

The Formation of the Even's National Autonomy in the Sakha Republic : An Experience of Socialism and the Population of Northern Yakutia in Siberia

エヴェン民族自治郡の形成とサハ共和国 ——シベリア・北部ヤクーチア住民の社会主義経験——

高倉 浩樹 (Hiroki TAKAKURA) *

Keywords: national autonomy, experience of socialism, local history, Even, Sakha

INTRODUCTION

The question of how the experience of Soviet socialism became inculcated into the culture of Siberian minorities is one of the important issues for anthropologists approaching the study of Siberia. Another equally important question is how dissolution of the former regime has affected these peoples in recent years. These two questions are not separate but are closely related or complementary. The famous research of Caroline Humphrey (1983) which elucidated the Soviet experience among the Buryat is an important example of research into the effects of sovietization. Even their rituals were represented as a realistic response to the Soviet politics. From time of Perestroika until the present, western and Japan's anthropologists have flowed into Siberia to conduct fieldwork. Most of the recent studies resulting from their fieldwork, like Humphrey's, try to capture the Siberian Peoples in relation with the former Soviet institutions. Obviously shown by these studies, the Siberian peoples and their lives under the Soviet regime no longer exist as represented in those studies as the ethnographical present. Even the natives "traditional economies" as exemplified by the hunting, fishing and reindeer herding which we observe in the field today were controlled by the Soviet planners and incorporated as primary industries in the governmental economic sector of the former USSR. It brought drastic changes to the native economies. In order to deepen our understanding of the experience of the Soviet period, we need another perspective, that of local politics of sovietization in the former USSR. The recent study by Bruce Grant's work provides such a perspective. The Nivkh who live in lower Amur and Sakhalin are described picturesquely through narratives of life histories and using local archives from "the Soviet House of Culture". The experience of the Nivkh under sovietization reflects the local political context because the possession of Sakhalin has been a matter of dispute between Japan and Russia since the last century (Grant 1994).

* Center for Northeast Asian Studies, Tohoku University

Until recently Soviet, Russian and western anthropologists all took a dualistic approach to the interaction between Russian and Siberian peoples. This perspective is useful for capturing administrative policies and sovietization in general and the recent indigenous movement toward "Peoples of the North", a category labeled by the former USSR (e.g., Slezkine 1994, Vakhtin 1994, etc.). However in other contexts this framework is much too broad. At the present, anthropologists are required to observe "spatial variation" in their approach to understanding sovietization and the de-sovietization process in recognition of regional differences. The spatial variation means that a researcher recognizes the existence of administrative nesting in both the former USSR and the present Russian Federation (Fondahl 1995:223). Instead of dualism, we need an intermediate concept based upon the local-regional political economy.

This paper enlists this point of view and examines the soviet and de-sovietization experiences the Yakut and the Even peoples living in a region at the eastern foothills of the Verkhoyansky Mountains. This area is located in Northern Yakutia and is administratively included in the current Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) of the Russian Federation. In particular the focus is on the organization of their settlements during the Soviet period and during the de-sovietization process. In the next section, I will define the point of the issues through a discussion of Piers Vitebsky's articles on the Even's national movement in this region under the Perestroika. The third section describes the experience of a soviet village and its economic socialization. Then the fourth section discusses the current de-socialization in this region. Finally, in the fifth section I will discuss some aspects of Yakut nationalism from the viewpoint of local politics as presented in the earlier sections¹.

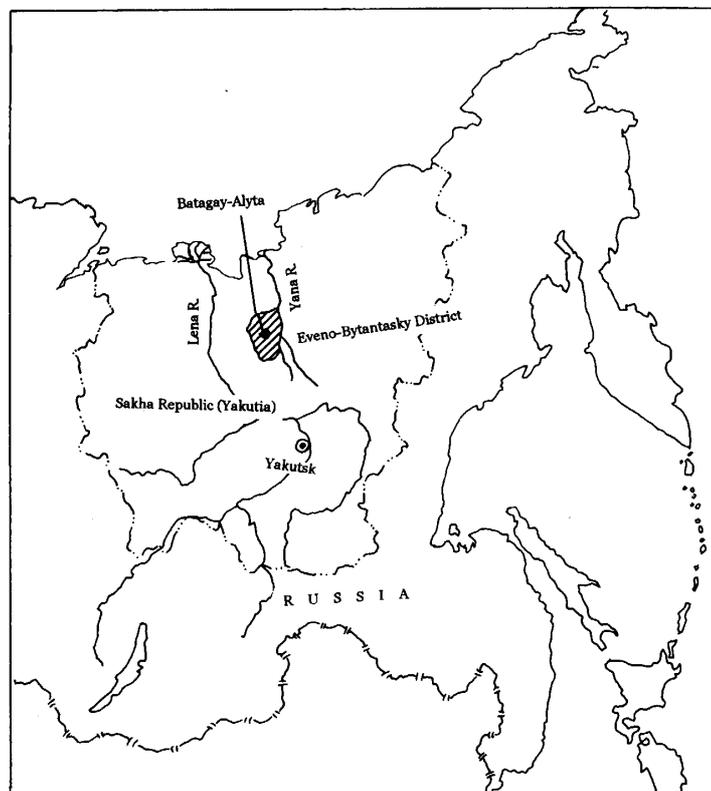
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF EVENO-BYTANTAYSKY DISTRICT IN 1989

At the end of the Soviet period in 1989, a part of the region at the eastern foothills of the Verkhoyansky Mountains was organized as the national district (*ulus=rajon*) of the Even, an ethnic group. The formation of Eveno-Bytantaysky national district has already been examined (Kuznetsov et al. 1992, Vitebsky 1989a, 1989b, 1990a, 1992). According to one of the anthropologists, Piers Vitebsky who did his fieldwork there in the Perestroika period, the autonomous movement produced a discourse of a "more generalized package of 'Even culture'" as exemplified by a "focal image" of reindeer herding, which was usually regarded as part of the "traditional culture" of the Even (Vitebsky 1990a: 353). This functioned "as a rival objective reality cast in the idiom of a hardheaded practicality...negotiable" throughout the movement (Vitebsky 1992:242). As he pointed out, for the Yakut, the dominant ethnic group there, the identity of the Even "is sustained by a combination of their distinctive occupation of reindeer herding and of long established government policies granting special privileges to the smallest ethnic minorities" (Vitebsky 1992:225). He adds that a quest of the national autonomous movement itself is "a classic Soviet expression of territoriality, it legitimates this definition in a (negotiable) language" (Vitebsky 1992:243). This analysis of the movement certainly captured "a new tone in Soviet regional politics" (Vitebsky 1992:241). It is, however, unclear who the activists and the supporters in this region were, nor the relations between the movements and local communities. Vitebsky also referred to the Even's assimilation into the Yakut during the

Soviet period and the reverse situation after this movement. Yet in his discussion he seems to regard the main body of the movement as unquestionably coming from the Even. Vitebsky depicted that the contemporary Even as having a “cosmopolitan culture”, including reading Russian and foreign classics and journals (Vitebsky 1992:237). The autonomous movement in his context means those people against the central Moscow Soviet=Russia regime.

As is well known, the population of the Even had scattered across a broad section of eastern Siberia before the October revolution. Their regional differences could not be ignored, and each group had been affected, both culturally and socially, by local-regional ethnic groups and the Tsarist administration. Sovietization was introduced and developed among the Even population in every administrative unit. From this perspective the autonomous movement of the eastern foothills area of the Verkhoyansky Mountains in the period of Perestroika should be taken into account in the regional politics and the regional socio-economic foundations.

In fact, it was impossible for that movement to involve all the Even's groups throughout the whole of the USSR or even the whole of Yakut ASSR. As Vitebsky also stated, it was a reflection of a former administrative district in Yakut ASSR that existed from the 1930's to the beginning of the 1960's. The former Sakkyryrsky district was destroyed and divided into two different districts (the Verkhoyansky district, the Kobyaisky district) after 1963. The two districts initiated autonomy movements separately, and ultimately the petitions to reestablish national autonomous districts could not be fruited. The movement successfully established the national district but which consisted only of the population of the Verkhoyansky district. The people of the Kobyaisky district, especially the Sebyan-Kyur



Sakha Republic (Yakutia) and Eveno-Bytantaysky District

Tab. 1. Nationalities Compositions in Batagay-Alyta, 1995

	male	female	total
Yakuts	488	505	993
Evens	304	336	640
Russians	44	11	55
Uklaines	10	9	19
others	13	14	27

Source:MATN #1

village, abandoned their dreams. One of the reasons for the separate movements, according to Vitebsky's informants, was that two clans of the Even from Sebyan-Kyur and Sakkyryr (Batagay-Alyta) had been in a rival relationship so that they were reluctant to participate in the formation of the rival's district (Vitebsky1992: 245). In consequence, the Even's centralization of the former Sakkyryrsky district did not come to fruition; however, Sakkyryr side got a new Eveno-Bytantaysky district. As Vitebsky explained, the success in acquiring the granting of a new district status was partly indebted to local concession by the Yakuts who negotiated with Moscow concerning upgrading the status of the region from ASSR to a Union Republic (Vitebsky 1992: 231).

