following way:

Almost overnight the reading public discovered that the Indigenous economy as a whole was a mess, that resettlement had been a disaster, that the elimination of nomadism had been a sham, and that reindeer breeding was steadily declining (Slezkine 1994: 371).

What did "almost overnight" mean in historical reality? How did the public discussion concerning the *malye* – or, following the terminological shifts of the late 1980s and early 1990s, *malochislennyye* [small-numbered] – Indigenous Peoples take shape and evolve over time? Which actors drove this discourse, and what intermediate forms emerged as the monolithic Soviet narrative of the *friendship of peoples* began to fracture? It was in search of answers to these questions that I began work on the annotated bibliography of Tjan Zaotschnaja's collection, which has served as the foundation for the present project.

The resulting research base integrates three complementary yet overlapping source sets: the private archive of Tjan Zaotschnaja, the Radio Liberty monitoring digests (*USSR Today: Soviet Media Features Digest*), and a selection of central newspapers examined in their original editions.

The first of these, the Zaotschnaja collection, has a remarkable history. Most items bear the stamp *Compiled by Radio Liberty Monitoring*, identifying them as products

1 See Shibarova's (2025) biographical sketch of Tjan Zaotschnaja.

of the monitoring unit at the broadcaster's Munich headquarters. This department systematically reviewed the Soviet press to produce comprehensive digests, documenting the transforming media landscape during the Soviet Union's final years. Tjan Zaotschnaja – a woman of Indigenous Kamchatka origin with a dissident past – had been living in Munich as an exile since 1980 and maintained a keen interest in the affairs of the Soviet North. Copies of the articles selected by the monitors were provided to her by Evgenii Nikolaev (1939–2010), who worked in the broadcaster's library. The articles were sourced from central publications, including *Pravda* (and the CPSU Central Committee journal *Kommunist*), *Izvestiia* (with its supplement *Nedelia*), *Komsomol'skaia pravda*, *Moskovskie novosti*, *Sovetskaia kul'tura*, *Literaturnaia gazeta*, and *Sotsialisticheskaia industriia*, as well as the RSFSR-based newspapers *Sovetskaia Rossiia* and *Literaturnaia Rossiia*.

To examine the Radio Liberty monitoring summaries more closely, I visited the Research Centre for East European Studies (*Forschungsstelle Osteuropa*) at the University of Bremen. The institute's library holdings include original archival runs of the *USSR Today* series, spanning from December 1987 to December 1991. Published more than ten times a week, the digests captured not only programmatic articles but also a wide range of brief reports, enabling a reconstruction of the rapidly shifting dynamics of public discourse. Work in Bremen allowed me to uncover materials on the Indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North that were missing from Tjan Zaotschnaja's collection, thereby significantly expanding the scope of sources. The references in Yuri Slezkine's *Arctic Mirrors* (Slezkine 1994: 397–445), along with the works of Northern studies anthropologists who were directly engaged in the discourse and documented pivotal reports in real time (Chichlo 1990: 51–56; Sokolova 1990b: 146), were also instrumental in identifying key articles.

The final stage of the research involved primary source analysis – consulting the original newspapers and journals to assess the comprehensiveness of the Radio Liberty summaries and to examine the materials within their original visual layout. Seeking to trace the earlier phase of the media campaign, I reviewed newspaper issues starting from January 1987. This month serves as a symbolic departure point, defined by the *January Plenum* of the CPSU Central Committee, which acted as a catalyst for accelerated democratization. This core of the research comprises full runs of the dailies *Pravda* and *Komsomol'skaia pravda*, as well as the weeklies *Sovetskaia kul'tura*, *Literaturnaia gazeta*, and, partially, *Literaturnaia Rossiia*, covering the timeframe to the early months of 1989. These materials were accessed in either physical or digital formats, depending on their availability.

Directly examining primary sources poses the question of selection criteria: which publications should be featured in the bibliography, and which should be omitted? As my goal was to capture both the active phase of the campaign and its preparatory stage, the index comprises more than just core thematic articles. It incorporates publications that address the topic indirectly, as well as those conspicuously ignoring it.

Furthermore, the bibliography lists articles by authors writing about groups not officially categorized as small-numbered (such as the Udmurt and Komi) – publications that made an undeniably significant contribution to the broader discursive field.

The bibliography encompasses an extensive range of genres, from essays and reports to dispatches, interviews, book reviews, and literary selections. The record also contains two official speeches – by Mikhail Gorbachev and Sergei Mikhalkov, then Chairman of the Board of the *RSFSR Writers’ Union* – selected for their relevance to the unfolding discourse. This diversity creates a multifaceted panorama, bringing together large-scale political shifts and local perspectives.

In constructing the annotations, care was taken to retain specific contextual details – such as names, ethnonyms and other realia, as well as precise figures – to optimize the bibliography for researchers and facilitate targeted searches. Furthermore, the inclusion of direct quotations within the annotations serves to illustrate the authors’ rhetoric and document the evolving usage of key concepts amid the shifting ideological landscape. Beyond textual analysis, the examination of the newspapers extends to how the motif of small-numbered peoples was visualized. Brief descriptions of such items – primarily photographs and illustrations – are included; without them, the work would not be comprehensive. Taken together, this combination of diverse textual and visual materials, alongside detailed annotations, allows the bibliography to function, even at this stage, as a vocal chronicle of a changing era.

The index opens with publications from January 1987 [1, 2, 3, 4] and concludes with an entry from February 1989 [122]. This final record is a major roundtable discussion on the Indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North, featuring scholars from various disciplines. Held in the autumn of 1988, it was organized by the editorial board of *Sovetskaia kul’tura*.

Locating the materials from this specific roundtable was of particular interest for the following reason. While working with Tjan Zaotschnaja’s collection, I examined the original paper by the anthropologist Mikhail Chlenov (1940–2024) prepared for that *Sovetskaia kul’tura* roundtable. Tjan showed me the typescript, signed and dated October 14, 1988 – the actual copy the author had personally handed to her during a conference on Inuit studies in Copenhagen in October 1988. In ten pages of typescript, Chlenov describes the price the Small Peoples of the North paid for the historical breakthrough of the 1950s and 60s, when “the North ceased to be seen as a Gulag periphery and turned into an object of unrestrained and thoughtless economic exploitation.” In the second part of the report, the author reflects on what can be done “so that the world does not become poorer and so that these peoples, who have almost exhausted their strength, might continue to enrich humanity with their unique contribution.” Written with empathy and analytical sharpness, this compelling example of anthropological public writing made a profound impression on me and provided the impetus for the pilot project.

Upon reviewing the newspaper, it became clear that *Sovetskaia kul’tura* had printed

only brief excerpts of the presentation by Chlenov, while the full text appeared shortly thereafter in French in a volume edited by Boris Chichlo (Tchlenov 1990). In my view, the Russian original of Mikhail Chlenov's vivid essay also warrants publication.

The year 1987: The prelude to the media campaign

As previously noted, the earliest publications recorded in the bibliography date back to January 1987, the same month the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee adopted the resolution *On Perestroika and the Party's Personnel Policy*. As a key document to the advancement of democratization processes, it set the stage for a new political atmosphere. How, then, was the discourse surrounding Small Peoples of the North represented during this initial period?

In contrast to the scarcity of textual evidence, visual sources are remarkably plentiful. These include black-and-white photo features, captioned images, and reproductions of artworks – the latter rarely appear in *Pravda* or *Komsomol'skaia pravda* but are regularly featured in *Sovetskaia kul'tura*. The reindeer herder remains the principal visual representative of Northern ethnic groups. A typical photograph in *Pravda* depicts a member of an Indigenous community in picturesque winter attire, set against a snowy tundra backdrop with branching reindeer antlers [2]. Other figures featured in photo reports – such as hunters, fishers, artisans, members of folklore ensembles, and amateur artists – are far less common [11, 47, 49].

The topography of the newspaper page vividly illustrates the place assigned to Indigenous northerners within the ideological hierarchy. On the front page of *Pravda*, the “conquerors of the North” – polar explorers, geologists, oil workers, builders, and power engineers – are prominently featured, depicted against a backdrop of machinery and technology. Close-up portraits emphasize visual markers of the harsh climate, such as frost-dusted eyelashes, moustaches, and beards [54, 63].

The juxtaposition of these newcomers and representatives of Indigenous ethnic groups on the front page of *Pravda* appears not to conform to the prevailing visual canon. The reindeer herder's place is not on the leading strip, but rather within thematic sections such as *Po Strane Sovetov* [Across the Soviet Union], usually located on page three or four of *Pravda*, or even at the very back, alongside television and radio listings. When a reindeer herder does make it onto the opening spread, it is only with the status of a brigade leader or a *Komsomol* member “from an ancient Nganasan lineage” with an exemplary biography [17, 38, 56].

One recurring visual motif is the interplay between archaism and modernity, traditional lifeways and technological progress. For instance, as part of a visual sequence, one photograph captures Chukchi hunters traveling by dog sled, paired with an adjacent image depicting the high-tech base of an ice expedition [7]. In the photo report *Kamchatka*, we see a boy of evidently non-Slavic appearance embracing a dog (the caption notes that the village is home to “Koryak, Chukchi, and Russians – reindeer herders and hunters”), while a neighboring image presents a complex drilling rig [15].

Similar motifs find their way into reproductions in *Sovetskaia kul'tura*. In a series of graphic works titled "The Tomsk North," one image depicts a purely industrial landscape, while another shows a family scene, "Grandmother Has Arrived!" A woman and a girl in ornamented ethnic clothing stand beside a landed helicopter, from which an elderly woman – clearly belonging to the same northern ethnic group – emerges smiling [46]. The interaction of human and machine, along with generational continuity, constituted a central theme in representations of a prosperous North in which Indigenous communities were portrayed as full participants in its development.

Yet behind this outward harmony, the contours of a systemic crisis were already discernible. The collision between archaism and progress, alongside the transformation of social structures, would soon move to the forefront of discussions concerning the hardships faced by Indigenous peoples. As scholars' voices would increasingly enter the public discourse, the broader readership would learn that the situation was far from idyllic – and that the Small Peoples had become victims of a civilizational shock that primarily undermined kinship structures (see, for example, Tchlenov 1990: 37).

A variety of approaches to representing the North coexist in *Literaturnaia Rossiia*, the official organ of the *RSFSR Writers' Union*. Essays in the spirit of Socialist Realism – praising courageous oil workers who "came to the North not temporarily, but forever [4]" – are juxtaposed with reports that sharply demystify the North by cataloging the "substandard existence" of its newcomers: schools operating in three shifts, overcrowded kindergartens, and lines for bread or to see a dentist [1]. In both cases, however, the focus remains exclusively on the problems of the newcomer population; Indigenous inhabitants stay invisible to the authors.

However, as a platform for the *Writers' Union* – tasked with overseeing the process by which the "Volga of Russian literature" is enriched by the "streams" of national literatures [8] – *Literaturnaia Rossiia* regularly published works by Indigenous authors. Following the *January Plenum*, the organization's leadership emphasized that the *Russian Union of Writers* must ensure that "not a single stream runs dry, otherwise the river will grow shallow [8]."

A literary collection marking the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution serves as a prime example, bringing together writers from the North and the Far East [9]. While the selection is dominated by verses celebrating nature, it also includes works by the Nanai poet Andrei Passar, which depict two grandmothers raising a granddaughter in a bilingual environment. "One speaks to her in Nanai, / full of extraordinary tenderness; / the other speaks to her in Russian, / encouraging her granddaughter [9]." Nothing in these serene lines yet foreshadowed the intense debates over the loss of minority languages that would soon flood the press. The author's ideological loyalty remains unquestioned here.

Literaturnaia Rossiia regularly published reports on meetings organized by the *Writers' Union* dedicated to the North, and these records reveal a notable shift in the tone of discussion. In March 1987, coverage of a session of the *Union's* Secretariat still

centered on “the friendship of peoples,” even as Vladimir Sangi, Board Secretary of the *RSFSR Writers’ Union*, called for a fundamental re-examination of Northern literatures [12]. While this initial dispatch cautiously admitted that “urbanization creates its own complexities,” by July 1987, the rhetoric had sharpened significantly during a round table in Khanty-Mansiisk. These later materials sought to “shatter former stereotypes,” rejecting the “merciless revolutionary refashioning” of nature in favor of a blunt critique of systemic failures [28].

A particularly bold perspective is presented in an article by Viacheslav Ogryzko from April 1987, centered on the literary and public activities of the Evenk poet Alitet Nemtushkin [18]. While the writer had already voiced sharp critiques in the regional press, he now spoke candidly to a broader audience about the most pressing issues. Nemtushkin detailed the reduction in reindeer herds, the loss of traditional occupations, the forced transition of Indigenous people to unskilled labor, and the rising rates of alcoholism. He further addressed the destructive influence of the boarding school system, the total absence of book publishing in the Evenk language, and the problematic nature of literary translation, which revealed the indifference of Russian poets and translators toward Northern culture [18]. By this point, the full range of problems had been articulated; all that remained was to amplify them before the wider public.

