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The Emergence of National Parks in Russia  
With  
Studies of Pribaikalski and Zabaikalski National Parks  
In the Lake Baikal Region of South-Central Siberia

by

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A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the Department of Geography

We accept this dissertation as conforming  
to the required standard

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## **ABSTRACT**

The recent establishment of an impressive network of national parks within first the Soviet Union and then post-Soviet Russia can be viewed as representative of ongoing shifts in relationships between valuations of nature and of societal organization and empowerment. With dissipation of the country's centralized administrative structures, the designation of national parks has repeatedly been used to support regional claims to territorial autonomy under the auspices of environmental protection. Site selection, however, has been motivated primarily by attachments to the specifics of place and attendant proclamations of self-identity rather than to normative ecological or recreational national park criteria. As a consequence, Russian national parks embrace complex matrices of historical, cultural and natural landscape characteristics reflective of their respective constituencies. Appearing first in the outlying Republics, the national park formation process diffused inwards to the Russian heartland and eastwards into Siberia. This sequential development, not by chance, has mirrored the devolution of Soviet sovereignty and the deconstruction of its empire.

Two national parks, Pribaikalski and Zabaikalski in the Lake Baikal region of south-central Siberia, have served as primary research sites for examining the validity of the above concepts and for observing and analyzing the processes involved. To maximize informational and perceptual access and to study site/societal interactions, a variety of constituencies have been incorporated into the study through extensive multi-tiered participatory roles. At an operational level, these activities have emphasized

international agency/NGO consultancies, the development of a park-directed, village-based ecotourism program and the founding of a wider-ranging "Friends of the National Parks Society."

Research results have supported the contention that Russian national parks are primarily a product of regional socio-political forces intent on preserving representative natural/cultural landscapes rather than the result of centralized decision-making processes prioritizing recreation, education, or biodiversity objectives. Given the persistence of societal flux, the sites will continue to be highly susceptible to the influences of stakeholder/constituency interests and empowered individuals.

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This work has been a multi-generational, as well as a lifelong process--multi-generational in its setting within the traditions and lineage of a my academic ancestry--lifelong in the time that it has taken to produce from the same considerably mythologized past a present reality. Many have contributed along the way. The presence and bearing of grandparents and great-grandparents, especially those long-lived, strong-willed matriarchs (affectionately Pra-Baba, Hi-Baba, and Tookie Lynn) steadfastly reinforced a sense of mission. My mother too remained faithful to the cause, if often overwhelmed by the complexities of its implementation. Fate in the form of an unknown functionary also needs mentioning. A mis-processed scholarship application deflected my course of higher education from UCLA to the Berkeley campus, its tumultuous political climate, and eventually its geography department. Within this field, I have been very fortunate to have found the companionship and support of many like-minded individuals, most notably those whom I consider my mentors--Roy Gordon, Deryck Lodrick, Hans Meihoefer and Georg Treichel. Each has contributed uniquely to my academic and personal enrichment.

Specific to the task at hand, I first must thank the many Russians who unstintingly gave of their hospitality, assistance and knowledge throughout this work. Without the sponsorship of Vladimir Melnikov and Yevgeny Ovdin, Director and Deputy Director of Zabaikalski National Park, this work could not have been completed. Without Olga and Volodya Podshumnaya, their family and friends, and an ever-widening circle of Ust-Barguzin acquaintances, the task would have been much more daunting and much less

enjoyable. Without Karin Elliot, (Maine-born, Russian at heart), I still could have stumbled through, but by comparison deaf and dumb to my surroundings.

I would also like to thank my doctoral committee members for their patience throughout this work's prolonged gestation, as well as Doug Weiner for accepting a belated entreaty to serve as my external committee member. My gratitude also to Ken Josephson for producing that signature product of the geographer's art, the dissertation maps.

Finally, I am indebted most of all to my family--Mindy, Tania, Roxanne and Dushan--who have borne, at times with patience and at times with resignation, but always valiantly, the brunt of this Quixotic quest.

## Foreward

### An Epiphany

In November, 1988, my wife and I left our children to experience life in the Bronx with grandfather and boarded a train out of Grand Central Station for a short three-day pilgrimage to Washington D.C.'s Smithsonian Institute. The visit had no specific academic objectives. Instead it realized a long-held desire to roam through the Institute's collections, to enjoy the stimulus of unexpected insights and to come away with a feeling of place -- that invigorating sense of awareness and familiarity which has motivated so many of my intellectual pursuits and geographic wanderings.

The visit set in motion a series of decisions individually contemplated but to that point viewed only as disjunct mid-life musings. One superb exhibit entitled "Crossroads of Continents: Cultures of Siberia and Alaska," recalled the connectivity of two regions I had first investigated in my Masters Thesis "Russian Routes." The tangibility of the artifacts also brought forth images from familial Siberian narratives and reawakened longings to explore those still largely forbidden ancestral homelands. Purchasing the exhibit catalogue, I noticed a volume on the proceedings of the 1982 World National Parks Conference and bought it as well. The text contained two articles on Soviet protected areas with tantalizingly vague references to the establishment of the country's first national parks. Suddenly, a best-of-all-worlds scenario came into focus. I would return to pursue my long delayed doctoral degree studying the emergence of the Soviet national parks system. The subject would combine my interests in cultural landscapes,

biogeography and socio-political change--the latter concern an unquenchable outgrowth of a 1960s Berkeley education honed thereafter by two decades of political and environmental activism. As an added incentive, I would have the opportunity to gauge and re-engage my Russianness.

Among material resources, the greatest, unquestionably, is the land. Study how society uses its land, and you can come to pretty reliable conclusions as to what its future will be (E. F. Schumacher, 1973, Small is beautiful: Economics as if people mattered.)

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the subsequent re-formation of Russia has engendered intense international interest. This scrutiny has focused primarily on the effects of centrifugal forces, in particular geopolitical realignments, the resurgence of cultural/ethnic tensions, and natural resource (mis)management. Given the predominantly apocalyptic tenor of these perspectives, the rapid development of an impressive network of protected areas, and especially the genesis of a Soviet/Russian national parks system presents an unlikely anomaly. Yet the establishment of national parks is actually symptomatic of, and in fact exemplifies, the country's on-going deconstruction process in which territorial redistribution, in both the physical and jurisdictional senses, has constituted a prominent expression of change.

Soviet/Russian national parks, moreover, have emerged at a time when the efficacy of conventional conservation methodologies and their normative models have been increasingly questioned (Sax, 1980; Livingston, 1981; Martin, 1988; Sadler, 1989; Yapp, 1989; NPCA, 1993). The dominant perception of protected areas management as a context-free activity concerned with specific goal-oriented tasks has given way to an acknowledgement of the inherent shortcomings of separating space and time, place and

process. The change is reflective of a broad-based reaction to the failure of process-driven planning methodologies developed in the 1950s and 1960s, of which protected areas development was a part. Questions of social structure and power became increasingly incorporated into planning theory in the 1970s. Over time, the inclusion of these perspectives has "shifted attention from managing planning to listening to clients" (Poulton, 1991, p.228). Protected areas have followed suit. Convergence of this paradigm shift with the rapid evolution of Soviet/Russian societal structures presents a unique opportunity to examine in detail the implications of changing relationships between societal valuations of nature and prevailing views of the organization of human affairs.

Underlying a prescriptive planning framework of environmental protection and recreation management, national parks are essentially cultural constructs superimposed on their landscapes. Deemed to hold uniquely valuable qualities representative of the societies within which they exist, the sites are personifications of an ideal as well as claims to space. It is from this perceptual basis--the cognizance of culture as contextual and causative<sup>1</sup>--that the recent emergence of the Soviet/Russian national parks can be best analyzed and understood.

It is commonplace, especially in dissertations, to claim that one's research fills an intellectual void. In this case, the claim can be made with some justification. Though the importance of national parks as purveyors of cultural identity has long been recognized, historians rather than geographers have provided the subject's seminal works (Lothian,

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<sup>1</sup>Peter Jackson (1989, p.2) has suggested as a working definition for culture, "The level at which social groups develop distinct patterns of life [which in themselves] are maps of meaning through which the world is made intelligible." It is from this view of culture as an active medium rather than from its residual surface characteristics that this work proceeds.

1976; Runte, 1979; Nash, 1982; Fox, 1985; Bella, 1987). Geographers have chosen to focus on normative models, impact analysis and, more recently, constituency/stakeholder roles (e.i. Sewell and O'Riordan, 1976; Nelson, 1978a, 1984; Eidsvick, 1980, 1990; Dearden and Rollins, 1993; Dearden and Berg, 1993). Questions of how landscapes, specifically in the form of national parks, have been used to advance the attainment of social and political goals have seldom been developed<sup>2</sup>. Works from this perspective on Soviet/Russian national parks, in English or Russian, are nonexistent<sup>3</sup>.

Available sources are scarce on even the more generic topic of Soviet/Russian protected areas. The IUCN's World Conservation Monitoring Centre lists 15 relevant references for the entire Soviet region in its 1992 Annotated Bibliography of Protected Areas System Plans. Of these, 7 consist of a series on republic zapovedniki (nature reserves), a majority are in Russian and only A.G. Nikalaevskiy's Natsional'nye Parki pertains specifically to national parks. Description rather than analysis prevails throughout<sup>4</sup>.

Academic literature exhibits the same paucity of information. A 1967-1997 review of major North American geographic journals<sup>5</sup> located only two articles which

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<sup>2</sup>A conspicuous exception is the work of A. & M. MacEwen (1982, 1987) on the failings of British national parks as measures for countryside conservation—though once again, not by geographers.

<sup>3</sup>Historian Douglas Weiner does provide an excellent perceptual template with his study of the pre-Revolutionary/Soviet protected areas movement in Models of Nature: Ecology, Conservation, and Cultural Revolution in Soviet Russia (1988).

<sup>4</sup>At least in the case of Soviet/Russian planners, disregard of process in the formation of place can be seen as reflective of the system's traditionally narrow specialist perspective, dominated furthermore by Marxist determinism. The wider lack of works incorporating time and dynamism into analysis leads one to wonder if neo-regionalism has proceeded beyond its philosophical constructs (see Chappell, 1975; Braden, 1992; Bassin, 1992).

<sup>5</sup>The Canadian Geographer, Geographical Review, Annals of the Association of American Geographers, The Professional Geographer and Progress in Human Geography.

mentioned Soviet/Russian national parks (Micklin, 1967; Pryde, 1997). Of a further two which discussed the broader subject of the country's protected areas (Chappell, 1975; Matley, 1982), neither incorporated the 1986-1996 decade during which much of the present system has evolved. Soviet/Russian protected areas authorship by academic geographers beyond these sources has been almost exclusively the domain of a single individual (Pryde, 1967, 1972, 1977, 1978, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1991, 1995, 1997). His chronicle, however, has emphasized zapovedniki, giving rather short shrift to national parks and especially to the system's development.

Information specific to Soviet/Russian national parks is found more frequently in the publications of international agencies (i.e. The World Bank, IUCN/World Conservation Union), non-governmental organizations, their supporters and beneficiaries (i.e. World Wildlife Fund, Institute for Soviet/American Relations, Baikal Watch, the MacArthur Grant funded Davis & Associates) and the popular press. Though of interest, the analytical efficacy of these sources has been restricted by the limited scope of their agendas and further constrained by the few, perceptually and often personally linked administrators, consultants, and journalists which dominate the genre<sup>6</sup>. The October, 1996 issue of IUCN's Parks journal devoted solely to "the post-Communist transition process on protected areas" (Goriup, 1996, p.1) is illustrative of this condition. All articles relating to Russian sites are authored by an inner circle of experts<sup>7</sup> that have repeatedly graced

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<sup>6</sup>This latter group (e.i. Massey, 1990, 1991; Stewart, 1990; Matthiessen, 1991, 1992, 1994; Struzik, 1991; Belt, 1992; Sneider, 1994; Shestakov, 1995; Montaigne, 1997) has been especially prone to repetition of cliché-ridden, patronizing, misery-mongering. It has been an illuminating experience to meet some of these individuals, to share their journeys, and to compare their published experiences with my own recollections.

<sup>7</sup>Margaret Williams, Editor-in-Chief of Russian Conservation News, V.P. Stepanitsky, Division Head of Nature Reserve Management, State Committee of Environmental Protection, Natalia Danilina, Director of

publications on the subject. The genre is also familiarly consistent, opening with generalized overviews of problems and obstacles to success then proceeding to pleas for political support and financial assistance. Refereed journals have not been immune to the same incursions of self-promotion disguised as research dissemination (i.e. Dinerstein, 1994).

That so few geographic works of substance have appeared on the subject of Soviet/Russian protected areas, and even less on its national parks, can be attributed at least in part to certain conservative traits of academia and its current practitioners. Put succinctly, neither they nor their funding sources are easily drawn to politically unstable regions. Only "normalcy", based on the re-establishment of institutional structures<sup>8</sup>, brings forth willingness and largesse, not necessarily in that order. This phase has just begun in post-Soviet Russia and the C.I.S. Yet in the making of geographies it is the times of turmoil themselves that are often the most revealing. No amount of ex post facto scholarship can truly reconstruct events--or afford the opportunity to influence outcomes. Despite assumptions in Entrikin's Betweenness of Place that the world is divided into "intellectuals who want to understand the phenomenon of place, the world of ordinary

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the Environmental Education Centre Zapovedniki, World Wildlife Fund, and Vera Chizhova. World Conservation and Protected Areas Task Force on Tourism and Protected Areas member.

<sup>8</sup>In the post-Soviet era, such avenues of access have routinely directed research not toward the myriad of new investigative opportunities, but right back into the same constricted venues that defined parameters of pre-1991 scholarship. As joint east-west project funding attempts to emphasize moving beyond these often intransigent barriers, various degrees of shared dissimulation become necessary to reach at least superficial participant consensus on goals and objectives. Our Geography Co-op Program's Gorbachev Grant experience provides an example of this approach's shortcomings (personal observation, 1994-1997). Of equal consternation has been the tendency of North American universities to channel research of visiting post-Soviet scholars into familiar niches when their unique perceptions and training have so much more to offer to the discipline (Emelyanova, 1994; Bogorov, 1995; Chizhova, 1995, personal communications).

people and their experience of place and...[where] the two worlds often overlap," (Tuan on Entrikin, 1992, p.85-86), such contacts have become ever more tenuous, especially with the precipitous decline of fieldwork<sup>9</sup> as an integral segment of geographic research. Repeatedly we seem content to sift the shards<sup>10</sup>.

The desire "to situate landscapes at the heart of cultural and political processes [and] to explain the human organization of space through contestations over their meanings and interpretations" (Walton, 1995, p.63) places this dissertation within the spheres of humanist, realist, and radical geographic thought. That "the social world should be seen as comprised of space-time entities having causal powers which may or may not be realized depending on the patterns of spatial/temporal interdependence" (Urry in Johnston, 1986, p.390) sits at its heart. Attached to the concept of human agency and thus declaring its non-Marxist bent, this perception also harkens back to the tenets of possibilism (Pred, 1984; Jordan, 1994). By extension, the effects of contingency gain significance. Sayer's apt analogy with a spark that activates otherwise inert but potentially explosive gunpowder (Sayer in Johnston, 1986, p.389) is especially applicable to the Soviet/post-Soviet transition process<sup>11</sup>.

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<sup>9</sup>A distinction should here be made between research and academic voyeurism. During this study's five field seasons, numerous North American scholars visited the Baikal region study sites, some repeatedly. Their stays, however, were inevitably brief (a form of reductionist methodology in itself), almost without exception followed well-worn pathways, and produced little in terms of publications, much less applications. Exceptions, like The ecology of the Svyatoy Nos wetlands, (Mlikovsky, J & Styblo, P., 1992), have been the work of eastern European graduate students.

<sup>10</sup>Further complicating matters, scholars are even then often not allowed to choose the shards they sift. Note the current Canadian channelling of Russian research to north of the 60th parallel, satisfying the Federal bureaucracy's penchant for comparative analyses with 'their' territories. Thus the flurry of research in Sakha (Soviet Yakutia) (Gail Fondahl, personal communication, March, 1997) and the Chukhotka Peninsula (Marilyn Walker, personal communication, July, 1997).

<sup>11</sup>That the radical newspaper in which Lenin first published was titled "Iskra" (The Spark) increases the appropriateness of the parallel.

This work also exhibits in its approach to space as both a condition and consequence of human activity, aspects of contextual and structuration theories (Giddens, 1976, 1984; Soja, 1980, 1989; Hagerstrand, 1984; Pred, 1984; Braden, 1992). Both concepts have been particularly useful in clarifying and organizing vaguely formulated conjectures about the multi-tiered relationships of individuals, social systems and the structures within which they are embedded. In structuration theory, "all systems of social interaction entail communication, power, and sanction and hence depend upon structures of significance, domination, and legitimization" (Johnston on Giddens, 1986, p.465). The sequential emergence and development of Soviet/Russian national parks has evolved within just such an ideological framework.

The present research, however, did not set forth guided by any philosophical foundation beyond a wide-ranging, pre-revisionist interest in:

the capacity of man to alter his environment, the manner of his doing so, and the virtue of his actions...[as well as] concerns with historically cumulative effects, with the physical and biological processes that man sets in motion, inhabits, or deflects, and with the differences in cultural conduct that distinguish one human group from another (Sauer, 1956, p.49).

Further ideological and methodological refinement<sup>12</sup> has been largely revelatory, a process of self-realization giving form and breadth to nearly three decades of geographic labour lacking in vigorous academic introspection.

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<sup>12</sup>The term "refinement" has been carefully chosen, for this work's empirical core continues to be dominated by the visions of Carl Sauer's "The Morphology of Landscape" (1925), John K. Wright's "Terra Incognita: The Place of the Imagination in Geography" (1947), and the works of David Lowenthal, i.e. "Geography, experience, and imagination: Towards a geographical epistemology" (1961), Past time, present place: Landscape and memory (1975), and as editor of the reissue of Marsh's Man and Nature (1965), which reintroduced the cultural and historical behavioural geography of Sauer and Wright to a receptive generation of students in the 1960s and 1970s.

Throughout the study, four avenues of inquiry have been used to test the validity of this work's central proposition: that Soviet/Russian national parks viewed as cultural constructs are representative of the country's deconstruction process; and of its primary corollary: that the centrifugal and centripetal forces which have been involved in their emergence and evolution can be discerned and their effects comprehended in terms of the varying empowerment of groups and individuals.

First, examination of traditional (pre-national park) protected areas has provided the necessary perceptual foundation for analysis of present trends and structures. All three major system components--zapovedniki, zakazniki, and pamyatniki--offer levels of landscape and wildlife protection and occur frequently in juxtaposition and even within national parks. Their origins, development and distribution, as well as the degrees to which each fulfils regulatory functions have strongly influenced the evolution of Soviet/Russian national parks.

Secondly, formational processes, including legislative acts establishing and defining Soviet/Russian national parks and their administrative structures have been studied and compared with international models and like systems elsewhere<sup>13</sup>.

Pribaikalski and Zabaikalski National Parks in the Lake Baikal region of south-central Siberia have served as field sites to gauge levels of congruence between these mandates and their actualization<sup>14</sup>. Here, infrastructural analysis has functioned both deductively to

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<sup>13</sup>The entire span of national parks legislation, from the first act differentiating protected areas (1991) to current statutes (1995) has appeared within the span of this work. All have been translated and appear as appendices to this dissertation.

<sup>14</sup>Given Russia's seven-decade hiatus as a geographic study region and the rapid changes which followed, the accumulation of information for this research constitutes a unique set of baseline data unto itself.

determine conformity with standards and as a basis for inductive probings into the underlying causes of divergences from the norm.

Confirming an initial caveat (Tripp, 1992b, p.6) concerning the pitfalls of extrapolating findings and thus generalizing from the specific, both national study sites have been found to be somewhat atypical of the system within which they exist. Yet it must be confessed that the accuracy of this prediction owes much to circumstance and perceptual biases introduced at the outset of the work. In 1990, the Soviet Union, though increasingly "liberalized" under Gorbachev, continued to severely restrict the flow of information and the ability of individuals, especially foreigners, to travel. Thus the choice of study sites was predicated largely on physical accessibility and the constraints of a severely limited knowledge base. Lake Baikal was both well known and available<sup>15</sup>. Spectacular and unique, the region fit the (inter)national park archetype and proclaimed the maturation of the Soviet Union's protected area strategy. Yet as the process continued its distinctive, culture emphasizing evolution, these same natural attributes made Pribaikalski and Zabaikalski national parks more anomalous than representative of the system.

Thirdly, interviews and field reconnaissance have been undertaken to determine site issues and their relationships with stakeholder/constituency groups (Table 1.1). Multiple strategies were used to establish qualitative vigor during this process. Prolonged engagement with the sites over five consecutive summer field seasons provided the setting for an ongoing dialogue with interview respondents to discuss findings, interpretations and

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<sup>15</sup>That only 12 of the current 32 Russian national parks had been established at the onset of this research also limited the choice of study sites.

pursue additional related lines of enquiry. Dependability and confirmability of observations and quotations were strengthened through daily journal entries, the use of a Russian-fluent assistant skilled in shorthand verbatim recording of conversations, and inclusion of 'downtime' in the field to evaluate progress and refine techniques. On the assumption that multiple perceptions of reality were involved in the study, stakeholder/constituency sampling was purposely stratified. Initial entry at the site rather than regional or national levels was chosen to lessen external control of informant selection and thus increase the credibility of findings. Information gathered from all groups during the first field season was condensed into a framework of common understanding (Table 7.2), setting consistent interview parameters for followup contacts. The choice of two research sites rather than one allowed for examination of the transferability of context-specific qualitative findings<sup>16</sup>.

It is at the operational site level that the maxim of neo-regionalism's advocates (Gregory, 1978; Massey, 1984; Braden, 1992) to appreciate the peculiarities of place as a function of its social construction finds most validity. Here the macro-scale prescriptive parameters of international paradigms compete with many other forces for hegemony. Government agencies, academic institutions, environmental organizations, ethnic groups, entrepreneurs, local populations, visitors and the site personnel themselves each have visions of the roles reserved for national parks. The interplay of these constituencies--a function of their power, perceived rights, current uses, and needs--determines the extent to

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<sup>16</sup> An excellent methodological guide for interview analysis is provided by Baxter, J. and Eyles, J. (1997) in their *Transactions* article, "Evaluating qualitative research in social geography: Establishing 'rigour' in interview analysis".

which national park objectives can be fulfilled and forms the distinct character of each site.

A fourth research component has entailed the development and implementation of projects designed to promote the effectiveness of Russian national parks as a whole and the study sites in particular. Though field work generally abjures "tinkering" with one's subject matter, instances do arise in which objectivity is not impinged upon and even can benefit from participatory activities. Sarre refers to this methodological approach as

essentially hermeneutic, indeed it is doubly hermeneutic [in that the researcher] must interpret a social reality which crucially involves the actor's own interpretations. The way-in to study is an immersion in a particular area of society which allows the observer to 'get to know' 'how to be able' to act in it. However, this must not result in assimilation--the observer must be more aware than the actors of the nature of the rules and resources involved and of the way particular situations relate to wider structures<sup>17</sup> (Sarre on Giddens in Johnston, 1991, p.239).

Effective research in Russia necessitates just such an insider-outsider duality, for to not do so is to risk returning with little more than images both burnished and distorted by oneself and one's hosts. This is, it must be remembered, the land of Potemkin's villages,<sup>18</sup> where the itinerant traveller is always treated with a studied apprehension. Post-Soviet Russia has not changed in this regard.

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<sup>17</sup>Set in a discussion over how (and whether) radical theoretical frameworks can be made empirically operational, the dialogue's advocacy of "immersion" techniques restates a long-standing social science field methodology. Though somewhat mythologized in its numerous retellings, Sauerian Ph.D geography candidates were made to understand that if they returned from their study sites without having contracted at least one of the region's endemic diseases, it would be a sign that they had not truly made cultural contact! (D. Lodrick, J. Parsons, G. Treichel, personal communications; see Tripp, 1991).

<sup>18</sup>Mock communities erected in 1787 by Catherine the Great's statesman, Gregory Potemkin, along the Queen's route of travel.

Two principal means of gaining social and perceptual entry have been through incorporation of the "Friends of the Russian National Parks Society" (Appendix E) and development of Zabaikalski National Park's ecotourism program (Appendices F, G; also see Table 1.1). These projects in themselves and in their longevity have shown commitment on the part of the researcher to the needs of the study sites, have provided modes of empowerment for local constituencies and served as effective mechanism for testing the validity of perceived conceptions. Consultant contracts with the World Bank and USAID have provided further opportunities for studying the interplay amongst constituencies, especially between hierarchical (local/regional/national/ international) tiers.

Despite their pragmatic usefulness, however, these varied roles should not be construed as guises. Instead they reflect a determination throughout the study to promote "the establishment, development, effectiveness and success of Russian national parks" (Friends of the Russian National Parks, 1993). Choosing this stance moves one beyond the passivity of participant observation into the realm of action research (Wisner, Stea, and Kruks, 1991). Simultaneous research and application function both as a methodology for feeding information back into the community and a political ideology for empowering and mobilizing chosen constituencies. Once again, this strategy finds articulation in contentions of radical geographers that:

the relationship between the different [hierarchical] scales is not simply a one-way street with localities the mere recipients of fortune or fate from above. Rather localities are actively involved in their own transformation, though not necessarily as masters of their own destiny...They are bases for intervention in the internal workings of not only individual and collective

daily lives but also events on a broader canvas affecting local interests<sup>19</sup>  
(Cooke, 1989, p. 296).

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<sup>19</sup>Whether radical geographic thought transfers readily to field work (Johnston, 1991 pp.236-240), much less sanctions or demands activist participation of its followers, continues to be heatedly debated. Discussions with proponents of its approaches (Gregory, 1992; Pred, 1993 pers. comm.) have not resolved the question. The lack of consensus, however, has not lessened its usefulness as a perceptual model for the work at hand.