The description of regional politics in Vitebsky's paper gives the reader the impression that there are two separate ethnic communities, the Yakut and the Even, as a matter of course. His focus is on the Even; his presentation gives the image that there is a single community of Even in this region and that the Even's activists led the community. However, the constitution of community itself is still unclear in his context. It is certain that the governmental statistics clearly shows the existence of two separate ethnic components (See Table 1). However, as pointed out by Kuznetsov (et al. 1994) also investigated this movement, it was difficult to specify the ethnic affiliation of the main body in the movement, because most of the supporters were affiliated with both to the Even and the Yakut from patrilineal or matrilineal relations. This situation was brought about by the organization of the village during the period of the former USSR. It should be stated that there was autonomous movement, under the name of the Even nationality (*natsional'nost'*), consented in the soviet institution penetrated in this region during the period of the Perestroika. To be more precise, it was not the Even's community itself, but the soviet village community, which took up the issue of ethnic label "Even" as a political strategy or discourse in the negotiations over the autonomous regional petition, which resulted in the successful formation of the national district².

The main purpose of this paper is to shed light on: the village community itself made up of both the Yakut and the Even, the organization of the community which provided the social basis for the movement during Perestroika, and the transformation from a soviet village community through a de-socialization process and exposure to a market economy.

PREHISTORY OF THE FORMATION OF EVENO-BYTANTAYSKY DISTRICT

The Formation of the Sakkyryrsky District and a Soviet Style Village

The Eveno-Bytantaysky District is located in the upper-middle basin of the Yana river

at the eastern foothills of the Verkhoyansky Mountains. Before the revolution the population there consisted mainly of the Yakut and the Even. It is well known that the Yakut immigrated to northern Yakutia after the contact with the Russian in the seventeenth century and that part of the Yakut settled in the region along the Yana. In principle these two ethnic communities were separate until the revolution (AYNT #1:7). The Soviet regime established by the October revolution in 1917 gradually affected this region. It enlisted strategies to disassemble and replace the Tsarist colonial system. One method was to convert the local trade system among the local population into a state trading and cooperative association (Kuoljok 1985:103), and another was to destroy native tribal bonds, which had formed within the Tsarist administrative structure (Gurvich 1963:86). The Soviet regime urged clan members to develop and recognize an identity based on being a part of a larger ethnic group community, one established as an ethnic unit by Soviet ethnographers and supported by Leninist national policy. The new government developed native (*tuzemnyj*) soviets, clan soviets and nomad soviets and then transformed them into village soviets for integration into the Soviet regime. The village soviet and nomad soviet after the ordinance in 1933 became a territorial basis unit different from native soviet and clan soviet, which were based on nationality. Consequently the new territorial principle of soviet administration surpassed nationality. Later the nomad soviet gradually integrated or transformed into a village soviet (Kuoljok1985: 81-83).

The Soviet regime began with the formation of the Tiugiasirsky clan soviet in the region of the eastern foothills of the Verkhoyansky Mountains. The name "Tiugiasirsky" was that of one of the administrative clans of the Even in the Tsarist system³. The name was also adopted for the clan soviet in the early Soviet regime. The clan soviet was centered in the location of the present Batagay-Alyta (AYNT #1:6). In 1925 a trading post was established in the basin of the Sakkyryr river, a branch of the Yana. Then it became a branch of the integral union (*integralsoiuz*) in 1926. The executive committee in the then Verkhoyansky Region (*Okrug*) admitted the Tiugiasirsky clan soviet. The territory of the basin of the Sakkyryr River was organized to become a new national territory within the then Verkhoyansky District (*Ulus*) in Verkhoyansky Region. Then the village (*poselok*) Batagay-Alyta was constructed in the Russian=Soviet style as the center for the Tiugiasirsky clan soviet (Gurvich 1956:52). The site of Batagay-Alyta included the local Even nomadic territory, but before construction of the soviet style village, there was only a plain. Batagay-Alyta means the plain (=Alyta) of the Batagaytsev (the author's field note), a subdivided clan name of Tiugiasirsky administrative clan of the nineteenth century⁴. The village, Batagay-Alyta, was constructed as follows. A two-story school was erected in 1927; the language of instruction was Yakut, because the Yakut language had penetrated into the Even population there. Through a credit association called "Salgabyi" the government lent reindeer to poor families. Also, People's Commissar of Agriculture (*Narkomzem*) supported the construction of a storehouse for preservation of fish (Kuznetsov et al. 1993:3, Gurvich 1956:52).

As part of the Leninist national policy to attain national autonomy, the All-Yakutian Soviet Assembly of 1931 established sixteen national districts for non-Yakut minorities like the Evenki, the Even, etc. (Forsyth 1992:259, Kuoljok 1985:80). The Sakkyryrsky national district was formed from the Tiugiasirsky clan soviet, the Bytantaysky *nasleg*⁵ soviet and the

Lamunkhinsky clan soviet, but the Tiugiasirsky clan soviet didn't include all the members of the Tiugiasirsky clan. A part of the North group didn't participate in the Tiugiasirsky clan soviet, and they went into the soviet of a neighboring district as the Bulunsky district, while a part of the Even of the Lamunkhinsky clan participated in the Tiugiasirsky clan soviet centered in Batagay-Alyta of the Sakkyrsky district (Alekseev 1994:12, Gurvich 1963:88).

The formation of the Sakkyrsky district calls for special attention. The composition of the territory of the Sakkyrsky district was already inter-national, encompassing both the Even and the Yakut from the beginning of the formation of this district. It was certain that the names Tiugiasirsky and Lamunkhinsky were taken from the Tsarist administrative clans of the Even, but the name of the other soviet, the Bytantaysky nasleg soviet, derived from the settled Yakut. The Tiugiasirsky clan soviet consisted of both Even and Yakut, while the majority of the Lamunkhinsky clan was Even. The reported population of the district numbered approximately 1700 with an ethnic composition of 54.8 percent Even, 45.08 percent Yakut and others 0.12 percent (AYNT #1:6-7,9). Two ethnic communities, which had been separate before the revolution, were amalgamated into a national district and thus incorporated into the Soviet regime.

Collectivization

The collectivization process began with the organization of two production cooperatives, “*Kyhyl ylyk* (the red path)” and “*Dolgun* (wave)”, around the central village of the Tiugiasirsky clan soviet, Batagay-Alyta, at the end of 1920's. After the formation of the Sakkyrsky district nine productions corporate were instituted. See the Table 2 which signifies the property relations of livestock in 1933. Private possession of domestic cattle dominated public ownership with 84 percent, and that of horse and reindeer undominated it with 45 percent. Concerning the property relations of reindeer during 1930s, the Table 3 shows that private reindeer dominated state own animals except in 1933. In the meantime, the number of households included in the state sector in 1931 was less than 44.5 percent, but went up to 84.3 percent for the Sakkyrsky district by 1940 (AYNT #1:11). Nine kolkhozes formed in 1940, whose transformation were showed in the Figure 1. Those