The impetus to open the issues of Indigenous peoples to broader debate came from the very top of the Soviet hierarchy. During a visit to Murmansk in October 1987, Mikhail Gorbachev delivered a speech outlining key priorities, including the need to account for the interests of Indigenous peoples while promoting the study of their cultural specificities [41]. As the ethnographer Zoia Sokolova later observed, it was during this visit that Gorbachev used the term *malochislennye narody* for the first time – a designation that by the early 1990s would replace the older term *malye narody* (Sokolova 1990b: 146; see also [121]).

The *Murmansk initiatives* signaled a paradigm shift in Soviet foreign policy, reimagining the Arctic not as a zone of military risk but as a space for peaceful dialogue. Numerous short reports testify to a marked uptick in activity at the Bering Strait frontier: the “visa-free” swim across the strait by the American athlete Lynne Cox; the arrival of a U.S. vessel in Bukhta Provideniia (Chukotka) to deliver greetings from Alaska to its Soviet neighbors; the first trip of the Soviet folklore ensemble *Chukotskie zori* to Vancouver; and the start of filming for the Soviet-Japanese production *Arktika* [31, 39, 40, 48].

Simultaneously, environmental issues gained prominence in *Pravda*: from a June article by a special correspondent from Krasnoiarsk on the consequences of inadequate reservoir bed clearing [26] to a December photo report documenting the abandonment of oil barrels along Arctic coastlines [50]. The June report in *Pravda*, which discussed several power stations, also mentioned the proposed Turukhansk hydroelectric project on the Lower Tunguska River. Yet at that time, the article remained silent on its potential impact on the region’s Indigenous communities. This

silence, however, would soon be broken. A large-scale campaign against the project would later unfold, becoming a focal point of public debate [62, 67, 68, 75, 85, 104]. Alitet Nemtushkin emerged as the face of the protest, publicly declaring that the Turukhansk dam threatened the very existence of his people, “mentioned even by the great Pushkin [71].” This protest campaign would eventually prove successful, and the project was shelved.

Around the Nineteenth All-Union Party Conference

The discussion entered an increasingly active phase in the spring of 1988, building momentum in the lead-up to the *Nineteenth All-Union Party Conference* (28 June – 1 July, 1988). This landmark event served as a catalyst, providing the necessary impetus for the democratization of the Soviet system and the consolidation of various national movements. The impact of the conference is directly reflected in a number of articles [68, 72, 82, 91, 94].

During this period, Indigenous Northern issues ascended to the all-Union agenda, with the press serving as a major vehicle for elevating the debate. For instance, just one week after the conference concluded, *Sovetskaia kul'tura* announced the abolition of its long-standing column, *Sibiri i Dal'nemu Vostoku – vysokuiu kul'turu!* [To Siberia and the Far East – High Culture] – dismissing it as a relic of an era defined by “mobilizing slogans and loud phrases.” It was succeeded by a new section, *Sotsial'naia politika: Sibir' i Dal'nii Vostok* [Social Policy: Siberia and the Far East] which debuted with an excerpt from Valentin Rasputin's forthcoming book *Sibir', Sibir'...* [73]. The column soon became a forum for high-profile reports on a broad spectrum of Siberian grievances, incorporating the specific concerns of Indigenous communities: from the encroachment of oil extraction on Khanty and Mansi territories [74] to the critical situation in Evenkiia [75] or environmental degradation in the Nivkh settlement Kal'ma [103], among many others – such as the report on daily life in the Evenki settlement of Sovetskaia Rechka (Briman 1989).

Industrial expansion, ecological crisis, the erosion of minority languages, and the decay of national education systems increasingly converged into a single, complex nexus. The hardships of the tundra were now framed alongside the ecology of the Volga, the pollution of Lake Baikal, the Aral Sea disaster, and the protracted construction of the Baikal-Amur Mainline (BAM). The loss of reindeer pastures to hydroelectric flooding resonated deeply with the broader decline of the Russian countryside; Alitet Nemtushkin's reflections on Evenkiia [75] – threatened with extinction by inundation – echoed Valentin Rasputin's iconic novella, *Proshchanie s Materoi* (Farewell to Matyora).

The escalation of interethnic tensions – from the *Zheltoksan* unrest in Alma-Ata (December 1986) and the Crimean Tatar protests on Red Square (July 1987) to the Sumgait pogrom (February 1988), the burgeoning Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, and

the intense debates over national languages in the Baltic republics – prompted a rigorous reassessment of conditions across the ethnically and linguistically heterogeneous regions of Siberia, the North, and the Far East. The demands developed in parallel with broader union-wide movements, merging despite the vast geographical distances into a shared discursive field. “We have perhaps never seen such an influx of letters devoted to the problems of national relations,” reported the editorial board of *Komso-mol’skaia pravda* in December 1988, publishing a selection of letters in which readers from across the Soviet Union wrote of their fear of losing their native tongues and a diminished sense of national dignity [114].

One of the first major entries to address the crisis of identity and linguistic displacement was the article concerning the situation in Komi, published in the January issue 1988 of *Literaturnaia Rossiia* [55]. The newspaper subsequently expanded on this theme through a series of materials that broadened the scope to include various other linguistic contexts across the country [64, 76].

Meanwhile, the all-Union *Literaturnaia gazeta* enriched the agenda by introducing new regional perspectives. At writers’ congresses in the Yakut ASSR and the Mari ASSR – in September and November 1988 – participants focused on the “blank spots” of history, environmental catastrophe, and the vanishing of traditions [99, 111]. Notably, only shortly before – in June 1987 – the same newspaper had framed the decline of languages in a purely nostalgic and romanticized light [25].

Finally, *Sovetskaia kul’tura* approached these crises from multiple analytical angles, offering readers expert evaluations of the Udmurt language [95] and collaborative studies on the fate of the Veps people [102].

National writers of the North

The discourse surrounding the issues of the small-numbered Indigenous peoples of the North was shaped by three primary groups of actors: national writers, journalists, and a diverse array of scholars – spanning anthropology, linguistics, biology, sociology, and demography. The literary cohort comprised the Chukchi Yurii Rytkeu (1930–2008), the Nivkh Vladimir Sangi (b. 1935), the Nenets Liubov’ Neniang (1931–1996) and Anna Nerkagi (b. 1951), the Evenk Alitet Nemtushkin (1939–2006), the Khanty Eremai Aipin (b. 1948), the Mansi Yuvan Shestalov (1937–2011), the Komi Gennadii Yushkov (1932–2009), the Udmurt Petr Chernov (1936–2000), and the Yakut Sofron Danilov (1922–1993). Most of these figures belonged to the generation born in the 1930s and received their education in Leningrad or Moscow. All were members of the *Writers’ Union*, with several holding leadership positions within its branches.

The work of Yurii Rytkeu illustrates particularly well how the old canon began to erode (see Chichlo, *this volume*, p. 88; Kasten, *this volume*, p. 309 – E.K.). In his essay published in *Sovetskaia kul’tura* in June 1987, Rytkeu responds to a critical piece in the West German magazine *Der Spiegel* by reframing one of its stories – the

tragic suicide of an eighteen-year-old Eskimo² in a Baffin Island prison – as a symbol of the social neglect inherent in the capitalist North [22]. This is then contrasted with the humanism of Soviet power and the personal heroism of a Russian baker who fed Chukotka’s children during the famine of 1944. At the same time, however, the author expresses concern about “a number of phenomena” observable not only in Canada but also in the northern peripheries of the USSR, “especially when it comes to drunkenness, alcoholism, and spiritual decline [22].” In the context of the anti-alcohol campaign of the early Gorbachev years, such concerns were both permissible and even encouraged.

A year later, in May 1988, the picture was painted in entirely different colors in the essay *Lozungi i amulety* [Slogans and Amulets], published in *Komsomol’skaia pravda* [66]. Rytkeu opens with a vivid memory of his relatives hiding traditional amulets behind Communist slogans at the entrance to their *yaranga* – a metaphor for the dual existence of Northern peoples. In this piece, he laments the “merciless struggle against shamanism,” the poaching of “conquerors” who shot reindeer with impunity, and the destructive legacy of boarding schools and forced resettlements. Expressing indignation that a new generation of Chukchi and Eskimo peoples has grown ashamed of their language and appearance, the writer approaches a provocative line, only to shift the burden of responsibility. The blame for this cultural erosion is attributed not to the state system itself, but to a generalized “we” who neglected our own heritage.

Rytkeu concludes by calling for a full exposure of the “ugly distortions of Leninist nationalities policy [66],” urging a return to the idealized “glorious experience” of the early Soviet era. Such framing was highly characteristic of *perestroika* journalism, which sought to reform the system by appealing to its foundational myths. Behind Rytkeu’s calculated readiness to follow emerging trends without crossing permissible boundaries lay a dual loyalty and an unerring sense of the rules of the game. According to the recollections of the Leningrad poet Lev Druskin, the Chukchi writer candidly defined his work as a precise understanding of “what kind of product is needed (Druskin 1984: 348).”

A different strategy – the transition from carefully framed journalism to open political struggle – is exemplified by the Nivkh Vladimir Sangi, a long-time Secretary of the Board of the *RSFSR Writers’ Union*. While in an essay published in April 1987, he still reflects on the state’s paternalistic care for Northern Peoples as “part of the state-wide concept of morality,” only cautiously hinting at “certain difficulties [16],” by September 1988 his rhetoric had shifted radically. Sangi’s article *Otchuzhdenie* [Alienation], published in *Sovetskaia kul’tura* [91], became a vehement manifesto in which dry statistics gave way to a harrowing picture of a large-scale catastrophe. The author called for decisive political change, advocating for environmentally oriented development models and the direct representation of all nationalities in the *Supreme Soviet*

2 This ethnonym is retained here and throughout the text as the term standard at the time.

of the USSR. Soon thereafter, at a meeting of the Secretariat of the RSFSR Writers' Union, Sangi's proposal to establish an *Association of the Peoples of the North* was formally discussed [87]. Looking ahead, his article *Chtoby krona ne ogolilas'* [So That the Crown Does Not Become Bare], to be published in February 1989, will present a set of demands resembling a fully developed political program (Sangi 1989). This trajectory will culminate in 1990, when Sangi is to be elected the first president of the *Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North*, still operating today by its acronym RAIPON.

The scale of the ideological shift in the late 1980s is also evident in the work of the Khanty Eremai Aipin. One of the youngest among that circle of Northern authors, he undertook the dismantling of the sacred Soviet narrative of oil and gas, which framed industrial expansion as the ultimate destiny of the North. This myth had still been propagated by his Mansi colleague Yuvan Shestalov at the very beginning of the Gorbachev era: in one of Shestalov's essays, the "sun of the Great October" rises over the North, the "sacred fire of the friendship of peoples" burns, and Soviet citizens extract the "blue spirit of the earth" from its depths, while yesterday's fishers and hunters happily transform into "doctors, scholars, geologists, and oil workers (Shestalov 1985)."

Four years later, Aipin's article *Ne neft'iu edinoi* [Not by Oil Alone], published in the January 1989 issue of *Moskovskie novosti* [116], demystified this construct. The story of his hunter father, whose fur boots were stripped from his feet by incoming oil workers on a roadside at night in the 1960s, serves as a key metaphor for the plundering of the North. Industrial expansion deprived Indigenous inhabitants not only of their ancestral lands but also of their sense of dignity. "The clan died out, as I now understand, from a feeling of hopelessness and doom," Aipin observes. "The children left behind by relatives who perished in drunken incidents are a lost generation, needed neither by the village nor by the city [116]."

Posing the question "How can my people be saved?," Aipin moves toward a concrete program of action. He argues for the creation of protected territories free from industrial domination – lands where local *Soviets* would exercise real authority. The conclusion of his manifesto reads almost like an ultimatum: "If *perestroika* continues, my people will survive. If it does not, they will not [116]." This trajectory led Eremai Aipin to the political arena: he was to be elected a People's Deputy of the USSR for the Khanty-Mansi national-territorial district (Aipin 1989) and became a founding member of the regional association *Spasenie Yugry* [Salvation of Yugra].

Journalists and special correspondents

By 1988, the Indigenous Peoples' predicament had moved to the center of public attention. The discourse addressed both the specific situations of various ethnic groups – including the Komi [55], the Nganasan [65], the Khanty and Mansi [74], the Evenk [75], the Udmurt [100], the Nivkh [103], and the Veps [117] – and broader systemic

challenges. The latter encompassed environmental problems [57, 84, 90, 119 et al.], the state of public health [93], the underdeveloped social analysis within Soviet ethnographic film [110], the failings of the boarding school system [120], and a multitude of others.