### Table 1.1 Field Research Timeline

#### **JULY - AUGUST, 1991**

*Preliminary Reconnaissance with Center for US-USSR Initiatives/Earth Island Institute "Baikal Watch" Project*

**Itinerary** Moscow: Federal Environmental Planning Agency (Goskompriroda), Socio-Ecological Union, Moscow State University Geography Department  
Irkutsk Oblast: Pribaikalski National Park, Davis and Associates Baikal Regional Planning Project, Baikal Ecological Museum, Ecotourism Forum  
Buryat Republic: Zabaikalski National Park, Baikal Land Use Policy Project

#### **FEBRUARY, 1992**

*Fourth World Congress on National Parks and Protected Areas, Caracas, Venezuela Meetings with Russian delegation, including followup with "Goskompriroda" staff. Paper presentation—"National Parks in the Russian Republic of the Soviet Union: A Preliminary Examination."*

#### **JULY - AUGUST, 1992**

*Field Research - Khabarovsk Krai and the Lake Baikal region*

**Itinerary** Khabarovsk: International Crane Foundation/Eastern Siberia Zapovedniki Conference  
Buryat Republic: Zabaikalski National Park  
Irkutsk Oblast: Pribaikalski National Park

#### **AUGUST, 1992 - JANUARY, 1993**

*Incorporation (Canada/United States) of Friends of the Russian National Parks Society (see appendix E)*

#### **JULY - AUGUST, 1993**

*World Bank Global Environmental Fund "Baikal Region Biodiversity Conservation Project" Identification Mission team member/consultant*

**Itinerary** Moscow: Ministry of Ecology and Natural Resources, Federal Forestry Service, Russian Man and the Biosphere (UNESCO MAB) Committee)  
Irkutsk Oblast: Ministry of Ecology and Natural Resources Regional Administration, Academy of Science Division of Geography, Limnological Institute, Pribaikalski National Park, "Baikal Fund" and "Baikal Wave" NGO's  
Buryat Republic: Zabaikalski National Park, Buryat Regional Land Use Policy Coordinating Committee

#### **AUGUST, 1993**

*Implementation of the Zabaikalski National Park/FRNPS ecotourism program. Followup meetings with park director and personnel.*

**Table 1.1 continued****JULY, 1994**

*"Public Participation in Environmental Decisionmaking." U.S. Northwest protected areas tour for Russian governmental and professional environmental managers. Lecturer/trainer*

**AUGUST, 1994**

*Addition of REI Adventures component to Zabaikalski National Park ecotourism program. Development of contractual agreements (Appendix F). Accompany tour and conduct post-program participant surveys*

**FEBRUARY, 1995***Research*

**Itinerary** Washington, D.C.: World Wildlife Fund Russia Program, National Parks and Conservation Association, Sierra Club International Programs, KOMPASS (Russian environmental e-mail network project, ISAR (Institute for Soviet-American Relations NGO), World Bank Russian Biodiversity Project, Russian Far East Environmental Policy and Technology Project, U.S. AID Russia/CIS Bureau

**MARCH, 1995**

*Host visiting Moscow State University Senior Scientific Researcher—National Parks Planning Division.*

**JULY, 1995**

*"Strategies for Effective NGO Operations" training course for Russian NGO/governmental executives, managers and staff. Project lecturer/participant, Washington, D.C.*

**AUGUST, 1995***Field Research*

**Itinerary** Moscow: Biological Conservation Centre (NGO), ISAR environmental grants division, Moscow State University Geography Faculty followup meetings, Losiny Ostrov National Park  
Irkutsk: "Baikal Wave" (NGO), Pribaikalski National Park recreation staff, Baikalo-Lensky Zapovednik Director  
Buryat Republic: Zabaikalski National Park, REI/FRNPS ecotour participant survey

**AUGUST, 1996**

*REI/FRNPS ecotour participant survey, followup with REI staff*

## CHAPTER 2

### PRECURSORS: TRADITIONAL PROTECTED AREAS

Russian national parks must first be comprehended in the context of the protected areas system which preceded their establishment and within which they have become integrated. Traditionally, this structure has consisted of three core components--zapovedniki, zakazniki, and pamyatniki--whose characteristics, although interrelated, differ significantly from each other and from national parks in scale, infrastructure, and jurisdictional empowerment.

Zapovedniki<sup>1</sup> (nature reserves) are protected territories formed with the intentions of:

preserving and studying representative and unique ecosystems and landscapes as well as the genetic inheritance of their flora and fauna; refining principles for the protection of nature; and creating conditions that will secure and maintain the natural flow of processes found in nature (Supreme Soviet, 25/07/91).

"Zapoved" (commandment) derives from "zapovednost," denoting inviolability.

This etymology encapsulates the essence of zapovedniki--the withdrawal by law of pristine natural areas from economic utilization for purposes of scientific study. Placed in a familiar biogeographic context, zapovedniki serve as baseline sites or "etalony" for data collection and research into the ecosystem<sup>2</sup> interactions untainted by anthropogenic

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<sup>1</sup>Though the plural form of zapovednik would seem most appropriately designated by the addition of an "s", this work will abide by the collective judgment of most English translations in using the Russian "i" equivalent.

<sup>2</sup>Many terms within the biogeographic genre are tinged in translation by differing cultural perceptions of humanity/nature relationships. "Ecosystem," for instance, becomes "biocenosis" or "biogeocenosis", carrying in the Soviet/Russian context an anthropomorphized emphasis on recognition of (natural) communities and the relationships of each part to the whole (see also Chappell, 1975).

impacts. Since the founding of the first zapovedniki just prior to the advent of the Soviet era, this research function has carried a corollary responsibility for extrapolating findings to restore and enrich nature<sup>3</sup> and to support the economic goals of prevailing political ideologies. Reflective of the first task, many zapovedniki were created as species-specific reserves. Barguzinski, for example, was established as a refuge for the valuable Baikal sable, Vorenezh to protect the European beaver, Kandalaksha as a nesting site for the eider duck, and Kedrovaya Pad to preserve the Amur leopard. Experience soon demonstrated that safeguarding a zapovednik's primary component only succeeded when the surrounding natural complexes were also intact--thus the progression from single-minded utilitarian objectives to ecosystem preservation (Isakov, 1978). Periodically, however, both the purview and pace of this inclusive methodology has fallen short of expectations, much to the detriment of the reserve system. Struggles in the 1930s between rival administrative organs for control of zapovedniki eventually led to the hegemony of utilitarian doctrines which rendered research functions redundant to the exigencies of economically driven "State Socialism"<sup>4</sup>. By the end of Stalin's reign, only 40 zapovedniki remained of an original 128, with the system's land base diminished from 12.5 to 1.2

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<sup>3</sup>The establishment of zapovedniki pioneered the idea currently enshrined in the global system of Biosphere Reserves that disparate land uses could be compatibly integrated on a regional scale and degraded environments rehabilitated based on the finding of ecological studies.

<sup>4</sup>Douglas Weiner's Models of nature: Ecology, conservation and cultural revolution in Soviet Russia gives an excellent account of the struggle between the two major competing forces--the People's Commissariat of Agriculture (NARKOMZEN) and the People's Commissariat of Education (NARKOMPROS)--and of its debilitating, at times tragic, impact on the academic community. It was during this period that recantation, suppression, and imprisonment were the fate of the Soviet Union's ranking hierarchy of Mendelian-trained natural scientists. Excelling in such nature-demystifying (and thus initially acceptable) fields as population dynamics and bioenergetics, these faculties found themselves anathematized as impediments to progress with the ascendancy of virulent utilitarianism.

million hectares<sup>5</sup>. Resource-rich sites were especially vulnerable to manipulation and dissolution as the zapovedniki became increasingly redirected towards active operations for "improving" underutilized ecosystems through floral and faunal acclimitizations (species introductions) and the harvesting of ungulates and fur-bearers. This trend continued, though somewhat abated, through the Khrushchev era<sup>6</sup>.

Within the past two decades, however, Russia's zapovednik system again has begun to expand rapidly, regaining territories and adding new sites, some of which have been coveted by nature reserve proponents for decades<sup>7</sup> (Figure 2.1). This reinvigorated system reflects structural continuity with its predecessors and parity with international Category I protected area standards,<sup>8</sup> yet it owes much of its new-found momentum to cultural stimuli rather than to precepts of biodiversity management or scientific study.

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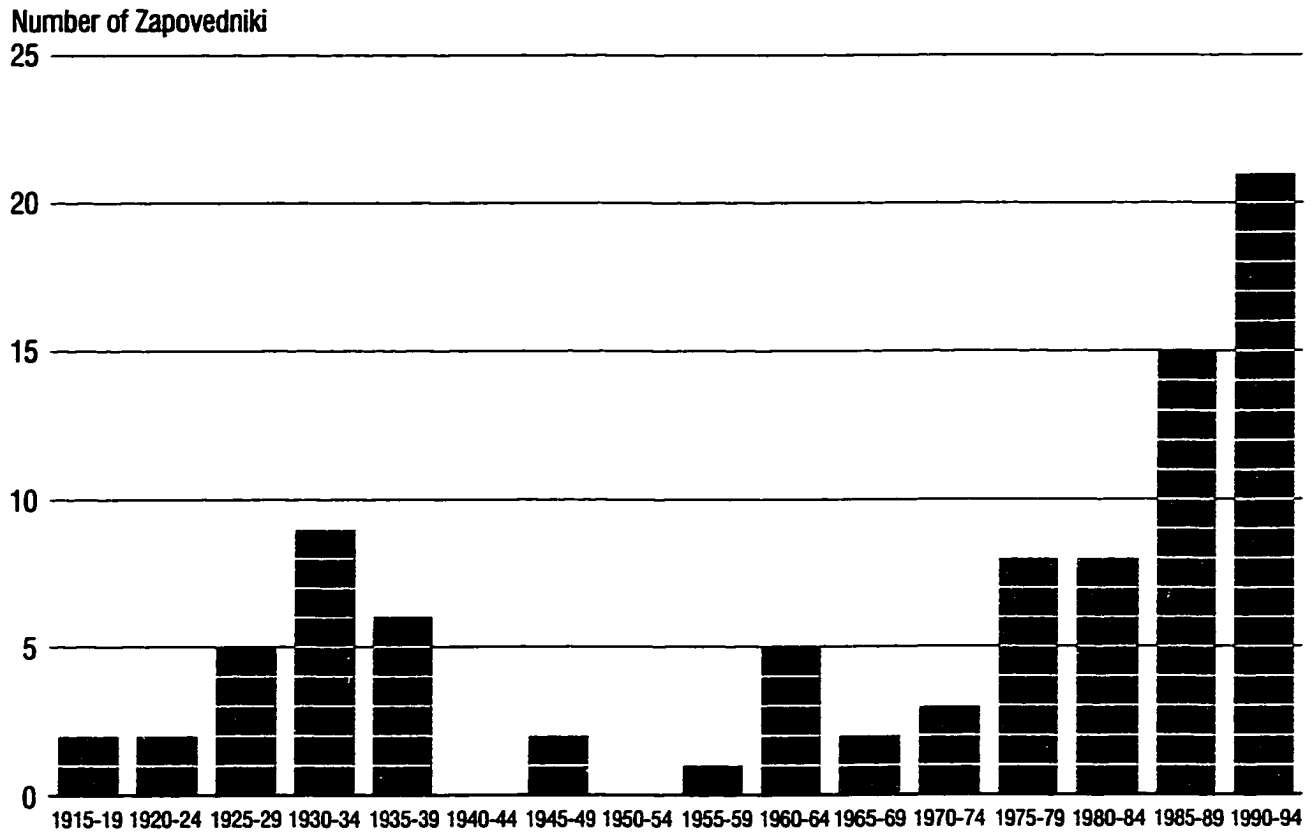
<sup>5</sup>In August, 1951, Decree No.3191 abolished 88 zapovedniki: 28 (of 45) in Russia; 19 in the Ukraine; 16 in Georgia; 13 in Lithuania; 4 in Turkmenia; 3 in Kazakhstan; 2 in Belarus, Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan; and 1 in Armenia. None of the larger zapovedniki (>200,000 HA) survived. (Zapovedni Vestnik, 1995, p. 2.; also IUCN, 1994, p.6.4).

<sup>6</sup>Khrushchev closed a further 16 zapovedniki in 1961 and significantly reduced the territories of 7 more under Decree No. 5221. As in the past, the process was especially injurious in its selectivity, for the divestment also functioned in tandem with the "Virgin Lands" program, an ill-fated agricultural scheme that plowed up much of the country's remaining steppelands—that fragile and endangered ecosystem which had originally prompted the establishment of the zapovednik system.

<sup>7</sup>For instance, the Khankaiski Zapovednik (estab. 1990), north-west of Vladivostok in the Primorski Krai had often been nominated for reserve status before its inclusion into the system. Encompassing the Ussuri region's largest lake and its surrounding wetlands, this site also exemplifies, with its rice farming encroachment and attendant water quality problems, the increasing use of the zapovednik designation to implement restoration as well as preservation efforts.

<sup>8</sup>Category I (Scientific Reserves and Wilderness Areas) are defined as "largely free of human intervention and are available primarily for scientific research, environmental monitoring, and non-disruptive forms of ecotourism." A Framework for the Classification of Terrestrial and Marine Protected Areas, IUCN, 1990.

**Figure 2.1 Russian Federation Zapovedniki, 1994  
by Year of Establishment**



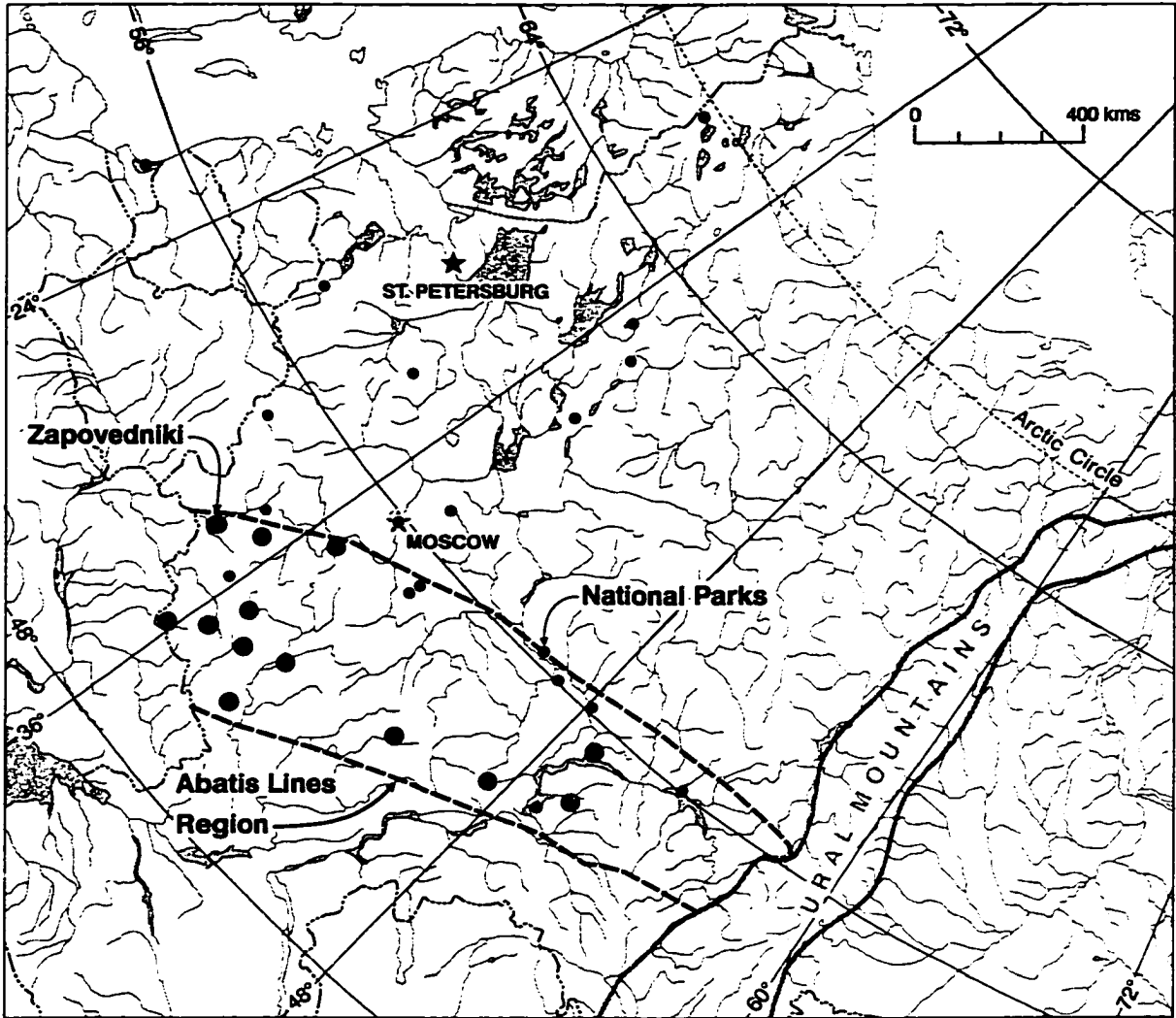
As in the early years of its existence, the zapovednik designation with its legitimizing rationalist perspective is serving effectively to camouflage historic, aesthetic, and ethical agendas (Weiner, op. cit., p.10) driven by a rising awareness of the country's environmental degradation. The "Greenwall" project of Russia's Southern Plain offers a case in point. What remains of this region's forests is mostly confined to fragments of once vast woodlands maintained over the centuries to serve as barriers against Tartar and other nomadic invaders. An expanding chain of zapovedniki and national parks now traces this "abatis line"<sup>9</sup> through much of Russia's southern heartland, most noticeably from Bryanski Les [Bryanski Woods] bordering the Ukraine eastwards to the Meshchera forests in the east (Figure 2.2). Though ostensibly components in an "ambitious program to provide...a single network of forests throughout the territory [and thus]...a key link in protecting the biodiversity of central and southern European Russia" (Ponomarenko, 1994, p.12-13), the project's underlying motivation lies in the desire to restore an inherent element of Russian culture--its history-laden (taiga) forests. Site observations tend to confirm this hierarchy of objectives, with rehabilitation of cultural/natural landscape elements far outweighing scientific enquiry<sup>10</sup>.

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<sup>9</sup>The term originally referred to fortified ramparts protected by sharpened stakes with points facing outwards to prevent assailants from mounting the walls. Adopted and adapted by Russia on a grand scale, the concept came to include modification of forests through selective felling and afforestation to increase impenetrability and continuity of the defense line. The point to be made here is that immense manipulations of nature have long been a feature of Russian landscapes, yet continue to be viewed in the West as environmentally unsound "Communist" aberrations.

<sup>10</sup>For example, Kerzhenski Zapovednik in the Nizhegorodskaya Oblast, established in 1993, consists of a village, fields, degraded woodlands, copses of older trees along a riverbank and, as a sop to biodiversity, "some sort of unusual rodent." Reforestation, environmental education, and restoration of the local economy have been declared the site's prioritized projects (Melissa Levy, personal communication, October, 1995).

Figure 2.2 The Abatis Lines Region



Source: Adapted from World Bank, 1996

Aspirations of self-determination brought on by the deconstruction of Russia's political matrix have contributed to the proliferation of zapovedniki with territorial and administrative entities each vying for an exclusive share of the country's natural patrimony<sup>11</sup>. The establishment of two zapovedniki bordering the Baltic Republics illustrates this phenomenon. Although the affected region constituted a single contiguous wetland habitat, the area was divided equally to create two adjacent preserves--Polistovski Zapovednik (36, 036 ha) in the Pskovski Oblast and Rdeiski Zapovednik (36,922 ha) in the Novgorod Oblast--a politically, if not administratively or ecologically, practical preservation stratagem.

The geographic distribution of zapovedniki further supports the contention that the politics of regionalism and the relative power of involved constituencies have been an allocating mechanism in the siting of nature reserves. Although existing in all 13 physical-geographic zones,<sup>12</sup> 24 of the country's 89 zapovedniki are clustered within the populous and politically powerful oblasts and republics of the Russian Plain. By comparison, the vast, sparsely inhabited Arctic bioregion and the even greater reaches of central Siberia are represented by only 5 and 4 sites respectively (World Bank, 1996).

Varying perceptions of the current and future roles of zapovedniki have resurrected fears of exploitation, which have been exacerbated by calls from within the Federal

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<sup>11</sup>Pryde notes this "apparent trend" while attributing cause to "some variable of...national policy, to 'status seeking', or to a genuine interest in preserving local biota" (1997, p.65).

<sup>12</sup>Arctic, Fenno-Scandinavian, Russian Plain, Causasus, Urals, Western Siberia, Caspian Turgay, Central Siberia, Southern Siberian Mountains, Yana-Klyma, Baikal-Dzhugdzhur Mountains, Amur-Sakhalin, North Pacific. Based on M. D. F. Udvardy's "Biogeographical Classification of Terrestrial Environments" in McNeeley & Miller (1984, pp.34-38).

Government's own Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources to "earn its keep"<sup>13</sup> and from competing land/resource claimants chaffing at the exclusivity of the zapovedniks' exclusionary policies. International funding agencies and environmental organizations such as The World Bank and the World Wildlife Fund contribute to the discord in their pursuit of the dominant biodiversity paradigm despite the rather obvious implications of present siting trends and the even more evident testimony of the genesis of the zapovednik system.

Responses of zapovedniki to socio-political externalities have been varied, yet fundamentally consistent--from reconfirming the "strictness" of their designation through passage of legislation expressly forbidding zoning in nature reserves (i.e., 1995 Statute on Natural Protected Areas<sup>14</sup>) to tentative forays into educational recreation and the foreign ecotourism market<sup>15</sup>. Most germane to the emergence of national parks, it was the perceived recreational pressure on zapovedniki, beginning in the late 1960s and increasing

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<sup>13</sup>In a January, 1995 performance report, Minister Danilov-Danilian, cited the Department of Zapovedniki as the "least successful" unit in his ministry and declared a 33% reduction in its budget (Russian Conservation News, January, 1995, p.4) This intra-agency conflict reflects tensions between the rapidly expanding zapovednik system, driven largely by regional momentum, and attempts to (re)enforce a centralized decision-making structure during a period of extreme fiscal stress. Such scenarios bear striking similarities to the NEP (New Economic Policy) years of the early Soviet regime when agitation for rapid social change within a pluralistic society was thwarted in application by severe economic constraints.

<sup>14</sup>Here the cause for trepidation was that zoning would divide reserves into more and less protected segments, a basic contradiction of zapovednik management principles (Eastern Siberia Zapovednik Conference, Khabarovsk, personal communication, July, 1992).

<sup>15</sup>The apprehension with which zapovedniki approach such ventures was clearly illustrated in Khabarovsk at a July, 1992 meeting of 14 zapovednik directors. Most participants held that allowances should be made for visitors, but only to earn supplemental income and recognition in their time of need and only in so far as such activities did not impinge on the integrity of the reserves. Many viewed tourism "incursions" of any sort as just another in a long line of utilitarian threats (Eastern Siberia Zapovednik Conference, Khabarovsk, Russia, personal communication, July, 1992).

in the 1970s, that provided impetus for discussions on the establishment of alternative protected areas<sup>16</sup>.

Despite recurrent setbacks and present difficulties, zapovedniki remain the most widely recognized and rigorous category of Russian protected area. The zapovednik charter strongly implies long-term continuity (Federal Decree No. 48, 18/12/91, Sec. V.7), which is further emphasized by central Federal administration and funding,<sup>17</sup> sole authority over all encompassed lands and waters (including natural resources), and on-site staffs of administrators, scientists, and rangers. By 1994, 89 sites were located in 17 of the 21 Republics, 5 of 6 Krai and 34 of 49 Oblasts, covering 28,885,363 ha—equivalent to 1.42% of Russia's land base and comprising over 40% of the world's Strict Scientific Reserves (Table 2.1). Furthermore, 16 of these sites have attained the prestigious UNESCO Biosphere Reserve classification, testifying to the recognition and international status of the Russian system.

Zakazniki (nature preserves) constitute a second category of protected area, created with the goals of:

preservation, enhancement, or restoration of individual components of an ecosystem for a period of time necessary for accomplishing the set nature-preserving task (Supreme Soviet, 25/07/91).

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<sup>16</sup>The journal *Oxhota i Okhotnich'e Khoziaistvo* [Hunting and Game Management] carried an extensive "Roundtable" discussion on this topic beginning in 1968 with I.I. Puzanov's controversial article, "We Need National Parks."

<sup>17</sup>Most zapovedniki are managed by the Department of Nature Reserves, a division of the Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources. A few zapovedniki, harking back to earlier administrative configurations, are managed by the Ministry of Higher Education or by the Russian Academy of Sciences.

Table 2.1 Russian Federation Zapovedniki, 1994

Zapovednik	Administrative Region (Oblast, unless otherwise stated)	Area '000 ha	Year established	
1	Altaiski	Altaiski Krai	881,238	1932
2*	Astrakhanski	Astrakhanskaya	66,816	1919
3	Azas	Tyva Republic	337,290	1985
4	Baikalo-Lenski	Irkutskaya	659,919	1986
5*	Baikalski	Buryatia Republic	165,724	1969
6*	Barguzinski	Buryatia Republic	374,423	1916
7	Bashkirski	Bashkortostan Republic	49,609	1930
8	Bassegi	Permskaya	37,957	1982
9	Bolshaya Kokshaga	Mariy-El Republic	21,400	1993
10	Bolshekhehtsirski	Khabarovski Krai	45,123	1963
11	Bolshoi Arctic	Krasnoyarski Krai	4,169,220	1993
12	Botchinski	Khabarovski Krai	267,380	1994
13	Bryanski Les	Bryanskaya	12,168	1987
14	Bureinski	Khabarovski Krai	358,444	1987
15	Chazy	Khakassia Republic	24,141	1991
16	Chernye Zemli	Kalmykia Republic	125,000	1990
17	Daghestanski	Daghestan Republic	19,061	1987
18	Dalnevostochni	Primorski Krai	64,316	1978
19	Darvinski	Vologodskaya	112,673	1945
20	Dauriski	Chitinskaya	44,752	1987
21	Denezhkin Kamen	Sverdlovskaya	78,192	1991
22	Dzerginski	Buryatia Republic	237,806	1992
23	Dzhugdzhurski	Khabarovski Krai	806,256	1990
24	Galichya Gora	Lipetskaya	231	1925
25	Ilmenski	Chelyabinskaya	30,380	1920
26	Kabardino-Balkarski	Kabardino-Balkaria Rep.	74,099	1976
27	Kaluzhskie Zaseki	Kaluzhskaya	18,533	1992
28	Kandalakshski	Murmanskaya	70,527	1932
29	Katunski	Altaiski Krai	150,079	1991
30*	Kavkazski	Krasnodarski Krai	263,277	1924
31	Kedrovaya Pad	Primorski Krai	17,892	1925
32	Kerzhenski	Nizhegorodskaya	469,400	1993
33	Khankaiski	Primorski Krai	37,900	1990
34	Khinganski	Amurskaya	97,836	1963
35	Khoperski	Voronezhskaya	16,178	1935
36	Kivach	Karelia Republic	10,460	1931
37	Komandorski	Kamchatskaya	3,600,670	1993
38	Komsomolski	Khabarovski Krai	63,866	1963
39	Kostomukshski	Karelia republic	47,457	1983
40*	Kronotski	Kamchatskaya	1,099	1934
41	Kurilski	Sakhalinskaya	65,363	1984
42	Kuznetski Alatau	Kemerovskaya	455,500	1989
43*	Laplandski	Murmanskaya	268,436	1930
44	Lazovski	Primorski Krai	120,024	1957
45	Les na Vorskle	Belgorodskaya	1,038	1979
46	Magadanski	Magadanskaya	883,805	1982
47	Malaya Sosva	Tumenskaya	225,562	1976

Table 2.1 *continued*

Zapovednik	Administrative Region ( <i>Oblast, unless otherwise stated</i> )	Area '000 ha	Year established	
48	Malyi Abakan .....	Khakassia Republic .....	97,829 .....	1993
49	Mordovski .....	Mordovia Republic .....	32,148 .....	1936
50	Nurgush .....	Kirovskaya.....	5,919 .....	1994
51	Nizhnesvirski .....	Leningradskaya .....	41,600 .....	1980
52*	Okski .....	Ryazanskaya.....	55,731 .....	1935
53	Olekminski .....	Sakha Republic .....	847,108 .....	1984
54	Orenburgski .....	Orenburgskaya .....	21,600 .....	1989
55	Pasvik .....	Murmanskaya .....	14,727 .....	1992
56*	Pechoro-Ilychski .....	Komi Republic .....	721,322 .....	1930
57	Pinezhski .....	Arkhangelskaya .....	41,244 .....	1974
58	Polistovski .....	Pskovskaya .....	36,025 .....	1994
59	Poronaiski .....	Sakhalinskaya .....	56,694 .....	1988
60*	Prioksko-Terrasnyi .....	Moskovskaya .....	4,945 .....	1945
61	Pryvolzhskaya Lesostep ....	Penzenskaya.....	8,308 .....	1989
62	Putoranski .....	Krasnoyarski Krai .....	1,887,300 .....	1988
63	Rdeiski .....	Novgorodskaya .....	35,922 .....	1994
64*	Sayano-Shushenski .....	Krasnoyarski Krai .....	390,368 .....	1976
65	Severo-Osetinski .....	North Ossetia Republic .....	28,999 .....	1967
66	Shulgan Tash .....	Bashkortostan Republic .....	22,500 .....	1986
67*	Sikhote-Alinski .....	Primorski Krai.....	347,052 .....	1935
68*	Sokhondinski .....	Chitinskaya .....	211,007 .....	1973
69	Stolby .....	Krasnoyarski Krai .....	47,154 .....	1925
70	Taimyrski .....	Krasnoyarski Krai .....	1,781,920 .....	1979
71	Teberdinski .....	Stavropolski Krai .....	84,996 .....	1936
72*	Tsentralno-Chernoz. ....	Kurskaya .....	4,874 .....	1935
73*	Tsentralno-Lesnoy .....	Tverskaya .....	21,380 .....	1931
74*	Tsentralno-Sibirski .....	Krasnoyarski Krai .....	972,017 .....	1985
75	Ubsu-Nurskaya Kotl. ....	Tyva Republic .....	39,600 .....	1993
76	Ussuriyski .....	Primorski Krai.....	40,432 .....	1934
77	Ust-Lenski .....	Sakha Republic .....	1433 .....	1985
78	Verkhne-Tazovski .....	Tumenskaya .....	631,308 .....	1986
79	Visherski .....	Permskaya .....	241,200 .....	1990
80	Visimski .....	Sverdlovskaya .....	13,506 .....	1971
81	Vitimski .....	Irkutskaya .....	585,021 .....	1982
82	Volzhsko-Kamski .....	Tatarstan Republic .....	8,034 .....	1960
83*	Voronezhski .....	Voronezhskaya .....	31,053 .....	1927
84	Voroninski .....	Tambovskaya .....	10,819 .....	1994
85	Wrangelski Ostrov .....	Magadanskaya .....	795,650 .....	1976
86	Yuganski .....	Tumenskaya .....	622,886 .....	1982
87	Yuzhno-Uralski .....	Chelyabinskaya .....	254,914 .....	1978
88	Zeyski .....	Amurskaya .....	99,390 .....	1963
89	Zhigulevski .....	Samarskaya .....	32,140 .....	1927

\* Biosphere Reserve

Sources: IUCN, 1991; Zabelina, 1993; World Wildlife Fund, 1994;  
The World Bank, 1996.