Tab. 2. Livestocks in Sakkyrsky District in 1933

	horse	cattle	reindeer
private	408	1412	3137
public	507	358	4070

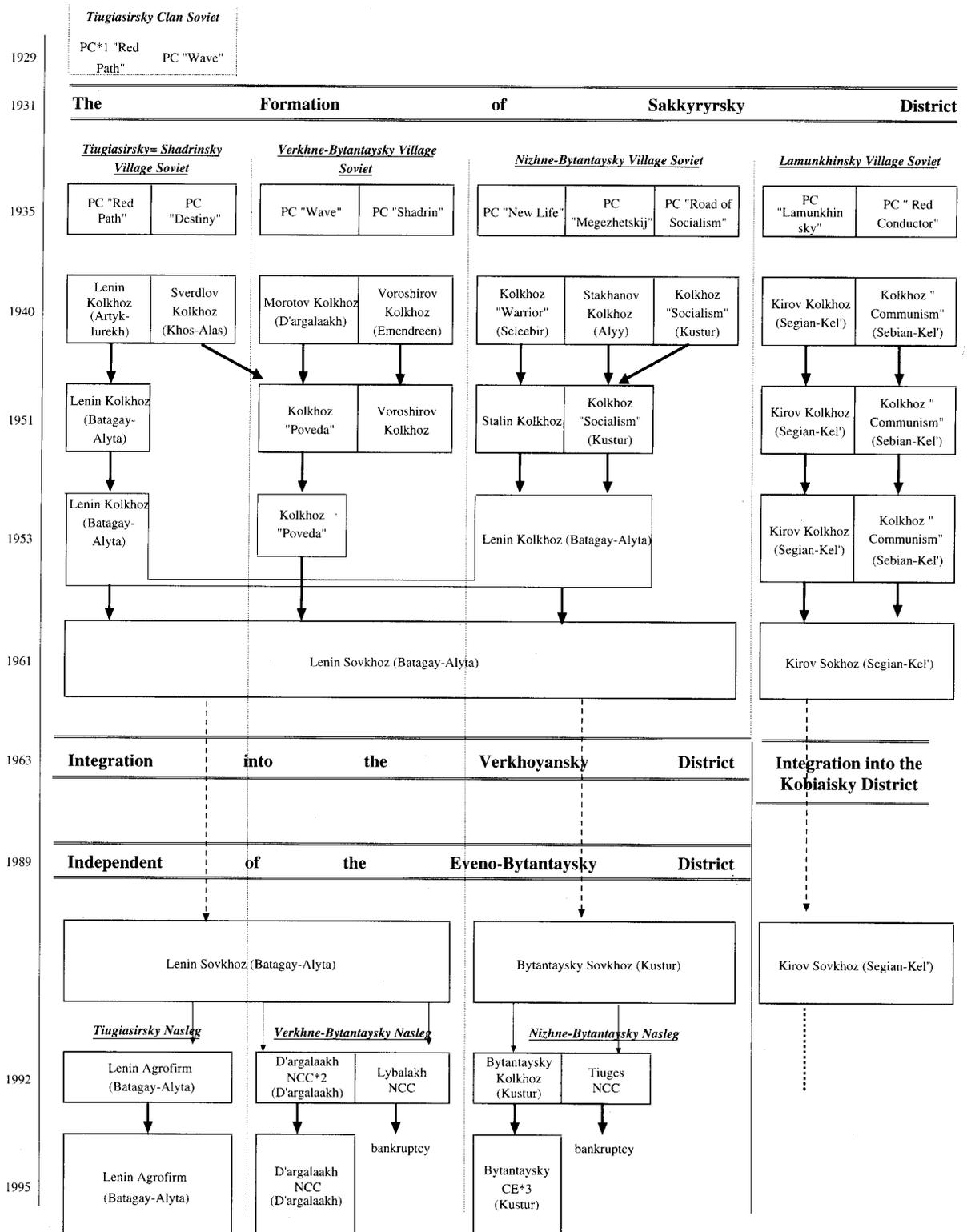
Source: AYNT #1:10

Tab. 3. Public and Private Reindeers in Sakkyrsky District

Year	Public	Private
1932	1579	no date
1933	4070	3137
1935	3104	4375
1938	2139	5612
1939	2698	5328
1940	3639	11346

Source:AYNT #1:11

Fig.1. The Transformation of the Soviet Post-Soviet Agricultural Enterprises



Note *1 PC:Production Cooperative *2 NCC:Nomadic Clan Commune *3 CE: Collective Enterprise

Source:AYNT #1.14: EBGUA #1: TsGA RS (Y), f.55, op.2, d.325, l.18; f.55, op.28, d.220, l.78-150; F.55, op.30, d.666, l.86: Author's Fieldnote

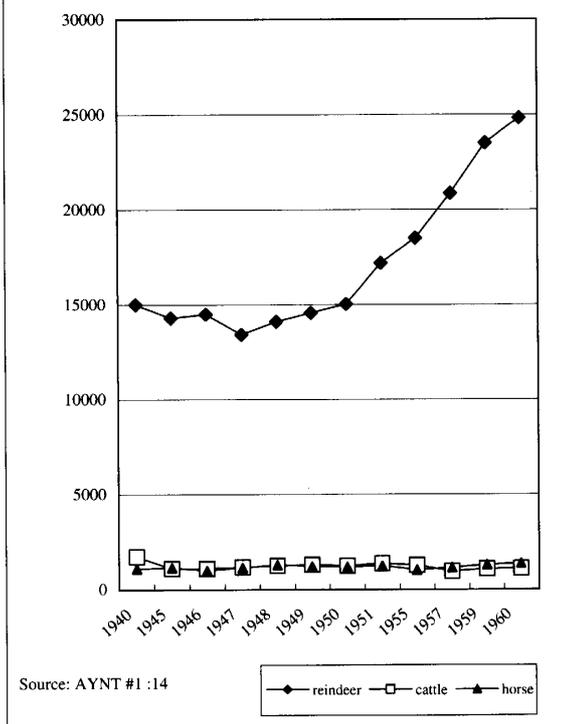
kolkhoz were integrated into seven kolkhoz by 1951, then into four by 1953. In 1959 and 1961 the twenty first and twenty second Congresses of KPSS made the decision to transform kolkhozes into sovkhoses, thus significantly altering the agricultural sector of the economy in recognition of the necessity of "creation of a new type of economy". The resolution, "On the transformation of 69 kolkhozes into sovkhoses in the northern region of Yakutsk ASSR", by the Soviet Ministers of RSFSR in October 1960 set into motion the creation of 21 sovkhos in 1961. Two sovkhoses, Leninsky Sovkhoz and Kirovsky Sovkhoz developed from the former four kolkhozes in the Sakkyryrsky district (AYNT #1:9-18). The Figure 2 signifies both species and quantity of livestock in the district during those days. The number of the reindeer was substantially larger than the number of cattle and horses. The quantity of reindeer drastically grew from 14985 in 1940 to 24811 in 1960.

Soviet agricultural policies in the 1930's were intended to collectivize the means of production, such as domestic animals to create the foundations of the "socialist economy". The policy of central Moscow in the former USSR toward the "Peoples of the North" was to unite the native complex economy into larger and profitable units with a specialized occupation like reindeer herding or hunting. Moscow regarded combinations of diverse occupations as unprofitable and unproductive considering, for example, land use for reindeer breeding and fishing as contradictory (Slezkine 1994:204-5). The predominant type of complex economy in this region before the Revolution, hunting and maintaining small herds in nomadic units was changed to "production nomadism", a system in which occupational and specialized herders were embedded in the network of the Soviet economy (Levin & Vasil'ev 1956:774). The transformation required a division of labor between herd management in a nomadic camp as a unit of a "brigade" rather than that as a way of life, and husbandry management by official workers in a village performing tasks such as distribution and selling (or delivery to the State) of meat and hide. Ideally, these occupations were open to all the village population. Collectivization supplied a socio-economical basis beyond nationalities. The village Batagay-Alyta, was established as a unit with a socio-economical foundation, irrespective of either Yakut or Even nationality and in the course of the further increase of inter-ethnic marriage. There has a tendency that those with the Even nationality occupy the reindeer herd management in nomadic camp.

Transformation of Settlements

Already in the nineteenth century the Yakut language appeared among the Even in this

Fig. 2. Livestocks of Kolkhoz in the Sakkyryrsky District during 1940-1960



Source: AYNT #1 :14

◆ reindeer □ cattle ▲ horse

Tab. 4. The Registration of Residences and the Population in the Shadorinsky = Tiugiasirsky Village Soviet

Year	Tab. 4-1 1939			Tab. 4-2 1959		Tab. 4-3 1970	
	type of residence	settlements	population	settlements	population	settlements	population
1	Village (selo)	Batagay-Alyta	412	Batagay-Alyta	803	Batagay-Alyta	1055
2	Tent (tordokh)	Dzhelon	10	Achch'gyj iurekh	6	Emendren	15
3	Tent (tordokh)	Kul'dia	5	Sytygan	7	Reindeer Brigade (stad) #1	12
4	Tent (tordokh)	Kugaidnia	21			Reindeer Brigade (stad) #5	8
5	Tent (tordokh)	Kymyraj	5			Reindeer Brigade (stad) #6	13
6	Tent (tordokh)	Kyramgal	11			Reindeer Brigade (stad) #13	6
7	Tent (tordokh)	Miugiul'chan	10				
8	Tent (tordokh)	Naily	6				
9	Tent (tordokh)	Oniulia	1				
10	Tent (tordokh)	Orto-Urekh	20				
11	Tent (tordokh)	Sakhancha	10				
12	Tent (tordokh)	Segan	17				
13	Tent (tordokh)	Seninchan 1	4				
14	Tent (tordokh)	Seninchan 2	1				
15	Tent (tordokh)	Sencha	10				
16	Tent (tordokh)	Seregaj	10				
17	Tent (tordokh)	Sarelia	4				
18	Base (baza)	Sobopol	44				
19	Tent (tordokh)	Sytan'ia	6				
20	Tent (tordokh)	Sytichagyn	9				
21	Tent (tordokh)	Shikilatumsa	8				
22	Winter Quarter (zimov'e)	Upega	6				
23	Winter Quarter (zimov'e)	Upegaj	3				
24	Kolkhoz Plot (kolkhoz uchastok)	Khalymia	15				
25	Tent (tordokh)	Kharigan	3				
26	Cabin (iurta)	Yybachalaakh	10				
27	Cabin (iurta)	Yring	7				
28	Center of Village Soviet (Tsenetr Nasleg)	Ferma	134				
total			802		816		1109
source	AGKS RS(Y) #1			AGKS RS(Y) #2		AGKS RS(Y) #3	

region of the eastern foothills of the Verkhoyansky Mountains. The Yakut held regional dominance in the sphere of political economy moreover, since the ceremony of Russian orthodox prayer was held in the Yakut language, the population of the Even community also could use the Yakut language. However, the reverse did not occur (Gurvich 1956:52, Kuznetsov et al. 1993:3, Khuziakov 1969:102). The language situation was continued and spurred after the Revolution. An Even named R. I. Shadrin who was the first communist in the village and who also became the first president of the village school took political initiative in the village. According to some of the informants in the village, Shadrin caused the disappearance of the Even language in the village. In spite that he is a local Even there, this person adopted Yakut language as the language for instruction in the school, and therefore the Even language almost vanished from the village community. His attitude corresponded the local politics of the Yakut ASSR. The Yakut language not only in the form of educational media but socialistic idiom flowed into the village routine environment. The adoption of the Yakut language in the school was only a part of the process of sovietization in this region, occurring after the establishment of the soviet village Batagay-Alyta in Yakut ASSR.