The topic increasingly gained visibility through the work of correspondents focusing on different Northern regions. *Pravda* published reports by Arctic specialist Vladimir Chertkov [48, 60, 86] and his colleagues Nikolai Krivomazov [26, 62, 68] and Gennadii Sazonov [57]. Nikolai Savel'ev represented *Komsomol'skaia pravda* [104], while *Literaturnaia gazeta* carried the reporting of Valerii Sharov [81]. Contributions also appeared in *Sovetskaia kul'tura* by A. Shishov [74, 122], and in *Literaturnaia Rossiia* through the interviews of Viacheslav Ogryzko [18, 34, 37 et al.] and the essays of Anatolii Omel'chuk [120 et al.].

Before the discourse became a flood in 1988, individual reporters had already begun to break the silence on the region's escalating crisis. A pioneering example of such substantive, honest journalism is V. Kachurin's report *Dom v tundre* [A House in the Tundra], published in the December 1987 issue of *Sovetskaia kul'tura* [52]. The article offers a precocious address of the crisis facing the Northern family. Describing the union between the scholar Vitalii Zadorin and the Chukchi poet Antonina Kymytval', the author notes with regret that such happy families are "rarely encountered in Chukotka, especially among the local Indigenous population" [52]. Zadorin explains the causes of this situation to the author: "The reindeer herder's family is collapsing. The woman is leaving the tundra [52]."

Dom v tundre also contains a direct reference to past policy failures – specifically the liquidation of *neperspektivnye* [unpromising] settlements and the forced relocation of reindeer herders into urban environments. There, having lost their customary way of life, they "succumbed to alcoholism [52]." These questions would become central to the discussion concerning the "big problems of Small Peoples" that was soon to unfold [113]. Kachurin concludes that state intervention is necessary to improve the daily life of nomadic families, as without such support the region's social fabric will continue to unravel. The article, however, ends on a hopeful note.

Another striking example of in-depth journalistic analysis is Valerii Sharov's illustrated report *Mala li zemlia dlia malykh narodov?* [Is the Earth Too Small for Small Peoples?], published in *Literaturnaia gazeta* in August 1988. The editorial note introduced it as the first work by the newspaper's new special correspondent, sent to the Far Eastern region. The prologue to the essay recounts the author's conversation with an elderly Eskimo woman in Chukotka who had lost her thirty-year-old son. "Her words about the reasons for his death turned into a painful question for me, which became both the theme and the title of the article," Sharov writes, reflecting on the trajectory of twenty-six Small Peoples of the North during the Soviet period. The conclusion returns to the mother's response: "Perhaps the land had become too small for him... [81]." Sharov's powerful text did not go unnoticed and attracted the attention of

fellow journalists [87]. The author would continue to serve as the newspaper's special correspondent in the Far East, and two years later, he would publish an extensive article addressing the crisis of minority languages in the region (Sharov 1990).

The incisive works of V. Kachurin and V. Sharov serve as illustrative examples of journalism's consistent engagement with professional scholarly expertise. Kachurin's analysis was fundamentally based on his conversations with the scholar Vitalii Zadorin, who acted as both the central figure of the report and its primary informant. Similarly, during his time in Chukotka, Sharov met with Moscow-based ethnographers Igor Krupnik and Mikhail Chlenov, and in Vladivostok he consulted researchers at the *Institute of History, Archaeology, and Ethnography of the Peoples of the Far East*. It was from these scholars that Sharov first learned of the existence of "scientific censorship with regard to any articles, however marginally related to the plight of the Small Peoples [81]."

The *Anxious North* and expert perspectives

In November 1988, the journal *Kommunist* (the CPSU Central Committee's flagship theoretical journal) published a programmatic article by Aleksandr Pika and Boris Prokhorov, *Bol'shie problemy mal'kh narodov* [The Big Problems of Small Peoples] [113]. Writing for a broad audience, the authors – members of the expert group *Trevozhnyi Sever* [Anxious North] – presented a well-founded analysis of the tragic situation of the northern small-numbered peoples.

The publication of Pika and Prokhorov's work marked a turning point; as Boris Chichlo noted, it lifted "one of the many taboos of the censored press (Chichlo 1994)." Although the bibliographic data presented here suggests that prohibitions on the topic had already eroded in practice, the resonance of the piece remains undeniable: it introduced a broad readership to an expert perspective that blended analytical rigor with a sharp sense of urgency.

Previously, general readers encountered scholarly opinions largely at one remove – typically through reports on *Union of Writers* events featuring ethnographers such as Zoia Sokolova and Viacheslav Kulemzin [28], or biologist Liudmila Bogoslovskaiia and ethnographer Mikhail Chlenov [85]. Now, however, scientific expertise reached the public directly. *Kommunist* published two responses to Pika and Prokhorov's article (Gumilev et al. 1989; Lashov 1989), and excerpts from the piece were broadcast on the radio in a program dedicated to the ecology of Siberia.³

This direct presence of scholarly voices soon became a regular feature of the central press. For instance, *Pravda* carried a collective article by Northern studies schol-

3 The 5 January 1989 broadcast on *Iunost'* – Tatiana Khromchenko's report "Expedition *Ecological Balance*," detailing the impact of Siberian oil and gas development on Nenets reindeer herders – is documented in the Monitoring bulletins of Radio Liberty *USSR Today: Soviet Media Features Digest*.

ars addressing the critical state of Siberian languages [115]. Furthermore, roundtables organized by editorial boards emerged as an especially effective platform for professional dialogue. In February 1989, *Sovetskaia kul'tura* featured the reports from a large-scale roundtable titled *Na perelome* [At a Turning Point] [122]. The discussion brought together an outstanding group of authorities: joining Aleksandr Pika, Liudmila Bogoslovskaiia, Mikhail Chlenov, Igor Krupnik, and Maia Cheremisina were demographer Dmitrii Bogoiavlenskii, linguist and educator Elena Pushkareva, and other scholars. The writer Vladimir Sangi spoke on behalf of the literary community [122].

The feature occupied a full newspaper page and was illustrated with field photographs taken by the scientists during their expeditions – a manifestation of visual anthropology rather than standard press photography. Most notably, the close-up portrait of Timofei Panaug'e, a hereditary marine hunter from the Eskimo settlement of Sireniki, eschews idealized, staged aesthetics; the photograph presents a direct encounter with a living face in all its unvarnished individuality [122]. This portrait was later republished in the collective volume *Tropoi Bogoraza* (see Tropoi Bogoraza 2008: no pag., photo III-12). Through such imagery, the general public was granted the opportunity not only to engage with expert scientific opinion but to see Indigenous people through the eyes of committed anthropologists.

From the spring of 1989, similar large-scale roundtables would be organized by the editorial boards of other major newspapers, followed by an extensive outpouring of reader responses (e.g., *Sovetskaia Rossiia* 1989a, 1989b). Within this context, the publication of the *Sovetskaia kul'tura* roundtable – appearing notably under the rubric *Bol'shie problemy malykh narodov* – serves as the final entry in the annotated bibliography presented below.

Conclusion

Reflecting the discourse within the central press between January 1987 and February 1989, the project in its current form allows us to trace a radical transformation: a once-taboo subject, formerly restricted to ceremonial visualization, moved decisively into the open socio-political arena. Editorial boards actively shaped this process by introducing new organizational structures, such as regular thematic rubrics and large-scale roundtables. While special correspondents and journalists often acted as mediators, scholars also utilized the press as a direct platform for advocacy. This dialogue, in turn, sparked a significant response from the audience, with letters from readers further expanding the debate and propelling the concerns of Indigenous Peoples from invisibility to the all-Union agenda.

Looking beyond February 1989, these developments paved the way for an unprecedented surge of publications in the months that followed. This intensification of the public discussion prepared the ground for historic milestones: the *First Con-*

gress of People's Deputies, marked by the powerful voices of Indigenous representatives (Gaier 1989; Kraminova 1989); the founding congress of the small-numbered peoples of the North in the Kremlin in March 1990; and the establishment of the All-Union association *RAIPON* – an event described by Boris Chichlo as the “la première victoire des ‘petits peuples.’” (Chichlo 1990: 45)

Today, with *RAIPON* functioning as a pro-government structure and leaders of the Indigenous movement forced from Russia into exile or deprived of their liberty, there is an urgent need to turn a searching eye toward that recent past. Reexamining the period of immense but unfulfilled hope carries not only scholarly significance but also a profound human dimension.

I hope that the pilot project provides a foundation for a more exhaustive research endeavor – one that will eventually extend the chronological boundaries and broaden the scope of sources, primarily by incorporating the regional press. In such an expanded form, the bibliography has the potential to become a “living chronicle” of the turbulent *perestroika* years and the early 1990s, capturing the voices and shifting discourses surrounding the Indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia, and the Far East.

Note on the transliteration

This study employs a modified Library of Congress transliteration system. For clarity, the Cyrillic letters Ю and Я are rendered as Yu and Ya at the beginning of words (e.g., Yurii, Yuvan, Yushkov). Major geographic names, international ethnonyms, and administrative entities appear in their standard English forms (e.g., the Arctic, the Bering Strait, Moscow, and the National Autonomous Okrug). Following a personal request, the name of Tjan Zaotschnaja is rendered according to German transcription conventions. All newspaper and periodical titles, newspaper column headings, and original titles of books and individual works are transliterated and italicized.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Tjan Zaotschnaja for her support and for introducing me to her collection. I am grateful to Alesia Kananchuk and her colleagues at the *Archiv der Forschungsstelle Osteuropa* (Bremen) for their vital assistance. My thanks go to my husband, Anselm Bühling, and to my colleagues and friends – especially Marina Bobrik, Vlada Gekhtman, Dmitrii Kalugin, Anastassia Kostrioukova, Ilia Kukui, and Aleksander Yarin – for our discussions. Finally, I am profoundly grateful to Gabriel Superfin for his generous help and advice.

References

- Aipin, Eremai 1989. Ya za real'nuii avtonomiiu [I am for real autonomy]. *Sovetskaia kul'tura*, 18 March (No. 33): 3.

- Briman, M. 1989. Idushchie cherez v'iugu. *Sovetskaia kul'tura*, 28 March (No. 37): 2.
- Chichlo, Boris [Shishlo, B]. 1990. La première victoire des "petits peuples." *Siberian Questions / Questions Sibériennes / Сибирские вопросы* 1: 45–58.
- 1994. Korennye narody Sibiri i novaia Rossiia [Indigenous Peoples of Siberia and the new Russia]. *Kraevedcheskii biulleten'* 1: 154–170.
- Druskin, Lev. 1984. *Spasennaia kniga. Vospominaniia leningradskogo poeta* [Rescued Book. Memoirs of a Leningrad Poet]. London: Overseas Publications Interchange.
- Gaier, Evdokiia 1989. Vystuplenie na s'ezde narodnykh deputatov SSSR [Speech at the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR]. *Izvestiia*, 10 June (No. 161): 4.
- Gumilev, Lev, K. Ivanov, and S. Hrushchev 1989. Dva pis'ma – dva podkhoda [Two letters – two approaches]. *Kommunist*, August (No. 12): 119–121.
- Kraminova, Natal'ia 1989. Novyi chelovek tam, naverkhu. Zhenshchina iz ochen' malochislennogo naroda pristupaet k resheniiu vsenarodno vazhnykh zadach [A new person up there. A woman from a very small-numbered people begins to solve nationally important tasks]. *Moskovskie novosti*, 25 Juny (No. 26): 16.
- Lashov, B. 1989. Dva pis'ma – dva podkhoda [Two letters – two approaches]. *Kommunist*, August (No. 12).
- Sangi, Vladimir 1989. Chtoby krona ne ogolilas'... [So that the crown does not become bare...]. *Literaturnaia gazeta*, 15 February (No. 7): 1, 7.
- Sharov, Valerii 1990. Po-russki bez aktsenta [In Russian without an accent]. *Literaturnaia gazeta*, 10 January (No. 2): 3.
- Shestalov, Yuvan 1985. S vysoty rodnogo ochaga [From the height of the native hearth]. *Pravda*, 20 November (No. 324): 3.
- Shibarova, Anna 2025. "Zametki odnoi itel'menki" i drugie ocherki T'ian Zaochnoi. O poiske etnicheskogo samoopredeleniia ["Notes of an Itelmen woman" and other essays by T'ian Zaochnaia. On the search for ethnic self-determination]. *Wiener Slawistischer Almanach* 94: 343–379. doi:10.5282/8g36mb05.
- Shumilov, A. 1989. "Most" cherez Beringov proliv [A "bridge" across the Bering Strait]. *Pravda*, 28 February (No. 59): 6.
- Slezkine, Yuri 1994. *Arctic Mirrors: Russia and the Small Peoples of the North*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Sokolova, Zoia 1990 a. Perestroika i sud'by malochislennykh narodov Severa [*Perestroika* and the fates of the small-numbered peoples of the North]. *Istoriia SSSR* (No. 1): 155–166.
- 1990 b. S'ezd malochislennykh narodov Severa (vzgliad etnografa) [The congress of the small-numbered peoples of the North (an ethnographer's view)]. *Sovetskaia etnografiia* (No. 5): 142–146.
- 1990 c. Narody Severa SSSR: proshloe, nastoiashchee, budushchee [Peoples of the Soviet North: past, present, future]. *Sovetskaia etnografiia* No. 6: 17–32.
- Sovetskaia Rossiia 1989 a. Rodom s Severa. K Plenumu CK KPSS po sovershenstvovaniiu mezhnatsional'nykh otnoshenii. [Born in the North. To the plenum of

the CPSU Central Committee on Improving Interethnic Relations]. *Sovetskaia Rossiia*, 31 March (No. 74): 3.