In tracing the lineage of Russian protected areas, it is zakazniki that provide the most obvious perceptual linkage between past and present systems. A "zakaz" or "prohibition" refers to partial or complete restriction for a specified period of time on the use of particular plant species or wildlife. This designation allows nature an opportunity to re-establish itself, much as a farmer would let a field lie fallow until it regained its strength. Unlike zapovedniki, such a regimen may entail ecosystem modification favorable to the development of a particular species, usually game fauna, but on occasion also "valuable fish, reptiles, certain invertebrates, and useful insects, as well as stands of trees and shrubs" (Isakov, op. cit., p.531). Utilitarian, resource-specific and temporary, the zakaznik developed a jurisdictional infrastructure appropriate to its responsibility based on the promulgation and enforcement of legal regulations rather than on administrative control over the attendant land base.

Being non-confiscatory and thus relatively easy to apply, the zakaznik has become the predominant form of protected area in both the Soviet and the following Russian systems. Zakazniki encompassing nearly 50 million hectares existed at a variety of jurisdictional levels in 1985 (Shalybkov, 1985, p.59). As of 1993, 1448 republican (44 million ha) and 71 federal-level zakazniki (12.3 million ha) were being enforced to regulate a variety of natural resource uses<sup>18</sup> (World Bank, 1993).

The zakazniks' flexibility and breadth of definitional parameters<sup>19</sup> have been further extended within the past decade to include protection of environmentally sensitive

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<sup>18</sup>Of the total number of zakazniki, 70% are dedicated to protecting fauna, 12% are botanical reserves, 12% protect landscapes, 5.8% are hydrological reserves and 0.2% are geological sites.

<sup>19</sup>In a Canadian context, hunting and fishing regulations, with their seasonal and territorial restrictions, would be the most obvious and widespread zakaznik analogue. However, the scope of zakazniki, if one

or endangered landscapes and ecosystems. In 1994, for example, Franz-Josef Land was declared a federal zakaznik, encompassing an entire 1.5 million ha archipelago and 2.7 million ha of the surrounding Arctic Ocean (Zakazniki and Natural Monuments, 1994, p.11). In such cases, the establishment of zakazniki has become a means of affirming federal jurisdiction and insulating territories from exploitation while pursuing a more highly (and costlier) protected area status.

Attributes which make the zakaznik designation such a popular regulatory mechanism--lack of territorial encumbrances, minimal infrastructure/personnel investment and relegation of responsibility to local administrative organs--are also the traits which fragment its authority and weaken its ability to manage species, much less protect ecosystems. Enforcement varies widely, largely commensurate with the degree of congruency between zakaznik regulations and the priorities of constituencies controlling and influencing the use of each site's land base. Even national parks, which incorporate pre-existing zakazniki into their internal zoning structures, do so at times with contentious results arising from differing interpretations of conservation/preservation mandates. At issue is whether the establishment of national parks abrogates the more utilitarian functions of zakazniki, especially seasonal hunting. While the parks tend to view themselves as inheritors of zapovedniki principles in this regard, the paradigm shift towards incorporating limited forms of resource use in protected area management strategies (i.e. Barzetti, 1993; Munasinghe, and McNeely, 1994) lends credence to local

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pursues the comparison, would also include endangered species protection and the closure of the Atlantic and Pacific coast fisheries.

agitation for the continuation of sustenance use privileges (Melnikov, personal communication, July, 1992).

Pamyatniki Prirody (natural monuments or monuments of nature) complete the traditional system of protected areas, setting aside:

natural objects possessing unique ecological, scientific, historical-cultural, or aesthetic value (Supreme Soviet, 25/07/91).

Typically consisting of as little as a few hundred m<sup>2</sup> to 500 ha and encompassing isolated landscape features, pamyatniki are viewed, especially by the international environmental community, as the enigmatic "poor relation" within Russia's system of protected areas. The eclectic assortment of rock formations, groves of trees, bird rookeries, hot springs and other such sites with their emphasis on singularity rather than commonality, bear little resemblance in scale or grandeur to superficially similar designations in the United States or elsewhere. Undersized, unprotected, and unstaffed, pamyatniki would seem ill-equipped to protect nature.

Yet if one puts aside the quest for "fit" with international models,<sup>20</sup> the purpose of pamyatniki does come into focus. Their importance lies not in nature protection per se, though individual sites may accomplish this task, but in their use as territorial reference/reverence points<sup>21</sup>. Viewed as monuments-in-nature rather than monuments-of-

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<sup>20</sup>The "model" is quite clearly defined as Category III (Natural Monuments) within the IUCN's framework for terrestrial and marine protected areas. Its existence, however, is largely ignored, most probably because it lacks the requisite impact of a zapovednik, national park or biosphere reserve as a regional planning mechanism. Nevertheless, pamyatniki continue to be included, however perfunctorily, in project funding documents (e.i. World Wildlife Fund, 1994; The World Bank, 1995) to illustrate the seemingly equivalent 'breadth of tools' available for achieving Russia's protected areas objectives.

<sup>21</sup>The root word of pamyatniki, 'pamyat', does after all mean "to remember, retain in one's memory."

nature, they have long served to demarcate collective senses of region and of belonging. These attributes coincided with turn-of-the-century neo-Romantic visions which perceived familiarity with one's natural surroundings (Russia's venerated "rodina" [homeland]) to be an essential requisite of a life well-lived. Borrowing the term and, to an extent, its nationalistic connotations from their German mentors ("naturdenkmal" [nature monument]), (Dominick, 1992; Weiner, 1988), the Russians had formally recognized pamyatniki as protected areas--mental maps protecting culture through the protection of its landscape features--by the early 20th century<sup>22</sup>. Today, thousands of natural monuments dot Russian, as well as other Eastern/Northern European, countrysides<sup>23</sup>.

Whether pamyatniki will continue to define collective geographic identities or will be reinterpreted (or successfully misinterpreted) to achieve other more specifically environmental objectives, is open to question. Undoubtedly, the pamyatnik designation, as with all categories of protected areas, is being adapted to fulfil a multiplicity of roles in the flux of Russia's re-evaluation of land rights. The experience and influence of the international conservation community is reflected in the growing use of pamyatniki to "perform a zakaznik's functions...when creation of a zakaznik is not politically possible" (Russian Conservation News, October, 1994, p.11) or to manage isolated habitats of "Red

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<sup>22</sup>A discussion of pamyatniki appeared on the agenda of the first Permanent Conservation Commissions of the Russian Geographical Society in 1911, chaired by one of the founders of the Russian conservation movement, Ivan Parfen'evich Borodin.

<sup>23</sup>The correlation between European countries with systems of natural monuments (northern and eastern--Finland, Sweden, Norway, Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia) and those without (southern and western--France, Belgium, Denmark, Ireland, Great Britain, Italy) warrants notice. Numerous factors could contribute to this bifurcation, the most obvious, given the emphasis of this treatise, being differing degrees of "connectedness" to nature/landscape as a form of individual/national identity.

Book" (endangered) species. In yet another permutation, combining traditional methodology with a new landscape construct, one of the first "orders of business" upon creation of Russian national parks is to search out and establish the territory's identifying pamyatniki<sup>24</sup>. Lending credence to the non-conservation origins of nature monuments, though national parks are specifically set aside for recreation and the preservation of nature, their pamyatniki are invariably a mixture of unique cultural, aesthetic, and natural markers which differ little in overall composition from non-national park locales.

Russian national parks have thus not been without progenitors. Zapovedniki, zakazniki, and pamyatniki have all fulfilled to various extents the same functions. As protected areas, all three components continue to exist alongside and within national parks, as well as to expand by definition and territory in their own right. Given the range and viability of Russia's existent protected areas system, why then, the necessity for national parks, or, conversely, why did they not emerge until so recently?

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<sup>24</sup>This process resembles the old English custom, reflecting pre-literate, thus pre-cartographic times, of "beating the bounds"--the annual circumambulation from one natural boundary marker to the next to re-acquaint inhabitants with the extent of their territory (see Winchester, A. Discovering Parish Boundaries, 1990).

## CHAPTER 3

### BEGINNINGS ABROGATED

Russia's belated adoption of the national park construct belies evidence that the country was an active participant in the early decades of the protected areas movement. Translations in 1866 of both Charles Lyell's Principles of Geology and George Perkins Marsh's Man and Nature,<sup>1</sup> with their revelations of the dynamism of geologic forces and humankind's ability to affect the attendant processes, gave form to a growing consciousness within Russia, as elsewhere, of nature's fragility and added credence to calls for its preservation. Paralleling American themes to which they were drawn by similarities of sites and situations<sup>2</sup>, a small, but not insignificant group of conservationists decried industrialization's rapid despoliation of Russia's natural heritage. Here, as in justifications for the establishment of Yellowstone and other first generation national parks, emphasis lay most often not on preservation of nature's biological complexity, but

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<sup>1</sup>Published in 1830 and 1865 respectively. In the introduction to his book, Marsh notes that "it is but recently that, even in the most populous parts of Europe, public attention has been half awakened to the necessity of restoring the disturbed harmonies of nature, whose well-balanced influences are so propitious to all her organic offspring" (Marsh, 1865, p.13).

This same theme was promulgated by the widely read Russian physical geographer, Alexander Ivanovich Voikov (1842-1914), whose influences included the French geographer, Elisee Reclus, himself a correspondent with Marsh while preparing his own work on the subject of humanity and nature, La Terre (Thomas, 1955, p.xxx).

Russian literature was also affected by Marsh's publication. His descriptive correlation of deforestation, floods, soil depletion, and the general denudation of nature prompted Anton Chekov to write his play, The Wood Demons.

<sup>2</sup>Russia's vast steppelands and taiga, for instance, were equated with the expanses of America's Great Plains and western forests, as was the unfettered exploitation of these natural resources (see Borodin, p. 12 and Kozhevnikov, p. 18, in Weiner, op. cit.).

of its scenic monumentality. Echoing the writings of North American counterparts<sup>3</sup>, Ivan Borodin--botanist, Vice-President of the Imperial Academy of Science and Russia's most influential pre-Revolutionary conservationist--encapsulated the validating Neo-Romantic/nationalistic elements of this perceptual approach. Beginning with a condescending comparison to Europe's (in this case, Prussia's) depleted wilderness "in which one must of necessity seek out tiny plots of land for monuments of nature" he goes on to state that Russia's "vastness would allow it to create national parks on the grand scale of the American ones, huge temples to nature and to the nation" (Weiner, op. cit. p.12).

Despite such paeans to the American ideal, the Russian protected areas movement of the late 19th and early 20th centuries was dominated by more proximate European influences, in particular the work of the Prussian conservationist, Hugo Conwentz<sup>4</sup> and of the founder of Europe's first national park, Swiss zoologist Paul Sarasin. Both Borodin and another early luminary of the Russian conservation movement, Grigorii Kozhevnikov, attended Sarasin's First International Conference for the Protection of Nature (1913) in Bern, Switzerland<sup>5</sup>. Publication of the proceedings followed soon thereafter under the

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<sup>3</sup>Clarence King ([Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada](#)), John Burroughs ([The Gospel of Nature](#)), and John Muir ([The Yosemite](#), [West of the Rocky Mountains](#), et al.) exemplify this genre--they, in turn, echoing the works of their ultimate progenitor, the English writer, John Ruskin.

<sup>4</sup>The impress of German natural resource management methodologies, especially in forestry and protected areas continues through to the present, its most obvious manifestation being found in shared vocabulary--for instance "jaeger" (hunter, ranger), the ubiquitous "landschaft" (landscape), and the coinings of Karl Mobius (i.e. biocenosis). Western natural science shares this same inheritance. For instance, the terms "ecology", "ontology", and "phylogeny" were introduced by Ernst Haeckel (1834-1919), the German popularizer of evolutionary theory.

<sup>5</sup>Even here the pervasive influence of the U.S. conservation movement is evident, for Sarasin's agenda was a direct outgrowth of an invitation from the President of the United States to convene a 58 nation

aegis of the recently established (1911) Permanent Conservation Commission of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. In the same year that Borodin was assembling his commission, fellow botanist Valerii Taliev founded the Society of Naturalists, widening conservation's support base through many public participatory activities. Under his tutelage, Russia's first Conservation Fair was held in 1913 in the Ukrainian city of Khar'kov. Exhibit topics included "the life of a forest which is subject to human interference," "Nature's Beauty," and "the national parks of North America." Like organizations sprang up in Kazan, Gatchin, Orenburg, Simferopol, and Orel (Weiner, op.cit., p.16-17).

This momentum continued amidst World War I and the further turmoil of the Revolution. Under Kerensky's Provisional Government, a resolution was prepared for legislative passage "On the Types of Sites Where It Is Necessary to Establish Zapovedniki on the Model of the American National Parks." Conceived by Veniamen Semenov-tian-shanskii<sup>6</sup> in conjunction with the first meeting of the Moscow Society for Conservation, the bill included a list of specific sites for nomination. This mid-November, 1917 gathering had the misfortune of being scheduled concurrently with the Bolshevik putsch and was cancelled by the turbulence of the times.

As with the dispatch of personnel to the Crimean Imperial Hunting Preserve "to supervise its conversion to a national park" (Ibid., p.22), the efforts of Russian

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"Conservation Conference" in Holland in 1910. Roosevelt's presidential successor, however, withdrew support which then devolved to Sarasin's instigation (Nash, 1982, p.358).

<sup>6</sup>Chairman of the Geographical Society's Biogeographical Commission, president of the Russian Entomological Society, and a noted aestheticist/humanist.

conservationists, given the advantage of historical hindsight, do appear as motes in a maelstrom. Yet, contrary to expectations, the tumultuous times were not viewed by conservationists as necessarily negative (see, for instance, Taliev, p.19 in Weiner, op.cit.). There was even some justification for exhilaration. The Czar, the aristocracy, and now perhaps the ultimate purveyor of the status quo, the all-pervasive bureaucracy, had seemingly been eliminated. Depredations of capitalism and class privilege could now be superseded by societal will and scientific reason. Lenin himself shared the common Russian love for "pakhody"--long, no-frills wilderness treks--and showed interest in natural resource conservation. On September 16, 1921, he signed into law legislation "on Protection of Monuments of Nature, Gardens and Parks." This act provided mechanisms for "declaring parcels of nature and individual components thereof having special scientific or cultural-historical value to be inviolable monuments of nature, zapovedniki or national parks"<sup>7</sup>.

Previously abortive attempts to create protected areas, especially zapovedniki, now proceeded to fulfilment. For instance, in 1919 the Astrakhanski Zapovednik was established to guard the Volga delta. In 1920, Lenin created by special decree the Central Urals zapovednik of Ilmenski (Zapovednost, 1995). Other zapovedniki, such as the Komi region's Pechoro-Ilychski Zapovednik, were "founded precisely as national parks and because of this, their organizational structure was planned using elements more

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<sup>7</sup>Though validating the latter designation within the framework of the legislation, the act lacked definitional clarification distinguishing one protected area category from another--a bedeviling omission which would not be remedied until the early 1990s.

characteristic of national parks than of [nature] reserves" (Reimers & Shtil'mark, op. cit., p.52).

The establishment in 1924 of the All Russian Society for Conservation (VOOP), provided institutional legitimization for continuing dialogue with individuals and organizations abroad. The Borodin-Conwentz and Kozhevnikov-Sarasin collaborations proceeded unabated. Contacts were made with the national park services of both the United States and Canada. VOOP initiated publication of its widely read journal Okhrana Priroda ("Nature Conservation"), which included articles on national parks<sup>8</sup>. In 1929, the "First All-Russian Conference on the Protection of Nature" formally proposed the founding of a network of national parks, each internally zoned to fulfil three objectives: organized educational tourism; the provision of worker relaxation through recreational activities; and nature preservation (ibid, p.51).

Expanding its constituency, the vision of a national park system drew some of its strongest support from emerging "landschaft" societies which envisioned preserving the fullness of regional identities--both their human and natural elements--within the new protected area construct<sup>9</sup>. The largest of these organizations, the Central Bureau for the Study of Local Lore, grew by the end of the 1920s to include 2270 branches with 60,000 members.

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<sup>8</sup>Yellowstone National Park was featured in 1928, with excerpts from Teddy Roosevelt's autobiographical reminiscences on the early exploration of that region (Weiner, op.cit., p.49).

<sup>9</sup>Though never a dominant perceptual paradigm, the "landschaft" model has formed the basis for at least one nation's national park system--that of Great Britain/Wales--and is an increasingly evident factor worldwide as sites of socio-political necessity incorporate resident populations and their activities within national park boundaries.

The momentum of these events was, however, largely illusory. What could be interpreted as uninterrupted, linear progression towards the establishment of a national parks system within a developing Soviet protected areas framework, actually represented the vestiges of visions buffeted first by the disillusionment of war then overwhelmed by perceptual reorganizations of society which disparaged just such structures and the yearnings that they represented. In actuality, the realization of Russian national parks was to be held in abeyance for another five decades.

Recent Soviet era sources understandably tend to gloss over or, even more frequently, simply bypass the reasons for this half-century hiatus. The only transition, for instance, between Shtil'mark's description of calls for national parks in 1929 and the statement that they "were not established" and "only in the second half of the 1960s [was the country] once again reminded of their necessity" (Reimers & Shtil'mark, op.cit.. p.51) is the end of one paragraph and the beginning of the next. Curiously, post-Soviet protected areas literature, both from within the country and internationally, largely follows suit, casting history aside as unessential to the business at hand<sup>10</sup> or relegating it to a formulaic validating passage within the generic "Green Red Horror Stories" of Communism's environmental desecrations<sup>11</sup>.

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<sup>10</sup>The "background summaries" of conservation funding proposals repeatedly present variants of this approach, subsuming the Soviet past and its complexities in the monolithic brevity of such statements as, "Russia's specially protected natural territories form a unified system whose primary purpose is biodiversity conservation and research of natural processes and phenomena" (Krever et al, World Wildlife Fund, 1994).

<sup>11</sup>Ecocide in the USSR: Health and nature under siege (Feshbach, M. and Friendly, A., 1992) and to a somewhat lesser extent, Environmental resources and constraints in the former Soviet Union (Pryde, P. 1995) exemplify this well-tested reportorial format. With the passing of the Cold War only the tense needed to be changed--from what Communism was doing to what it had done, from its profligacy to its legacy. A conspicuous exception to this genre continues to be the historian Douglas Weiner's treatise on zapovedniki, Models of Nature, though its narrative unfortunately expires along with Stalin. Seminal works on the

Upon closer scrutiny, however, the fate of Russia's first flirtation with the national park concept can be readily understood as the consequence of a series of devaluations of nature and of its adherents which impeded the ability of initiating groups to institutionalize their efforts. Movements for the protection of natural landscapes have most often been started by segments of a nation's elite. In the case of Russia, the original momentum for the establishment of national parks and zapovedniki came from within the "intelligentsia" of academia and the progressive gentry. By comparison, equivalent "elites" in North America were composed of a loose affiliation of individuals from various walks of life, sponsored and supported to differing degrees and for varying purposes by a few powerful industrialists and government leaders (see: Runte, 1979; Albright, 1985; Fox, 1985). In both instances, these constituencies split into two major factions-- proponents of in situ wilderness preservation and adherents of economically productive natural resource conservation. The philosophies of John Muir and Gifford Pinchot<sup>12</sup> have epitomized this dichotomy in the United States, unbroken from the establishment of the country's first protected areas to the present. Weiner's apt categorization of Russian equivalencies subsumes cultural-aesthetic-moral proponents of nature within preservationism and subdivides conservationists into ecologists and "pure" utilitarians, reflecting the dominance of scientific perspectives throughout that country's protected

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origins and development of North American national parks (i.e. Nash, Fox) tend to corroborate the tautology that historians are best at writing history.

<sup>12</sup>Muir and Pinchot were both of that "Inner Circle" of American elite who first recognized the need for controlling the plundering of Nature, yet "For all his love of the woods, Pinchot's ultimate loyalty was to civilization and forestry; Muir's to wilderness and preservation" (Roderick Nash. Wilderness and the American Mind, p.135). Muir went on to found the Sierra Club, Pinchot to preside over the U.S. Forest Service.

areas movement. With the solidification of the Soviet regime, these segments of the societal matrix, first the former, then the latter, were increasingly suppressed or simply ceased to exist--and with them died the agitation for national parks.

The vicissitudes (and survival) of the country's other nascent protected area--the zapovednik--provide an explanatory text readily applicable for comprehending the demise of national parks momentum. Even during the initial phase of their formation, zapovedniki were being attacked as elitist enclaves antithetical to the necessary levelling of society. Academicians associated with the sites were stigmatized as remnants of the ruling class and their conservation efforts branded reactionary<sup>13</sup>. Field-based ecological research came under increasing disparagement for not reflecting the ethos of or contributing sufficiently to socialist construction which, reflecting Marxist ideology, viewed Nature not as an entity unto itself, much less an object for deification, but simply as raw material for the production of economic goods<sup>14</sup>. In this "brave new world," Maxim Gorky could proclaim that "Man, in changing nature, changes himself"<sup>15</sup>. Put

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<sup>13</sup>An anecdote illustrates the prevalence of this attitude even in the very early years of the Soviet Union. Mikhail Prishvin, one of Russia's great nature writers in his book, On Nature, recalls during an expedition in the mid-1920's coming upon a group of young "proletariat" students shooting birds for biological study. Upon being asked why they perpetrated such carnage when specimens aplenty were available in the Universities and Science Academies, their answer was that they wanted to begin afresh, untainted by bourgeois perspectives. Though comparatively benign in 1925, such biases hardened rapidly under Stalin into formulae for judging legitimate thought, actions, and ultimately one's right to exist.

<sup>14</sup>Marx's perspective, though uncompromisingly utilitarian, (Marx, 1867, Capital, p.199), was also influenced by the empiricist Francis Bacon's claim that "Nature can be conquered only by obeying her" (Bacon in Chappell, 1975, p.161). To obey, one must understand--thus the need for zapovedniki. It was Stalin's impatience with the pace of this formula, not Marx's original man-land theories that brought about the full devaluation of Soviet nature.

<sup>15</sup>Excerpted from Maxim Gorky's Belomar, a paean to the (forced labor) construction of the White Sea Canal, appropriately memorialized by an odious Soviet cigarette of the same name. England's Socialist leaning literati, disillusioned by what initially had been heralded as the dawning of the new age, skewered Communism's convoluted "newspeak", most notably in Aldous Huxley's Brave New World and George Orwell's 1984 and Animal Farm. The writings of some arch-capitalist novelists, such as Ayn Rand (The

succinctly, academic science believed extensive research into nature's complexity to be an essential prerequisite for successful "sustainable development" while the ministries, straining to fulfil Five Year Plan production goals, saw the resources of the reserves as not contributing their fair share to the task at hand. Increasingly corrupted by necessary compliance with socio-political objectives, these divergent perspectives coalesced within the zapovedniki into the doctrinal inanities of Lysenko's Lamarckian biology and its emphasis on vast, "nature improving" acclimatization and hybridization schemes.

Confronted with these circumstances zapovedniki, even by the late 1920s, were jettisoning overtly preservationist objectives to concentrate first on the dialectically sound search for nature's mechanistic underpinnings and, when that proved politically unsupportable,<sup>16</sup> descending to the role of game farms and bio-inventory tabulators<sup>17</sup>.

Even these subterfuges probably would have failed to preserve the zapovednik system,

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Fountainhead, Atlas Shrugged), offer striking parallels to Gorki's polemics, revelatory of the ideological convergence of far right and far left.

<sup>16</sup>As the arch-villain in Weiner's work, I.I. Prezent, Stalin's appointed vice-regent of proletarian science, attacked ecological views that argued the existence of limits to the transformation of the earth's "vegetative and faunal cover," demoting nature to biomass in the process of asking the rhetorical question, "Why study a concept that does not exist?" (Weiner, op.cit., p.221).

<sup>17</sup>The propensity for collecting observational rather than analytical data continues to be enshrined in the annual Letopis Priroda [Chronicle of Nature] reports, accounts of each zapovednik's natural inventory forwarded upward through the ministry's decision-making process. An antiquated exercise even before the collapse of the Soviet system, it is currently viewed even by many zapovednik personnel as a useless planning tool, "often no more scientific than the gossip one would collect at the market place" (Barguzinski Zapovednik, personal communication, July, 1993). Whether cause or effect, that "scientific workers" comprise only 9% of total zapovednik personnel gives further credence to such observations (Ryzhikov, 1990, p.351). Nevertheless, in their newest guise as a "vast biodiversity data base" (W. M. Eichbaum, World Wildlife Fund, personal communication, April, 1995) these repositories have gained a dubious respectability amongst international agencies enamoured of information management, i.e. "Aid earmarked for improved information management would allow published and unpublished data on biodiversity within zapovedniki--painstakingly recorded over the decades in field notebooks--to be transferred into relational databases and geographic information systems" (Dinerstein, 1994, p.935; also see Grigoriew and Lopoukhine, p.4). For an example of the product's eclecticism, see Strict Nature Reserves (Zapovedniki) of Russia: Collection of "Chronicle of Nature" Data for 1991-1992.), Volkov, 1996.

slashed once again by 85% of its territory in 1951,<sup>18</sup> if contingent events, principally the death of Stalin in 1953, had not intervened. Given the travails of zapovedniki, even with their legitimizing "scientism", it is not surprising that the concept of national parks, based as it is on the veneration and protection of Nature, did not succeed in the depths of the Soviet Union.