According to an administrative statistical archive, no Tiugiasirsky clan soviet existed in 1935. Instead there was a Shadrinsky nasleg (=village) soviet whose population reached 802, distributed across 28 populated points as registered in 1939. The name of the nasleg soviet, "Shadrin", signified his political power in this region. Table 4-1 shows that there

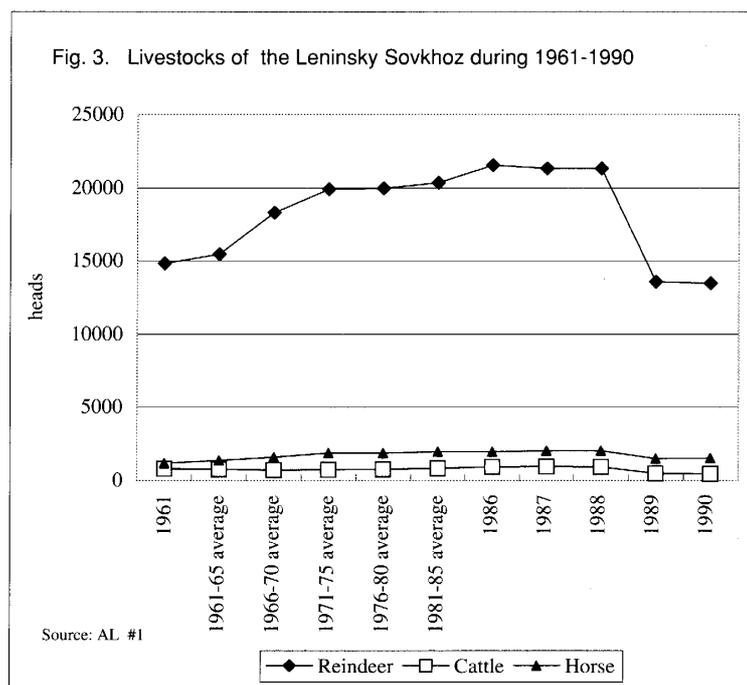
were two types of residential settlements there. The village type such as at *selo* Batagay-Alyta had a total population of 412, while the central nasleg village, Ferma, had a population of 134. Others types of residences such as tent (*tordokh*⁶), base (*baza*), winter hut (*zimov'e*), kolkhoz plot (*uchastok*) and cabin (*iurta*)⁷ also were listed in this nasleg soviet. The fact that some of the place names came from the name of the river in this region together with the small population signify that the populated points differed from a soviet style village. The existence of the various types of residences shows that the government's trial attempt to settle and centralize the village remained un-accomplished at the end of the 1930's. It is corresponded to a low degree of collectivization in the 1930's as shown in Table 3.

Then in the 1959 archive appeared the name of the Tiugiasirsky village soviet (*sel'sovet*) again included the village of Batagay-Alyta. The population of the village soviet in 1959 was 816. Since the size and area of the three soviets, the Tiugiasirsky clan soviet, the Shadrinsky nasleg soviet and the Tiugiasirsky village soviet might not be confirmed as the same, someone can not conclude that it was the same administrative unit. However, because each of these soviets included the village of Batagay-Alyta I can deduce that these three soviets were in principle the same, only with different names. The last one continued to be used throughout the life of the Soviet regime. The populated points decreased from 28 in 1939 to only 3 in 1959 but with almost the same total population (see Table 4-2). One can then concluded that there developed a degree of settling at the central village, Batagay-Alyta. The difference between village soviet and clan soviet as already explained was that the former was based on territoriality and consequently superseded the nationality, while the latter was based on nationality. None of the available materials contained date when the Tiugiasirsky village soviet formed. The existence of the Shadrinsky nasleg soviet played an intermediate role in this transformation from clan soviet to village soviet.

According to Novikova, there were four village soviets in Sakkyrsky district in 1953, the Verkhne-Bytantaysky, the Nizhine-Bytantaysky, the Tiugiasirsky and the Lamunhinsky: that is, all the re-organization from clan soviet to village soviet was finished in this district. There were 198 households of the Even nationality in the Sakkyrsky district in 1953. Most of the Even lived in the Lamunhinsky and the Tiugiasirsky village soviets. The population of the Lamunhinsky village soviet could use the Even language more than that of the Tiugiasirsky village soviet. Two populated points of villages as Dzhargarakh and Kustur located between the Verkhne-Bytantaysky and the Nizhine-Bytantaysky village soviets, included only 20 to 30 per village. They were immigrants from the Lamunhinsky and the Tiugiasirsky soviets (Novikova 1962:109)⁸.

The Abolition of the Sakkyrsky District

The resolution, "On the measures for further Economical and Cultural development of the Peoples of the North", of the Communist Party Central Committee in March 1957 brought a re-organization of the national administrative territoriality and an amalgamation of smaller villages (Vakhtin 1994:57). The policy penetrated to the Yakut ASSR in March 1963. The Sakkyrsky district was abolished and its territory divided between two neighboring districts, the Verkhoyansky district and the Kobyaisky district. This division of Sakkyrsky district corresponded to the territorial boundaries of the two sovkhoses formed



in 1961. The territory of the Leninsky sovkhov was distributed to the Verkhne-Bytantaysky village soviet, the Nizhine-Bytantaysky village soviet, and the Tiugiasirsky village soviet where the central office of the sovkhov was established at Batagay-Alyta. It was merged with the Verkhoyansky district. The territory of Kirovsky sovkhov included the Lamunkhinsky village soviet. It went into the Kobyaisky district. It is notable that the governmental planners determined territoriality with the jurisdiction of the sovkhov as the socio-economical basis for the population encompassed when the Sakkyrsky district was divided.

What was the socio-economical pillar offered by sovkhov? Consider the case of the Leninsky sovkhov centralized in the village of Batagay-Alyta after the abolition of the Sakkyrsky district. Agricultural production was primarily based on reindeer breeding. As Figures 3 shows, the number of domestic livestock (also meat production) depended heavily on reindeer breeding. This industry had supported all the population, not only the Even but also the Yakut. Table 4-3 exhibits the population and residence types of Tiugiasirsky village soviet in the then Verkhoyansky district in 1970. One residence type, Reindeer brigade (*stad*) plus number, means the brigade number for the reindeer herding management in a nomadic camp; the Even are designated as the major nationality in every such case. Nationality itself corresponded to Soviet national policy as designated in the well-known inner-passport system in which no reflection of ethnicity was permitted⁹. The structure of the brigade generally consisted of six or seven able men as professional herders plus one to two domestic laborers (usually women). The workers in a brigade were geographically separated from the village, but they always needed to maintain a connection with the village which was the official center of the sovkhov. Also, their soviet style two-story apartments and Russian style cabins were homes for the herders' families. The nomadic camp was subordinated to the village community. Officials arranged the members of the reindeer brigades irrespective of kinship and affiliation. Since the nomadic camp was to be

regarded as an occupational band¹⁰. A person with specific nationality was not also required for the official worker who was responsible for meat delivery to the State. In addition, reindeer meat was the main food for the village population and leg hide was used to make the reindeer boots called *Unt*¹¹ which were a necessity for a long and rigorous winter. Neither the Even nor the Yakut questioned the collectivization process which integrated them into the socialist economy since it benefited both the stock-raising industry and the socio-economic relations of the village community.

THE FORMATION OF EVENO-BYTANTAYSKY NATIONAL DISTRICT

Dissolution of the Soviet Village

Eveno-Bytantaysky national district was established in 1989. The reason why I questioned in the previous section the issue of who the activists and supporters of the movement were is clear in the context of the transformation of the organization the soviet villages and their socio-economical foundation. The movement should be regarded as an economical strategy for the population there combining with their collective memory of the former administrative unit, Sakkyryrsky district, and the local politics toward trying to form an Even national autonomy during the Perestroika period under the foundation encompassed by the sovkhos system. It was certain that their requirement resulted in successful corresponding with the then new Perestroika politics as de-centralization process as Vitebsky pointed out. However, it is important that the population has persisted the community based on the Leninsky sovkhos. The territory of the new district based on the former three village soviets, Verkhne-Bytantaysky, Nizhine-Bytantaysky and Tiugiasirsky belonged to the Verkhoyansky district after 1963 of the abolition of Sakkyryrsky district. These three village soviets were also included in the territory of Leninsky sovkhos. The autonomous movement developed as the embodiment of the socio-economical relations encompassed by the sovkhos organized from 1961 in a political-administrative unit. The relationships had grown in local Yakutian politics of Socialism in the former USSR and its idiom prevailed in the public sphere in their life. The population enjoyed the economical sphere without questioning their nationality. It was instituted by the regime of Yakut ASSR, that is to say, political-administratively locating as a rural village of northern region of Yakut ASSR and reinforcing role of Yakut language as socialist idiom. Acquiring the national district provided a direct relation with central Yakutian government and re-recognized the district as an administrative and economic center. The head of administration of the district directly can negotiate various issues required from the population with the central Yakutsk. Contact was aided by the introduction of direct regular flight between the center of the district, Batagay-Alyta, and Yakutsk.