- 1989 b. Pod pressom progressa. Obzor pochty na kruglyi stol “Rodom s Severa” [Under the pressure of progress. A review of mail for the round table “Native to the North”]. *Sovetskaia Rossiia*, 18 June (No. 141): 3.

Taksami, Chuner 1989. U kromki zemli [At the edge of the earth]. *Pravda*, 3 March (No. 62): 3.

Tchlenov, Mikhail [Chlenov, M.]. 1990. Quel destin attend les peuples du Nord? *Questions Sibériennes / Siberian Questions / Sibirskie voprosy. Bulletin № 1. Institut d'études slaves*: 36–46.

Tropoi Bogoraza. *Nauchnye i literaturnye materialy* [In the footsteps of Bogoras: Scientific and literary materials]. Moscow: Institut nasledii – GEOS, 2008.

USSR Today: Soviet Media Features Digest. [Munich]: December 1987 – December 1991. Library Holdings of the Forschungsstelle Osteuropa, Bremen.

Archival sources

The Tjan Zaotschnaja Collection.

Private Archive, Munich.

Annotated bibliography

- [1] Omel'chuk, A. 1987. *Lishnie liudi Severa* [Superfluous people of the North]. *Literaturnaia Rossiia*, 2 January (No. 1): 10–11.

An extensive report on the romanticized perceptions of moving to the North for construction work, contrasting them with its harsh socio-economic realities. The author details the region's severe infrastructure deficits, including overextended educational and medical facilities, as well as chronic shortages of food and basic services.

- [2] Alekseev, B. 1987. Na Severe dal'nem: ...A oleni luchshe! [In the Far North:... But reindeer are better!]. [Photograph]. *Pravda*, 4 January (No. 4): 6.

The photograph shows a close-up of a reindeer herder's face with a reindeer herd in the background.

- [3] *Pravda*. 1987. Tol'ko fakty [Only facts]. *Pravda*, 23 January (No. 23): 3.

A brief report on the opening of an ethnographic museum in the village of Krasnyi Yar (Primorskii Krai). The exhibits cover the life and daily practices of the Udege and Nanai peoples.

- [4] Nekrasov, E. 1987. *Blizkaia Sibir'*. *Dni literatury RSFSR v Tomskoi oblasti* [Close Siberia. Days of RSFSR literature in the Tomsk region]. *Literaturnaia Rossiia*, 30 January (No. 5): 8.

A special correspondent's report: writers and journalists travel by helicopter to meet with local residents working in the North. The correspondent praises the courageous, hardy oil workers who "came to the North not temporarily, but forever" and who introduced their own prohibition long before the "well-known official decree."

- [5] Paradni, V. 1987. U kraeshka Zemli: Na dal'nem pastbishche [At the edge of the earth: In a distant pasture]. [Photograph]. *Pravda*, 1 February (No. 32): 3.

The photograph shows reindeer grazing in a pasture with a landing helicopter in the background.

- [6] Shestalov, Yu. 1987. Ya chitaiu Pushkina [I am reading Pushkin]. *Literaturnaia Rossiia*, 6 February (No. 6): 6.

The essay by the Mansi writer reflects on how Pushkin influenced his quest for creative individuality. The author, who characterizes himself as a "son of the taiga and tundra," describes Pushkin's "cosmic word" as an impulse that kindled in him a "sincere thought about the Land and Humanity." The metaphor of poetic *kamlanie* (shamanic ritual) runs through the text: "And I seek my Word. I am performing *kamlanie*."

- [7] Volkov, V. 1987a. Iz kollektsii mastera. [From the master's collection] [3 photographs]. *Literaturnaia gazeta*, 11 February (No. 7): 6.

The photographs feature an expedition's ice base, Chukchi hunters on a dog sled, and aircraft unit commander.

- [8] Mikhalkov, S. 1987. Priamaia rech' pisatelei Rossii [Direct speech of the writers of Russia]. *Literaturnaia Rossiia*, 20 February (No. 8): 2–3.

From a speech by the RSFSR Writers' Union Board following the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum: Sergei Mikhalkov notes that 59 national literatures feed into Russian literature "like streams into the Volga," warning that the Writers' Union must ensure "not a single stream runs dry, otherwise the river will grow shallow."

- [9] *Literaturnaia Rossiia*. 1987a. Iz tvorchestva pisatelei Severa i Dal'nego Vostoka [From the creative work of writers of the North and the Far East]. *Literaturnaia Rossiia*, 20 February (No. 8): 7.

A literary collection dedicated to the 70th Anniversary of the October Revolution. Poetry: Yu. Shestalov (Mansi), A. Kymytval' (Chukchi), V. Sangi (Nivkh), O. Aksenov (Dolgan), A. Passar (Nanai), V. Koianto (Koryak), A. Nemtushkin (Evenk), U. Ado (Yukaghir), V. Ledkov (Nenets), R. Rugin (Khanty). A short story by N. Kurilov (Yukaghir). Graphic art by Yu. Baranov.

- [10] Dubrovina, S. 1987. Alena iz Salekharda. Kubik Rubika [Alena from Salekhard. Rubik's cube]. [2 pastel drawings]. *Sovetskaia kul'tura*, 21 February (No. 23): 5.

The drawings depict Indigenous people: a girl against a traditionally ornamented background and a man in traditional dress with a pipe and a Rubik's cube.

- [11] Feklistov, Yu. 1987. V traditsiiakh Chukotki [In the traditions of Chukotka]. [Photograph]. *Pravda*, 22 February (No. 53): 6.

The photograph shows V. Pelianto, a young craftsman and *Komsomol* member at the *Severnye suveniry* [Northern souvenirs] bone-carving workshop in Uelen, Chukotka.

- [12] Literaturnaia Rossiia. 1987b. Sever stavit problemy. Obsuzhdenie literatur narodnostei Krainego Severa i Dal'nego Vostoka [The North poses problems. Discussion of the literatures of the nationalities of the Far North and the Far East]. *Literaturnaia Rossiia*, 6 March (No. 10): 7.

A report on the field meeting of the RSFSR Writers' Union Board Secretariat. The discussion focused on "internationalism, Soviet patriotism, and the friendship of peoples" in Northern literatures. In his talk, V. Sangi emphasized the need to "fundamentally examine the state of the literatures of the Northern nationalities." Taking the floor were writers Yu. Rytkeu, A. Kymytval', Yu. Shestalov, A. Nekragi, and S. Kurilov, as well as scholars Yu. Sheikin (Novosibirsk), V. Kulemzin (Tomsk), A. Vidinov (Khanty-Mansiisk), and Z. Sokolova (Moscow).

- [13] Iliushkina, E. 1987. Krai liubimy, severnyi [Beloved northern land]. *Literaturnaia Rossiia*, 20 March (No. 12): 24.

A note about Mikhail Merinov's bookplates (ex-libris). Two works are featured, including a bookplate for the Chukchi poet Antonina Kymytval', which depicts a young woman in traditional clothing reading Lermontov.

- [14] Volkov, V. 1987b. Po trudu chest': [Honor by labor]. [Photograph]. *Pravda*, 20 March (No. 79): 2.

The photograph shows Ivan Gygol'tyn, a leading worker at the reindeer and fur farm, Chukotka.

- [15] Titov, I. 1987. Kamchatka [Kamchatka]. [2 photographs]. *Pravda*, 30 March (No. 89): 6.

The images depict a boy in traditional clothing cuddling a dog and a drilling rig at the Mutnovskii geothermal field.

- [16] Sangi, V. 1987. Bez umileniia: O nekotorykh slozhnostiakh razvitiia literatur narodov Severa [Without sentimentality: On some difficulties of the development of the literatures of the Northern peoples]. *Literaturnaia gazeta*, 1 April (No. 14): 5.

An essay by the Nivkh founding author reflects on the "newly written literatures" of the North, noting that they "brilliantly confirmed the ingenious foresight of Marx and Engels" by traversing a century-long path in just five years. Sangi argues that Indigenous welfare and environmental protection are now "part of the state-wide concept of morality." However, he highlights "certain difficulties:" the loss of "Chukchi simplicity" in Yu. Rytkeu's works due to European influence, the administrative imposition of a standardized dialect on the Eskimo people, and the hurried publication of the Nivkh primer (1982).

- [17] Prosekov, A. 1987. [Photograph with caption]. *Komsomol'skaia pravda*, 8 April (No. 82): 1.

The photograph depicts Evdokim Khutukagir, who arrived on a *komsomol'skaia putevka* [Komsomol assignment] at a *sovkhoz* [state farm] and became one of its best *olenevody* [reindeer herders].

- [18] Ogryzko, V. 1987. Nemtushkin, Alitet. Mne sniatsia nebesnye oleni [I dream of celestial reindeer]. *Literaturnaia Rossiia*, 10 April (No. 15): 11.

An article on the literary and public activities of the Evenk writer Alitet Nemtushkin, whose sharp journalism on the problems of reindeer husbandry and alcoholism provoked a harsh reaction from local authorities. In the interview, Nemtushkin notes the reduction in reindeer herds, the loss of traditional occupations, and the forced transition of Indigenous people to unskilled labor; the destructive influence of the boarding school system; and the lack of book publishing in the Evenk language. The writer also criticizes the practice of literary translation, pointing to the translators' indifference to Northern culture.

- [19] Korotkikh, V. 1987. Iz rodnykh mest [From native places]. *Pravda*, 27 April (No. 117): 3.

A note on an exhibition of amateur artists in Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskii features traditional crafts: Koryak fur ornaments, Ukrainian *rushnyky* [ornamental ritual cloths], Vologda lace, Georgian *chekanka* [embossed metal art], and Chukchi bone carving. The report notes that Kamchatka is home to "representatives of almost all the nations and nationalities of our country," who came to develop the region.

- [20] Chernov, V. 1987. Na Severe dal'nem [In the Far North]. [Photograph]. *Pravda*, 25 May (No. 145): 3.

The photograph depicts reindeer herders and a reindeer herd near a *yaranga* [traditional tent] in the Yamalo-Nenetskii Autonomous Okrug.

- [21] Afanas'ev, V. 1987. Okhotniki s mysa Dezhneva. Eskimos Nerku [Hunters from Cape Dezhnev. Eskimo Nerku]. [Graphics and text]. *Sovetskaia kul'tura*, 26 May (No. 63): 6.

The drawings depict a group of sea hunters and the old Eskimo on a doorstep. In the text, the author recalls the “unforgettable Old Uelen” and notes the comfort of New Uelen, where one “feels at home,” forgetting the proximity of the Arctic Ocean.

- [22] Shpigel' / Rytkeu, Yu. 1987. Eskimosy: pod ugrozoi – zhizn' [Eskimo people: Life Is Under Threat] / Narod, pronomerovannyi, kak stado oleni... [A people numbered like a herd of reindeer...]. (Za rubezhom: Eshche o pravakh cheloveka [Abroad: More on Human Rights]). *Sovetskaia kul'tura*, 16 June (No. 71): 7.

The section pairs a *Der Spiegel* report on the social crisis among Canadian and Greenlandic Eskimos with an article by Yuri Rytkeu. Rytkeu addresses the socio-cultural costs of rapid modernization in the Soviet North – specifically alcoholism and bureaucratic neglect – while drawing parallels to the marginalization and high incarceration rates of Eskimos in the West. He concludes with a plea for a humanitarian foundation in Northern development policies.

- [23] TASS. 1987. Poliklinika, na vzlet! [Polyclinic, take off!]. *Pravda*, 21 June (No. 172): 2.

A news report on the operation of mobile medical units in Kolyma and Chukotka. Aviation is used to provide healthcare services to 256 reindeer-herding brigades and their families (totaling over 3,000 nomadic people).

- [24] Bazhenov, G. 1987. Chto nasha zhizn'? [What is our life?]. *Literaturnaia gazeta*, 24 June (No. 26): 4.

A review of the book *Pod nebom edinyim* [Under a single sky] by the Nanai writer Petr Kile. The critic points out that a more in-depth engagement with the history and daily life of the Nanai people would allow the author to gain “social significance and historical perspective.”