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<sup>18</sup>August 1951 Decree No. 3191 "On Zapovedniki" abolished 88 of the country's 128 zapovedniki.

## CHAPTER 4

### RESURGENT IDEALS AND COMMON INTERESTS

The prevalent explanation for a resurgence of interest in establishing Soviet national parks, repetitious to the point of litany<sup>1</sup>, presents the process as a pragmatic reaction to ever-increasing recreational/tourism pressure on zapovedniki (Puzanov, 1968; Pryde, 1978; Isakov, 1983; Weiner, 1988; Nikolskii, 1991). In this scenario, the absence of national parks or equivalent protected areas had resulted in several zapovedniki (e.g. Ritzinski in Georgia, Issik-Kul'skii in Kirghistan, and Teberdinskii in Russia's Stavropol krai) becoming de facto national parks (Reimers & Shtil'mark, op. cit., p.52). Apportionment of zapovedniki to accommodate tourism and recreation was also increasingly evident (ibid.), leading to fears of yet another cycle of encroachment just as the reserve system was beginning to recover from the depredations of the Stalin/Khrushchev eras. Journal references to the "national park characteristics" of zapovedniki, as well as to proposed use reconfigurations at selected sites further heightened this sense of trepidation<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>The "harried zapovedniki" hypothesis illustrates a common problem with Soviet-era research. Given the limited availability of source material and the tendency of its scholars and functionaries to promote analytical consistency, commonality of thought as a validating research mechanism must always be approached cautiously.

<sup>2</sup>For example, Reimers & Shtil'mark note that "several zapovedniks were originally constructed and founded precisely as national parks, and because of this, their organizational structure was planned using elements more characteristic of national parks than of our reserves" (1978, p.50).

Yazan (Gosagroprom Director for Nature Preservation and Reserve Activities and IUCN Vice-President) remarks, "hardly should strict nature reserves be meant to be fully estranged from man. Beyond doubt, a well organized demonstration of scenic beauties as seen from specified routes, mostly peripheral, will, far from violating the natural processes, promote popular ecological knowledge and ensure a higher efficiency of environmental protection efforts" (1983, p.37).

Gavva (All-Union Institute of Nature Conservation and Reserves, Ministry of Agriculture) bluntly declares, "Some nature reserves, because of their geographical position and significant recreational pressure, are being converted to national parks; these include Teberda, Issyk-Kul and part of Stolby" (1984, p. 464).

The ensuing debate over the fate of zapovedniki and the need for national parks was carried on most conspicuously in the conservation periodical, Okhota i Okhotnich'e Khoziaistvo [Hunting and Game Management]<sup>3</sup>. Not surprisingly, given the existing linkages between the two protected area concepts, the most commonly proposed solution to the dilemma was the introduction of use-zoned, "quasi-zapovednik" national parks<sup>4</sup>. This model, proffered by academia and preferred by affected ministries, consisted of "primordial, or at least unchanged landscapes relatively free of land management activities, with sizes and configurations to insure the conditions required for natural development and self-regulation of ecosystems" (Chesov, 1989, p.15). Recalling the bitter lessons of past zapovednik experiences, non-intervention included prohibitions against "optimizing the conditions of native plants and animals, or for raising the quality and stability of forest expansion. Such so called bettering of the aesthetic quality of a territory would be no less destructive than the erection of large-scale developments for the benefit of tourists" (ibid.). This "tread-lightly" philosophy was justified because "degradation of natural systems would result in loss of recreational value, specifically the craving of

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<sup>3</sup>Presented as a series of "Round Tables" attended by academic and government specialists, these articles, in their discontinuity (1968-1969, 1983-84, 1988-1991), reflect both the ebb and flow and the gathering momentum of ideological changes in protected areas strategies. As summarized by Yazan (1988, p.1), the first commentaries debate the need for national parks. Those from the 1980s stress "problems of changing protected area activity patterns." The most recent dialogues discuss the content of the national park concept, its duties within the protected areas system, management problems, and "paths of further formation and completion of the national park network."

<sup>4</sup>Supporting this analysis is the propensity to group both protected area constructs within a single definition, as in "zapovedniki and national parks were created to provide strict protection of territories and to fulfil nature monitoring" (Priklonski, 1995, p.3), or to downplay the perceived shortcomings of national parks with such statements as, "even in these...institutions there are stretches under strict reservation where people are not allowed to enter, where animals and plants are allowed free range, being at the same time rigorously protected" (Gavva, 1984, p.465). The predisposition stemming from this model to view national parks as second-rate zapovedniki is personified by the statement, "there are no national parks, only bad zapovedniki." (Krivolutsky, Moscow State University Geography Faculty meeting, personal communication, July, 1991).

modern man, especially city dwellers, for contact with wild, untouched nature" (Ibid., p.16.).

While one might reasonably equate this vision of Nature's virtues with Russian pre-Revolutionary wilderness ideals or with the perceptual impetus for establishing America's national parks,<sup>5</sup> the official Soviet model differed significantly in emphasis. Neither a proclamation of nature's edifices nor of public sanctuary, the proposed Soviet national park construct from its inception was developed primarily to channel and control outdoor recreation. The establishment of national parks thus focused efforts not on the expansion of opportunities for clamouring constituencies, but on providing structures for redirecting an increasingly "uninformed, disorganized, independent public" (Yazan, 1988, p.12) bent on exercising the Russian propensity for communing with nature. Nikol'skii (1991) summarizes this vision.

Nature reserves provide better protection to nature than national parks, but their weak point is that the territory is entirely inaccessible to people. This can lead to negative reaction by the population to protected areas on one hand, and reduces the possibilities for organized educational tourism on the other (p.6.4).

"Not to stem this flood would allow the trampling, destruction, burning, soiling, and pollution of everything beautiful that took nature a millennium to create" (Yazan, op. cit., p.12). Only through well planned, thoughtfully strengthened infrastructures could nature be protected from the rising masses who gave not a thought to "running over baby frogs

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<sup>5</sup>Nash's Wilderness and the American Mind, as well as Alfred Runte's National Parks: An American Experience expound at length on the link between the national park movement and the belief in the rejuvenative powers of nature. To quote from John Muir, the concept's premier advocate, "Thousands of tired, nerve-shaken, over-civilized people are beginning to find out that going to the mountains is going home, that wilderness is a necessity, and that mountain parks and reservation are useful not only as fountains of timber and irrigating rivers, but as fountains of life" (Muir, in Runte, op. cit., p.82-83).

on the highway, picking flowers, pouring spent engine oil on untrampled grass, washing his automobile by driving straight into the river and chopping down ten birches for tent poles and a campfire"<sup>6</sup> (ibid., p.13). "Apart from the contemplation of nature from certain routes at viewing areas and rest stops, there must be a prohibition of all types of recreational use" (Chesov, op.cit., p.16). This set of use configurations would "satisfy the unalienable rights of people to relate with nature while at the same time managing these people in order to raise their consciences, their levels of spiritual refinement, and their ecological education"<sup>7</sup> (Yazan, op.cit., p.14).

Selection of the quasi-zapovednik national park model provided two interrelated requisite features: structural familiarity and a validating, centrally controlled mechanism for regulating access and use of land while instilling correct social values. As the quotations bring into focus, however, behind these agendas lay a dawning awareness that the same constituencies which were promoting the rebirth of environmentalism that was essential to reconstituting the zapovednik system were simultaneously, with their

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<sup>6</sup>Pryde echoes the Soviet tenor, if not its vehemence in Park News, the Journal of the National and Provincial Parks Association of Canada (1978). "A continuing problem in those zapovedniks permitting visitors, and undoubtedly in national parks as well, is what might be termed "innocent vandalism"; that is the destructive acts of tourists who do not understand the fragile and protected nature of the area they are in...a continuing effort is needed to explain the reasons for not gathering flowers, nuts, berries, etc., for not stripping bark, carving initials or cutting firewood, for not hunting, for putting out fires, and for many other forms of "good manners" (Pryde, 1978, p.35-36).

<sup>7</sup>One does wonder what other motivations may underlay such rants. Fear of uncontrolled humanity has had a long and significant hold on the Soviet/Russian political psyche. This in turn has affected attitudes towards wilderness. Bassin (1992, p. 13-16) notes that whereas the expansive western lands of Frederick Turner's American Frontier were equated with prosperity, progress, and democracy, the equally deterministic vastness of the Russian steppes and Siberian taiga came to be viewed by Marxist dialecticians (i.e. Trotsky, Plekhanov) as both a burden and entropy inducing curse, dissipating economic energies and dispersing populations to the primitiveness of rural landscapes. It is likely that the latter perception continues to influence Soviet-trained intelligentsia and government officials.

"menacing populism"<sup>8</sup> (Nicol'skii, op.cit., p.6.23), attempting to dictate the terms of involvement.

Intellectual elites, once again responding to their historically validated roles as societal arbiters, stepped in to provide leadership in shaping public opinion (as in the aforementioned, time honored consensus forming "Round Table") while concurrently defending their cultural and territorial perquisites. Being system "insiders", they functioned as non-threatening conduits for the widening array of ideological change flowing from an expanding environmental movement<sup>9</sup>. As Ziegler so succinctly and successfully summarizes:

environmental policy through the Brezhnev era resembled a state corporatist model of participation. The Soviet state played the dominant role in recognising problems, placing issues on the public agenda, and modifying policies. Group activity, particularly among specialists, was an important aspect of Soviet environmental protection. but this participation was habitually manipulated and channelled to conform with regime priorities" (Ziegler, 1991, p.34).

That superficially the Soviet aspirations resembled national parks elsewhere was due largely to an emerging dialogue between these same participating elites and their colleagues abroad. As noted by Weiner (1988) and Brown (1994), one consequence of

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<sup>8</sup>"The tendency is growing menacingly, responding to changes in the political situation in the country. Often 'populism' is prevailing in the activities of local powers, meaning that they take decisions on changes of protected area boundaries or management regimes with the aim of satisfying the economic and social demands of people" (ibid).

<sup>9</sup>The effects of social structures on national conservation movements comprises a fascinating area of inquiry unto itself. One can speculate, for instance, that the primacy of the Russian intelligentsia, especially in its late-Soviet guise,\* by bestowing an aura of rightful leadership to natural resource scientists, strongly skewed the national parks dichotomous recreation/conservation mandates towards the latter venues. In comparison, attempts by equivalent North American entities (i.e. academia) to dictate protected areas policies are viewed by a wide array of diverse constituencies as pretentious trespass.

\* Alexandr Solzhenitsyn inserts a revealing treatise on the "new Soviet intelligentsia" and the term's diminishment through inclusivity in The Gulag Archipelago Two, 1975, p.280-283.

Khrushchev's detente was the restoration of formerly flourishing ties with paradigm-setting international conservation organizations accompanied by a vigorous renewal of participation in foreign conferences, programs, and projects.

Accelerating this process were necessary reciprocal changes in Western "Cold War" attitudes which previously had prevented collaborative efforts. For instance, the All Russian Society for Conservation (VOOP), the official Soviet conservation association, after being twice denied membership, finally gained admittance in 1960 to the United Nations affiliated International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN). Well-attuned to macro-scale planning models and methodologies<sup>10</sup> and unencumbered by private ownership of the land base, Soviet participation in environmental management projects such as the Man and the Biosphere program (MAB) increased rapidly and continued to do so throughout the ensuing decades despite the political retrenchments of the Brezhnev era.

Accompanying these developments were parallel opportunities within the shifting winds of Soviet ideology to once again move beyond polemic to discuss, and even extol, nature's virtues<sup>11</sup>. In 1966, for instance, the Soviet geographer, D.L. Armand, was able to

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<sup>10</sup>It could be suggested, at least for the sake of argument, that for the Soviet/Russian intellectual, the allure of international environmental organizations at least in part consists of its elitist, manipulative, even dialectic familiarity. (see Poulton, 1991, p.229 on the congruences of Western capitalist planning theory and Marxism.)

<sup>11</sup>Here again, one must note the risks of translation. Though in Western speech and thought we tend to separate humanity from nature, in Russian the word for nature, "priroda" is considerably more encompassing. Mikhail Prishvin's hunting sketches, utilitarian yet contemplative (John Muir with a gun?), come closest to presenting one nuance of this inclusivity. Forester-philosopher Aldo Leopold's musings on the "land ethic" in Sand County Almanac provide another example of this penchant for melding earth and ego. In contrast, the term "biodiversity" has been translated to "wild nature" in Russian. While a seemingly unsatisfactory equivalent, this term does capture the thoroughly Western attitude towards the "otherness" of the non-human world.

equate the seemingly unproductive contemplation, comprehension, and enjoyment of nature with the "utility" of inspiration (Armand, 1966). Another geographer, B.B. Rodoman, moved well beyond this discourse, distinguishing cultural and individual refinement in terms of six levels of nature perception--beginning with use as a natural resource and culminating in landscape comprehension! The revived journal Priroda [Nature] once again carried articles with sophistication indicative of both originality and interchanges with the West. P.M. Polyans' 1978 article on "Geography and the inspiration resources of nature" begins with a quote from Winnie the Pooh,<sup>12</sup> then proceeds to praise the country's great (largely pre-Soviet) nature writers and concludes with the admonition that:

The meaning and the idea of any tract of land set aside for any particular purpose is authenticity or, to be more precise, the preservation of authenticity. We are all living on an Earth that feeds us, that keeps us warm and clothed, but this planet of ours should not be destined to be simply useful, not simply generous; it should also be beautiful and blooming" (Polyan, 1978, p.238).

While these exchanges, both international and internal, introduced Soviet conservation efforts to heretofore inaccessible forms and formats, it is unlikely that they in themselves provided the catalyst responsible for the formation of national parks. A variety of evidence bears testimony to this surmise. Most telling is the observation that throughout the 1960s and 1970s, none of the sites proposed by academicians or ministerial entities became national parks (Belousova, 1967; Shtil'mark, 1978; Conservation of Nature Pavilion, Moscow Exhibition of Economic Achievements, 1976). In fact, the

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<sup>12</sup>"Because Poetry and Hums aren't things which you get; they're things which get you. And all you can do is to go where they find you."

continuing failure to establish the two most widely promoted and not infrequently "declared" national parks (Pryde, 1967; Micklin, 1967)--"Russian Forest" near Moscow and a series of Lake Baikal sites--was still being lamented into the 1980s (Reimers, 1982). This predilection for producing site lists bearing little congruence with on-ground results has continued through to the present (Goskompriroda, 1991; Lescompros, 1993).

What causative factors influenced this aspect of the Soviet Union's notorious "implementation gap?" First and foremost, at least in order of sequence and the simplicity of its implications, was the inherent conservatism of the Brezhnev era which, even during its tenure, earned the sobriquet of the "Age of Stagnation"<sup>13</sup>. Systemic changes during this period stressed refurbishment of known structures. Thus in the protected areas sector, environmental reform favored the rehabilitation of the zapovednik system. Zapovedniki, with their emphasis on enhancing the optimal rational use of natural resources, found congruence with a dominant theme of 1970s Soviet economic policy, namely "to spur growth through intensive rather than extensive utilization of available resources" (DeBardeleben, 1990, p.240). This vision marked a significant pragmatic shift from the dogmatically driven "nature as commodity" Marxist maxim with its devastating wastefulness of resources<sup>14</sup> and its growing propensity for eliciting public outrage.

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<sup>13</sup>A widely circulated Soviet parable serves well to illustrate the tenor of the times: "Four men are travelling on a train - Lenin, Stalin, Khrushchev, and Brezhnev. Suddenly the train comes to a stop, for the rails end. Lenin suggests calling a "Subbotnik" (voluntary Saturday workday) of all citizens to complete the track. Stalin's contribution is to gather all the inhabitants, shoot half of them and the rest will rapidly get on with the project. Khrushchev's idea is to rip up the rails behind the train and place them in front, thus making progress. Finally, Brezhnev interjects, "Comrades, let us pull down the window shades, rock back and forth and imagine we are moving" (personal communication, April, 1985). In 1991, the remnants of "Brezhnev projects" still dotted the Zabaikalski National Park landscape bearing conspicuous placards inviting all to "View Our Monuments to the Era of Stagnation" (personal observation, June, 1991).

<sup>14</sup>Decades of textbook passages lauding the USSR's inexhaustible natural resources bear a remarkable resemblance to the paeans of late 19th century North American laissez faire capitalism.

Within this injunction to increase per unit productivity, the national parks model found some degree of acceptance as a means of relieving zapovedniki of non-conforming incursions and for unifying nature-oriented recreation. These attributes, however, were offset by an inability to substantiate economic advantages relative to revenue losses incurred by withdrawal of lands from other resource uses--a vulnerability of national parks not unique to the Soviet Union<sup>15</sup>. As with the wider debate on the substantive benefits of environmental preservation, advocates of national parks increasingly attempted to introduce more sophisticated multi-disciplinary approaches to demonstrate the economic effectiveness of their model. Yet the benefits of watershed protection (Isakov and Krinitsky, 1986) or the ability of the forest's "green lungs" to decrease health care costs through amelioration of air pollution (Losiny Ostrov, personal communication, 1995), much less augmentation of labor productivity through communion with nature (Polyan, 1985) proved difficult to document, quantify, or isolate in terms of cause and effect.

Further complicating this validation process was the fact that zapovedniki historically preempted nature preservation mandates that otherwise would have accrued to and promoted the establishment of national parks. The juxtaposition of a re-ascendant zapovednik system with the promotion of a new type of protected area carrying parallel objectives tended to cast national parks in the role of a superfluous interloper. Increasing international emphasis on biodiversity preservation as the *raison d'etre* of national parks further exacerbated the perception, at least in the Soviet Union, that the establishment of

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<sup>15</sup>One only needs to glance at the state of affairs of the Canadian and American national park systems to be made aware of the universality of this problem. The former is undergoing piecemeal privatization while the latter is under serious threat of disassembly, both in the name of "best rational economic use."

another protected area system consisting basically of quasi-zapovedniki would constitute a costly and unnecessary redundancy<sup>16</sup>.

The pattern of this dilemma has not been uniquely Soviet/Russian, but common to "European model"<sup>17</sup> national park systems in their founding phases. Dominated by physical and emotional cultural landscapes, the tendency when confronting nature versus humanity contestations has been to separate these divisive functions rather than attempt to meld them. Bifurcation of Britain's conservation activities between the Nature Conservancy Council and the Countryside Commission (the government agency responsible for national parks) presents a prime example of this form of resolution (see Brotherton, 1982; Shiel, 1996).

All of these factors served to strengthen the intransigence of the omnipresent, multi-tiered bureaucracies whose reluctance to accept change, especially in the form of transfers of administrative jurisdiction, lay at the core of the national park quandary<sup>18</sup>.

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<sup>16</sup>Goskompriroda's "National Park Selection Criteria Model" (Zabelina, 1991) gives evidence that this assumption was not inaccurate:

Research Stages for Site Selection

I. Ecological Value Site Criteria

Typical diversity (representativeness of ecosystem)

Ecological state (naturalness)

Natural rarity (level of endemism)

Rarity as a result of anthropogenic effects

Unique diverse richness (multiplicity of ecosystems)

II. Once choices are made, zoned for strict protection and ecological education.

Conditions/requirements for conservation of biological objectives

Natural stability

Resistance to anthropomorphic impact

Habitat vulnerability

Ecological needs of organisms

Ecosystem dynamics

<sup>17</sup>In Russia (and most probably elsewhere), national parks are referred to as being either of the European (cultural landscape) or North American (wilderness) model.

<sup>18</sup>"The conflict is not between "species" of bureaucrats--the unreconstructed, conservative right versus the radical, democratic left--but between rival ministries" (V. Bogorov, personal communication, May, 1995).

The Soviet penchant for vast nature transformation schemes (Burke, 1956; Khrushchev, 1970; Riasanovsky, 1977), transmuted into environmental planning and applied to the establishment of national parks, complicated matters with just such ministerial trespasses<sup>19</sup>. As the ineffectiveness of the newly formed Environmental Protection Agency "Goscompriroda" well illustrated, even at the height of Gorbachev's reforms ensconced power structures were still quite capable of neutralizing attempts at circumventing their authority<sup>20</sup>.

Here, a valid argument may be made that the country's "economic agencies, fully cognisant of the usual considerations of budgets and priorities, knew that plan fulfilment, not wildlife preservation was the basis on which their performance would be judged" (Pryde, 1986, p.366) and thus were driven to act accordingly. Yet it must be acknowledged also that the need to meet and exceed production quotas became a nearly pathological fixation (Powell, 1989) transcending purely economic incentives and

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<sup>19</sup>Soviet regional plans, including national parks, too often downplayed or simply ignored prospective administrative boundary conflicts when overlaying their projects on the landscape—much to the detriment of successful implementation. With their entry into the fray, international environmental organizations have frequently followed suit, willingly oblivious in their thinly veiled messianic hubris to the structural flaws of their models.

<sup>20</sup>Established in January, 1988, the State Committee on Environmental Protection was charged with the responsibility of developing, coordinating, and realizing a unified policy for the use and protection of natural resources, including the management of nature protection activities. The decisions of Goscompriroda were theoretically binding on Soviet ministries and their subordinate organs, a number of which were integrated directly with their staffs into the newly formed agency. This separation of authority between resource use and resource protection, ostensibly to minimize conflicts of interest, was successfully resisted by the bifurcated ministries, aided within Goscompriroda by "unreconstructed" personnel with deeply ingrained loyalties to past hierarchies and ideologies. Internal tensions arising from the resultant frustration of efforts was palpably evident at the Committee's meetings of July, 1991 (personal observation, Moscow).

subverting directives for any true "new thinking" in terms of the natural resource base--including the establishment of national parks<sup>21</sup>.

This impasse was overcome by the emergence and coalescence of socio-political forces which came to fore only with the general weakening of the centralized Soviet governmental structure. The process began tangentially in the Brezhnev era with delegation of authority over a variety of non-economic issues to regional governments. A major goal of this policy was to reintegrate the country's ethnically based republics into decision-making structures, thus ameliorating increasingly open antipathy towards decades of Soviet "Russification" and strengthening Soviet unity. The unforeseen outcome was to intensify rather than relieve centrifugal forces which Gorbachev soon so blithely unleashed<sup>22</sup>. Broadening the parameters of participatory government, Gorbachev's directives engendered a rising resistance to hierarchies, their ruling elites, and the rationalism of Communist precepts which sustained the system and the tenets of Soviet "modernity" in general<sup>23</sup>.

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<sup>21</sup>Socio-political relationships which contributed to the general Soviet malaise, much less their effects on the establishment of national parks, are extremely difficult to assess. How, for instance, can one measure the force of deep-rooted cynicism in preventing change which pervaded the Brezhnev era (Brown, 1994, p.125) and has only partially dissipated thereafter? Yet lack of quantifiable justification does not belie the necessity of acknowledging the existence and importance of such factors--if for no other reason than to mitigate the frequent, misplaced tendency to view gaps between governmental stimuli and societal responses as shortcomings of hierarchical diffusion to be remedied by infusions of expertise and electronic communications.

<sup>22</sup>David Remnick's Pulitzer Prize winning work, Lenin's Tomb, eloquently chronicles Gorbachev's conceit that he could both pry open Pandora's Box and control the consequences of his actions.

<sup>23</sup>Literature of and on the Gorbachev era abounds. Examples of overviews include: Anders Aslund. Gorbachev's Struggle for Economic Reform, 1989; Archie Brown. The Gorbachev Factor, 1995; R.W. Davies. Soviet History in the Gorbachev Revolution, 1989; John Miller. Mikhail Gorbachev and the End of Soviet Power, 1993; Stephen White. After Gorbachev, 1993. Individual efforts range from Gorbachev's own Perestroika, 1987 and The August Coup: The Truth and the Lesson, 1991, to Boris Yeltsin's Against the Grain, 1990; Andrei Sakharov's Memoirs, 1990; and such American popular press items as Hendrick Smith's The New Russians, 1990.

Enfranchisement of the country's citizenry thus did not induce societal cohesion. Instead it triggered a powerful surge of fragmenting populism strongly equated with both ethnicity and territorial sovereignty, the latter fuelled by a dawning awareness of the Soviet regime's callous disregard for the integrity of the environment, especially in terms of the health of its citizenry. As the revelations of "glasnost" multiplied,<sup>24</sup> fears of continuing degradation generated a NIMBY ("Not in My Back Yard") attitude towards projects promoted by a central planning structure which viewed siting locales only in terms of economic valuations. Under these circumstances, environmental problems were increasingly perceived as imposed by outsiders of questionable legitimacy and thus as insufferable threats to the well-being of within political constituencies within their redefined homelands. Once set in motion, this emotionally charged intertwining of participatory populism and environmental politics signalled the disintegration of the Soviet Union. Yet these same forces provided the necessary stimuli for refurbishment and innovation as well, including growth of the country's protected areas system and establishment of its much-delayed national parks. In this course of events, the emergence of Russia's national park system reflected a synchrony with the genesis of a number of its predecessor systems.

National parks are both inclosures and exclosures, indicating by their boundaries that which is to be enfolded and that which is to be denied. Beyond this very basic, yet

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<sup>24</sup>C.I.S. Environmental Watch, a semi-annual review (1991-present) published by the Monterey Institute of International Studies, provides an excellent "clipping service" of post-Soviet environmental news. Hundreds of article summaries grouped topically (i.e. industrial pollution, military projects, nuclear/radiation, water, legislation) attest to the ubiquitousness of the environmental theme in the country's media.

crucial set of perceptual parameters, they are further defined in terms of environmental protection and recreation management functions<sup>25</sup>. These latter prescriptive criteria, however, though explaining infrastructure characteristics, shed little light on why national parks appear where and when they do<sup>26</sup>. As the historian Alfred Runte notes in National Parks: The American Experience, "It would be comforting to believe that the national park idea originated in a deep and uncompromising love of the land for its own sake" (Runte, 1979, p.xx). Efforts to create national parks most often are guided by this preservationist ideal, supported by ethical, scientific, and economic justifications,<sup>27</sup> and an understanding that 'the public' will need to be educated to partake in the cause. Such are the methodologies of hierarchies, governmental or otherwise, with success tending to be measured incrementally as a reflection of the political process in which they engage.

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<sup>25</sup>"A national park is a relatively large area where:

One or several ecosystems are not materially altered by human exploitation and occupation, where plant and animal species, geomorphological sites, and habitats are of special scientific, educative, and recreative interest or which contains a natural landscape of great beauty;

The highest competent authority of the country has taken steps to prevent or eliminate as soon as possible exploitation or occupation in the whole area and to enforce effectively the respect or ecological, geomorphological, or aesthetic features which have led to its establishment and;

Where visitors are allowed to enter, under special conditions, for inspirational, educative, cultural, and recreational purposes" (United Nations List of National Parks and Protected Areas, 1990).

<sup>26</sup>The paucity of such lines of enquiry in protected areas literature may reflect the generally ahistorical approaches of North American regional planning methodologies. The sub-field of landscape geography, however, continues to uphold "the value of ranging beyond 'where' and 'when' landscapes have evolved to probing 'how' and 'why' they came about" (Sheail, 1996, p.50). Four decades of the U.S journal, Landscape and its U.K. equivalent, Landscape Research, exemplify this tradition.