As is well known, at the end of December 1991, the Soviet regime collapsed and in 1990 in the course of this collapse Yakut ASSR changed political status from an autonomous republic to that of a republic as a sovereign nation. The name Yakut ASSR changed to Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) that is a self-designation of the Yakut in their Constitution of 1992. The adaptation of a new Russian Constitution in December 1993 denied the sovereignty of the republics which constitutes the Russian Federation (Shimotomai1994: 94). The republic of Sakha (Yakutia), however, tries to manage a well-balanced and possible political autonomy as a nation state under the current Russian Constitution regime;

they got back several tens percent of the mining rights and some income rates of foreign currency for selling gold and diamonds within their territory from the central Moscow government (Katsuki 1996). They also founded the representative office in Japan, and participated "Northern Forum" international organization which discusses and cooperates a common particular issues such as environmental, conditions of living and so on in the circumpolar region among Canada, USA, and Japan, etc. In contrast to the change in the political situation, the economic one, especially the rural region of Yakutia that includes the village of Batagay-Alyta has parallel the current and unsteady course of the Russian Federation. The population having acquired the new status of district, is unsatisfied with the new political-economical paradigm brought on by greater external forces. Obviously, one of them, the politics of Perestroika embodied their autonomous petition, another, encompassing the market economy perplexed the life of the population, which never had reached under the Soviet period. The Soviet regime, in a sense, had protected the population from this.

Now we will look at the process of socio-economical change in the district from Perestroika to the present focusing on the central issues of the economy in the district, the way the Leninsky sovkhos was divided. At the very beginning of the formation of the Eveno-Bytantaysky district, the Leninsky sovkhos was divided into two sovkhoses: the Leninsky sovkhos and a new one, the Bytantaysky sovkhos, based on the territory of Nizhine-Bytantaysky village soviet centered at the village Kustur. Until 1989 the Leninsky sovkhos reindeer breeding structure included fifteen brigades for reindeer herding. Five of the reindeer brigades had been located in a deer pasture in Nizhine-Bytantaysky village soviet. The population in this village soviet utilized the pillars of the former production sector for forming the new sovkhos. Piers Vitebsky regarded the autonomous movement in this region during the Perestroika as a representation of "a landscape of the Even" and "centralized decentralization". Once the movement achieved its objective, the representation of the Evenness which certainly functioned as an effective idiom of political negotiation for autonomy, suddenly faded away as social integration discourse among the population. The population's real concern and objective was decentralization. As pointed out by Kuznetsov & Missonova, it was important that support and participation in the "national" autonomous movement came not from the top but from the population initiatives by those who worked at various departments of Soviet institutions in villages (Kuznetsov et al. 1994:7). The political initiatives and participation at every village soviet then functioned as an effective vehicle for further decentralization. It led to division of the former Leninsky sovkhos (see Fig.1).

The collapse of the former USSR substantially advanced this trend. The two sovkhoses further divided in 1989 and continue to divide today. Two agricultural enterprises, Livarakh "nomadic clan commune"¹² and Dzhargarakh "nomadic clan commune", based on the territory of the Verkhne-Bytantaysky village soviet were established from the former Leninsky sovkhos. The Leninsky sovkhos also reorganized as Leninsky Agrofirma. The Bytantaysky sovkhos divided into Bytantaysky kolkhoz and Tiuges "nomadic clan commune". All five of these agricultural enterprises were set up in Eveno-Bytantaysky district in 1992. Further reorganization into three enterprises occurred until 1994. The Tiuges and the Liverakh "nomadic clan commune" went bankrupt. The other three enterprises still survived in April 1996. With respects to reindeer breeding, the re-location of enterprises

depended on the deer brigades established in the Leninsky sovkhos from 1961 to 1989. Even now the herders use the same numbers for their brigade as in the former Leninsky sovkhos brigades. It is interesting and ironic that the dissolution of the sovkhos as the typical organization of the administrative-order economic system in the former USSR depended on the village soviet community which was established through collectivization for the purpose of introducing the socialist economy. Decentralization has been developed into units which were formed as a product of the Soviet regime. The current organizational structure in the Eveno-Bytantaysky district is not based on the nationality of neither the Even nor the Yakut, but upon the village soviet community which was composed of both nationalities Even and Yakut.

Batagay-Alyta in 1994-1996

During the author's fieldwork in 1994-1996, the situation as described by Vitebsky had almost disappeared. As pointed out the character of the movement by Vitebsky (1992:243), the revitalization of Even culture and language has still not developed and remains unaccomplished even today. Certainly Even language programs are introduced in various grades in the village school; for example, the 4th grade provides one class every day, but it is largely unsuccessful since Even is perceived as a difficult foreign language class by the pupils. On the other hand the school system maintains the Yakut language as its major educational medium. There is also a class of "traditional culture" for all students but it teaches only the traditional culture of the Yakut. We can also see the drawings of cultural heroes, the characters from the Yakut hero epic, *Olonkho* drawn, by students and displayed on the walls of the corridors of the school.

After the formation of the Eveno-Bytantaysky district, a new summer festival called "Sugran" was introduced. Some people recognized it as a revitalization of the Even's summer festival, but it held only at every five years intervals. The reason depends not to a traditional way of holding the festival, but to financial supports from the central government. Instead of this festival, the population in the village exhibits greater interest in another larger celebration, the Yakut's summer festival, "Ysyakh", which takes place throughout Yakutia. A reindeer herder's festival is also held in Spring. This festival was formed for celebrating reindeer herders' work in the socialist regime. It is programmed as an athletic festival with competitions such as reindeer riding, driving sledges, lassoing, etc. The decline in assimilation into the Yakut and discrimination against the Even as described by Vitebsky during Perestroika remains. Designation of Even nationality in the inner passport system continued from the Soviet period and is used for affirmative action concerning such as education, special hunting license for even animals listed on the Red Date Book. The population in the village who have at least some kinship connection to the Even, in general tends to register their children as being of Even nationality. Most reindeer herders had the nationality of the Even and they no longer want to hide that fact. The middle generation of herders both of whose parents were of Even nationality, however, tended to choose Yakut nationality if possible. There is a certain population, which is bewildered or has antipathy toward "Evenness" in personal affairs in the public sphere of the village.

Leninsky Agrofirma resulted from the dissolution and division of the former Sovkhos Leninsky and still functions as one of the supporting enterprises of the village economy. But

its management strategy has changed to an emphasis on cattle breeding which is more highly valued in the market economy than reindeer. The hunting brigade in the former Leninsky sovkhos now is abolished as a sector of the current organization. Some small number of hunters individually engages as a job, the other including the pensioners did as like a hobby¹³. Reindeer breeding in the village also is changing. The Leninsky Agrofirma still manages production and sale of meat and hide as during the Soviet regime, but a new profitable business, reindeer velvet, has developed outside the enterprise and is managed privately by herders themselves. Traders in reindeer velvet who move it from the village to Yakutsk and who usually are relatives of herders, also sell Western and Eastern products such as Japanese or Korean electronics, Chinese miscellaneous goods for dairy use, American confectionery and beer and Russian vodka from personal homes without permission of the village office or police. These increasing herders' private business is based on the possession gap of private reindeer formed during the Soviet regime (Takakura 1999). Some larger number reindeer owners associates themselves with their kins and affinities and tries to divide from the Leninsky Agrofirma and organize a new enterprise (more detail in Takakura 1998a). Small scale and private ones are replacing the large scale planning production, and delivering system instituted in Soviet system. It is a process in which changes from the large and official network to private and individual network appear primarily between the rural village and central Yakutsk.

SOVIETIZATION AND DE-SOVIETIZATION IN YAKUTIAN CONTEXTS: CULTURAL POLITICS OF YAKUT NATIONALISM

Up until this point the discussion has focused on the organization and subordination of the village soviet community carried out by the Soviet regime, and on the de-sovietization process. It is a historical process of formation and being collapsed of the soviet socio-economical foundation focusing on the village community in this region. In this section I will examine the village community from the perspective of Yakutian local politics. Since the Tsarist period the region of the eastern foothills of the Verkhoyansky Mountains has consistently been placed under the jurisdiction of Yakutsk government, such as Yakut Province, Yakut ASSR and Republic of Sakha (Yakutia). What is the affect of being located in a peripheral position in a rural area in Yakutia? This question requires evaluation of the experience of sovietization and de-sovietization in Yakutia in light of Yakut nationalism.

In considering the relationship between the soviet and de-soviet experiences and Yakut nationalism, it is interesting to take note of Gurvich's analysis concerning the way that Northern Yakut was incorporated into the Yakut ASSR. He held that the Northern Yakut, before the Revolution, had maintained their own communities and had not integrated into the central region of Yakutia. Such integration became possible when the Soviet regime was established.

With the rise in production [in the Soviet period], close economic ties were established between the formerly isolated economy of the northern Yakuts, and the national economy of the Yakut A.S.S.R. This was reflected in the consciousness of the population. An awareness of national and governmental ties is replacing the narrow

clan-tribal (camp) and territorial ethnic links...[t]he general growth of culture and literacy is contributing of the unification of all groups of the Yakut People. An all-encompassing integration of every group of the Yakut People, the joining of the most northerly groups to the nucleus of the Yakut nation-the Yakuts of the central regions to whom they are similar in culture, represents a process of the consolidation of the Yakut socialist nation (Gurvich 1962:20-21).