- [25] Ul'iashov, P. 1987a. “Nuzhny mne kryl'ja...” Shtrichi k portretu Yuvana Shestalova [“I need wings...” Sketches for a portrait of Yuvan Shestalov]. *Literaturnaia Rossiia*, 26 June (No. 26): 11.

An extensive article on the Mansi poet Yuvan Shestalov, providing an overview of his literary career and biographical details. The author describes Shestalov's years as a student in Leningrad at the Herzen Pedagogical Institute and the significance of the institute's proximity to Pushkin's last residence for the writer's creative development.

- [26] Krivomazov, N. 1987. Gor'kii urok [A bitter lesson]. [Photograph by A. Belonogov]. *Pravda*, 29 June (No. 180): 8.

A report from Krasnoiarsk by a special correspondent on the consequences of inadequate clearing of the reservoir bed at the Saiano-Shushenskaia GES [hydroelectric station]. The correspondent points out that this issue is being overlooked

in the design of the Turukhanskaia station, noting: “The time has come for an environmental revaluation of the economy.”

- [27] Androshin, A. 1987. Zdravnitsa sredi sopok [Health resort among the hills]. *Pravda*, 4 July (No. 185): 6.

A short note on the *Talaia* health resort, where “miners, reindeer herders, builders, and geologists of Kolyma and Chukotka” go for recreation. It mentions an ancient legend about the discovery of the hot springs by an Even reindeer herder.

- [28] Lomunova, M. 1987. Sever stavit problemy. Materialy kruglogo stola [The North poses problems. Materials from a round table]. *Literaturnaia Rossiia*, 10 July (No. 28): 4.

An extensive report on a round-table discussion in Khanty-Mansiisk addressing pressing issues of Northern life. Writers’ trips through the region “shattered the former stereotypes of meetings with the working people,” allowing for a closer acquaintance with the daily life of hunters and fishers. Researchers (Z. Sokolova, V. Kulemzin) and writers (E. Aipin, A. Nerkagi) addressed the disruption of traditional lifestyles, the boarding school system, and the shortage of qualified personnel.

- [29] Rytkheu, Yu. 1987. Khudozhnik i vremia. Nashi interviiu [From the column: The artist and time. Our Interviews]. *Pravda*, 12 July (No. 193): 3.

An interview with Yurii Rytkheu: the author speaks of the opportunities created under socialism for their development, while criticizing the limited intensity of cultural exchange. He argues that national arts (Uzbek opera, Kazakh ballet) should have a permanent presence in Moscow, citing his memory of an orchestra in Uelen in the late 1930s as “the beginning of a journey into the wondrous world of the arts and beauty.”

- [30] Khatuntsev, V. 1987. Pervyi iz udege [The first of the Udege]. *Pravda*, 5 August (No. 217): 3.

A short piece on the first Udege writer, Dzhanis Kimonko, providing a biographical sketch that covers his childhood in the taiga, studies in Khabarovsk and Leningrad, participation in suppressing *kulak* uprisings, and his literary collaboration with Yuliia Shestakova. It concludes by highlighting major publishing projects: a ten-volume set of Northern writers’ works and the 60-volume academic series *Pamiatniki fol’klora narodov Sibiri i Dal’nego Vostoka* [Folklore Heritage of the Peoples of Siberia and the Far East].

- [31] Timakov, V. 1987a. Puteshestvie bez viz [A journey without visas]. *Pravda*, 15 August (No. 227): 6.

A short note on the swim by American athlete Lynne Cox across the Bering Strait, from Little Diomed Island (USA) to the Soviet island of Ratmanov (Big

Diomede), where the swimmer was greeted on the shore with flowers by the Chukotka folklorist Margarita Glukhikh; a “song of friendship” between Soviet and American Eskimo Peoples was performed.

- [32] Rytkeu, Yu. 1987. Uroki internatsionalizma [Lessons of internationalism]. *Literaturnaia Rossiia*, 21 August (No. 34): 2–3.

An article written for the on-site session of the RSFSR Writers' Union Secretariat. Mention is made of the first Northern writers, Akim Samar and Teki Odulok, and the influence of a seminar involving Russian writers held in Komarovo in the early 1960s on the careers of Yu. Shestalov, V. Sangi, G. Khodzher, and A. Nemtushkin. Referring to the January (1987) Plenary Session and the unrest in Alma-Ata, Rytkeu criticizes the concealment of problems in ethnic relations. In particular, he denounces the practice of creating translations from *podstrochniki* (interlinear glosses) for works that do not exist in the original.

- [33] Timakov, V. 1987b. Zhivoe dykhanie Chukotki [The living breath of Chukotka]. *Pravda*, 1 September (No. 244): 6.

A report on the book *Novaia zhizn' drevnikh legend Chukotki* [New Life for the Ancient Legends of Chukotka]. The legends are illustrated and narrated by masters from Uelen: Galina Tynatval', Elena Yanku, Vasilii Emrykain, Vera Emkul', and Maia Gemauge.

- [34] Kurilov, G. (Uluro Ado). 1987. “Chtob, kak poloz'ia, stikh skol'zil...” Beseda s Uluro Ado [“So that, like runners, the verse would glide.” A conversation with Uluro Ado]. Interview by Viacheslav Ogryzko. *Literaturnaia Rossiia*, 4 September (No. 36): 4–5.

An interview by V. Ogryzko with the Yukaghir poet G. Kurilov (whose pseudonym is Uluro Ado) ahead of the on-site session of the RSFSR Writers' Union Secretariat. As the creator of the Yukaghir alphabet and primer, Kurilov drew upon the materials of the ethnographer Vladimir Jochelson. He presents data from an expedition to the Upper Kolyma (March 1987), noting the decline of traditions.

- [35] Sakovskaia, G. 1987. Uchit'sia druzhbe [Learning friendship]. *Pravda*, 5 September (No. 248): 2.

A short note by a teacher from the Smolensk region on how present-day schoolchildren are unaware of the existence of the Chukchi people. The author criticizes the lack of publications about the USSR's multiethnic character and the press's abrupt shift from a “flood of praise” to constant criticism.

- [36] Ul'iashov, P. 1987b. Liki Severa [Faces of the North]. *Literaturnaia gazeta*, 9 September (No. 37): 4.

An overview of publications in the journal *Poliarnaia zvezda* [The Polar Star]: essays by A. Omel'chuk on the Ket, a small vanishing Siberian *narodnost'* [eth-

nic group]; by G. Varlamova on the Evenk, who "live practically according to tribal laws;" and on the selfless educational work of the Far Eastern writer Yuliia Shestakova, who "mentored and nurtured many writers from small ethnic groups, including the legendary Udege writer Dzhansi Kimonko."

- [37] Khodzher, G. 1987. Sokhranit' cennosti naroda [Preserve the values of the people]. Interview by Viacheslav Ogryzko. *Literaturnaia Rossiia*, 11 September (No. 37): 8.

An interview with the Nanai writer G. Khodzher. He describes an episode in his native village of Verkhni Nergen that deeply shook him: the locals did not go out to fish, relying instead on *izhdivenchestvo* [social dependency] and waiting for state handouts.

- [38] Kazanskii, B. 1987. Olenevod Nikolai Kolesov [Reindeer herder Nikolai Kolesov]. [photograph]. *Pravda*, 16 September (No. 259): 1.

The photograph depicts a foreman at the leading *Zolotinka* reindeer-breeding state farm, Yakut ASSR.

- [39] Timakov, V. 1987 c. Privet s Aliaski [Greetings from Alaska]. *Pravda*, 29 September (No. 272): 3.

A note on the visit to Bukhta Provideniia (Chukotka) by the crew of the American vessel *Surveyor* at the request of the Mayor of Nome, John Handline. In a message to O. Kulinkin, Chairman of the District Executive Committee, the feelings of good neighborliness from the people of Alaska toward their Soviet neighbors were expressed.

- [40] Zakharova, I. 1987. "Chukotskie zori" v Kanade ["Chukotskie Zori" in Canada]. *Sovetskaia kul'tura*, 29 September (No. 117): 7.

A note highlights the participation of the Soviet amateur ensemble *Chukotskie zori* [Chukotka Dawns] participates for the first time in the Pacific Folklore Festival in Vancouver.

- [41] *Pravda*; *Sovetskaia kul'tura*. 1987. Nemerknushchii podvig geroev Zapoliar'ia. Torzhestvennoe sobranie, posviashchennoe vrucheniiu gorodu Murmansk ordena Lenina i medali "Zolotaia Zvezda." Rech tovarishcha Gorbacheva M. S. [The unfading feat of the heroes of the Arctic. Solemn meeting dedicated to the presentation of the order of Lenin and the "Gold Star" Medal to the City of Murmansk. Speech by Comrade M. S. Gorbachev]. *Pravda*, 2 October 1987 (No. 275): 1-3; *Sovetskaia kul'tura*, 3 October 1987 (No. 119): 1-3.

A speech by M. S. Gorbachev outlining the Murmansk Initiatives: transforming the North into a "zone of peace," implementing disarmament and environmental cooperation measures. The humanitarian aspect is specifically emphasized, noting the need for attention to the interests of Indigenous Peoples, the study of

their ethnic characteristics, and the development of cultural ties. Gorbachev also proposes opening the Northern Sea Route to foreign vessels.

- [42] Shchukin, A. 1987. Na Severe Dal'nem [In the Far North]. [2 photographs]. *Pravda*, 6 October (No. 279): 6.

The photographs depict children's faces – “like all children, these young Nenets are cheerful, joyful, and a bit shy” – and a puppy with a catch of fish in the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Okrug.

- [43] Latyshev, I. 1987. Ainu vstupaiut v spor. Aborigeny ostrova Hokkaido otstaiuiut svoi prava [The Ainu enter the dispute: Aborigines of Hokkaido Island assert their rights]. *Pravda*, 19 October (No. 292): 6.

A report on the Ainu people: the author notes that “rejecting the policy of forced assimilation pursued by the Japanese authorities, the Ainu are defending the very ‘human rights’ that are often extolled but much less frequently observed by the government circles of the West.”

- [44] Khanberga, E. 1987. Pesnia o Severe [Song of the North]. *Literaturnaia Rossiia*, 23 October (No. 43): 17.

A review of Roman Rugin's poetry collection *Metel' na ladoni* [Blizzard on the palm], translated from the Khanty.

- [45] Androshin, A. 1987. Po sledam pis'ma. Zhivi, “Rybak!” [Following the letter: Long live “fisher!”]. *Pravda*, 12 November (No. 316): 2.

An article written in response to a letter from residents of the Kamchatka settlement Ichinskii, where people fear the closure of the village due to the relocation of oil exploration. In contrast to the practice of liquidating *neperspektivnye* [unpromising] villages, the idea of establishing the *Rybak* [Fisherman] *kolkhoz* was proposed.

- [46] Tereshchenko, V. 1987. Grafika iz serii “Tomskii Sever” [Graphics from the “Tomsk North” series]. [3 illustrations]. *Sovetskaia kul'tura*, 26 November (No. 141): 6.

Three graphic works: an oil pipeline in the taiga; a portrait of an oil production operator; and a genre scene titled *Babushka priekhala!* [Grandmother Has Arrived!] depicting a woman and a girl in traditional dress greeting a grandmother as she steps off a helicopter.

- [47] Gyngazov, V. 1987. Iz stoibishcha – v muzei [From the nomadic camp to the museum]. [Photograph]. *Pravda*, 2 December (No. 336): 3.

Photograph Roman Karymov, an amateur artist from Nizhnevartovsk.

- [48] Chertkov, V. 1987. Preludiia k “Arktike” [Prelude to the “Arctic”]. *Pravda*, 7 December (No. 341): 4.

A report by a special correspondent on the arrival in Chukotka of a film crew from the Japanese NHK corporation to co-produce a 12-part film, *Arktika* [The Arctic], with USSR *Gosteleradio*.

- [49] Aglicheev, S. 1987. S’echalis’ na prazdnik [They gathered for the festival]. [3 photographs]. *Pravda*, 8 December (No. 342): 6.

The photographs depict a national festival in the settlement of Nogliki (Sakhalin) attended by Nivkh, Nanai, and Evenk people, where participants perform the Koryak dance norgali, compete in marksmanship, and play the Nivkh folk instrument, the kanga.

- [50] Yastrebtsov, G. 1987. Katiat bochki...: Kommentarii k fotografii [Rolling the barrels...: Commentary on a photograph]. *Pravda*, 17 December (No. 351): 3.

A photo report on an environmental issue: expanding dumps of empty steel fuel drums along the shores of the Arctic seas. Approximately 10 million such barrels have accumulated along the Arctic Ocean coast, stretching from Yamal to Chukotka.

- [51] Panov, S. 1987. Vertolety nad taigoi [Helicopters over the taiga]. [photograph]. *Pravda*, 22 December (No. 356): 6.

The photograph depicts a helicopter that delivered doctors to a hunting winter hut in the taiga of the Khakas Autonomous Oblast.