<sup>27</sup>A Soviet rendition, complete with parallel human institutions included: playground - recreation; factory - tourism; storehouse - biodiversity; zoo - wildlife exhibit; museum - historic preservation/also natural preservation as in old growth; temple - religious experience; school room - environmental education; laboratory - ecosystem research; hospital - environmental restoration; art gallery - aesthetics (Anon, personal communication, July, 1992).

Driver, B. L., Nash, R. & Haas, G., provide a parallel western synthesis of this perspective in "Wilderness benefits: A state of knowledge review" (1993).

In initiating national park systems, however, this approach has been at best of secondary significance in comparison to factors most often set in motion during times of socio-political stress. Again to quote Runte, "the national park idea evolved to fulfil cultural rather than environmental needs...specifically the search for a national identity" (ibid). To a rapidly expanding, but history deficient United States, its natural wonders, exalted and preserved from desecration as national parks, asserted the fulfilment of an otherwise diminutive cultural heritage. Only over time and with growing self-assurance was the paramount importance of nationalism gradually superseded by the perspectives of "wilderness preservation, wildlife protection, and purposes closer to the concerns of ecologists"<sup>28</sup> (ibid., p.1).

Whether Canadian national parks reflect this same sequence of events is open to interpretation (Nicol, 1968; Lothian, 1976; Bella, 1986; Dearden and Rollins, 1993). The initiating principle, however, does appear consistent:

that national parks have significance for all citizens of Canada and should be preserved as part of our common heritage. These areas are each a part of the original face of Canada, or they preserve a reminder of some significant event in our national history. They have been set aside in the firm belief that to preserve such lands and features as a national inheritance is important to our stature and development as a country. This common heritage is a most important part of our "social capital" (Nicol, op. cit., pp.36-37).

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<sup>28</sup>Viewing spectacular scenery as cultural edifice can be traced to America's 19th century indulgence in the Romantic Movement, which equated, for instance, the peaks of mountains with the spires of Gothic cathedrals. As Ronald Rees notes in "The Taste for Mountain Scenery," though this attitude eventually developed into calls for the protection of nature, "in its picturesque phase it simply confirmed our anthropomorphism by suggesting that nature exists to please as well as to serve us" (Rees, 1975, p.312; also see Porteous, [1996]. Environmental aesthetics: Ideas, politics and planning.) National park movements personify the physical embodiment of this perceptual evolution.

Three-quarters of a century after these North American beginnings, Great Britain's network of national parks also emerged from an assessment of national and cultural identity brought on in its case by the travails of the Great Depression followed by World War II (MacEwen, 1982, 1989). Issues specific to the times--the inequity of hierarchical structures, the prerogatives of private property, and the effects of landscape change on the fabric of society--echoed recurrent themes attendant to the founding of national park systems<sup>29</sup>.

As with its forebears, so too with Russia, for from its Soviet era inception, the country's national parks movement has been driven by assertions and definitions of cultural identities and the issues of societal integrity which they engender. Here, newly empowered constituencies have sought to preserve and restore cultural linkages intricately entwined with their often despoiled and increasingly alienated landscapes. To do so, they have identified the national park model as an eminently acceptable means of supporting territorial claims through the framework of environmental protection.

Environmental degradation is a strongly localized phenomenon, especially in its perceptual sense. Thus its effects are by nature territorial. The dominance in the Soviet Union of centralized planning in the form of branch organs (ministries and their subordinate enterprises) over territorial organs (regional administrations and local soviets) had allowed authorities to distance themselves from the impacts of their decisions and

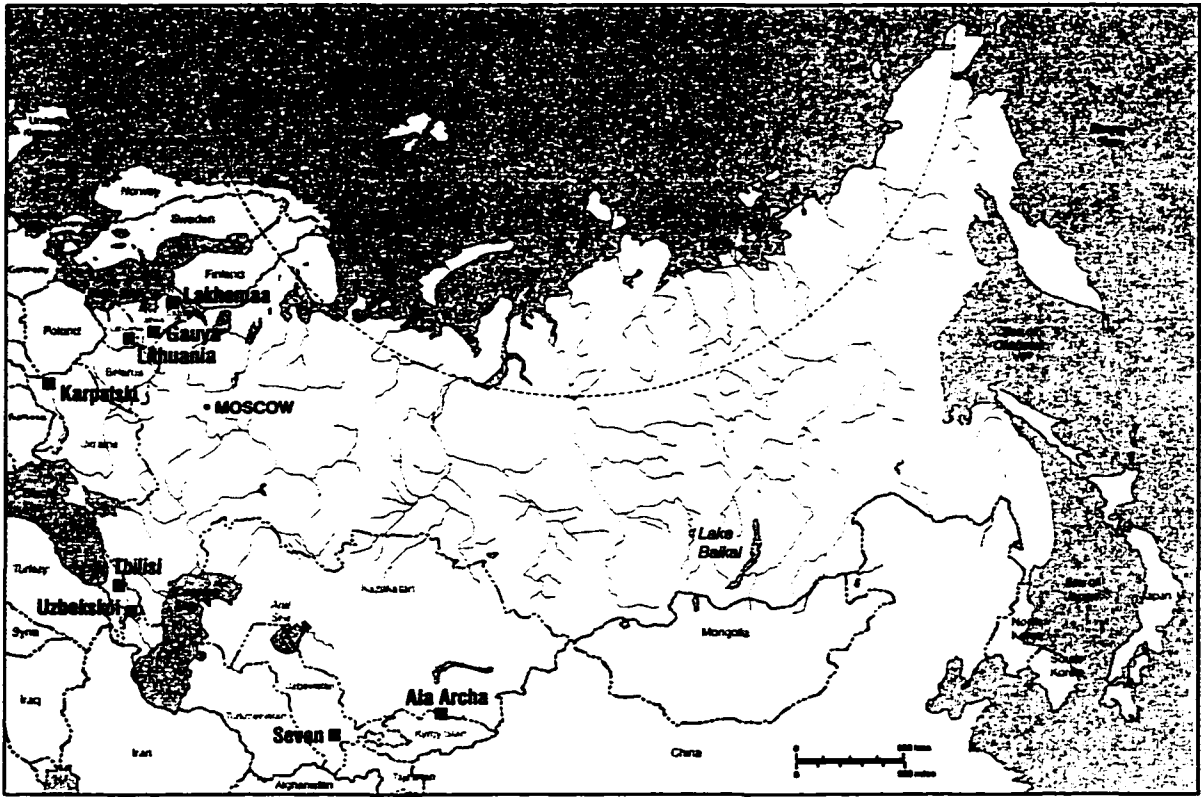
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<sup>29</sup>Canada's maritime provinces were also affected by the post-war agitation for national parks, but with less immediate success. In 1948, Fundy National Park was established in New Brunswick. Terra Nova National Park, though not created until 1957, was agreed to in principle as part of Newfoundland's perquisites for agreeing to enter the Canadian Confederation in 1949. Nova Scotians lobbied intensely in 1945 for an interior national park, finally founded in 1968 as Kejimikujik (Lothian, 1976; Bella, 1987).

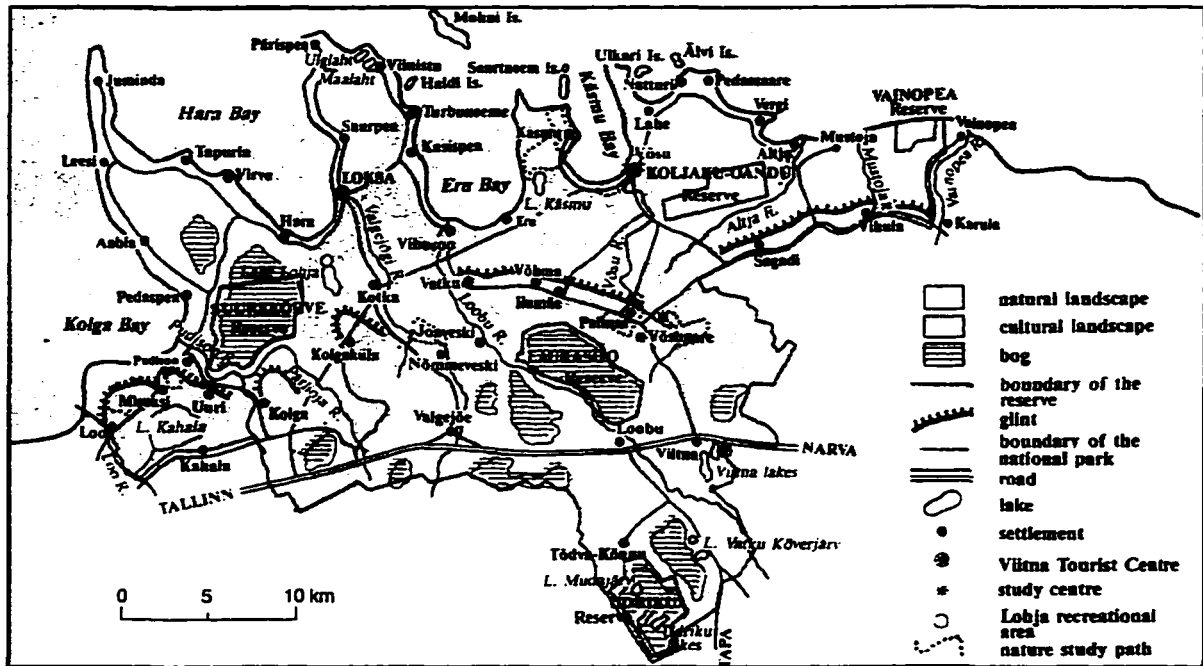
thus further reinforce the already low priority given to the environment. With erosion of centralized power, previously subjugated environmental concerns were rapidly re-prioritized to the forefront of demands for wide-ranging local autonomy. Untainted by connections with the Soviet regime, replacing structures rather than continuing the struggle to refine them, and carrying a powerful, readily identifiable international cachet, national parks served as effective, albeit limited, 'declarations of intent.' Appearing first in outlying Union Republics (Figure 4.1), the formation process then gravitated to new peripheries and to the Russian heartland itself. This sequential development, not by chance, was to mirror the devolution of Soviet power and the deconstruction of its empire.

Estonia's Council of Ministers declared the first Soviet national park on June 1, 1971. This did not constitute a breach of political etiquette, for such resolutions normally originated at the republic level. What was unusual was the spontaneity of the action which carried with it an understanding that the designation was a "fait accompli." The area chosen did not appear on the various academic or ministerial lists of potential Soviet sites, nor did its matrix of natural and cultural elements (Figure 4.2) readily conform to national park formulae which were then being developed. In fact, Lakhemaa National Park most closely resembled the rural countrysides of Britain's national parks, listed by the IUCN not as national parks, but as "protected landscapes." As with the British sites, the primary motivation behind Lakhemaa's founding was a need to embrace and protect

Figure 4.1 Distribution of Soviet Era National Parks, 1971-1981



**Figure 4.2 Landscape Characteristics of Lahemaa National Park,  
Estonian Republic**



Source: Lahemaa National Park, 1990

essential elements of a people's heritage<sup>30</sup>. The eclectic mixture of forests, seashores, glacial boulder fields, bogs, burial mounds, agricultural lands, villages and manor houses did not detract from the appropriateness of the selection, for it was the quintessential representativeness of the territory, not any specific uniqueness, which had been sought. To paraphrase a basic contention of Meinig's Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes, it is the heterogeneity of such places that makes them valued symbols of continuity and identity and thus a vital part of the iconography of nationhood (Meinig, 1979). Severe pressures on the Estonian countryside from competing land-use interests and increasing displacement of Estonians by 'foreign' Slavs<sup>31</sup> served to clarify awareness of these endemic landscape features and catalyzed actions for their preservation.

Estonia's lead was followed in 1973 by the other Baltic states. Latvia established Guaya National Park and Lithuania founded a national park in its own name. Both sites enclosed landscapes with high degrees of cultural modification unique to their respective republics. History dominates Guaya, with hundreds of archaeological and cultural sites, including castles dating back to the country's 13th century beginnings (Pryde, 1991). With a similarly varied landscape matrix, Lithuania National Park's juxtaposition to a massive Chernobyl-type nuclear reactor also presents an early example of the "national

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<sup>30</sup>Lakhemmaa's information pamphlet (1992) specifies three goals:  
 to preserve and popularize the territory's natural and cultural heritage;  
 to conduct scientific research and;  
 to increase public awareness of environmental problems.

<sup>31</sup>Demographic trends supported fears throughout the Baltic States of becoming minorities in their own homelands. Estonians comprised 88% of the country's pre-Soviet population. By 1989 this had been reduced to 61% while the Russian presence had increased from 8% to 30%. In the same period, the proportion of Latvians to Russians had dropped from 77%/8% to 52%/34% with the latter figure reversed in the capital city of Riga.

park designation being used as a weapon in the arsenal of territorial defense" (Weiner, 1988, p.269). Confrontation over the continuing enlargement of this facility was to trigger Lithuania's proclamation of sovereignty in 1989.

The ability of the Baltic republics to move beyond rhetoric was predicated on a number of factors. Each of the three territories was geographically compact and unified by a distinct culture which, with independence between the World Wars, had deflected a quarter century of Stalinist manipulation. As a whole, the region also was subjected because of its borderland location to comparatively extensive information diffusion from adjacent Western Europe. Furthermore, the populaces of all three states were by Soviet standards prosperous, well educated, and highly urbanized--a demographic best fit for producing "Green" constituencies. Finally, the Baltic Republics had a long history of stepping to the forefront,<sup>32</sup> from the vanguard Latvian Rifles of the Revolution to the awakenings of the Soviet conservation movement<sup>33</sup>. In the coming battle for full independence, these countries again led the way, "with Estonia the brains of the movement, Latvia the organizational spine, and Lithuania the heart, the moral force" (Remnick, 1994, p.237). In turn, they became exporters of revolution, "sending emissaries to Georgia, Armenia, Central Asia and other regions to help organize anti-Kremlin revolts" (ibid.).

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<sup>32</sup>To step back in Baltic history and suggest that even the Hanseatic League contributed to the breakup of the Soviet empire would seem at first glance a far-fetched proposition. This loosely knit organization of city-states tracing its lineage back to the 13th century has long since dissolved. The independent spirit of the cities, however, has remained, flaring periodically during times of social upheaval. At least three of these cities were major centers of political agitation in the late Soviet era--Gdansk (Danzig) in Poland and the capitals of Latvia (Riga) and Estonia (Tallinn).

<sup>33</sup>Estonia's Conservation of Nature Act in 1957, for example, sent the first ripples of environmental legislation through the Soviet Republics, followed by Armenia, Georgia and Moldava (1958), Latvia, Lithuania, Ajerbijan, Uzbekistan, and Tadjikistan (1959), then the Ukraine and Russia (1960).

In the decade which followed the Baltic dedications, five more national parks were established in the Soviet Union--Tbiliski in Georgia (1973), Ala-Archa in Kirghizia (1976), Sevan in Armenia (1978), Uzbeskoy in Uzbekistan (1978), and Karpatski (1980) in the Ukraine (see Figure 4.1). The sites included a wide variety of landscapes. Tbiliski, located near its Georgian namesake capital, encompassed rural countryside. Created in 1973, the park was not officially recognized by the USSR until 1984, giving further credence to the proposition that the emergence of the country's national park system was the direct result of local initiatives rather than the product of central planning.

Khirgizia's Ala-Archa national park also was situated adjacent to its capital of Frunze (pre-revolutionary/post-Soviet Bishkek),<sup>34</sup> protecting a recreational greenbelt from external development pressures. This same stratagem was to be repeated in the establishment of Russia's first national parks.

Sevan in Armenia constitutes by far the largest of the first phase of Soviet national parks. Its borders encompass the immediate watershed of the lake for which it is named--a lake epitomizing the misplaced arrogance of Soviet technocracy. As with the Aral Sea, water diversion projects have had disastrous effects on its ecosystems, in this case exacerbated by such narrow minded mitigatory measures as further drawdowns to reduce surface area evaporation. Resorts and residences stand stranded high above the bleak remains of shoreline habitats (personal observation, October, 1986). Here, once again, an environmental objective--the preservation and restoration of Lake Sevan--melded with the

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<sup>34</sup>The renaming of Khirghizia's capital from Bishkek to Frunz presents an excellent example of the unthinking Slavo-Soviet chauvinism which so irritated the ethnic republics. Beyond the general connotations of historical/cultural obliteration which accompanied this common process, the specific change entirely ignored the fact that there is no "f" sound in Kyrgyz (Brown, 1994).

politics of self-determination. The result was a national park challenging the status quo by appropriating natural resource decision-making powers, though at this stage in the erosion of central authority, only with a symbolic gesture.

Reaction to the establishment of national parks amongst Soviet academicians and affected ministries, as well as by international organizations, was a mixture of cautious analysis and attempts to fit unfolding realities into accepted structural models. Discussions of causative motivations were conspicuously absent. Reimers & Shtil'mark (op. cit., p.54) for instance, begin with a perfunctory, 'they went ahead without us' remark, stating that "in the Baltic Republics, the practical organization of national parks was begun earlier than in the other republics." They then proceed to note that:

Specially developed statutes set fundamental goals as being the preservation of typical and picturesque landscapes along with monuments of nature, history, culture, and architecture, as well as the preservation and magnification of the gene pool of flora and fauna, with simultaneous improvement in the organization of tourism and relaxation without harm to nature" (ibid., p.52).

The breadth of this mandate, even within its delimiting and restrictive zoning structure,<sup>35</sup> is viewed by Reimers & Shtil'mark as cause for consternation, for:

Although all national parks in the Baltic region are legal autonomous organizations, they are located on the territory of various land-use groups: tree farms, state farms, etc., which in their activities now must take into

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<sup>35</sup>Specifically, Lakhemaa National Park was divided into five zones:

1. Zapovedniki, where all economic activity is forbidden and people are only allowed by special permit;
2. Natural landscapes, where work that causes irreversible changes to nature is forbidden. (e.g. mining, irrigation/drainage, reservoirs);
3. Dispersed zones of leisure with construction and economic activity limited to servicing this function. Forests in this zone to be managed as "forest parks" for strengthening the health of the stands [no large scale commercial logging]. Limited mineral extraction allowed.
4. Intensive leisure activity zone, with construction allowed under enhanced architectural requirements, but excepting the emergence of urban-type settlements. Forests to be managed as "forest parks."
5. Agricultural zones, in which intensive use of the land occurs, but in which enhanced landscape/architectural requirements apply (Lakhemaa national park brochure, also Shtil'mark, 1978, p.53).

account the interests of natural protection and recreation...Combining the interests of these separate industrial enterprises will be difficult" (ibid., p.53).

To which the retort of the park's founders might best be summarized--"therein lies the crux of the matter."

The lucidity of Reimers & Shtil'mark's comments, however, was exceptional. More representative of the Soviet approach to national parks 'analysis' was a flourishing debate (Bannikov, 1968; Reimers & Shtil'mark, 1978; Melluma, 1988; Cheshova, 1988), encapsulating both unanswered and unspoken questions, focusing on nomenclatural, or more accurately, semantical nuances. Though proclaimed internationally as national parks, the republic sites actually had been designated under a variety of titles. Kirghizia had a "state natural park", Uzbekistan a "people's park", and the Ukraine a "state natural national park," while the Baltics and the Caucasus dropped any pretence at obfuscation with their succinctly stated "national parks." All of these various terms were viewed as inappropriate even before their use, for each suggested an un-Soviet selfhood<sup>36</sup>.

Considering the ensuing events, this surmise was both accurate and prophetic.

Further complicating the issue of terminology was the preference amongst officially sanctioned Soviet conservationists for the politically palatable "natural park" designation. Both "natural" and "nature" parks, however, formed a separate and quite distinct category of protected area predominantly found in Western Europe (Duffey, 1982) that emphasized preservation of rural landscapes for their recreational and, as a subtext,

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<sup>36</sup>Bannikov's specific argument was that the term "national" park was needed in non-Soviet countries to differentiate federally owned and managed territories from other forms of jurisdictions, public and private. As all lands in the Soviet Union were nationalized, the "national" modifier was unnecessary (Bannikov, 1968, p.90-91).

historical/cultural amenities. Wildlife benefits, so central to the national park ideal, accrued only indirectly when remnant habitats were incorporated into landscape matrices. Nature/natural parks were distinguished from national parks by a number of other characteristics as well, including their smaller size and local rather than national administrative jurisdictions.

This discourse was not resolved until 1981 with the adoption of an all inclusive compromise--"gosudarstvyne prirodyne nationalnye park" [state natural national park]. A typically long-winded Soviet appellation,<sup>37</sup> the term obligingly neutralized the negative connotations of the adjective "nationalnye" with the Russian word "gosudarstvyne," more correctly equated with the overarching power of the state than the "state" itself. "Natural" remained in the title to assuage fears that the nature protection functions of the sites would not be denigrated. The energy focused on this parsing exercise provides a revelatory insight into one of the many disparities which separated the lock-step procedural progression of central planning from reality's momentum.

Not all topics under discussion were as obtuse. Definitional discord over what actually constituted a national park brought to the fore familiar difficulties in synthesizing conservation and recreation mandates. Reimers & Shtil'mark ably summarize early in the

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<sup>37</sup>Pryde comments on the "rather cumbersome state natural national park designation" (1991, p.160), yet for Soviet ministerial nomenclature the title is at most of average length. The country's penchant for acronyms attests to the ponderousness of its titles. Despite this reality, in the author's first summer of field interviews, queries as to the meaning of the extended appellation were usually cut short with such statements as, "We call it a national park. That is what it is, the rest we don't bother with." (E. Ovdin, personal communication, Ust Barguzin, July, 1991). In point of fact, there was never an instance throughout the research for this work when national parks in conversation were referred to by their full name.

process the tendency amongst their academic and governmental peers to strongly favor one or the other of these functions.

At present two basic points of view have taken shape as to the tasks and functions of national parks. According to the first point of view, a national park, above all, is an institution for nature preservation, resembling a zapovednik in its appearance and status, but with a definite deviation from reserve conditions for the purpose of strictly regulated tourism...Supporters of the second point of view proceed more out of the interests of recreation and mass tourism, and consider the principal aim of Soviet national parks to be the satisfaction of the needs of workers for relaxation...According to this, in national parks there may be both tourist lodges and campsites, as well as alpine skiing competitions, fishing and even hunting in specified areas (Reimers and Shtil'mark, op. cit., p. 53).

In 1982, at the Third World Congress on National Parks, I.A. Gavva's presentation differentiated national parks from zapovedniks by supporting in the former:

recreation and tourism, including a dense network of roads, recreation sites, hotels, dining facilities, tourist equipment hire depots, shops, and communication services" (Gavva, 1984, p.463).

A. Knystautus, in his Natural History of the USSR, provided more specificity with a broadly based, zoned model in which:

economic activity is not banned completely. Usually they contain a nature reserve area, representing the best example of the original natural environment and its wildlife, where economic activity and visits by tourists are forbidden. In the zakaznik, or sanctuary zone, tourists are allowed but economic activity is strictly limited. Finally, there are areas of more intensive economic activity, where the reasonable and controlled exploitation of nature, including fishing, is allowed and where people live" (Knystautus, 1987, p. 59).

By 1988, U. Yazan was answering his rhetorical query, "What in the world is a national park?" with the all-encompassing rejoinder:

A national park is above all a nature protection establishment. However, it is necessary to provide for management of land cultivation, crop harvesting, traditional trades, and particular features of the ways of life and culture of local nationalities and architectural monuments in their smaller

forms... A national park is also a temple of wild living nature, a gallery of living paintings and natural ecosystems, it is a health resort for leisure and medication of spiritual and physical ailments, a university of ecological knowledge, and it is, of course, a bank of the genetic materials of all living things" (Yazan, 1988, p.13).

Continuing ambiguity throughout the 1970s and 1980s as to the nature of Soviet national parks and of their place within the country's system of protected areas could in its most simplistic sense be interpreted as 'growing pains.' Specific factors, however, gave form to the gestation's formlessness. First, national parks, with their multiplicity of roles and duties, attracted few proponents with necessary inter-disciplinary vision or influence from a professional structure dominated by specialists. Thus each interpretation of form and function reflected the niche of the specific advocate. Second, the semi-legitimacy and administrative homelessness of national parks within the state structure left them vulnerable to internecine maneuverings. Third, national parks continued to be subsumed within the statutes of zapovedniki. Not until 1991, twenty years after the establishment of the first Baltic sites, did they acquire separate and distinct legal standing. Section III of Projected Principles for Legislation in the USSR and the Republics for Specially Protected Nature Areas, states that:

the goals and objective tasks for state natural national parks are the preservation of natural complexes, which possess special ecological, historical-cultural, or aesthetic value, and which are designated for use within the framework of nature-protecting, recreational, educational, and scientific goals" (Supreme Soviet, 1991)<sup>38</sup>.

Ironically, within months of its passage the final disintegration of the Soviet Union brought the validity of this Act, as with all Soviet legislation, into question. Unlike the

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<sup>38</sup>For the complete text, see Appendix A.

fate of its pre-Revolutionary predecessors, this time the national parks continued to thrive, strengthened by the passage of further legitimizing legislation<sup>39</sup>.

Paradigms shifts within the international protected areas management community also contributed to the flux of Soviet national parks concepts. In the 1970s, a hundred years of exclusionary policies<sup>40</sup> insisting on the incompatibility of human settlement in national parks began to give way to discussions of wider cultural integration. The theme of the 1982 World Parks Congress, "National Parks, Conservation, and Development: The Role of Protected Areas in Sustaining Society" proclaimed the change. The Fourth World Parks Congress ten years later signalled the maturation of this transition with, "Parks for Life: Enhancing the Role of Protected Areas in Sustaining Society." Ultimately this increasing breadth of definition benefitted the concurrently emerging Soviet national park system by its acceptance of cultural landscape features and activities with which that country's sites abounded and for which they were founded.

International speculation about these formative processes, however, continued to be dominated by comparative analysis with prescribed models--even as the models themselves mutated. Born of political change, highly individual, and carrying identities only secondarily ecological, Soviet national parks were (and continue to be) scrutinized for "fit" with philosophical and especially infrastructural norms. This patchwork exercise of incongruities and explanatory shortcomings has been less than illuminating. Pryde

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<sup>39</sup>See 1993 and 1995 national park statutes, Appendices B and C.

<sup>40</sup>As with the original concept of national parks, the tradition of excluding human habitation was a North American innovation increasingly breached in the model's global extrapolation.

provides a tour de force of the genre in his Environmental Management in the Soviet

Union:

All of the early parks embrace the spatial design concept of including quasi-wilderness (restricted) zones, intensive recreation zones, and zones of economic activity. In this way they are similar to national parks in North America, which are divided into wilderness and non-wilderness sections, with the wilderness portion usually being the larger. However, in the early Soviet parks, the restricted zone only averages nine percent of the total park area. In certain other respects, though, the Soviet parks differ markedly from their counterparts; many more resemble the British model of "landscape" parks. For example, there is no systematic effort to include the country's outstanding geological features in the assemblage of parks. Rather, the primary goal of most appears to be the preservation of one or more of the typical landscapes (both natural and cultural) of the republic or province in which they are located" (op. cit., p. 160).

In actuality, degrees of similarity to "like" structures were largely circumstantial.

Early Soviet national parks embraced whatever came within their jurisdictions and in doing so incorporated a wide variety of pre-existing land uses and zoning designations.

Too often the perceived 'messiness' of this reality was sublimated into a revisionist perspective conveying an impression of orderly progression and planned structural integrity which, with assistance, could achieve viable conformity<sup>41</sup>. Friction between these competing images was to continue when, after a three year hiatus, a second wave of national parks appeared in the Soviet Union, this time almost exclusively in the Russian Republic.