Gurvich saw, from the point of view of classic Marxism, a rise in production as a substructure supporting the national consciousness as a super-structure. Northern Yakut, which means the Yakut in the region of Northwestern of Yakutia in the Gurvich's context, was integrated Socialist nation and arranged into a local administrative unit in Yakut ASSR. It was based on collectivization and institution of social capitals in the Soviet style. Sovietization began in the region of Northern Yakutia in the 1930's. The first steps in the policy of building a cultural base were the planning and construction of a storehouse, a bath-house, a bakery, a second-store house, a house for the Native, a boarding school, a veterinary station, a vegetable storehouse and an electronic station. The next steps involved building a radiotelephone station, a school, a regional studies point (kraevedcheskij punkt), a kindergarten, and fire station (Shelekhova 1984:39-40). These sovietization policies covered not just the area of Northwestern Yakut but also the entire region of northern Yakutia, that is to say, all the population in northern Yakutia. I will next consider the meaning of the building of Socialism in the Yakutian context.

The Yakut reached a population of 226,000 at the end of the nineteenth century and they were the largest ethnic group in the then Yakut Province under the Tsarist regime. Yakut ASSR was established as an autonomous Soviet of the Yakut in 1922. The Yakut, a major part of the Yakut ASSR, accounted for three quarters of the membership of the district soviet committees in the republic. The Yakut nationalism including Pan-Turkish elements in the early Soviet Period was against the Soviet authority, the government also attacked it as a bourgeois nationalism (Khazanov 1995:179-182, Vitebsky1990b: 306). Some of them, however, willingly participated in the building of the socialist republic as it corresponded with their pursuing a socialist nation; on the other hand, they were less willing to make concessions to their smaller neighbors such as the Evenki, the Even and the Yukaghir (Takakura 1998b). The Yakutsk Committee of the North had not attained "the benefit of sovietization" in such forms as schools and veterinary stations until 1929. The formation of non-Yakut national district in Yakut ASSR in 1933 which could produced the Sakkyryrsky district, although the most of the soviet chairman in the district were selected by the Yakut, not by the nationality designated of the national districts (Forsyth 1992:251-259). Thus the Yakut played the dominant role in establishing the socialism in the Yakut ASSR. The Yakut enjoyed themselves as an independent of the building of the Soviet Socialist of the republic. It was important that their self-awareness as the principal of the republic. As Kryukov pointed out (Kryukov 1996:373), the autonomy of the republic was distorted under the national Communist regime of the USSR, but the notion of national self-determination as an Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was preserved until the collapse of the USSR. There was no inconsistency of ideas between as a nation of the Yakut republic and as a nation of USSR or a Soviet citizen.

As described previously collectivization, another component of Soviet Socialism, established the village soviet as the smallest unit of public space under the Soviet regime and as the socio-economical foundation for creating cross ethnic and cross-nationalities in the village community. Socialist ideologies tended to emphasize active participation in the new social and cultural institutions such as the soviet style village and collectivization of agriculture (Eisenstadt 1992:213-4). The system had encouraged participating the population as workers, components of the Yakut ASSR without questioning either the Yakut or non-Yakut indigenous peoples. The key to the enlargement socialism in the Yakut ASSR had been the adoption of Yakut language as a lingua franca in Yakutia. The Yakut language had been developed as the standard for literacy and its use in printed materials such as news papers, journals, magazines and books under the name of the “socialist culture” during the Soviet regime (Gurvich 1962:21). A large number of socialist idioms and ideologies were disseminated and announced in the Yakut language and in printing and thus penetrated into daily life in the soviet village. The procedure of sovietization with announcements and publication in the Yakut language laid the groundwork for the development of an “imagined community” (Anderson 1991[1983]) of the native population of Yakutia.

However, Leninist national policy and the Soviet regime also contained an element which fundamentally challenged the “imagined community”. This was the Leninist national policy of nationality (*natsional’nost’*) as registered in an inner passport. The nationality in the inner passport was chose by the population with reference to their parents' nationality. It registered in their inner passport was required anytime and anywhere such as transporting institutions and somewhat contacts to the governmental institutions when the population sends as a Soviet citizen life. The system was an institution to recognize nationality in the daily village life irrespective of the socio-economical foundation supplied by Yakutian socialism during the Soviet period. The administrative category of “Peoples of the North” included 26 nationalities which were thought to be in need of special support for stride across to the building socialism because of their “primitiveness” such as low production and a tendency of egalitarian society. The Even and the Evenki, unlike the Yakut, were categorized within the “Peoples of the North”. The inner passport system which engendered a perceivable nationality was an effective vehicle to emphasize ethnic affiliations within such as the Even, one of the “Peoples of the North”, or the Yakut and thus counteracted effects to develop larger, Yakut ASSR identification. The compulsory obligation to determine an ethnic identity from among nationalities permitted by the government stood in diametric opposition to the socio-economical foundation prepared by that same government. For example, there was an unhistorical discourse for the Even in the form of reindeer breeding which was a vocation of the Even in the Soviet regime. As already mentioned, after collectivization the occupation of the reindeer breeding consisted of official work in the village and herd management in nomadic camp. Even the latter itself was sufficiently transformed from the pre-soviet life centered on hunting with a small amount of reindeer herding which had been the unit of families into specialized reindeer herding only as a unit of the occupational brigade to begin a socio-economic transformation of society. Instead of emphasizing these differences, reindeer breeding was represented in relation to the Even's character, and therefore as unhistorical, thus transcending the Soviet regime. Reindeer breeding in Yakutia was a vocation for the northern minorities except the Yakut who were

generally dominant in Yakut ASSR (e.g. Cherskij 1968:30). The discourse that, not the Yakut but the non-Yakut minorities engaged in the reindeer breeding, appeared repeatedly in the public sphere in the Soviet citizen's life in Yakutia.

This situation was similar to the conditions which existed under Tsarist administration. Gurvich attributed disputes concerning the ethnic affiliations of the peoples of Northwestern Yakutia, to the ethnic affiliation registration procedures of Tsarist administration. The Tsarist system recorded cattle and horse breeders as Yakut and reindeer breeders as Tungus. According to Popov's discussion, "the word Tungus is often used not as the name of a people but as an attributive for reindeer-breeders in general" (Gurvich 1962:17). The situation continued after the Revolution. The category of "Peoples of the North" itself primarily included "primitive" hunters and gatherers and reindeer herders, inevitably opposed to cattle & horse breeders (Slezkine 1994:1). The difference between the Yakut and the non-Yakut minorities was also emphasized, continuing the discriminating discourse which existed among them before the Revolution. The Yakut considered the Even to be "a people in the forest", "wild" and "hot-blooded". A parallel structure can be perceived in the Even's perception of to the Yukaghir (personal communication with A. A. Alekseev). In the course of increasing inter-national marriage among the population of Yakutia, determination of the nationality for the inner passport depended on historical situations. According to Alekseev (1994:8), the statistical population of Even nationality in Tiugiasirsky village soviet was 568 in 1926, 55 in 1959, 1069 in 1970, 49 in 1979 and 384 in 1989; the up and down variations signified the process of discrimination by the Yakut toward the Even. Gurvich's discussion on the effect of the formation of Socialist nation on the Yakut is germane to the background of the situation. He noted that after the appearance of the USSR, the reindeer herders of Northern Yakut disappeared (Gurvich 1963:90).

To summarize, there were two elements in the Soviet regime. One was the socio-economical foundation, transcending nationality and enlisting the Yakut language, located in rural areas of Yakut ASSR. Its purpose was to fulfill the conditions necessary for transformation of Yakut ASSR into an imagined community for the indigenous peoples in Yakutia. Second was the personal and selectable nationality registration, which catalyzed the disintegration of that foundation. The Soviet regime produced an insufficiently imagined community even for the native populations there. The appearance of new Russian immigrants from European Russia after 1970's, who engaged exclusively in a more profitable mining sector in Yakutia, emphasized this shortcoming (Khazanov 1995:177). The mining sector with the new immigrants was directly connected to the central Moscow government. The deep division between the indigenous population of Yakutia and the Russian one is reading discernible especially such in central Yakutsk where there are a considerable number of Russians. They do not recognize the distinction between the indigenous populations, and some of the Russian encountered recognized all the natives in Yakutia as Yakut.

The Republic of Sakha from the former autonomous republic has challenge to establish them as a sovereign state since the Perestroika period. It has been based not on leave the USSR or Russian Federation, but to retain sufficient profits from their resources to resolve their economic problems themselves. The coherent strategy of the Republic to maximize economic and political economy has worked as successful by an exchange of a political

supports to El'tsin from M. Nikolaev, the then President of the Republic (Kempton 1996:591,608). The current Sakha government's policy promotes the number of "Yakutyane" who feel a sense of citizenship in the republic and could enjoy a result of economic autonomy, not based on nationalities (Balzer & Vinokurova 1996:106). These policies, however, has been not worked well. Especially the consciousness of "Yakutyane" has not sufficiently captured the population in the Republic. There is still a gap in the understanding of the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) as a political unit among these groups. Most of Russians regard the republic as only a local administrative unit in the Russian Federation, while; the non-Russian indigenous populations tend to recognize it as like a nation state or sovereign state. Such a "national" consciousness or collective identity certainly was nurtured by the soviet experience of Yakut ASSR. The current republic government's attempt to regain their own management of the mining sector formerly excluded from the central Moscow bureaucracy had been supported and become conscious especially among the non-Russian indigenous populations in Yakutia. When they introduce their republic to the foreigner, the phrase always begins as "Our republic is rich, we have large land, extremely cold climate, then large amount of Gold, Diamonds ...and horses and reindeers".