- [52] Kachurin, V. 1987. Dom v tundre [A house in the tundra]. *Sovetskaia kul’tura*, 24 December (No. 153): 3.

An article on the family crisis among the Indigenous Peoples of the North, using the marriage of the poet Antonina Kymytval’ and the scientist Vitalii Zadorin as a rare example of a happy and stable family in Chukotka. Zadorin states that “the reindeer herder’s family is collapsing” as women leave the tundra and the herders’ way of life degrades. The policy of liquidating *neperspektivnye* [unpromising] villages and relocating herders to district centers – where they faced alcoholism while “career-climbing outsiders” were making their careers – is criticized. The proposed solution is to build 117 stationary houses for the brigades, as the youth no longer wish to live in *yarangas*.

- [53] Skurikhina, M. 1988. Svet tundry [Light of the tundra]. [2 photographs]. *Pravda*, 16 January (No. 16): 3.

The photographs depict a computer science lesson at a boarding school in Nar’ian-Mar, described as a “second home for many Nenets children,” and a performance by the ensemble *Khayar* (Sun), whose members collect folklore material bit by bit from tundra residents for their songs and dances.

- [54] Danil’chenko, V. 1988. Na Severe dal’nem [In the Far North]. [3 photographs]. *Pravda*, 19 January (No. 19): 1.

The photographs depict a portrait of the leading foreman and Communist Party member V. Voronkovich, an icebreaker in the night ice, and a convoy of trucks on the Kolyma Highway – the “road of life” for the country’s North-East.

- [55] Yushkov, G. 1988. Chto teriaem? [What are we losing?]. *Literaturnaia Rossiia*, 29 January (No. 4): 8.

A report by the Chair of the Komi Writers’ Union on the crisis of national identity. The author links the “assault on the national” to the Stalinist cult of personality and the displacement of the native language from schools in the 1960s. He criticizes the environmental situation and the region’s status as a place of exile for “parasites and alcoholics,” creating a demographic imbalance (the settler population is three times larger than the Indigenous).

- [56] Soldakov, V., Prosekov, A. 1988. [Bez zaglaviia: Tekst i fotografii] [Untitled: Text and photographs]. *Komsomol’skaja pravda*, 5 February (No. 29): 1.

A photo report by *Sovetski Taimyr* correspondents on daily life in the settlement of Novaia, where “reindeer herders, fishermen, and hunters live and work.” The photographs feature a portrait of Komsomol member Sergei Kupchik, a descendant of an “ancient Nganasan lineage,” and the “ringing gallop of reindeer.”

- [57] Sazonov, G. 1988. Stolknulsia olen’ s burovoi [A reindeer collided with a drilling rig]. *Pravda*, 10 February (No. 41): 3.

A report on the crisis in reindeer husbandry in the Nenets Autonomous Okrug caused by the expansion of oil producers. According to official statistics, about 5,000 hectares of land have been ruined. Citing a publication by R. Neronov in the newspaper *Nar’iana vynder*, the author blames the environmental violations on official deception and inaction.

- [58] Titov, I. 1988. Taiga zovet [The taiga is calling]. [Photograph]. *Pravda*, 15 February (No. 46): 3.

The photograph depicts M. Dolgan, the oldest hunter of the Kamchatka village Aianka, and his grandchildren seated upon a dog sled. Dressed in ornate fur clothing, they are ready to depart.

- [59] Kostikov, M. 1988. “Tukak” – teatr eskimosov [“Tukak” – an Eskimo theater]. *Pravda*, 15 March (No. 75): 5.

A report on the first national theater of Greenlandic Eskimo peoples in Denmark.

- [60] Chertkov, V. 1988a. Iz bloknota zhurnalista: Dumy ob Arktike [From a journalist’s notebook: Thoughts on the Arctic]. *Pravda*, 23 March (No. 83): 3.

Notes from a trip to Chukotka: during a stay in the settlement of Lavrentiia, the author admits that, for the first time, he does “not think of the heroics of days long pas.” In Pevek, a House of Culture has remained unfinished for years. S.

Raskin, director of the Uelen boarding school, talks about the harsh conditions in the facility, which teaches traditional crafts, the "fine art of reindeer herding," and revives forgotten culture.

- [61] Paradni, V. 1988. Olenevody: Na olen'i upriazhke [Reindeer herders: On a reindeer sled]. [Photograph]. *Pravda*, 31 March (No. 91): 6.

The photograph shows a reindeer herder on a sled. In the leading *Tundra sovkhov* (Murmansk region), there are 35,000 reindeer; last year, the region produced 1,335 tons of reindeer meat (live weight). The photographs depict a close-up portrait of an oilman, a drilling rig, and drillers accompanied by a dog.

- [62] Krivomazov, N., Khots, Iu. 1988. Tikhoi sapoi [By stealth]. *Pravda*, 12 April (No. 103): 6.

An article on the protest against the construction of the Turukhansk Hydroelectric Station. Two projects are being considered; the first involves a 1,200 km reservoir that would flood most of Evenkiia. News of the work's commencement sparked outrage among residents: "We speak of *glasnost*, yet we start such a massive undertaking on the sly!"

- [63] Agancheev, S. 1988. Neftianiki Sakhalina [Sakhalin oilmen]. [3 photographs]. *Pravda*, 19 April (No. 110): 1.

The photographs depict a close-up portrait of an oilman, a drilling rig, and drillers accompanied by a dog.

- [64] Literaturnaia Rossiia 1988. Bol'shie perspektivy [Great prospects]. *Literaturnaia Rossiia*, 29 April (No. 17): 8.

A report on the RSFSR Writers' Union Secretariat meeting regarding Komi literature. G. Yushkov delivered the keynote speech, noting increased interest in history and the need to eliminate "blank spots" by returning the names of G. Lytkin, K. Zhakov, and other "unjustly erased" cultural figures.

- [65] Neniang, L. 1988. "Piatna" v geografii ["Spots" on the geography]. *Pravda*, 19 May (No. 140): 6.

A Nenets poet reports from Norilsk on the critical situation of Taimyr reindeer herders and the atmosphere of fear toward officials. Neniang denounces official indifference and evokes the image of an official who "smirks wryly: The last thing we need is for the Northerners to start escalating the national question, too." The author asks: "Is the national question being escalated, or is it simply moving into the right channel?"

- [66] Rytkeu, Iu. 1988. Lozungi i amulety [Slogans and amulets]. *Komsomol'skaia pravda*, 19 May (No. 115): 4.

An extensive essay by the Chukchi writer who recalls how his relatives hid amulets behind Communist slogans at the entrance to their *yaranga*. While praising the “first Russian teachers,” the author laments that “we” neglected our own culture, and new generations of Chukchi and Eskimo peoples “began to feel ashamed of their language, clothing, and even physical appearance.” Key issues are highlighted: the “merciless struggle against shamanism;” the poaching of “conquerors” who shot reindeer; the vicious practice of boarding schools; forced resettlements; and the spread of drunkenness.

- [67] Marchenko, N. 1988. A deputaty molchali? [And the deputies kept silent?]. *Sovetskaia kul'tura*, 4 June (No. 67):7.

A letter from a labor veteran in Krasnoiarsk on the *From the Editorial Post* page: the decision to build a hydroelectric station on the Lower Tunguska River was made illegally.

- [68] Krivomazov, N., Lebedev, L. 1988. Iz Sibiri po delu [From Siberia on business]. *Pravda*, 12 June (No. 164):1.

A note by special correspondents focuses on the Evenk writer Alitet Nemtushkin, a delegate to the 19th Party Conference from the Krasnoiarsk Krai, and his opposition to the construction of hydroelectric stations on the Yenisei. Nemtushkin argues that the projected Turukhansk Hydroelectric Station ignores the interests of the Evenk people, stating that “it cannot be built,” which positions him in direct confrontation with the Minister of Energy, A. Maiorets.

- [69] Nemtushkin, A. 1988a. Vasha pozitsiia? [What is your position?]. *Komsomol'skaia pravda*, 17 June (No. 141):1.

An article by the Evenk writer analyzes the causes of rising alcoholism in the region, contrasting the strict trade limitations enforced by “selfless Party envoys” until 1935 with the 1970s transition from kolkhozes to sovkhoses, which provided Northerners with a *lishniaia kopeika* [a spare penny] and access to *veseliashchaia voda* [firewater]. The text criticizes the boarding school system for producing barchuki [pampered youths] detached from their native environment, and concludes with a call for a law ensuring the priority of traditional land use.

- [70] Degtiar', M. 1988. Mechta o severnom prolive [Dream of the northern strait]. *Komsomol'skaia pravda*, 24 June (No. 145):4.

A report on a 35-year-old resident of Yalta who dreams of swimming across the Bering Strait, seeking to repeat the achievement of American swimmer Lynne Cox.

- [71] Nemtushkin, A. 1988b. Stoit li mnozhit' oshibki? [Is it worth multiplying mistakes?]. *Sotsialisticheskaia industriia*, 28 June (No. 147):3.

The author advocates for the reorganization of the boarding school system and An article by the Evenk writer advocates for the reorganization of the boarding school system and the legal recognition of the right of Small Peoples to commercial hunting, while emphasizing that the proposed construction of the Turukhansk Hydroelectric Station threatens the very existence of his people, "mentioned even by the great Pushkin."

- [72] Kozhanov, V., Koliashnichenko, V., et al. 1988. Utverzhdenie delovitosti [The assertion of efficiency]. *Pravda*, 30 June (No. 182):1.

Special correspondents report from the 19th All-Union Party Conference: among the speakers is G. Jushkov, a writer and delegate from the Komi ASSR. For his "Small Northern People," the most critical issue is "ending the years-long dictate of industries" extracting oil, gas, timber, and coal. The writer declares that without the support of strong local Soviets, "perestroika will not happen."

- [73] Rasputin, V. 1988. Zemlia tvoia i moia. [Your Land and Mine]. [Editorial notice on the introduction of a new column]. *Sovetskaia kul'tura*, 7 July (No. 81):6.

The issue features the publication of an essay from V. Rasputin's forthcoming book *Sibir', Sibir'...* [Siberia, Siberia...] and an editorial notice introducing a new column, *Sotsial'naia politika: Sibir' i Dal'nii Vostok* [Social Policy: Siberia and the Far East]. This new section replaces the old one, *Sibiri i Dal'nemu Vostoku – vysokuiu kul'turu!* [To Siberia and the Far East – High Culture!]. The previous column had become obsolete, as had the "mobilizing slogans and loud phrases" that merely masked real problems: such as unfinished construction projects, food shortages, and a "monstrous, barbaric attitude toward nature."

- [74] Shishov, A. 1988. Bez severnogo siianiia [Without the northern lights]. *Sovetskaia kul'tura*, 26 July (No. 89):3.

From the *Sotsial'naia politika: Sibir' i Dal'nii Vostok* column. A special correspondent for the Khanty-Mansi Okrug reports on the fading culture of the Khanty and Mansi. It is noted that the expansion of oil and gas extraction since the 1960s, the disbandment of *kolkhozes*, and the liquidation of *neperspektivnye* villages have critically worsened the situation of the Indigenous population. The writer E. Aipin insists on legally securing lands for the Peoples of the North. A letter from the Mansi writer Yu. Shestalov and the intelligentsia addressed to *Politburo* member V. Vorotnikov is also mentioned.

- [75] Nemtushkin, A. 1988c. Bol' moia, Evenkiia! [My pain, Evenkiia!]. *Sovetskaia kul'tura*, 28 July (No. 90):3.

From the *Sotsial'naia politika: Sibir' i Dal'nii Vostok* column. The author notes that after the report was published in the regional press, the district Party committee officially labeled its points as "erroneous." Using the village of Uchami as an example, he describes a social catastrophe: the transformation of *kolkhozes* into *sovkhozes* led to extreme poverty (subsistence minimum 30–40 rubles while

a bucket of potatoes costs 20 rubles), the liquidation of reindeer husbandry, and the banning of traditional trades. Nemtushkin provides a historical overview: the struggle against *kulaks* and *shamans* destroyed not only the way of life but also the moral foundations of the northerners' character: "honesty, conscientiousness, openness."

- [76] Aipin, E., Sirazitdinov, A., Fedotov, M. 1988. [Three articles in defense of national languages: Reshen li vopros? Is the issue resolved? et al.]. *Literaturnaia Rossiia*, 29 July (No. 30): 4.

A collection of letters continuing the newspaper's ongoing coverage of the preservation of the linguistic and cultural diversity of the USSR's nationalities (G. Yushkov, "What Are We Losing?" No. 4, 29 Jan 1988; A. Khalimov, "My Language Is My Friend," No. 20, 20 May 1988; "Round Table" reports, No. 26, 1 July 1988 and No. 28, 10 July 1988). In the article "Is the Issue Resolved?" the Khanty writer Eremai Aipin analyzes the results of introducing native language instruction in schools: no breakthrough has occurred due to a shortage of textbooks and the arbitrary rule of school directors. The author is particularly alarmed by the position of "well-meaning parents" who exempt their children from studying their native language. At the same time, M. Fedotov reports on the problems of the Chuvash language, while A. Sirazitdinov addresses the discrimination against the interests of Tatars and Bashkirs in the Cheliabinsk region.