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<sup>41</sup>Interestingly, one tactic in the current U.S. congressional attempt to divest the American national park system of its holdings is to accuse it of the same "messiness"--an historic lack of consistent selection criteria. The retort to this argument also has a sense of *deja vu*. Dwight Rettie, author of Our National Park System: Caring for America's Greatest Natural and Historical Treasure for instance, responds that,"the fact is no congressionally approved criteria exist. Each park has had to pass or fail on its own merit, as the consequence of a unique set of factors and forces surrounding a particular site at a specific time...Today's park system is a remarkable reflection of the environmental diversity and cultural pluralism of our nation. It was not planned according to a preconceived scheme. It could not have been produced by even the most well-intentioned technicians and bureaucrats" (Rettie, 1996, p.53-54).

## CHAPTER 5

### RUSSIAN ADOPTION AND ADAPTATIONS

Losiny Ostrov (Elk Island)<sup>1</sup> lies just 5 km. north of Moscow's Red Square. An "island" in the metaphorical sense, and to some extent biogeographically, it comprises a 15,000 ha remnant of Meshchera Lowlands sub-boreal forest interspersed with meadows and approximately 1000 ha of marshes dominated by the Yauza Bogs. Busy streets bound the site east and west and the metropolitan region's major ring road slices through its south-westerly reaches. Highrise housing impinges upon its boundaries both visually and physically with garden plots, metal storage sheds and the usual complement of city life activities. A forestry division and over 30 other enterprises reside in the territory, along with the village of Tsentralny (Figure 5.1).

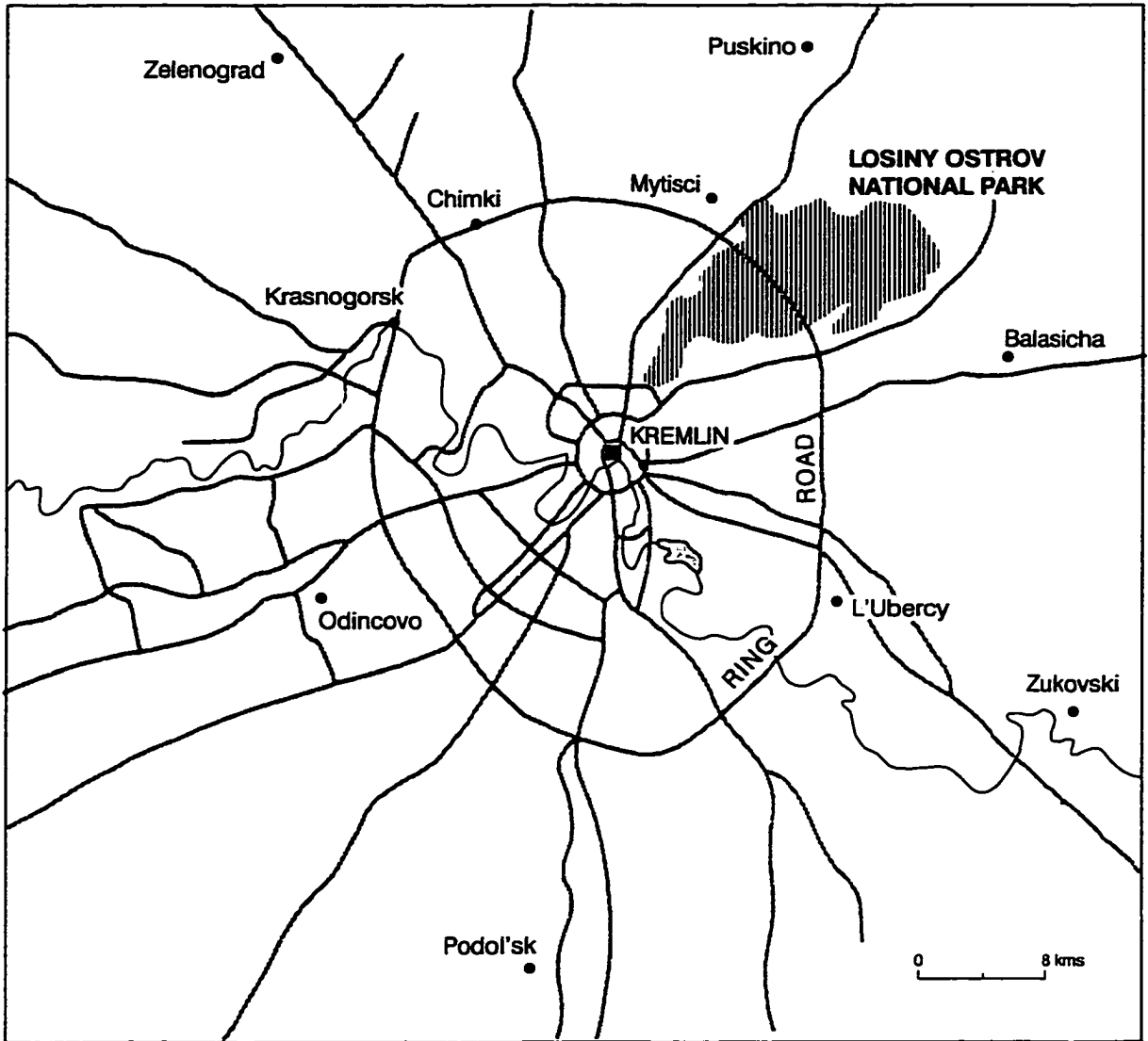
Yet despite these impacts, Losiny Ostrov provides a refuge for 45 species of mammals, including beaver and moose, as well as a wealth of resident and migratory birds and an abundance of familiar and unusual flora. A protected area in various forms since 1406 (Gusev, 1992), the site had survived semi-intact primarily by fulfilling functions as a hunting preserve and as a renowned source of domestic water supply. In 1983, Moscow's Municipal government declared this rural wilderness in an urban setting Russia's first national park.

In the same year, far to the south of Moscow along the Black Sea coast and extending into the foothills of the Caucasus Mountains, a second Russian national park

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<sup>1</sup>Losiny Ostrov's "elk" refers to what is known as "moose" (*Alces alces*) in North America.

**Figure 5.1 Losiny Ostrov National Park,  
Moscow Municipality**



was founded. Sochinski National Park showed many of Losiny Ostrov's characteristics. The site bordered the city of Sochi, a major Soviet city and prime vacation destination. Its natural landscape of shoreline and forests, extending into the foothills of the Caucasus Mountains, had been fragmented by industrial enterprises, forestry operations and resort complexes. Intense development pressures threatened to continue the trend, further degrading the region's once famed environment.

From these beginnings until the dissolution of the Soviet Union in December, 1991, 19 national parks would be established, all but two of which would be located in the Russian Republic (Table 5.1). Situated almost exclusively within a single republic in a demographically and historically Slavic "Heartland" and thus seemingly less susceptible to the centrifugal forces which so effected the peripheral republics, these new national parks continued to replicate essential context and content characteristics of the sites which had preceded them<sup>2</sup>.

Losiny Ostrov is representative of this formative and infrastructural continuity. In 1975, the Moscow Planning Research Institute proposed the site as a "natural park". This recommendation was adopted in 1979 and then upgraded by fiat in 1981 to the status of a national park<sup>3</sup>. Republic and federal governments approved this action only reluctantly and retroactively (Gusev, op. cit., p.237). As with the first emergent phase of Soviet national parks, regional environmental concerns prompted action--in this case the

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<sup>2</sup>The question does arise as to why the peripheral republics suddenly ceased proclaiming national parks. One can speculate that with the rapid accrual of political autonomy, establishment of national parks lost much of its symbolic significance and attention shifted to the resolution of more immediate internal agendas.

<sup>3</sup>"Losiny Ostrov was first classified as a recreation zone, then declared a green belt, but the only way to truly preserve it was to give it the status of a national park" (Maxakovsky, personal communication, May, 1993).

**Table 5.1 Soviet Era National Parks, 1971-1991**

<b>National Park</b>	<b>Administrative Region</b>	<b>Year Established</b>
Lakhemaa .....	Estonian Republic .....	1971
Gauya .....	Latvian Republic .....	1973
Lithuania .....	Lithuanian Republic .....	1973
Tbilisi .....	Georgian Republic .....	1974
Ala-Archa .....	Kyrgyzian Republic .....	1976
Sevan .....	Armenian Republic .....	1978
Uzbekskoi .....	Uzbekistan Republic .....	1978
Karpatiski .....	Ukrainian Republic .....	1980
Shatski .....	Ukrainian Republic .....	1983
Losiny Ostrov .....	Russian Republic .....	1983
Sochinski .....	Russian Republic .....	1983
Samarskaya Luka .....	Russian Republic .....	1984
Mariya Chodra .....	Russian Republic .....	1985
Bayanaul'ski .....	Kazakstan Republic .....	1985
Bashkiria .....	Russian Republic .....	1986
Pribaikalski .....	Russian Republic .....	1986
Zabaikalski .....	Russian Republic .....	1986
Prielbruski .....	Russian Republic .....	1986
Kurshkaya Kosa .....	Russian Republic .....	1987
Pereyaslavski .....	Russian Republic .....	1988
Shorski .....	Russian Republic .....	1989
Valdaiski .....	Russian Republic .....	1990
Kenozerski .....	Russian Republic .....	1991
Nizhnyaya Kama .....	Russian Republic .....	1991
Taganai .....	Russian Republic .....	1991
Tunkinski .....	Russian Republic .....	1991
Vodlozerski .....	Russian Republic .....	1991

incremental loss, highlighted by such projects as the ring road development, of Moscow's cultural ties with its rural roots. Also like the Baltic sites, Losiny Ostrov's landscape consisted of a matrix of natural and cultural elements, none of which unto themselves would give cause for consigning national park status<sup>4</sup>.

Samarskaya Luka, Russia's third national park, is set within the country's only significant peaks west of the Urals aside from the Caucasus, on a large (130,000 ha) peninsula-forming meander of the Volga River. The site and its immediate surroundings support a city of 46,000, agricultural collectives, timber operations, a hydroelectric station, 80 recreation facilities and an infamous rock quarry (Adibi, 1993, p.10). Once again juxtaposing natural and cultural elements, the national park and its adjacent Zhigulevski Mountains preserve 80% of the region's wild boar, 75% of its moose, 50% of its marten and its only viable wolf pack--while laying claim to a variety of Russia's famous and infamous native sons<sup>5</sup> (ibid.).

The movement to protect Samarskaya Luka also follows a familiar progression of events. First suggested for protection in the early 1900s, a small zapovednik was finally set aside in 1927 under the initiative of environmentalists from the city of Penza (ibid. p.15). The reserve was one of many to be abolished in 1951, in turn to be re-designated

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<sup>4</sup>The World Conservation Union's "Action Plan for Losiny Ostrov" is representative of the changing national park paradigm. The report lists 18 categories of "threats to biodiversity," many of which by earlier standards would have disallowed the site's designation. The "astonishing and little known national park," included "a resident population and industrial structures; totally unregulated day visitors; privatization of park lands, total lack of biological or environmental education specialists amongst the park's 173 employees; destructive forest management projects; and lack of Federal administrative control." (IUCN, 1992, p.241-241; conclusions corroborated in large part three years later by personal observation, July, 1995).

<sup>5</sup>As noted in the national park's brochure: Ermak the Conqueror (Cossack explorer); Stenka Razin and Pugachev (17th and 18th century populist rebels); Repin (painter) and; Gorky (author).

and enlarged in 1967. Protection was extended to adjacent territories in 1984 with the establishment of the national park<sup>6</sup>. Impetus for the latter act was provided by the "desecration" (ibid.) of Mogutova Mountain. Despite numerous purported closures, quarrying at the site had continued unabated since its temporary wartime emergency opening in 1942. Residents of nearby Zhigulevsk protested both the destruction of the mountain itself and the high incidences of health disorders attributed to perpetual atmospheric dust and blasting. Here once again local constituencies, supported by summer vacationers/recreationists, used the national park designation to attain social/environmental objectives.

Hierarchical diffusion processes contributed to site selection processes in the establishment of Russia's first three national parks. Attuned to the increasing politicization of the environment and to structures for promoting its protection, Moscow elites, both at home and from the perspective of two favored vacation destinations, provided empathetic conceptualization and process linkages to champion each of the site protection movements<sup>7</sup>. Such personal connections, always an important facet of accomplishing any task in the Soviet Union, gained open ascendancy as alternative avenues of information flow and empowerment in the 1980s. Local environmentalists

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<sup>6</sup>Soviet/Russian national parks have been frequently placed adjacent to zapovedniki. In these circumstances, exclusionary zones often replicate territorial boundaries which previous to the scourging of 1951 had been part of the now adjoining zapovedniki. The negative implications of this process in terms of impingement on recreational capacity is especially evident at many sites where this "zapovednik" designation can take up well over 50% of the entire national park.

<sup>7</sup>In Sochinsky's case, a jurisdictional anomaly may have contributed to the process. A portion of the territory which became the park was a Moscow-controlled (rather than regionally controlled) leskhoz (forest service) unit.

used these lobbying channels<sup>8</sup>, coupled with a rapid increase in the development and maturation of NGOs,<sup>9</sup> to confront the same practices of ministry branch organs which so plagued the peripheral republics.

Ongoing struggles at Samarskaya Luka present numerous examples of these emerging processes in action--from a month-long "Rainbow Keepers" sit-in at the Zhigulevsk Quarry Company (ibid. p.16, also Rainey, 1994) and a protest campaign by "Parkway" against the Moscow Planning Institute's promotion of a highway through the site (Russian Conservation News, op. cit., p.10) to recruitment of (financially lucrative) Russian-speaking foreign students to assist in historical/cultural inventories:

in the thirty-four villages that lie within park boundaries. These include a Russian speaking population, Chuvash people of Turkic origin and Finno-ugric Mordovski that have lived in Samarskaya Luka for centuries. Each has developed traditions specific to the region which share a common trait in being tied to nature. These traditions represent various types of sustainable land use that may serve as examples for modern use of our resources...The research project is part of a long-term national park program to promote conservation and sustainable development of natural-cultural systems (Russian Conservation News, 2, 1995 p. 10).

Kenozerski National Park (estab. 1991) provides a further example of the dominant socio-political legitimization of sites while highlighting a yet undiscussed aspect of this theme--the resurgence of Slavic/Orthodox nationalism. Kenozerski's 139,000 ha

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<sup>8</sup>The NGO 'Dront's activities are illustrative of this process, while also serving to illuminate government employee crossover activities: "At the end of the working day, bureaucrats in Nizhny Novgorod's environmental offices close their chamber doors and head for...Gorky Square Park where they roll up their sleeves and the 'real' work begins. These officials make up a small group who are working with the Socio-Ecological Union's local branch, Dront Eco-Center. Like a secret society that comes to life in the evenings, Dront is a union of local conservationists, some of them nowadays government officials...working together to protect the region's natural heritage" (Russian Conservation News, October, 1994, pp. 14-15).

<sup>9</sup>The Directory of Environmental Groups in the Newly Independent States and Baltic Nations published in 1992 includes 282 Russian NGOs. Over 60% of these organizations espouse region specific objectives while at least another 10% viewed their roles as that of coordinating "umbrella" associations. Of those which noted a founding date, none had existed before the mid-1980s.

preserve within a ruralized boreal forest setting 15,000 ha of agricultural lands, a population of 2500 scattered through 46 villages and:

nearly 100 17th and 18th century wooden structures: churches, chapels, 26 outdoor crosses, sacred groves, and 39 archaeological sites [providing] a reservoir of Slavic culture, a repository of resources in number and scale found nowhere else. Untouched by war, ethnic or religious conflicts or significant demographic change, these communities have preserved traditions and ways of life characterized by careful and sustainable use of the natural resources around them (Chebakova, 1995, p. 9).

In its Tolstoyan imagery of the good and simple past preserved as a font of purity and wisdom, this portrait has become a virtual leitmotif of many Russian national parks, subtly overlaying a Russocentric reaction to both real and perceived Soviet/post-Soviet diminishment of Slavic culture. Abruptly cast aside as civilizers, teachers, and protectors of their country's brethren, Russians have found what remains of the role of Soviet/post-Soviet citizen frighteningly bereft of meaning<sup>10</sup>. Thus the compensatory resurrection in many forms of pre-Soviet, Slavic identities, from the ultra-rightist, anti-semitic "Pamyat" movement and the Orthodox Puritanism of Alexander Solzhenitsyn to replanting of the abatis forests by embryonic Green movements. Both imitative of tactics used by the peripheral republics and reactive to their emerging ethnic hubris, Russian national parks have repeatedly derived their legitimacy in the preservation of Slavic-specific landscapes consisting of historical, religious and occasionally mythological features set within forest, meadow, and water<sup>11</sup>. This choice of elements is widespread and ingrained, a Russian

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<sup>10</sup>Chinn and Kaiser's (1996) Russians as the New Minority: Ethnicity and Nationalism in the Soviet States provides a detailed analysis of the transformation from self-assured dominance to frustrating vulnerability as deconstruction processes eliminated the necessity of empowering ethnic regions through linkages with resident Russians.

<sup>11</sup>The preservation in Russian national parks of large forested areas brings into question the universality of Alfred Runte's "worthless lands principle" (Runte, 1987, pp.48-49, 67-68, 120-121) whereby only non-economically viable landscapes are afforded protection. Perhaps, when viewed from a cultural rather than

response to nature as countryside and habitat. Its image appears repeatedly in literature, often as a source of bodily and/or spiritual rejuvenation, as when Solzhenitsyn withdraws to regroup from Moscow's publications battles: "I had high hopes that I should recover my strength in my beloved Rozhdesto-on-the-[river] Istya-- from contact with the soil, from the sun, from the green fields and woods" (Solzhenitsyn. 1975, p.201).

Though conjectural, the origins of these perceptual biases most probably lie in the sustenance and survival which certain features have for so long provided. Support for this hypothesis can be found in Appleton's Landscape Experience/Habitat Theory (Appleton, 1975) which proposes that humans appreciate most those environments which display characteristics favorable to fulfilment of biological necessities. Aesthetic satisfaction is thus "a spontaneous reaction to landscape as habitat" (Porteous, 1996, p.25). Specific prospect/refuge needs, providing wide vistas and hidden places, act as additional filters in making landscape choice decisions. Set as an overlay on Russian national parks, this description shows a high degree of congruence with site features.

Pereslavski National Park (estab. 1988), for instance, contains all of the requisite qualities, proclaiming itself (however inaccurately) the "first Russian national park established to protect both natural and historical resources" (Pereslavski brochure, 1991, p.1). The site encircles the region's largest lake (Lake Plescheyevo) on which Peter the Great launched his prototype ships and trained the crews for Russia's first navy. The

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an economic perspective, the U.S., Canada and other North American model national park systems actually did choose the barren and grandiose over the verdant and mundane. The difference lies not so much in the constraints of economic imperatives as in whether a country is attempting to transfer an ideal onto the landscape (i.e. the United States) or preserving a landscape to perpetuate an ideal (i.e. Russia). See Schama (1996) for a wide-ranging discourse on Landscapes and Memory

area surrounding the lake "is mostly grassland with some scattered forested areas--a pattern representative of the region which will be maintained as a part of the historic scene" (ibid., p.6). One of Russia's oldest continually inhabited settlements, 12th century Pereslavl Zalesski, is also located within the park, along with outlying fortress-monasteries, "attesting to the durability of Russian architecture and the people that built it" (ibid., p.9). These complexes are being preserved "through a program of active use with an emphasis on historically appropriate religious use" (ibid., p.2)--by inference, thus not delegated to the role of soul-less museums, but serving as bulwarks of Orthodoxy, spiritually restorative bastions against the influx of foreign proselytization<sup>12</sup>.

It must be noted in fairness, however, that even the culture-dominated landscape of Pereslavski National Park also contains within its boundaries elements of normative and requisite biological diversity and recreation objectives. Its one Red Book entry, an endangered species of fish,<sup>13</sup> has been duly ascribed and described, as has the "great potential of tourism to create new jobs in the vicinity of the park" (ibid., p.4). Yet such statements in Russian national park documents often echo external input rather than internal perspectives--in the case of Pereslavski, the contributions of a joint U.S. National Park Service /U.S. Student Conservation Association planning team. In and of

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<sup>12</sup>With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Russian Orthodox Church has experienced many of the same centrifugal forces which led to the dissolution of its oppressing/supporting State. Though subject to harsh deprivations, the ROC paradoxically had been sheltered by the country's atheistic policies from incursions by other religious influences. Removal of this ban has brought an onslaught of proselytization as well as internal fragmentation within the ROC as rival Orthodox entities dispute both its spiritual legitimacy and temporal rights over the return of seized church property. Dmitry Sidorov's AAG Conference paper (1994) on the "The Geographical Context of the Revival of the Russian Orthodox Church" summarizes in detail this aspect of the country's geopolitical transformation.

<sup>13</sup>*Pereslavskaya riapushka*. The Red Book is the Soviet/Russian equivalent of the endangered species register/list.

themselves, these management objectives are worthwhile. Unfortunately, such formulaic prioritization ignores the reality of the momentum which formed the parks, skewing it into pathways only superficially in concordance with regional constituency interests.<sup>14</sup>

Here once again one can equate the dichotomous approaches to landscape preservation with an aspect of Habitat Theory. Appleton states that place is lived-in rather than a looked-at, thus it is created and viewed experientially rather than idealized (also see Porteous, *op. cit.*, p.25). This description serves well to differentiate the two visions that have provided momentum for the establishment of national park systems--the North American model, creating spectacular, looked-at, cultural identities and the European/Russian experience, preserving typical, lived-in cultural continuities.

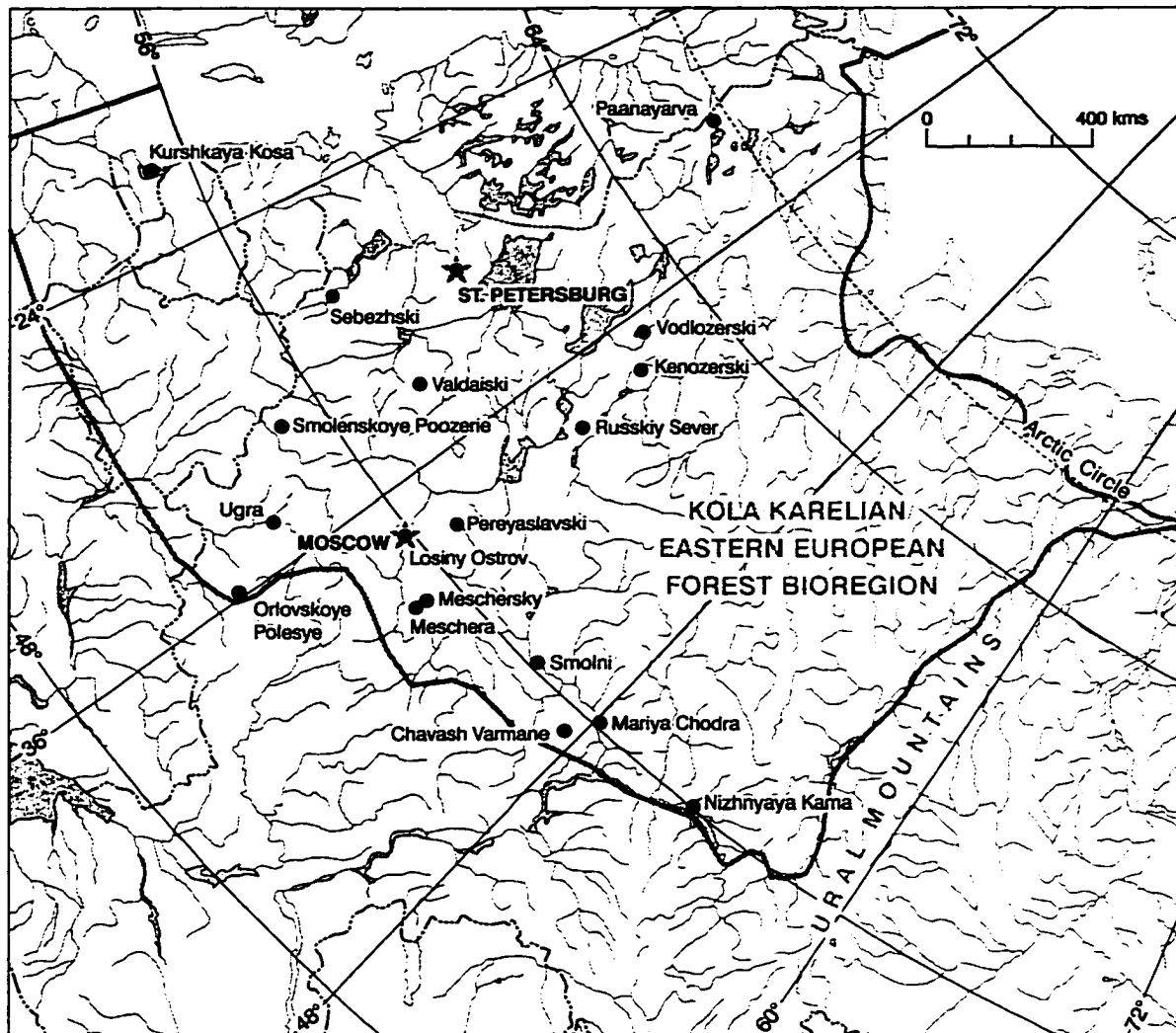
As to the supposition that establishment of Russian national parks has been heavily influenced by biological diversity considerations, the distribution of sites provides a graphically cogent argument against such a surmise. Over half of all national parks (18/32) are found within the single Kola-Karelian/ Eastern European Forest bioregion (Figure 5.2). Eight more are located in three ecologically similar mountainous zones (Urals, 3; Baikal 2; Caucasus, 2). Virtually all protect the same aforementioned matrix of meadow, woodlands, and water, while the vast Arctic tundra and the truly magnificent biodiversity of south-central and south-east Siberia continue totally unrepresented.

This skewed geographic distribution has been duly noted internationally as a major shortcoming of the Russian national parks system (Krever, 1994). It has as well become a

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<sup>14</sup>Russian national parks planning staff were also well aware of the face-saving political advantages of legitimizing sites biologically, even if the momentum for establishment was otherwise (Sichugov, personal communications, February, 1998).

**Figure 5.2 Russian National Parks of the Eastern European Forest Bioregion**



Source: Adapted from Krever, 1994

focus of Russian ministries that have quickly become attuned to the necessity of linking the dominant biodiversity paradigm to funding applications. Measuring the fit(ness) of sites with an externally formulated model is quick, easy, lucrative--and thus a preferred research methodology. The inherent problem with this approach is that in the quest for conformities, analysis of basic and essential questions as to pattern and process causalities are overlooked.