The author hesitates to apply this framework to all the national questions in Yakutia such as the famous national conflicts, which occurred between the Yakut and the Russians in 1979 and 1986 (cf: Sheehy 1986). The point to emphasize is that it is unsatisfactory to take an approach to Yakut nationalism from the perspective of the dualism of the Yakut and the Russians. Rather we should apply it to the historical accumulation achieved and headed by the Yakut nationality in the Yakut ASSR. It was a kind of imagined community as a socialist nation with the "national" Yakut language and a central (Yakutsk)-peripheral structural relationship. The socio-economic foundation imbedded through the Soviet economic system has developed beyond the nationality of the inner passport.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In the discussion of this paper the author examined the way a region, the eastern foothills area of the Verkhoyansky Mountains, was encompassed by the Soviet administrative system, creating a process which organized the region in relation to central Yakutsk. From this point of view, I provide another perspective on present day Yakutian nationalism and the socio-economic foundations of the relationship between central Yakutsk and the peripheral rural region nurtured by the Soviet regime. On the matter of the soviet style development and ethnicity, Gitelman said, "In the Soviet pattern of modernization, industrialization held pride of place-a pattern that, to be sure, introduced many occupations which are ethnically neutral and nonindistinctive. Only a minority sticks to traditional vocations associated with particular ethnic group (1990:231)". Although generally true, the latter part should actually include a combination of minorities and traditional vocations. As previously emphasized, even reindeer breeding, re-organized into an agricultural sector of the former USSR which transcended nationality, contributed to the socio-economic foundation of the village community. It is certain that the modernization and industrialization of reindeer breeding proceeded with trance-ethnic or ethnic neutralized, but the neutral-ness is based on the local politics of Yakutia with the Yakut language as a lingua

franca, although kept within the discourse of reindeer breeding as a job of the non-Yakut indigenous populations. What the author presents in this paper is a reflection of the socio-economic foundation and local politics in Yakutia useful in understanding of experience of sovietization and de-sovietization for the common community both of the Yakut and the non-Yakut indigenous peoples.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The core of this paper came from sixteen months of fieldwork research in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) of the Russian Federation during August 1994-October 1994, May 1995-April 1996 and August 1997. Fieldwork was conducted in Batagay-Alyta village and reindeer brigade camps of Eveno-Bytantaysky *Ulus* (district) in the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia). I appreciate all the kindness and help of Professor Vasiliy N. Ivanov, the Director of Academy Nauk Republic Sakha (Yakutia) Institute Humanities, Professor Anatory A. Alekseev of Yakut State University and Dr. Vanda Ignat'eva in Institute of Humanities, and my friends in the village and nomadic camps in Yakutia.

ENDNOTES

- (1) Recently there has been many researches on the Yakut nationalism (Balzer 1992, 1996, Balzer & Vinoklova 1996, Eisenstadt 1992, Katsuki 1996, Kempton 1996, Khazanov 1995, etc.), which I already reviewed (Takakura 1998b).
- (2) See the Shiro Sasaki's work (1998) on the hierarchical structure of ethnic identities in this region.
- (3) See the Turaev (1997:39) which describe the historical background of the Tiugiasirsky clan in detailed.
- (4) According to Gurvich (1956:42-43), the Batagytsev immigrated from the Yana to the Small-Sakkyryr River (a branch of the Sakkyryr) ; they became a main body of clan of Tiugiasirov in twentieth century.
- (5) *Nasleg* is a historical term for the rural commune of the Yakut before the October Revolution (cf: Zykov 1986). The Soviet Regime organized it as a territorial-administrative unit (village soviet) of the district in Yakut ASSR before 1930's.
- (6) *Tordokh* is known as the traditional summer dwelling of the Yakut, but there was another usage of the word "*tordokh*". According to Ionova (1952:262), the Yakut in northern Yakutia called their chum tent *toldokh* or *urasa*.
- (7) *Iurta* is usually known as the nomad's tent in the Central Asia, but the word in Yakutia is refereed as log cabin for temporal staying (hunting & herding), not for permanent residence.
- (8) There were two villages, Artikh-Iurekh and Batagay-Alyta, during her research year in Tiugiasirsky nasleg soviet. The former had a larger population with Even nationality than the latter. The Even in Batagay-Alyta were assimilated into the Yakut more than in Artikh-Iurekh (Novikova1962:109). The village of Artikh-Iurekh was, however, never encountered during the author's fieldwork. It may have been abolished in the amalgamation policy of the small village of 1960's. The situation with respects to this will be examined in future fieldwork.
- (9) See Matthews (1993) and Zaslavsky & Luryi (1979) on the matter of the inner

- passport system in the former USSR. The author also partly examined it in the case of the Nivkh (Takakura 1994).
- (10) Although one of the roles of the sovkhos was to officially reshuffle herder personnel so as to avoid combining according to their kinship and affiliations, all of the professional herders in single brigades had somekind of kin or affiliative connections with each other (from my field notes).
 - (11) *Unt'*, reindeer boots was consisted of a main body made from light and warmer reindeer leg hide and a sole of thick felt like those on Valenki Russian boots. It is said that "out of the contact of two cultures [Russian and Yakut] came the ideal footwear for northern conditions (Mikhailov 1992). This is a local special product produced for both industrial use in cities as Yakutsk, and for domestic use by entire populations in rural areas in Yakutia.
 - (12) "Nomadic clan commune (*kochevaia rodvaia obshchina*)", which seems like a somewhat classic and interesting term to anthropologists, is a completely new type of organization of agricultural enterprises specially created for the "Peoples of North" and the workers of their "traditional economy" (reindeer herding, fishing and hunting etc). It was legitimized in an act of the Republic of Sakha in December, 1992 and revised in 1996.
 - (13) In stead of the former state delivery system of furbearer, the Yakutian government in 1993 instituted a fur trade organization as Sakha Bult and tries to control all the affairs of commercial hunting and to thrive its business. The result is unfortunately unsucceeded (Ikeda 1996). A different organization in Yakutsk, Sarddana fur factory manufactures fur products from small furbearers imported from the USA because the prices are cheaper than those in Yakutia (the author's field notes).

REFERENCES

- Alekseev, A. A., 1994, *Isotoriia i kul'tura evenov severnogo-zapadnogo Verkhoian'ia (Avtoreferat-dissertatsij na soiskanie uchenoi kandidata istoricheskikh nauk)*, Yakutsk: Izdatel'stvo YaGU.
- Anderson, B., 1991 (1983), *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (Revised), New York:Verso.
- Balzer, M.M., 1992, Dilemmas of the sprit: Religious and athentism in the Yakut-Sakha Republic, in *Religious Policy in the Soviet Union*, ed. by S.P. Ramet, pp.231-251, Cambridge University Press.
- Balzer, M.M., 1996, Flights of the sacred: Symbolism and theory in Siberian shamanism, *American Anthropologist* 98-2:305-318.
- Balzer, M.M. & Vinokurova,U.A., 1996, Nationalism, interethnic relations and federalism: The case of the Sakha Republic (Yakutia), *Europe-Asia Studies* 48-1: 101-120.
- Cherskij, N.V. et. al. eds., 1968, *Ekonomika i kul'tura narodov severa Yakutii*, Moskva:Nauka.
- Eisenstadt, S.N. 1992, Center-periphery relations in the Soviet Empire, in *Thinking Theoretically about Soviet Nationality: History and the Comparison in the Study of USSR*, ed. by A.Motyl,pp.205-223, New York: Colombia University Press.
- Fondahl, G., 1995, The status of indigenous peoples in the Russian North, *Post-Soviet Geography* 36-4:215-224.