- [77] Probst, G. 1988. Ot imeni korennykh zhitel'ei Ameriki [On behalf of the Native inhabitants of America]. *Pravda*, 29 July (No. 211): 4.

A letter to the editor by Gloria Probst, board chair of the *American Indian Community Center Association*. The author asserts that the U.S. President ignores the history of America's Indigenous Peoples.

- [78] Volkov, V. 1988. Na Taimyre – leto [It is summer on Taimyr]. [2 photographs]. *Pravda*, 9 August (No. 222): 6.

The photographs depict a reindeer herder with his children helping him on migration during their school holidays, and a white night on the Khatanga River in the Taimyr Autonomous Okrug.

- [79] Hata, S. 1988. Proiti po Poliarnomu krugu – zhelanie yaponskikh kinoliubitelei! [To cross the Arctic Circle is the wish of Japanese film enthusiasts!]. *Pravda*, 15 August (No. 228): 7.

The Japanese production leader Sedziun Hata [in *Pravda*: Седзюн Хата] discusses the filming of the Soviet Japanese series *Arktika* [Arctic], which began in November 1987 in Ulen, Chukotka. The project consists of 12 television programs.

- [80] Borovkov, S. 1988. Komandorskie ostrova: kak reshallas' sud'ba Aleutskogo raiona [Commander Islands: How the fate of the Aleutian District was decided]. *Sovetskaia Rossiia*, 15 August (No. 188): no pages.

A correspondent's report: the residents of the Commander Islands (approximately 500 Aleut and 1,400 Itelmen peoples) have voted against the liquidation of the Aleutian National District, which was established 60 years ago.

- [81] Sharov, V. 1988. Mala li zemlia dlia malykh narodov? [Is the earth too small for small peoples?]. [Illus.: graphic drawing of a forest and oil rigs]. *Literaturnaia gazeta*, 17 August (No. 33): 10.

A major report from the Far East, featuring an illustration that contrasts the taiga and oil rigs. The introduction is a conversation with an Eskimo woman in Chukotka about her son's suicide; her words “became a tormenting question, which served as both the subject and title of the article.” The author analyzes the historical trajectory of twenty-six Small Peoples of the North, criticizing the Soviet narrative: the consolidation of villages in the 1950s–1960s, industrial expansion, and paternalism led to the “almost complete loss of the native language” and abnormally high mortality rates. The author mentions that through interviews with ethnographers I. Krupnik and M. Chlenov in Chukotka, as well as scientists from Vladivostok, he learned about the existence of scientific censorship on this subject. The finale returns to the mother's answer: “Perhaps the Earth became too small for him...”

- [82] Danilov, S. 1988. I tol'ko pravda ko dvoru [And only truth is welcome]. *Pravda*, 19 August (No. 232): 4.

An interview with the Yakut writer and delegate to the 19th Party Conference by literary critic V. Dement'ev. The writer thematizes feelings of “provincial timidity” and “inferiority” resulting from a colonial past, as well as the insufficient attention paid to the contribution of Northern Peoples – Even, Evenk, Yukaghir, and Yakut – to the development of the region.

- [83] Kozlov, S. 1988. U beregov Aliaski – SOVAM [Off the coast of Alaska – SOVAM]. (4 photographs). *Pravda*, 26 August (No. 239): 1.

Four photographs capturing the operations of the Soviet-American joint venture *Sovam*, engaged in commercial fishing in the Bering Sea off the coast of Alaska. The images depict scenes of everyday work at sea.

- [84] Gontmakher, E. 1988. Vtoroe prishestvie tungusskogo meteorita [The second coming of the Tunguska meteorite]. *Sovetskaia kul'tura*, 30 August (No. 104): 3.

The publication was prompted by a reader's letter from Krasnoiar'sk (No. 67, 4 June) regarding the secret decision to build a hydroelectric station on the Lower Tunguska River. The correspondent confirms that the project will cause “irreparable damage to the hunting economy of the Small Peoples of the North.”

- [85] Levshin, I. 1988. Surovaia real'nost' surovoi zemli [The harsh reality of a harsh land]. *Literaturnaia Rossiia*, 2 September (No. 35): 2–3.

Sangi proposed a rescue program: real autonomy, priority traditional land use, and the constitutional status of languages. *Rosagroprom's* attempts to impose "industrial labor organization" on the Small Peoples drew skepticism from writers and scholars (L. Bogoslovskaiia, M. Chlenov, et al.), who insisted on preserving the traditional way of life.

- [86] Chertkov, V. 1988. Borozdoi po tundre [By a furrow across the tundra]. *Pravda*, 3 September (No. 247): 3.

An essay by a journalist examines the Arctic as an integral socio-cultural space for the Indigenous Peoples of the Far North, focusing on the conflict between industrial oil and gas development and the preservation of a fragile environment. Conveying an urgent concern for the region's future, the text highlights the potential role of the recently established State Commission on Arctic Affairs in safeguarding the interests of the tundra inhabitants.

- [87] Rasskazova, T. 1988. Trevogi i bol' Severa [Anxieties and pain of the North]. *Literaturnaia gazeta*, 7 September (No. 36): 1.

A report on an expanded meeting of the RSFSR Writers' Union Board Secretariat. The author notes that V. Sangi's report continues the issue initiated in *Literaturnaia gazeta* by Valerii Sharov's article "Is the Earth Too Small for Small Peoples?" (No. 33, 1988). The focus is on V. Sangi's proposals: the creation of *Assotsiatsiia narodnostei Severa* [Association of Northern Peoples] and a committee under the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet; granting autonomy to Nanaï, Nivkh, and Sámi peoples. An appeal to labor collectives – the developers of the North – was adopted: "Respect the past of these people, of these nations..."

- [88] Dadaskinov, S. 1988. Pochta s mest: Iakutskaiia ASSR. Chto volnuet... [Mail from the field: Yakut ASSR. What is concerning...]. *Pravda*, 8 September (No. 252): 3.

A letter by the editor of the Gevan radio station reports on staff reductions in the editorial office – which has broadcasted in Indigenous languages since January 1988 for the 20,000 Even, Evenk, Yukaghir, and Chukchi populations of Yakutiia – and highlights the critical decline of native speech. The text emphasizes that due to school closures, fewer than 1,000 out of 12,000 Even peoples retain their language today.

- [89] Ivkin, A. 1988. Aborigeny [Aborigines]. *Pravda*, 9 September (No. 253): 6.

A report by a special correspondent from Sydney on the catastrophic situation of Australian Aborigines, describing the problems of discrimination, social instability, and the loss of ancestral lands by the continent's Indigenous population.

- [90] Shcherbakov, A. 1988. Protiv Turukhanskoi GES [Against the Turukhansk hydro-electric station]. *Izvestiia*, 10 September (No. 254): 2.

An interview with the first secretary of the Evenk Okrug Committee of the CPSU, V. Uvachan, highlights the struggle of the Okrug Council of People's

Deputies against the construction of a hydroelectric station on the Lower Tunguska. The primary argument against the project is the irreparable harm to the Indigenous population: a 1,000-km-long reservoir would flood the river valleys that serve as the key settlement areas for the Evenk.

- [91] Sangi, V. 1988. Otchuzhdenie [Alienation]. *Sovetskaia Rossiia*, 11 September (No. 210): 2.

A manifesto by the Nivkh writer challenges the doctrine of a “giant leap” in the development of Northern peoples, arguing that industrial expansion has led to the systemic destruction of Indigenous socio-economic foundations. Citing data from the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug, the text details a demographic collapse – with the Indigenous share of the population dropping from 20% in the early 1960s to 1% by 1988 – alongside the destruction of 20 million hectares of pastures. The author links the decline of traditional employment and forced resettlement policies (such as in Nekrasovka village) to systemic marginalization, rising alcoholism, and a catastrophic drop in life expectancy. Critiques are directed at the RSFSR Council of Ministers’ North Department, concluding with a demand for ecological development schemes and guaranteed ethnic representation in the USSR Supreme Soviet.

- [92] Belov, V., Volkov, V. 1988. Fotografii s kommentariem [Photographs with commentary]. *Pravda*, 13 September (No. 257): 3.

The photographs show fuel barrels on Dikson Island and the trawler *Mongoliia* stranded on an underwater rock. The commentary notes: “Everywhere you look from the window of a house – everywhere the eye meets heaps of twisted metal...”

- [93] Gamov, A. 1988. Arkticheskii konsilium [Arctic Council]. *Sovetskaia Rossiia*, 22 September (No. 220): 2.

A report from Anadyr on a meeting regarding the comprehensive program *Health of Northern Peoples for 1988–1995*. A critical briefing is provided: the mortality rate among Indigenous Peoples is 1.7 times (infant mortality – 2 times) higher than the average; 70% of the population dies before reaching 60. Tuberculosis incidence exceeds RSFSR averages by 7–9 times (especially in the Chukotka, Khanty-Mansi, and Yamalo-Nenets okrugs). Reasons include nutritional deficiencies, poor housing conditions, and alcoholism. Despite stating these problems, an increase in the population of the 26 Northern ethnic groups is noted (by 17.5 thousand people from 1980 to 1987), giving the author reason for an optimistic forecast for the program’s implementation.

- [94] Nemtushkin, A. 1988d. Zhizn’ za schet ogrableniia budushchego? [Life at the expense of robbing the future?]. *Stroitel’naia gazeta*, 24 September (No. 221): 2.

An article by the Evenk writer and delegate to the 19th Party Conference on the social and ethnic consequences of industrial planning. The author views the plans for the construction of the Turukhansk Hydroelectric Station as a direct threat to the fate of the Evenk people. A. Nemtushkin argues that the price of the “giant leap” made by *malye narodnosti* has been too high.

- [95] Kulikov, K. 1988. “Malye problemy” malogo naroda [“Small problems” of a small nation]. *Sovetskaia kul'tura*, 29 September (No. 117): 3.

From the *Sotsial'naia politika: Sibir' i Dal'nii Vostok* column. An article by the director of the Udmurt Institute of History, Language, and Literature of the Ural Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences, analyzing the demographic and linguistic crisis of the Udmurt people. Comparing the situation to 1919, the author calls for a return to Leninist principles for resolving the national question.

- [96] Zeimal', E. 1988. Narodnosti i ikh yazyki pri sotsializme [Nationalities and their languages under socialism]. *Kommunist*, October (No. 15): 64–72.

Analysis of the methodology for the upcoming All-Union Population Census (January 1989). A demand to replace the directive lists of *narodnosti* with the criterion of personal ethnic self-identification of citizens.

- [97] Vinogradov, S. 1988. Pochta s mest: Udmurtskaia ASSR. Chto volnuet... [Mail from the field: Udmurt ASSR. What is concerning...]. *Pravda*, 1 October (No. 275): 3.

A letter from an artist in Izhevsk questioning the reasons for the desolation of the modern village. In the author's opinion, the amalgamation of *kolkhozes* caused great harm: “a mistake in agriculture was one of the reasons for the disappearance of not only small villages but also Small Peoples.” Although the majority of rural residents are Udmurt, all public events are held in Russian, the author notes.

- [98] Medvedev, Yu. 1988. 260 millionov za promysel [260 million for the trade]. *Moskovskie novosti*, 9 October (No. 41): 10.

An article reports on the suspension of a gas field development project on Yamal, discovered in the 1960s, by order of the Tiumen *Oblispolkom* [Regional Executive Committee]. The author underscores the unprecedented nature of the intervention, questioning whether it had ever happened before that “local authorities commanded a project of state importance.”

- [99] Literaturnaia gazeta. 1988a. Vremia nadezhd: 11 s'ezd pisatelei Yakutii [A time of hope: 11th Congress of the Writers of Yakutia]. *Literaturnaia gazeta*, 5 October (No. 40): 7.

A report on the 11th Congress of the Writers of Yakutiia, held in Yakutsk on September 15–16, 1988. From the speech by V. Dalan: the history of Yakutiia con-

tains not just "blank spots" but entire decades of silence. A. Krivoshepin and S. Dadaskinov addressed the critical situation of the Small Peoples of the North.

- [100] Chernov, P. 1988. Pobegi i korni [Shoots and roots]. *Komsomol'skaia pravda*, 6 October (No. 230):1.

An article by the Udmurtia Komsomol Prize laureate marks the 90th anniversary of repressed poets Ashal'chi Oki and Kuzebai Gerd. It details the 1937–1938 purges among the republic's leadership (S. Baryshnikov, I. Nagovitsyn), post-war accusations of nationalism, the derogatory origins of the term *Votiak*, and V. Korolenko's role in protecting *inorodtsy*. Turning to the alarming current situation, the author highlights the lack of Udmurt schools or kindergartens in Izhevsk and the underrepresentation of the Indigenous nationality in leadership positions.