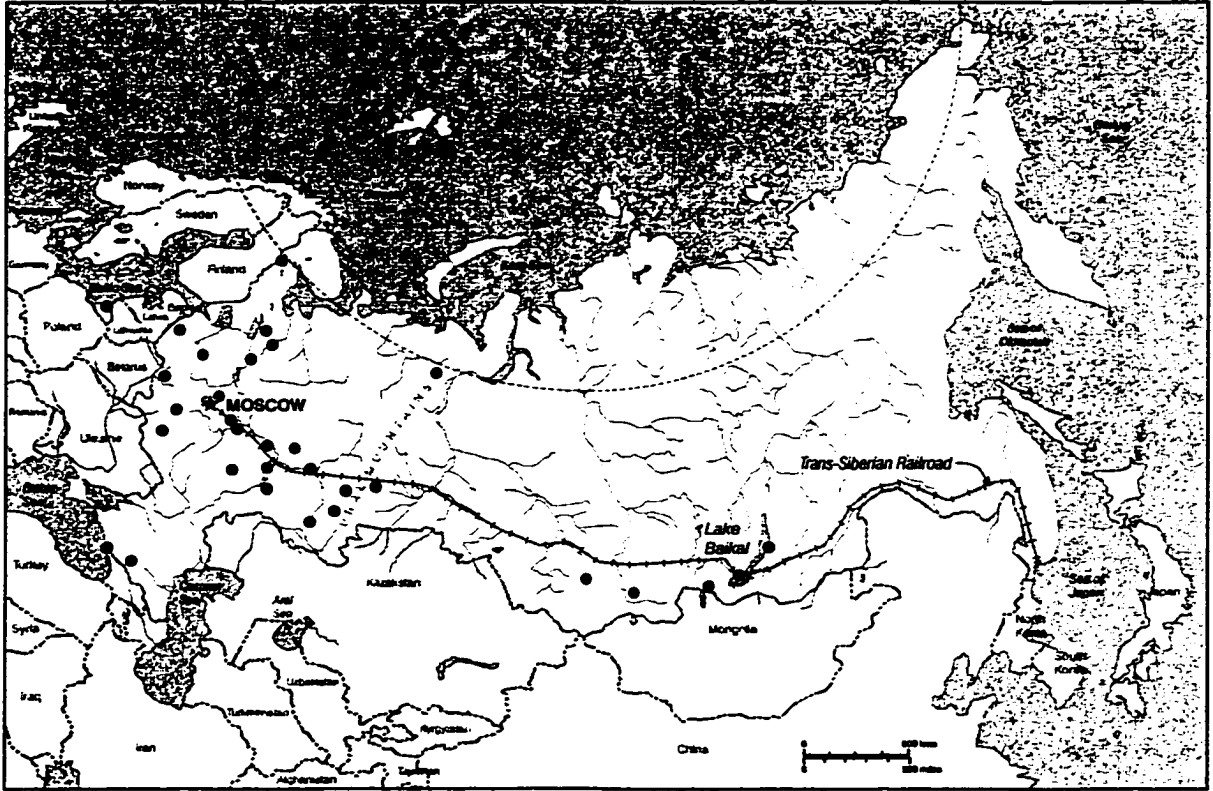
Russian national parks, viewed in the perspective of where they are rather than where they are not, actually show a strong correlation with the country's demographic distribution and its internal political boundaries, and thus in turn an affinity with its historical settlement patterns. The sites cluster west of the Urals and trace a thin arc eastward dotted along the urbanized corridor of the trans-Siberian railway (Figure 5.3). Few national parks cross political boundaries, nor has any jurisdiction monopolized park formation (Table 5.2). Instead, sites are set singly within republics, oblasts, krajs, and rayons with sizes commensurate to the area of each host's territory. This pattern is consistent with the thesis that Russian national parks are representative of political/place loyalty realignments prioritizing regionalism through control of territorial and administrative functions<sup>15</sup>.

The formation of Meshchera/Meshchersky national parks provides an excellent example of boundary constraints in the present era of Russian 'realpolitic.' In 1985, a national park was proposed for the Meshchera Lowlands occupying 118,758 ha and

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<sup>15</sup>Though to a lesser degree, zapovedniki also reflect this same distribution pattern (see World Bank, 1996, appendix A).

Figure 5.3 Distribution of Russian National Parks



**Table 5.2 Russian Federation National Parks by Administrative Region**

<b>National Park</b>	<b>Administrative Region</b> <i>(Oblast, unless otherwise stated)</i>	<b>Year established</b>
Losiny Ostrov .....	Moskovskaya .....	1983
Sochinski .....	Krasnodarski Krai .....	1983
Samarskaya Luka .....	Samarskaya .....	1984
Mariya Chodra .....	Mari-El Republic .....	1985
Bashkiriya .....	Bashkortostan Republic .....	1986
Pribaikalski .....	Irkutskaya .....	1986
Prielbruski .....	Kabardino-Balkaria Rep. ....	1986
Zabaikalski .....	Buryatia Republic .....	1986
Kurshkaya Kosa .....	Kaliningradskaya .....	1987
Pereyaslavski .....	Yaroslavskaya .....	1988
Shorski .....	Kemerovskaya .....	1989
Valdaiski .....	Novgorodskaya .....	1990
Kenozerski .....	Arkhangelskaya .....	1991
Nizhnyaya Kama .....	Tartarstan Republic .....	1991
Taganai .....	Chelyabinskaya .....	1991
Turkinski .....	Buryatia Republic .....	1991
Vodlozerski .....	Arkhangel/Karelia Rep. ....	1991
Meshchera .....	Vladimirskaya .....	1992
Meshcherski .....	Ryanskaya .....	1992
Paana-Yarva .....	Karelia Republic .....	1992
Russkiy Sever .....	Vologodskaya .....	1992
Smolenskoye Poozerie ..	Smolenskaya .....	1992
Yugd Va .....	Komi Republic .....	1992
Chavash Varmane .....	Chuvashia Republic .....	1993
Pripyshmenskie Bory .....	Sverdlovskaya .....	1993
Zyuratkul .....	Chelyabinskaya .....	1993
Khvalynski .....	Saratov .....	1994
Orlovskoye Polesye .....	Orlovskaya .....	1994
Smolni .....	Mordovia Republic .....	1995
Shushenski Bory .....	Krasnoyarsk Krai .....	1995
Sebezhski .....	Pskov .....	1996
Ugra .....	Kaluga .....	1997

105,501 ha respectively in the Vladimir and Ryazan Oblasts, along with a further 11,400 ha buffer zone within Moscow's Shatura Rayon (region). These boundaries were deemed the minimum necessary area to:

protect rare plant and animal species; develop recreation and educational tourism; conserve natural resources and restructure the local economy and; develop an example of a properly managed protected landscape in Russia (Guseva, op.cit., p.238).

The site was to encompass a typical variety of land users, including 6 forestry enterprises (120,595 ha), 7 collective farms (42,025 ha), 6 state farms (48,491 ha), 3 peat digging enterprises (5023 ha), glass, textile, clothing and other industries and a population of 32,000 people. Following "principles of landscape integrity--encompassing complete ecological working units in coordination with adjacent protected landscapes" (Maxakovsky, 1993, p.57), the establishment of Meshchera National Park would provide an essential gap-bridging unit for completing what structurally, though not officially, would comprise a biosphere reserve. This construct was not unique to the site, but was commonly invoked amongst officials to legitimize national parks within the country's protected areas strategy<sup>16</sup>.

The biosphere reserve concept first took form in the late 1970s as a harbinger of the awareness that needs and perceptions of local people had to be incorporated into the establishment of protected areas to achieve long-term viability. The resultant construct consisted of a core wilderness area surrounded by buffer zones allowing varying degrees of compatible land use--in essence, a thoroughly 'Green' yet still economically derived

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<sup>16</sup>"Our interest lays in setting up national parks around zapovedniki to serve as buffer zones--in other words, to establish biosphere reserves along international lines" (S. Zabelin, personal communication, July, 1991).

regional plan. This model has only been marginally successful, due primarily to difficulties in reaching multi-jurisdictional consensus on objectives and implementation procedures and to an inability to effectively incorporate local constituencies into the planning process (Kellert, 1986; Dyer and Holland, 1991; Wells and Brandon, 1992).

These same problems plagued the Meshchersky project, which had violated its own site planning principle of park/ecosystem boundary accordance "because it is very difficult to create any protected area within several administrative subdivisions" (Maxakovsky, *op.cit.*, p.59). Moscow refused to participate, preferring sole control over the Klepikov Lakes and their recreational facilities<sup>17</sup>. Vladimir and Ryazan Oblasts reacted to the plan by founding adjacent, nearly identical national parks, "as if they were the only ones that owned them"<sup>18</sup> (Chizhova, personal communication, March, 1995). By assuring that no territorial alienation can be intended or allowed, Section III E9 of the current (1995) Federal Statute on Specially Protected Natural Territories has entrenched in law this primacy of political boundaries in the park planning process<sup>19</sup>.

The inability of national park planning agencies--the Institute of Nature Protection's Goscompriroda or the Forest Service based Rosgiprolez--to control, guide, or

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<sup>17</sup>Note once again the focus on water bodies, especially lakes. The project attempted to entice Moscow with the lesser "buffer zone" designation, but given the option, would rather have included the lakes within the national park itself (Maxakovsky, *op. cit.*, 1994).

<sup>18</sup>Two years earlier, a similar project to establish Valdaisky National Park in the Novgorod and Tsverskaya Oblasts north of Moscow was beset by the same multi-jurisdictional difficulties, resulting in the establishment of a smaller site residing only in the former administrative unit.

<sup>19</sup>"If the national park falls across the territories of two or more jurisdictions of the Russian Federation, it cannot be considered grounds for violating their territorial integrity or for changing their status" (Appendix C, p.5). A quick glance at the Canadian national park system will verify that this same principle, with its "twinned" provincial border sites is very much in effect.

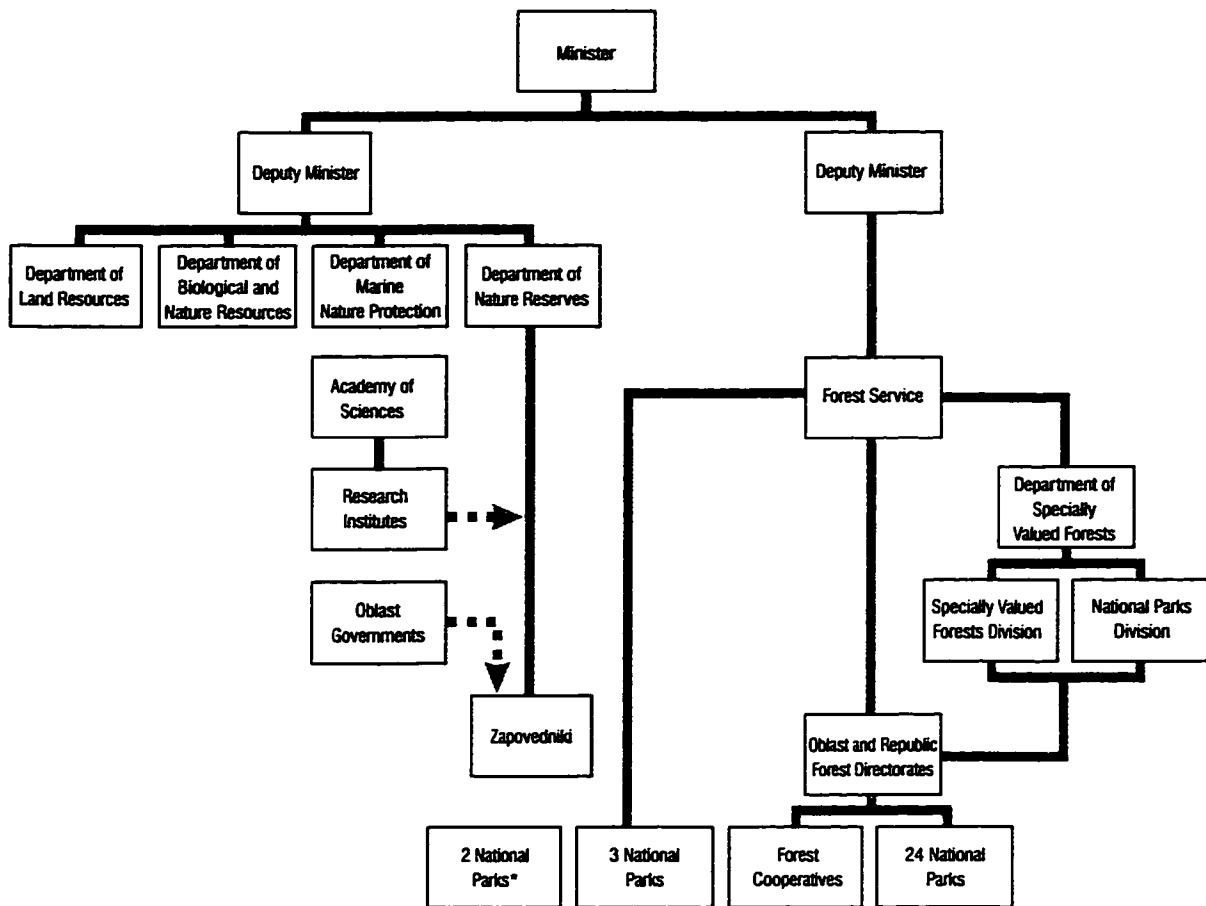
agree on the siting or pace of park formation was aggravated by the deluge of proposals which the nomination process engendered. As early as 1988, Goscompriroda had "received a huge number of propositions, in excess of 110, for the organization of national parks, out of which 70 were from the Russian SFSR<sup>20</sup>." (Yazan, 1988, p.12). These numbers and the complexity of the sites overburdened a process which was quickly outpaced and outmoded by events.

The administrative structure within which national parks reside also contributed to the promotion of site proliferation and duplication (Table 5.3). Whereas zapovedniki are directly managed by the Federal Department of Nature Reserves, each national park is ultimately controlled through delegation of authority by councils at the regional oblast and republican levels. That the entire Moscow headquarters staff of the Forest Service's National Parks Division consists of 4-5 planners places in perspective the comparative empowerment of participating entities. It also presents yet another facet of Russia's periphery to core deconstruction process, with central organs attempting to control and guide changes which they have been unable or unwilling to initiate. That three national parks report directly to the Deputy Minister of the Federal Forest Service (Pribaikalski, Vodlozerski, Tunkinski, see Figure 5.3) has been alluded to as indicative of a centripetal

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<sup>20</sup>The original list of 110 fulfilled a Goscompriroda goal to identify and preserve "gaps in the representativeness of large physical-geographical units as well as of unique natural complexes and monuments...for the period up to 2005" (Nikolskii, 1991, p. 6.10). One-half (55) were to be established in the Russian Republic. Unaddressed was the means by which these sites would be transferred from their various administrative jurisdictions to Goscompriroda or, as has already been mentioned, how these national parks in the selection process differed from zapovedniki.

**Table 5.3 Organizational Structure, Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources, 1995**



\*Losiny Ostrov reports directly to the Moscow Municipality and Pereslavski to the Yaroslav Oblast.

Updated from: Thompson, 1992

countertrend (Grigoriev and Lapoukhine, 1993). In actuality these anomalies only confirm institutional instability, for each case represents tenuous attempts by individual park directors and/or central authorities to circumvent their own multi-tiered management structure.

Given their varying administrative hierarchies, Russian national parks can more properly be described as forming a loose network rather than a true system of sites. This configuration unto itself is neither "good" nor "bad," though it is a cause for much hand-wringing in numerous structural analyses (Thompson, 1992b; Davis, 1993; Grigoriev, 1993; Krever, 1994). To insist on centralization of functions as a prerequisite for system efficiency, as all of these studies do, ignores the central fact of the times--that the autonomy of each national park is a product of ongoing deconstruction processes, without which the sites most likely would not exist. Also, though vulnerable in their isolation to territorial and resource aggrandizement by competing regional constituencies, the national parks are insulated from systemic vagaries that could wreak rapid havoc en masse. Both the historical and current dilemmas of zapovedniki exemplify the deficiencies of centralization in times of socio-political upheaval. The continued independence of Losiny Ostrov and Pereslavski National Parks, for instance, recognizes and is predicated on the belief that survival, especially in terms of financial solvency, currently is more assured outside of the structure than within it (Anon., Losiny Ostrov, personal communication, 1995).

Placement of Russian national parks within the Forest Service is frequently posited along with the park's bioregional homogeneity and their administrative fragmentation as

the system's third major flaw. Here again, however, both precedence and present proficiencies outweigh the proffered efficacy of external models. The Soviet Union's first law "On Forests" (May 14, 1918, see Weiner, *op. cit.*, p.24) divided forestry into protection and use (currently Leskhoz and Lespromkhoz), with the former responsible for reforestation, erosion control and the preservation of monuments of nature. This last function over time expanded to include a variety of protected areas, including national parks, especially when construed legislatively in terms of reclamation as well as preservation. The Russian propensity for choosing wooded landscapes further legitimized the Forest Service as the national park's "host agency problem,"<sup>21</sup> position it grudgingly has chosen to accept and promote rather than lose administrative jurisdiction. Interestingly, establishment of the National Park Service in 1916 brought a similar response from the U.S. Forest Service, at that time much more closely resembling 'leskhoz' than its present 'lespromkhoz' conception<sup>22</sup>. Efforts to place the national parks within alternative administrative settings unhampered by either the Forest Service's bioregional bias or its convoluted approval process have not had the political strength to survive counterforces at the federal level<sup>23</sup> or to override regional prerogatives.

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<sup>21</sup>"It is very difficult to get out from the Forest Service, for the national parks are taken from their lands-- thus the host agency problem" (Maxakovsky, *op.cit.*, 1994).

<sup>22</sup>"Loath to see a newcomer steal the public thunder, and possibly some of its lands, the Forest Service countered by giving unprecedented publicity to scenery and outdoor recreation as major "products" of the National Forests" (Nash, *op. cit.* pp. 184-185).

<sup>23</sup>Goscompriroda during its brief foray into the limelight was repeatedly heralded as the national parks future patron. In January, 1990, the agency's director, Dr. G. Vistyashev, confidently predicted that "all protected areas in the country would soon be under the direct administration of his office" (Clipboard, 1990, p.9). The Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources also introduced variants within its own structure that would have subsumed zapovedniki and national parks within a single reporting unit. Neither aspiration has succeeded.

Whether, with the eventual recovery of the Russia's economy, the Forest Service's utilitarian functions will again override preservation objectives is open to conjecture. Of more immediate concern is the inherent difficulty of expanding national parks beyond their present jurisdictional parameters into non-forested environments. It is a common belief amongst the ministries that "there is no necessity of moving national parks beyond the taiga. The national parks are for saving cultural heritage. The rest can be handled by zapovedniki" (Maxakovsky, op. cit.). The nearly decade-long failure despite strong international support and participation to establish national parks in the tundra exemplifies the shortcomings of the present situation. Best known of these efforts is the Beringian Heritage International Park, incorporating adjacent regions in Alaska's Seward and Siberia's Chukhotka Peninsulas (U.S. National Park Service, Beringian Heritage Reconnaissance Study, 1989; Graham, 1991; Cline, 1994). As with attempts to establish Nenetsky National Park north-east of Moscow (i.e. Krever, op.cit., p.34), the lack of a viable alternate host agency and disputes amongst regional and federal administrations over land-use jurisdiction has prevented achievement of national park status<sup>24</sup>.

Emphasis on the biodiversity conservation aspects of national parks has aggravated this predicament through the pursuit of remote sites which lack constituency mass, momentum or sense of social/ cultural purposefulness essential for securing territory. The quasi-zapovednik model favored by biodiversity proponents presents nature as people-less and set in an interchangeable, unitized, non-specific context. In opposition, the

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<sup>24</sup>The failure of the U.S. National Park/Audubon Society Beringian Project exemplifies the shortcomings of restricting activities to the preferment of expertise and enthusiasm while scrupulously avoiding analysis of or involvement in the political matrix within which a project is set.

deconstruction model put forward by local constituencies views national parks as anthropocentric and always place specific. In an atmosphere increasingly redolent of nature resanctified, biodiversity's hard science Soviet-style secularism further diminishes its authority.

Predictably, the empowerment of local societal structures that was integral to the emergence of Soviet national parks has found further encouragement in the post-Soviet era with the collapse of the single-party federalist political system. As protected areas proliferated (Table 5.2), their evolution increasingly coalesced within the conceptual context of bioregionalism, an action-oriented, self-organizing process closely tied to localized environmental issues and community well-being<sup>25</sup> (Sale, 1985; Parsons, 1985; Slocombe, 1992 and by definition if not word, in a wide range of 'place' literature, i.e. Relph, 1976; Smith, 1985; Entrikin, 1991; Tuan, 1974, 1977, 1992). Differing from classical regional studies in its emphasis on the transitory terrains of social, cultural, and environmental consciousness rather than more durable place elements, bioregionalism is as much a purveyor of ideological choices as a geographical research tool Sale (op. cit., 1985), for example, presents bioregional and industrial-scientific paradigms within four dichotomous categories (Table 5.4).

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<sup>25</sup>Graham Smith in Johnston's Dictionary of Human Geography describes regionalism as "a movement which seeks to politicize the territorial predicaments of its regions with the aim of protecting or furthering its regional interests." (1986, p.400) He further distinguishes within the definition between functional regionalism of the state (e.g. administrative and planning divisions) and regional movements whose feelings of collective identity emanate from the grassroots and its deep-seated mistrust of the interventionist state. This latter ideology has been expressed by such diverse illuminati as Thomas Jefferson, Henry Thoreau, Peter Kropotkin, and Edward Abbey.

**Table 5.4 Bioregional Versus Industrial-Scientific Paradigms**

	<b>Bioregional paradigm</b>	<b>Industrial-Scientific paradigm</b>
<b>Scale</b>	<b>Region Community</b>	<b>State Nation/World</b>
<b>Economy</b>	<b>Conservation Stability Self-sufficiency Co-operation</b>	<b>Exploitation Change/Progress World Economy Competition</b>
<b>Polity</b>	<b>Decentralization Complementarity Diversity</b>	<b>Centralization Hierarchy Uniformity</b>
<b>Society</b>	<b>Symbiosis Evolution Division</b>	<b>Polarization Growth Monoculture</b>

*from Sale, 1985*

Placing modern society within the latter paradigm, Sale proceeds to postulate that these same forces have initiated the world's present environmental crisis by detaching humanity from its immediate surroundings. He then concludes that amelioration can only be achieved by the actions of "whole communities and collectivities, liberated from subservience to the industrial nation-state to adopt a lifestyle characterized by forms and values reflected in the bioregional paradigm" (ibid., p.57). Though a Western environmentalist's 'clarion-call', this vision accurately reflects the basic elements of Russia's deconstruction process, especially in the actualization of 'before and after' scenarios<sup>26</sup>.

That bioregionalism, though criteria bound, is not "a clearly delineated creed, assented to by a cluster of self-conscious adherents, [but] a sense of values, arising out of a community's concern for the quality of its own living space" (McTaggart, 1993, p.307-308) echoes a prominent theme in Russian national park literature. It also places in focus the generally limited commitment binding Russia's populace to the environmental movement. Though on observance Russians as a group seem attuned to 'deep ecology',<sup>27</sup> perspectives, their sense of oneness with nature is more probably derived from attachments to place,<sup>28</sup> than from any grounding in ecological philosophy. Thus the

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<sup>26</sup>As Devall and Sessions note in Deep ecology: Living as if nature matters, (1985, p.263), Sale's analysis lacks one essential element of the bioregional perspective which has been influential in the Russian context-"namely spiritual sense of place."

<sup>27</sup>Deep ecology at its most elemental espouses the principle that humanity is an intrinsic part of nature. For elaboration on the consequences of this idea see nearly any issue of Environmental Ethics, i.e. Tom Colwell. "The Ethic of Being Part of Nature." 9:2 (1987) 99-113.

<sup>28</sup>The tradition of serfdom which confined a majority of the population to their birth sites and continued to be reflected in the internal passports of the Soviet era undoubtedly still affects the Russian psyche as regards to the meaning of place. One can compare this observation with the North American penchant for wanderlust and at least speculate as to the carryover into national park choices.

difficulty encountered, for instance, in identifying national park 'constituencies' beyond the obviousness of the site-specific momentum they induce<sup>29</sup>--an impetus, if so it can be called, based more on conservatism than conservation, a retreat to the local and known. Dorothy's "no place like home"<sup>30</sup>.

This growing penchant for using the national park designation as an "instrument of rural social and economic policy...for maintaining traditional lifestyles" (Eidsvik, 1980, p.13) has been recognized and debated within the upper echelons of the protected areas establishment well before its Russian adaptation. Eidsvik's example (also see Sax, 1982) of Des Cevennes National Park's role within Pompidou's French Countryside Policy exhibits traits familiar to both the Russian national parks movement and the bioregional perspective:

the preservation of nature, which in the future will be mankind's highest priority, must mean preserving a cultivated and inhabited nature. A nature abandoned by the people, even if it is physically cared for, must become an artificial nature and, I would say a dismal one --even from an economic standpoint, it is in my view more profitable to have land inhabited and cultivated by men, even if one is obliged to subsidize these men, than to have vast reserves, inevitably maintained, conserved, and protected by an army of bureaucrats (Pompidou in Eidsvik, 1971).

More reactive and utopian than active or pragmatic, bioregionalism's momentum tends to dissipate with achievement of basic autonomy objectives, remaining frustratingly short of formulating and implementing specific planning strategies. Ironically, in

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<sup>29</sup>Much effort has been spent by foreign NGOs and lending organizations to develop consultative structures to represent the Russian environmental movement--in effect, to build compatible, consistent counterparts through which business then can proceed.

<sup>30</sup>In its rawest form, this attitude is disturbingly similar to the ideological overlap between the German "Naturschutz" (nature conservation) movement of the 1920s-1930s and National Socialism as practised during the Third Reich (see Dominick, 1992, p.70-78).

response to the lack of impetus, constituencies both within and beyond the region's bounds often have reverted to calls for external interventions (i.e. government subsidies, international expertise). These forces in turn have a tendency to re-institute the same centralizing, industrial-scientific models that had just been cast off, leading to yet further misunderstanding, mistrust and impasse. The Baikal region exhibits many of these bioregional personality traits and the interactions that they engender. In doing so, it can be said to be normative within the system. Yet it also is in ways anomalous, reflective of its unique location and the comparatively lengthy evolution of the region's environmental movement.

## CHAPTER 6

### THE BAIKAL REGION

For decades Lake Baikal has been the cause celebre of first the Soviet Union's and then Russia's environmental movements. Though these efforts commonly have been perceived as a reaction to construction of a pulp mill on the lake's south-eastern shore, that vision only hints at the complexity of the stimuli involved and the longevity of the struggle.

Of paramount significance in the course of these events has been the perception of Baikal as an object of veneration. "The Sacred Sea," "Father Baikal," "Holy Lake Baikal," are terms found in common usage. Sanctified, the lake has undergone a further transubstantiation into living form. It is "the blue heart of Siberia, pulsing amidst the green ocean of the taiga" (Yevtushenko in Matthiessen, 1992, p.xii). It is "the common living maternal water from which to drink becomes a sacrament" (Rasputin, 1981, p.190). When Baikal finally ices over in January, it "goes to sleep late in winter" (Sergeyev, 1985, p.82). If a storm suddenly arises, threatening to capsize your boat, the crew bursts into song, "Mother Baikal, take us into your arms" (E. Ovdin, personal communication, August, 1993). If someone is caught emptying their dishwater into the lake, he is scolded with the phrase, "Would you piss in your Mother's eye!"<sup>1</sup> (Anon., personal communication, August, 1991).

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<sup>1</sup>Reverence of lakes as mother earth's eyes is not confined to Baikal, but is widespread in Russia. The belief is most probably a remnant of pre-Christian animism. Prishvin, for instance, witnesses a mother scolding her son with the same admonition and upon inquiring about the saying is told that furthermore, "if a woman's eyes get inflamed everyone in the village will say that her child must have pissed in the water" (Prishvin, 1985, p.263).