- Forsyth, J., 1992, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia: Russian's North Asian Colony 1581-1990*. Cambridge University Press.
- Gitelman, Z., 1992, Development and ethnicity in the Soviet Union, in *The Post-Soviet Nations: Perspectives on the Demise of the USSR*, ed. by A. Motyl, pp.220-239, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Gorolev, V., 1957, Vosstanovlenie narodnogo khoziajstva Yakutskoj ASSR (1923-1925gg.), in *Ocherki po istorii Yakutii sovetskogo perioda*, eds. by Iu. A. Zoliakov & Z.V. Gogolev, pp.122-152, Yakutsk: Yakutskoe Knizhnoe Izd-vo.
- Grant, B., 1995, *In the Soviet House of Culture :A Century of Perestroikas*. Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Gurvich, I.S., 1956, Eveny-Tiugiasiry, *Kratkie soobshchenie instituta etnografii im. N.N. Mikiklokho-Maklaia* 25: 42-55.
- Gurvich, I.S., 1962, The ethnic affiliation of the population in the northwest of the Yakut ASSR in *Studies in Siberian Ethnogenesis*, ed. by H.N. Michael, pp.3-24, University of Toronto Press.
- Gurvich, I.S., 1963, Current ethnic process taking place in Northern Yakutia (E. L. Davis trans.), *Arctic Anthropology* 1-2:86-92.
- Gurvich, I.S., 1966, *Etnicheskaja istorija severo-vostoka Sibiri*. Moskva: Nauka.
- Gurvich, I.S., 1977, *Kul'tura severnykh yakutov-olenevodov*. Moskva: Nauka.
- Humphrey, C., 1983, *Karl Marx Collective: Economy, Society and Religion in a Siberian Collective Farm*, Cambridge University Press.
- Ikeda, T., 1996, The furbearer hunting and the game management in Eveno-Bytantaisky region, Sakha Republic (in Japanese), in *Ethnographical Study of Herders in Siberia*, ed. by S. Saito, pp.127-136, Nagoya: Nagoya City University.
- Ionova, O.V., 1952, Zhilye i khoziajstvennoe postrojki Yakutov, *Trudy instituta etnografii im. N. N. Miklukho-Maklaia (Sibirskij etnografij sbornik 1)* t.17: 239-319.
- Katsuki, H., 1996, The Republic of Sakha obtained Independence and non-nuclear status (in Japanese), *Eurasian Studies* 11:16-22, Tokyo.
- Kempton, D.R., 1996, The Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) : The Evolution of Center-Periphery relations in the Russian Federation, *Europe-Asia Studies* 48-4:587-613.
- Khazanov, A.M., 1995, *After the USSR: Ethnicity, Nationalism, and the Politics in the Commonwealth of Independent States*, The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Khuziakov, I.A., 1969, *Kratkoe opisanie Verkhoyanskogo okruga*. Leningrad: Nauka.
- Kryukov, M., 1996, Self-determination from Marx to Mao, *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 19-2:352-378.
- Kuoljok, K.E., 1985, *The Revolution in the North: Soviet Ethnography and Nationality Policy* (trans. by T.J.M.Gray and N. Tomkinson), Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International.
- Kuznetsov, A.I. & Missonova, L.I., 1993, *Etnosotsial'noe polozenie evenov v Eveno-Bytantajskom rajone Yakutii* (Mezhnatsional'nye otnosheniia v sovremennom mira, seriia-A, Dokment N-35), Moskva: Institute Etnologii i Antropologii RAN.
- Levin, M.G. & Vasil'ev, B.A., 1956, Eveny, in *Narody Sibiri*, eds. by M.G. Levin & L.P. Potapov, pp.760-775, Moskva-Leningrad: Nauka.
- Matthews, M., 1993, *The Passport Society: Controlling Movement in Russia and the USSR*,

- Boulder: Westview Press.
- Mikhailov, A., 1992, *Yakutia Sakha Sire*. Yakutsk: State Company for Foreign Trade "Sakhavneshtorg" .
- Novikova, K. A., 1962, O rasselenii, chislennosti i rodo-plemennykh nazvaniiax evenov Yakutsoj ASSR, *Kraevedcheskie zapiski* 4 (Upravlenie kul'tury magadanskogo oblispolkoma oblastnoj kraevedcheskij muzej), Magadan:Magadan Kni'noe Izd-vo: 102-118.
- Sasaki, S., 1998, Segmentary hierarchy of identity: The case of Yakuts and the Evens in Northern Yakutia, in *Quest for Models of Coexistence: National and Ethnic Dimentions of Changes in the Slavic Eurasian World*, ed. by Koichi Inoue, pp.317-338, Sapporo: SRC Hokkaido University.
- Seroshevskij, V.L., 1993 (1896), *Yakuty: Opyt etnograficheskogo issledovaniia*, Moskva: ROSSPEN.
- Shelekhova, R.V., 1984, Kul'tbazy: Opornye punkty kul'turnogo pereobrazovaniia rajonov Krajnego Severa, in *Kul'turnoe stroitel'stovo v sovetskoi Yakutii*, eds. by I.A. Argunov, S.I. Kovlekov & I.G. Romanov, pp.38-43, Yakutsk:Yakutskii filial SO AN SSSR.
- Shimotomai,N.,1994, Rosia seiji to chiiki syugi (The regionalism in Russian Politics), in *Koza-Surabu no sekai 5: Surabu no seiji*, eds. by S. Kido & S.Minagawa, pp.91-116, Tokyo: Kobundo.
- Slezkine,Y., 1994, *Arctic Mirrors: Russia and the Small Peoples of the North*, Ithaca: Cornel University Press.
- Takakura, H., 1994, From "Gilyaki" to "Nivkhi" : The problem of establishment of ethnic designation (in Japanese), *The Japanese Journal of Ethnology* 59-2:131-146
- Takakura, H., 1996, Preliminary notes on herding activities and skills of a reindeer industry in Eastern Siberia: a study of Northern Yakutia (in Japanese with English summary), in *Ethnographical Study of Herders in Siberia*, ed. by S. Saito, pp.108-126, Nagoya City University.
- Takakura, H., 1998a, Reorganization of Reindeer Industry under the de-sovietization: A transformation of a soviet village community in Northern Yakutia, Siberia (in Japanese with English summary), *The Japanese Journal of Ethnology* 63-1:19-43.
- Takakura, H., 1998b, Rethinking Sakha nationalism: The dailogue between the national and the regional consciousnesses in Yakutia, Siberia (in Japanese), *Shakaijinruigaku Nenpo* (Annual Report of Social Anthropology) 24:123-140, Tokyo.
- Takakura, H., 1999, Between the Lenin's reindeer and the private reindeer: On the classification, recognition and possession of reindeer in the region of Verkhoyansk region, Siberia (in Japanese), *Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology, Special Issue* 20: 541-586, Senri: National Museum of Ethnology.
- Tokarev,S.A. & Gurvich,I.S., 1956, Yakuty, in *Narody Sibiri*, eds. by M.G. Levin & L.P.Potapov, pp.267-328, Moskva-Leningrad:Nauka.
- Tokarev, S. A.,Gorolev,Z.V.i Gurvich,I.S. eds., 1957, *Istoriia Yakutskoj ASSR, tom 2, Yakutiia ot 1630-kh godov do 1917g.* Moskva: Nauka.
- Turaev, V. A. (ed.), 1997, *Istoriia i kul'tura evenov: Istoriko-etnografichekie ocherki.* St.Peterburg: Nauka.

- Vitebsky, P., 1989, Perestroika among the reindeer herders, *Geographical Magazine* June 1989:22-25.
- Vitebsky, P., 1990a, Centralized Decentralization: the Ethnography of remote reindeer under Perestroika, *Cashiers du Monde russe et soviétique* 31 (2/3) :345-356.
- Vitebsky, P., 1990b, The Yakut, in *The Nationalities Questions in the Soviet Union*, ed.by G.Smith, pp.304-319, New York & London: Longman.
- Vitebsky, P., 1992, Landscape and self-determination among the Eveny: the Political Environment of Siberian Reindeer Herders Today, in *Bush Base, Forest farm: Culture Environment and Development*. eds. by E,Croll & D, Parkin, pp.223-246, Routledge.
- Vakhtin,N., 1994, Native Peoples of the Russian Far North, in *Polar Peoples: self determination and development*, ed. by Minority Rights Group, pp.29-80, London: Minority Rights Publications.
- Zaslavsky,V.& Luryi,Y., 1979, The Passport System in the USSR and Changes in Soviet Society, *Soviet Union / Union Sovietique* 6-2:137-153.
- Zykov, F.M., 1986, *Poseleniia zhilishcha i khoziajstvennye postrojki Yakutov*, Novosibirsk: Nauka.

* Unpublished Documents

As there are many unpublished documents without referential numbers that I collected in the fieldwork, I classified the serial numbers per archive and put the name of materials and files. The exception is for materials reserved in the Central State Archive of Sakha Republic [TsGA RS (Y)], because they have referential numbers in my text.

AGKS RS (Y) [Arkhiv Gosdarstvennskogo Komiteta po Statiska Respublika Sakha (Yakutia)]

* Otdel perepisi naseleniia

#1 Shadrinskij nas/soviet v Sakkyryrskom rajone (1939).

#2 Tiugiasirskij s/soviet v Verkhoyanskom rajone (1959).

#3 Tiugiasirskij s/soviet v Verkhoyanskom rajone (1970).

AL [Agrofil'ma "Leninskij" in Batagay-Alyta, Eveno-Bytantajskij rajon RS (Y)]

#1 Finansovo-ekonomicheskie pokazateli Sovkhoz Leninskij za 1961-1990gg. In File: *Ekonomicheskie analizy 1988*.

AYNT [Arkhiv Yakutskii Nauchnyj Tsentr].

#1 Atlasov,S.V., Vasil'ev,F.F., Alekseev,A.A., Kolodeznik,S.K. i Solntsev,N.G. 1990 Nauchinyj otchet: Tradichionnye otrasli khoziajstva v Eveno-Bytantajskom natsional'nom rajone YaSSR. Yakutsk: Instituta Iazyka, Literatura i Istorii

EBGUA [Eveno-Bytantajskij GosUlusnij Arkhiv]

#1 Proizvodstvennyj plany kolkhozov za 1952 god. In File: *Inspetsiia sel'skogo khoziajstvo, delo 34*.

MATN [Mestnoj administratsiia Tiugiasirskogo naslega]

#1 Chislennosti po p. Batagay-Alyta, 1995 Ianv.