- [101] Artamonov, A. 1988. Pogovorim po-udmurtski [Let's speak Udmurt]. *Pravda*, 19 October (No. 293):6.

A freelance correspondent reports that the Izhevsk television studio's broadcasting schedule now includes a program called *Davai pogovorim* [Let's Talk], featuring Udmurt language lessons.

- [102] Strogal'shchikova, Z., Zaitseva, N., Mullonen, I., Petukhov, A., Grum-Grzhimailo, T. 1988. Vepsy: vchera i segodnia [Veps: Yesterday and today]. *Sovetskaia kul'tura*, 20 October (No. 126):3.

A collective article on the fate of the Veps people, noting the absence of a precise state list of USSR peoples who lack their own autonomy and detailing the period of prosperity in the 1920s, the subsequent 1937 ban on the language, and the loss of minority status. As a result of half a century of neglect, the Veps often feel ashamed of their nationality. The authors call for the formal inclusion of the Veps in the list of Northern peoples and the development of a regional program, concluding: "It is time to restore dignity to a small nation."

- [103] Filin, A. 1988. Kal'ma prosit zashchity [Kal'ma asks for protection]. *Sovetskaia kul'tura*, 27 October (No. 129):3.

From the *Sotsial'naiia politika: Sibir' i Dal'nii Vostok* column. An article by an instructor of the Culture Department of the CPSU Central Committee regarding the critical situation of the Nivkh settlement of Kal'ma, which is suffering from the pollution of the Amur River. The author cites reports by Sangi and Shestalov, emphasizing that "the destruction of historical living conditions puts Northern ethnic groups on the brink of extinction."

- [104] Savelev, N. 1988. Na bezryb'e [When fish are scarce]. *Komsomol'skaia pravda*, 30 October (No. 249):1.

The report documents the degradation of traditional fishing grounds in the region, which, in the context of the discussions regarding the construction of the Turukhansk Hydroelectric Station, is perceived as the onset of an ecological catastrophe.

- [105] Paniushkina, L. 1988. Inuity vsego Pripoliar'ia [Inuit of the entire Circumpolar North]. *Moskovskie novosti*, 6 November (No. 45): 5.

An article about the upcoming 1989 General Assembly of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC) in Greenland. For the first time, a delegation of Soviet Eskimo peoples will participate in the work of this international organization. The visit of ICC President Mary Simon to Chukotka in August 1988 is described. The issues of divided families and absurd logistics are raised: the journey across the Bering Strait, instead of a 2-hour flight, involves a 35,000-kilometre route via Moscow and Copenhagen, even though a delegation from Alaska has already made a direct flight to the USSR.

- [106] Pravda. 1988. Stoibishche u okolitsy [A Camp on the outskirts]. *Pravda*, 9 November (No. 314): 2.

A note on an ethnographic museum dedicated to the culture and everyday life of the Peoples of the North that has opened on the outskirts of Var'iegan village. In the camp created by poet and hunter Yurii Vella, visitors can drop in for tea, as traditional museum restrictions and "Do not touch" signs are absent.

- [107] Larionova, N. (*Newsweek*) 1988. Sosedī cherez proliv [Neighbors across the strait]. *Pravda*, 11 November (No. 316): 6.

A report on the exhibition *Crossroads of Continents: Cultures of Siberia and Alaska*, prepared jointly by Soviet and American scholars to address "blank spots in our past." Illustrated with photographs from *Newsweek* magazine, the article notes that the exhibition will tour North American cities until 1992.

- [108] Khramtsov, A. 1988. Khodit Sever v pasynkakh [The North is treated like a step-child]. *Pravda*, 15 November (No. 320): 6.

A report on an expedition of the USSR Geographical Society and the magazine *Vokrug Sveta* [Around the World] that has returned to Murmansk from a months-long voyage along the Arctic coast. As part of the Peoples of the North program, researchers identified historical monuments and studied ecological problems, with expedition leader D. Kravchenko stating that the Arctic coast is currently "on the verge of an ecological explosion."

- [109] Sovetskaia kul'tura. 1988. Yurii Rytkeu v okruzhēnii detei [Yurii Rytkeu surrounded by children]. [Photograph]. *Sovetskaia kul'tura*, 15 November (No. 137): 1.

Photograph caption: "The meetings with the Chukchi writer Yurii Rytkeu became a joyful and festive event for the students of Taimyr. The photograph was taken at the boarding school in Dudinka."

- [110] Milovskii, A. 1988. V kadre narody i strany. Zametki s 1 Mezhdunarodnogo festivalia etnograficheskogo kino [Peoples and countries in the frame. Notes from the 1st International Festival of Ethnographic Film]. *Sovetskaia kul'tura*, 26 November (No. 141): 4.

A report on the ethnographic film festival in Pärnu (Estonian SSR), where cinema about the Peoples of the North was prominently featured. The author regrets the historical lack of depth in social themes, attributing it to the “era of stagnation,” when “decorative exoticism” was valued over life’s hardships. Notable works mentioned include films by Canadian ethnographer Asen Balikci about the Eskimo peoples.

- [111] Literaturnaia gazeta. 1988b. 7 s’ezd pisatelei Mariiskoi ASSR. Ravnodushnykh ne bylo [7th Congress of Writers of the Mari ASSR. No one was indifferent]. *Literaturnaia gazeta*, 23 November (No. 47): 7.

A report on the 7th Congress of Writers of the Mari ASSR, where acute national-cultural and ecological problems of the republic were discussed. Delegates paid significant attention to the consequences of industrial development in the region. Specifically, the construction of the Cheboksary Hydroelectric Station was harshly criticized.

- [112] Popov, A. 1988. Pis'mo v zashchitu lesa [A letter in defense of the Forest]. *Nedelia*, November (No. 48): 2.

A letter about the catastrophic destruction of the forests in Gornaia Shoriia [Mountain Shoria], the main forest massif of Kuzbass. More than a million cubic meters of timber are harvested here annually, with the “lion’s share” of the work carried out by units of the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs].

- [113] Pika, A., Prokhorov, B. 1988. Bol'shie problemy malykh narodov [The big problems of small peoples]. *Kommunist*, November (No. 16): 76–83.

A seminal article by members of *Trevozhnyi Sever* [Anxious North], a group of concerned Arctic scholars, on the systemic crisis of twenty-six Small ethnic groups of the Soviet North. Using the Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Okrug as an example, the authors highlight the lack of basic infrastructure in national settlements – no electricity, a shortage of schools, clubs, and shops. This is a result of forced settlement policies: providing amenities for nomadic families was simply never planned. The crisis in traditional industries is backed by figures: the reindeer population dropped from 2.4 million (1965) to 1.8 million (1988). Special attention is paid to the social catastrophe: mortality among Indigenous peoples is two to three times higher than the RSFSR average, with every second death being violent. Citing A. Nemtushkin, the researchers warn of ethnic extinction due to industrial projects. The scholars express interest in V. Sangi’s proposal to create an association of Northern ethnic groups. The authors’ conclusion emphasizes the agency of these peoples: “The Indigenous inhabitants

must once again feel like the full owners of the taiga and rivers, tundra pastures, and reindeer herds.”

- [114] Komsomol'skaia Pravda. 1988. Boius' zabyt iazyk [I fear forgetting my language]. *Komsomol'skaia Pravda*, 22 December (No. 292): 2.

A selection of readers' letters, prefaced by an editorial comment on an unprecedented influx of correspondence concerning the issues of national relations.

- [115] Derevianko, A., Ubriatova, E., Cheremisina, M. 1988. Poka ne pozdno! [Before it is too late!]. *Pravda*, 24 December (No. 359): 3.

A letter by three scholars regarding the critical state of Siberian languages. The authors directly link the decline of national cultures to the “tragic events of the late 1930s and 1940s.” Using the Khanty and Mansi languages as examples, the article highlights an acute shortage of personnel and the lack of a training system.

- [116] Aipin, E. 1989. Ne nef'tiu edinoi [Not by oil alone]. [Photograph and map]. *Moskovskie novosti*, 8 January (No. 2): 9.

A programmatic article by the Khanty writer and deputy, divided into two parts: “Where Is My Kin Going?” and “How to Save My Kin?” The author analyzes the catastrophic consequences of industrial development in the North since the 1960s: the alienation of ancestral lands, ecological crisis, and social degradation (a “lost generation”). As a solution, Aipin proposes the creation of protected territories with real power for local Soviets, linking the salvation of his people to the success of *perestroika*.

- [117] Mar'ina, T. 1989. K vepsam za ekzotikoi? [To the Veps for the exotic?]. [Map]. *Leningradskaia pravda*, 11 January (No. 10): 2.

An article regarding the critical situation of the Veps people. The author contrasts the developed national infrastructure of the 1930s (schools, writing systems, personnel training) with the current decline: deserted villages and the loss of the language. Special attention is paid to the problem of ethnic self-identification: according to Z. Strogal'shchikova, thousands of Veps were registered as Russians during censuses, distorting the ethnic group's actual numbers.

- [118] Shestalov, Yu. 1989. Ne razdeliaia na “svoikh” i “chuzhikh” [Not dividing into “ours” and “theirs”]. *Izvestiia*, 20 January (No. 20): 6.

A note regarding the bureaucratic cycle: an appeal by fishermen and hunters of the Khanty-Mansi region to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR was sent back to the Okrug Executive Committee, which has taken no action. Presenting his program as a candidate for deputy, Yu. Shestalov advocates for the legal protection of Indigenous peoples and traditional industries. Proposed measures include establishing unified regional wage coefficients (from 1.5 to 2.0 depending on the

zone) and lowering the retirement age for Indigenous residents of the North to 45 for women and 50 for men.

- [119] Reznik, B. 1989. Ne tol'ko dlia sluzhebnogo pol'zovaniia [Not only for official use]. *Izvestiia*, 27 January (No. 27): 2.

A note on the public outcry in the Khabarovsk Krai against the construction of a nuclear power plant on the Amgun River.

- [120] Omel'chuk, A. 1989. Deti pod raspisku [Children released against a receipt]. *Literaturnaia Rossiia*, 3 February (No. 5): 11.

An extensive report on the detrimental impact of the Northern boarding school system on Indigenous Peoples. At the center of the article is a discussion with Nenets writer Anna Nerkagi on the need for profound reform, though not the complete liquidation, of boarding school education.

- [121] *Literaturnaia Rossiia* 1989. Zaboty i nadezhdy – obshchie! Soveshchanie rukovoditelei pisatel'skikh organizatsii i glavnykh redaktorov respublik Povolzh'ia i Urala [Common cares and hopes! Meeting of heads of writers' organizations and editors-in-chief of the Volga and Ural republics]. *Literaturnaia Rossiia*, 3 February (No. 5): 11.

A report on the Kazan meeting on interethnic relations of the autonomous republics of the Volga and Ural regions. During the discussion, writer N. Rybakov proposed abandoning the "humiliating" concept of *malye narody* [Small Peoples] in favor of the term *malochislennye narody* [small-numbered peoples], emphasizing the equality of cultures regardless of population size.

- [122] Shishov, A. (comp.). 1989. Na perelome. (Bol'shie problemy malykh narodov) [At the turning point. (Big problems of small peoples)]. *Sovetskaia kul'tura*, 11 February (No. 18): 3.

A full-page round table discussion with illustrations. V. Sangi (Board Secretary of the RSFSR Writers' Union): the process of establishing the Association of Northern Peoples is proceeding extremely slowly due to local opposition. L. Bogoslovskaiia (Doctor of Biological Sciences): the forced development of the Bovanenkovo gas condensate field on Yamal and the construction of the Turukhansk Hydroelectric Power Station will have catastrophic consequences; the Peoples of the North cannot survive without their natural environment. M. Chlenov and I. Krupnik (Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences): destruction of social and community structures; an ominous rift exists within cultural traditions. D. Bogoiavlenskii (demographer): declining birth rates coupled with high mortality due to social causes and a loss of life purpose. L. Leibzon (editor of the *Severnye Prostory* journal): honest and hard-hitting publications have only appeared in the central press within the last six to twelve months. A. Pika (Institute for Socio-Economic Problems of Population of the

USSR Academy of Sciences): a reminder of the Committee of the North (liquidated in 1935), which based its policy on the principles of self-government, cooperation, and education. A. Kudria and E. Pushkareva (Research Institute of National Schools): establishing nomadic classes within reindeer herding brigades; instruction in national languages. M. Cheremsina (linguist specializing in Siberian languages): the necessity of raising the prestige of Siberian national languages. M. Chlenov: the creation of the Association will signify a defeat for the “main enemies of the Northern Peoples – centralization and uniformity.”