Numerous statistical superlatives attest to this sense of reverence. Baikal, at 20-25 million years of age, is by far the world's oldest lake<sup>2</sup>. It is also the deepest (1620 m) and holds more water than all of North America's Great Lakes combined (17% of the world's lake reserves). It is 636 km long and averages 48 km in width, supporting in its depths 2635 species and sub-species of flora and fauna, 70% of which are endemic to the lake (Galazy, 1987). The actions of these lifeforms,<sup>3</sup> in concert with the region's geology and the relative isolation of its extensive watershed, present the world with 23,000 cu. km of water unsurpassed in clarity and purity. Combined with the incongruity of its setting, tucked deep in a cleft of the seemingly endless taiga, this "Pearl of Siberia" (Matthiessen, 1991 p.37) is truly awe-inspiring (Figure 6.1).

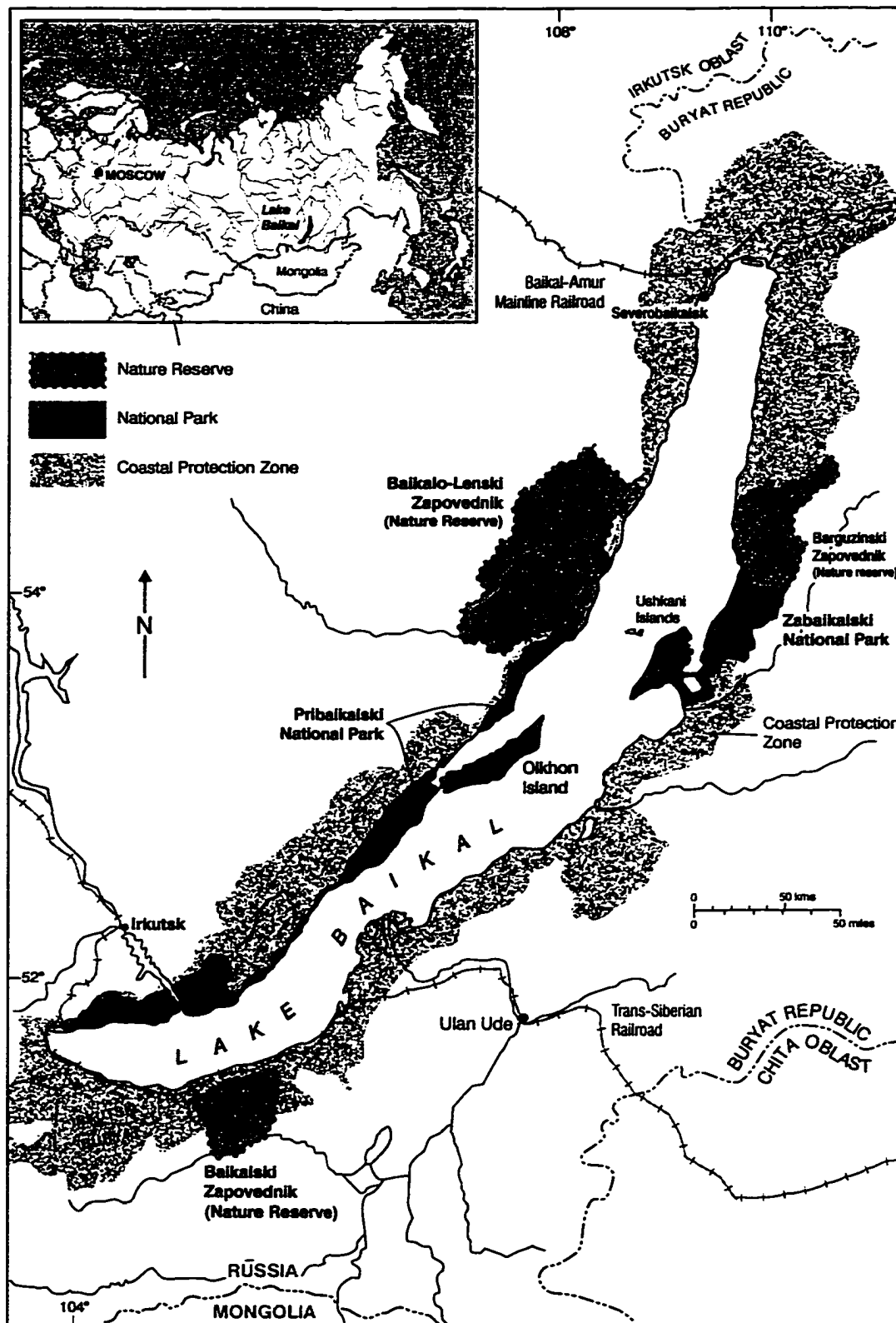
For those living in the region, the lake and its environs have provided a unifying focus, transcending other often intransigent cultural and political incongruities. The nomadic Evenki herding their domesticated reindeer along the northern fringe of Baikal placed the lake high in their pantheistic universe. The Buryats, ranging from their ancestral Mongolian steppelands to the south, settled similar terrains both west and east of the lake, introducing Buddhism to Baikal and Baikal as a pilgrimage site to Buddhism (Forsyth, 1992, p.169-172). To Russians also, the lake early in the assimilation of Siberia acquired religious connotations linked dramatically to the country's history. It was to the wilderness of Baikal's eastern shores in 1662 that the Archpriest Avvakum was banished.

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<sup>2</sup>Africa's Lake Tanganyika, located like Baikal in a rift valley, takes a distant 2nd place at approximately 3 million years old. No other lakes in the world are known to even approach such longevity.

<sup>3</sup>Most well-known in this regard is the minute, endemic arthropod, epishura. Super-abundant in the surface waters (3,000,000 cu/meter), it is estimated to filter the upper 50 meters of the lake three times yearly (Sergeyev, 1985, p.5).

Figure 6.1 The Lake Baikal Region



Source: Adapted from Belt, 1994

To the Old Believers<sup>4</sup> who followed him, this imposed homeland provided sanctuary, a holy retreat from the outside world<sup>5</sup>. The sense of Baikal as both exile and refuge intensified with the arrival of the Decembrists, participants in an abortive 1825 rebellion against the dynastic succession of Nicholas I. Veterans of the recent Napoleonic wars, elite and well educated, the newcomers brought with them first-hand knowledge of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution. Confined to Baikal, the Decembrists endowed the region with a tradition of independence, intellectualism, and Romanticism which has been an enduring topic of narrative, poetry, and song regardless of regime or dominant political philosophy. As integral elements in the shared mythology of nationhood, these historic events reinforced an already fervent place loyalty amongst Baikal's Russian inhabitants, a feeling of being unique, chosen and by inference guardians of the shrine. Neither Soviet ministries nor the influx of post-Soviet international expertise have been able to truly fathom the strength of this perspective. regarding the vehemence with which residents "exaggerate" environmental degradation with selfishness, an unwillingness to compromise and lack of professionalism rather than the cry of sanctity violated.

The controversial pulp mill was only the most obvious assault on the character of the Baikal region. By the late 1950s, only a few thousand marginalized Evenki survived. The much more numerous Buryats had been suppressed through collectivization, religious

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<sup>4</sup>Church members who refused to acknowledge the mid-17th century reforms of the Russian Orthodox Patriarch Nikon became known as Old Believers. They were repeatedly persecuted and banished to distant peripheries of the Empire where they not only continued to persevere but in places proliferated.

<sup>5</sup>The Old Believers were not unique in finding religious refuge in wilderness. North American counterparts include the Pilgrim colonies of New England, the Mormon Utah settlements and B.C.'s Dukhobor communities. To Wallace Stegner, such landscapes, uncontrolled and unconfined, provided an essential element in the "geography of hope" (Stegner in Nash, op.cit., p.262).

persecution, forced assimilation<sup>6</sup> and murder (Forsyth, 1992, p.332-335). The Angara Valley, cultural heartland of Baikal's western Buryats, was being inundated behind the Bratsk Dam<sup>7</sup>. For Russians who had lived 300 years in this same setting, the loss was eloquently mourned in Valentin Rasputin's autobiographical Farewell to Matyora<sup>8</sup>.

Up-river at Irkutsk another electrical generation dam (completed in 1955) had begun to raise the surface level of the lake 1.2 meters, severely disrupting fragile shoreline habitats. The same project also drowned Shamansky Kamen, a rocky midstream pinnacle sacred to the western Buryats which only recently had been reprieved from dynamiting (Sergeyev, 1989, p.53). Of ominous portent were further questions of how steel mills, aluminum refineries and other heavy industry attracted to the newly generated "river of electricity" (ibid., p.51) would or could co-exist with Baikal.

It was into this milieu that the Ministry of Timber and Wood-Working Industries brought its proposal for manufacturing "super pulp" to satisfy the military's need for rayon cord airplane tires. With a plentiful supply of softwoods and the lake providing both transportation and the necessary water purity, the project was rapidly approved. In keeping with Krushchevian dogma, even Baikal had to earn its keep.

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<sup>6</sup>Common to the Canada's native policy of the same period, Buryat children were acculturated to dominant societal standards by removal from their families and compulsory enrolment in boarding schools.

<sup>7</sup>The dam took its name from a 17th century village which once occupied the site. Translated by Intourist in the mid-1980's as "Brotherhood," from the Russian word "brat" for "brother" (personal communication, Irkutsk, 1986), "Bratsk" actually originated as a colloquial form of "Buryat."

<sup>8</sup>A Times Colonist article inadvertently quoting the author is illustrative of the all too frequent inanity of the information which filters out to the west about Russia. Rasputin's evocation of the lake's spirituality, "as if you have come in touch with eternity and perfection, as if you have felt close by the breath of an omniscient presence and have absorbed a minute part of the magic of all existence," is attributed to "the notorious monk at the court of Czar Nicholas II."!! (Burnett, T.C., 2/11/91, B13). A letter to the editor followed suggesting that, among a number of corrections, proper credit for the passage should be given to quite "Another Rasputin" (Tripp, T.C., 13/11/91).

Reaction was swift and, for the Soviet Union, unprecedented. Though already impinged upon by many less obvious transgressions, erection of the Pulp and Paper Combine was an explicit statement that the lake was no longer inviolable. The plant sat directly on the shoreline. Its stacks dominated the horizon with plumes clearly visible in the Irkutsk Oblast on the opposite western shores.

Among many calls for remediative action, the Environmental Protection Commission of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Geographical Society issued reports which recommended preservation of the lake's catchment basin, and especially protection of its forests against logging (*Literaturnaya Gazeta*, 13/4/65, p.2). Articles, letters to the editor and appeals to party and government officials<sup>9</sup> surged with revelations of ministerial subterfuge<sup>10</sup> or changes in regimes and waned during the interims. A decade after the original protests, Andrei Sakharov in his Memoirs illuminated one of these episodic events:

In 1967, I became involved in the effort to save Lake Baikal...an area of surpassing beauty which has become for many a symbol of our nation. For several years, Komsomolskaya Pravda, Literaturnaya Gazeta and other newspapers had been publishing reports on industrial construction along its shores, the felling and rafting of timber and discharge of chemical wastes into its waters ... Our committee assembled extensive documentation on the damage...For good measure, I decided to telephone Brezhnev personally,

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<sup>9</sup>From 1958 through 1965 articles supporting Lake Baikal's preservation appeared in many influential publications, including "*Literaturnaya Gazeta*," "*Komsomolskaya Pravda*," "*Novi Mir*," and "*Oktyabr*." In the latter journal the writer Vladimir Chivilikhin presents two fictional opponents debating the project's merits. Set against its negative environmental consequences, the case in favour of the project becomes totally unconvincing.

<sup>10</sup>The pulp plant's management, for instance, attempted to sidestep one looming plant closure deadline by constructing a pipeline to divert wastewater out of the Baikal basin and into a tributary of the Angara. Public antipathy to this "solution," especially amongst the nearly 1,000,000 residents of the Angarsk region which would have been the recipient of the effluent, forced its abandonment (Vorob'yev, op.cit, 1989, p.41). The general idea, however, was not without merits. A similar export solution was promoted by California's Lake Tahoe Regional Planning Agency in the realization that even tertiary treated wastewaters were not compatible with the extreme sensitivity of the lake to pollution.

who complained of overwork and suggested I talk to Kosygin...I soon learned that a final decision had been made at a meeting of the Council of Ministers, attended by Mstislav Keldysh, President of the Academy of Sciences...Keldysh and the Academy were predisposed to respect the wishes of the machine and to ignore the warnings of whistle-blowers, dismissing their arguments a priori as demagogic, exaggerated, impractical and generally nonsensical...Only a couple of years after these events, a Komsomol expedition brought back photographs showing massive destruction of fish and plankton... But in accordance with standing instructions, no accidental discharges had been logged. As always, everything was fine on paper...Though our efforts to protect Baikal were unsuccessful, I did gain valuable insight into environmental problems, both in general and in the particular context of Soviet society (Sakharov, 1990, p.277-280).

Sakharov's efforts, however, were only representative of a flurry of debate in the mid-1960s, prompted by the Baikalsk Combine finally becoming fully operational and the construction of a smaller pulp plant on the Selenga River. The Nobel Prize winning author Mikhail Sholokov voiced his concerns in 1966 at the 23rd Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, prompting a fact-finding mission to the region. The predominantly pro-development commission reported not that the pulp mill should be shut down, but that the lake could accommodate two more like enterprises that were currently being contemplated (Shelekov, op.cit., p.57).

In that same year, a proposal put forward in Soviet Life for the first time called specifically for "the creation of a national park around Lake Baikal...to preserve for all time the natural beauty of the region and the unexcelled purity of the Lake's waters" (Soviet Life, August, 1966, pp.6-8). The site would "initially encompass 5,000 square miles and later be enlarged to 15,000" (Micklin, 1967, p.495). In December, 1966, a resolution was passed by the USSR Council of Ministers accepting the plan for the park's creation:

However, this action did not appear to signal an end to the controversy since the official statement did not rule out industrial development with the park, but simply stated, "As far as industry is concerned, it will be allowed in the area provided and only provided it does not detract from the beauty, health, or amenities of the area." Indeed, such a statement seems to be an 'out' for the Soviet authorities from a very delicate situation and would seem to be intended to please both sides in the controversy without providing a real solution to the Baykal problem (Micklin, op.cit., p.498; also see Pryde, 1967, op.cit., pp.20-23).

Micklin's premonitions were justified by the (non)events of the next decade.

Although both the Communist Party and Soviet Council of Ministers adopted directives in 1969, 1971, and 1977 to ensure protection and rational use of the Lake Baikal basin, none of the promulgations were substantially implemented (Vorob'yev, 1989, p.33)<sup>11</sup>. No national parks were established. In 1969 one protected area, the Baikalsk Zapovednik, was created in the vicinity of the pulp plant "for the preservation and study of the nature of the southern Baykal Region" (Vorob'yev and Martynov, 1989, p.359). Whether its siting constituted a mitigatory measure or a placatory gesture is open to interpretation. The zapovednik's placement, configuration, and timing of establishment, however, strongly suggests political rather than ecological incentives<sup>12</sup>. Together with the region's only other protected area, the Barguzinski Zapovednik, nature preserves protected less than 1% of the lake's watershed. Barguzinsli has survived the system's earlier vicissitudes because

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<sup>11</sup>A wastewater purification system was belatedly installed at the Baikalsk site and an Institute of Ecological Toxicology, funded by the plant, was established. Not surprisingly, their findings repeatedly upheld the lead ministry's assurances that all was well (Sergeyev, 1989; Sakharov, 1990; personal communication, 1993). Some substantial restrictions were imposed. Logging in the immediate vicinity of the basin was banned and the practice of transporting timber via rivers flowing into the lake which was wreaking havoc on spawning ground and delta ecosystems was also curtailed.

<sup>12</sup>Since its inception there have been increasing calls for adjustment of the reserve's boundaries to increase the effectiveness of its research and conservation functions (Vorob'yev and Marynov, 1989 op.cit., p.361). One major obstacle which in all practicality will remain unresolved is that the main line of the Trans-Siberian Railroad runs along its northern boundary, denying access to or protection for the lake's shoreline.

of its isolation and status as the country's first zapovednik. Diminished in size, it drifted into the 1970s more a product of historical happenstance than a purposeful component of any regional planning strategy. Neither it nor Baikalsk were strategically located to remediate any of the region's major environmental impacts. This propensity for circumambulation--avoiding confrontational problem areas while granting protected area status to less controversial sites--continues to be an overriding determinant of zapovednik and national park placement throughout the Baikal region.

Renewed construction in 1972 of BAM (the Baikal-Amur Mainline railroad) provided yet another crisis with which to re-focus attention on the increasing environmental frailty of the lake and the lack of progress towards its protection. Among the era's many such profligate schemes, none more spectacularly illustrates the riches to rags scenario which typified Brezhnev's reign and its transition to Gorbachevian economic stringency. The project had all the trappings of the Soviet engineering mystique--gargantuism, technical difficulties and the overcoming of natural obstacles--with which to guarantee opposition from environmentally conscious constituencies. Driven by the desire to reap much needed hard currency from the booming international resource market, BAM was envisioned as both a route for rapidly transporting Siberian oil eastward to lucrative Pacific markets and for gaining entre to the bountiful raw materials of the railroad's service area (Mote, 1990). Skirting the northern extremity of Lake Baikal, the project rapidly impacted previously isolated locales and cultures. The Evenki were especially vulnerable to the intrusion, lured away from traditional lifestyles by the sudden boom economy and overwhelmed by renewed logging, forest fires, disruption of reindeer

herding, immigration of "BAMovtsy"<sup>13</sup> and construction through their homelands (Forsyth, 1992, pp.83-84; Fondahl, 1989; 1995; 1996). Severobaikalsk, a Soviet "new city" was dumped on the northwestern shore of the lake and instantly crowded with 20,000 workers and other migrants drawn by the fame of the project and its locale. Three-fourths of the population lacked indoor plumbing, running water or anything but the most primitive and polluting of heat sources (Mote, op.cit. 1983 p.47)<sup>14</sup>. BAM's tendrils also spread southward with supply and resource extraction roads extending through valleys paralleling the lake to connect with established regional population centers. In the scope of its environmental impacts, BAM quickly surpassed and even threatened to dwarf those of the Baikalsk pulp plant.

Once again the cause drew its champions. In 1978 the geographer L.N. Il'ina's report presented recommendations for a wide range of conservation measures, including preservation status for the entire lake and its shoreline forests. Also once again, these efforts were rebuffed by affected government entities, especially the Forest Ministry which strongly disagreed with Il'yina's logging restrictions (Mote, op.cit., 1983, p.45). The plan was tabled until 1986 when, within a year of Gorbachev taking office and with his personal encouragement, Il'yina and a generous complement of staff from the Moscow-based Institute of Geography resumed their study. By this time, BAM had sunk into

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<sup>13</sup>"BAMovtsy" became a pejorative for outsiders, drifters, renegades and general riff-raff which the project was perceived to have spawned.

<sup>14</sup>In 1988 an estimated 18,000 tons of emitted particulates shrouded the city in an acidic haze (ibid.) with atmospheric inversions brought on by buildup of the world's most intense high pressure system further aggravating the situation each winter.

infrastructural, financial and political quagmires<sup>15</sup> that in the new era of "glasnost" projected it from a symbol of Soviet vigour to the archetype of Breznevian stagnation<sup>16</sup> (Mote, op.cit., 1990, p. 321). Though still perceived in terms of natural resource exploitation and thus only secondarily "Green", economic strategies began to rapidly de-emphasize inefficient, costly megaprojects such as BAM in favour of more conservative, financially realistic sustainable development objectives. Protected areas fit well within this newly adopted paradigm, effectively braking the momentum of extraction-oriented ministries and providing a template for the initiation of innovative environmental management practices. The national park model was especially attractive, for in the broad Soviet interpretation, its zoning structure could encompass a wide range of economic and recreational activities while concurrently mitigating environmental concerns. In contrast, zapovedniki, the only "home grown" protected area mechanism empowered to carry out large-scale land-use conservation, continued to be diametrically opposed to just such a multiple-use design.

Thus finally in 1986 the goals of protected area advocates coincided with the social vision and economic pragmatism of a new leader to produce two Baikal national parks-- Pribaikalski in the Irkutsk Oblast and Zabaikalski in the Buryat Autonomous Republic (see Figure 6-1). Simultaneously, the Baikalo-Lenski Zapovednik was established just

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<sup>15</sup>Extended into just those regions of permafrost which the original Trans-Siberian Railroad had cautiously avoided, the BAM line was plagued by differential settling of track ballast aggravated by poorly laid, undersize rails. With the collapse of the command economy, recruitment of the ideological motivated shocktroops upon which such projects depended also disintegrated--as did the will to support the costs for their maintenance and pay subsidies. Finally, the global energy resources boom which BAM had been built to exploit had dissipated by the 1980s.

<sup>16</sup>"BAM after the Fanfare", Mote's 1990 article, reiterates the title of a widely viewed Soviet 1989 documentary on the shortcomings of the rail line and its attendant projects.

north of Pribaikalski extending protection to a segment of comparatively pristine north-western shoreline as well as to Lena River tributaries beyond the lake's catchment basin.

This transition from repetitive confrontation, discussion and equivocation to implementation would not have occurred without Gorbachev and the changes he engendered. Pryde as early as 1966 unintentionally supports this surmise with his premature conclusion that:

Like the first federally protected area in the United States, Yosemite Valley, its [Baikal National Park's] eventual establishment as a park was not the result of a spontaneous, farsighted governmental decision, but rather stemmed from the urgent appeals of concerned individuals and institutions who sensed the imminent destruction of an irreplaceable natural monument (Pryde, op.cit., 1966, p.20).

Benefiting from hindsight, it is obvious that the "urgent appeals" failed then and for two more decades to bring about the establishment of a national park, even in such a high profile site as Lake Baikal. Without a means for overriding the self-serving priorities of entrenched governmental structures, nothing happened, no matter how seemingly righteous or sensible the cause<sup>17</sup>.

This impasse was not uniquely Soviet, but representative of a common and recurrent element in the cyclical nature of national park system evolution. In the 1960s and 1970s, a global surge of environmental awareness facilitated the resuscitation of the Soviet Union's long-thwarted national parks movement. Yet this momentum did not penetrate beyond the peripheral republics. In the Russian heartland it lacked both the

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<sup>17</sup>It is easy to demonize such forces. In reality the narrowly focused production demands of the Soviet economy made it impossible for "local governments and the ministries to see Lake Baikal as anything but an unfair burden. Only to Russians was it a benefit and exactly who are they?" (Grachev, personal communication, Irkutsk, July, 1993).

political strength and mechanisms to translate aspirations into achievements. Khrushchev, despite liberalizing overtures to the west, in the realm of nature philosophy was an ardent supporter of dialectical materialism and Lysenko's biological Lamarkism, both anathemas to what would come to be known as an ecological conscience. His antecedents, though less ideologically rigid, in practice followed suit. The beneficiary of those environmental initiatives that were translated into action was the familiar, narrowly focused zapovednik system rather than the untried, infrastructurally and socio-politically complex national parks model.

Yet in other countries this same momentum, given more favourable conditions, was extremely successful in conservation and preservation efforts, including the establishment of national parks. In North America, beyond the obvious advantage of public familiarity, success was predicated on two strengths: strategically placed government officials with a commitment to the national park system and the means to carry forth their visions and; populist-based legislative accesses for overcoming the inertia of political structures. In Canada, Trudeau and Chretien, the country's incumbent and future Prime Ministers, personally directed the rapid expansion of Canada's moribund national parks system using the prerogatives of state and a sense of missionary zeal to overcome previously unsurmountable jurisdictional disputes and financial barriers (Bella, 1987, p. 169; McNamee, 1993, pp.30-32). In the United States, Presidents from Kennedy through Carter used their prestige, as well as powers of appointment and the weight of the National Monuments Act,<sup>18</sup> to increase the territory and scope of the national parks

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<sup>18</sup>The Antiquities Act of 1906 was passed with the provision that the President could set aside historic landmarks, prehistoric structures, and other objects of historic or scientific interest on public lands by proclaiming them national monuments. Intended primarily to preserve landmarks of cultural significance,

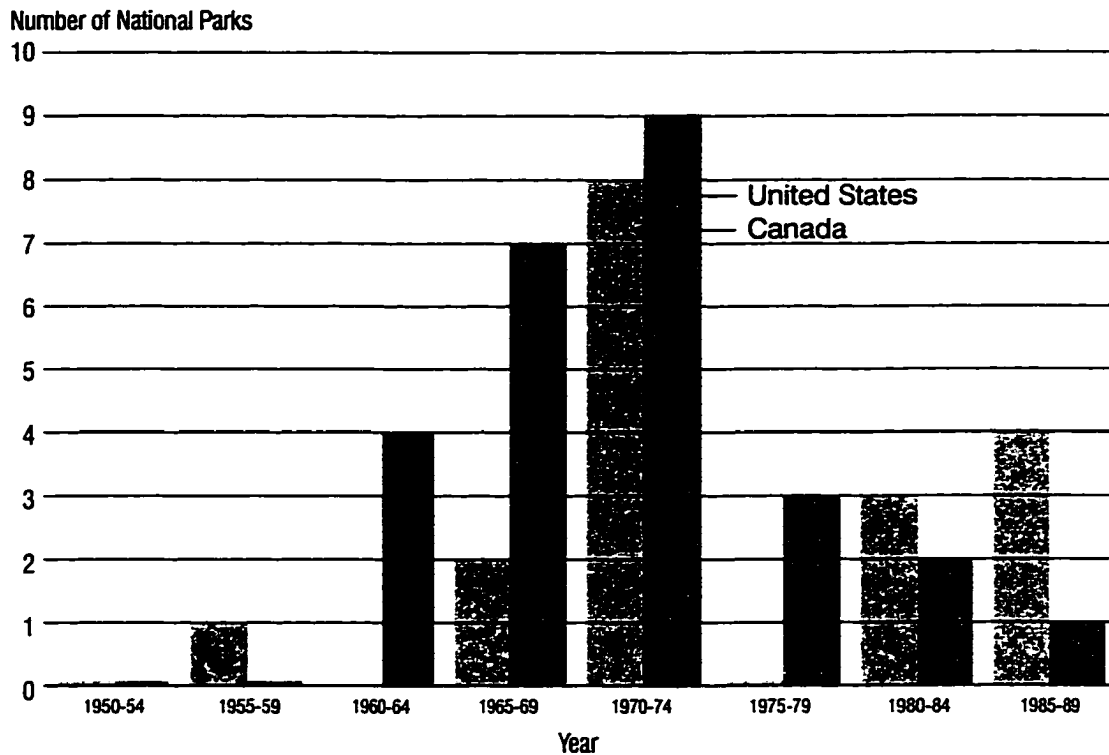
system. During the same period in both countries the maturation of professional environmental organizations, combined in the United States with an increased reliance on initiative and referendum ballot measures, provided effective avenues for promoting citizen-initiated environmental legislation. Canada's first comprehensive national parks policy was adopted in 1964, largely due to advocacy efforts of the fledgling (estab. 1963) National and Provincial Parks Association of Canada. In the United States, organizations such as the National Parks Association, the Audubon Society, the Wilderness Society, the Sierra Club and a multitude of other NGOs, old and new, capitalized on the public's growing ecological awareness to greatly expand membership and with these constituencies press for further development of the national parks system.

These mechanisms operated as well at the regional level. In California, for example, passage of the Coastal Conservation Act, additions to the State Parks system, and measures to protect the nominated but unpurchased Point Reyes National Seashore were all successful populist responses to lack of timely governmental action. Resurgent conservative ideologies eventually brought political retrenchment in both the United States and Canada, but not before the bequeathal of a substantial inheritance of environmental legislation and protected areas, including national parks (Figure 6.2). This flow and ebb of site acquisitions, closely correlated with socio-political climates, has been a common characteristic in the establishment and growth of national park systems.

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the act has repeatedly been invoked to protect natural areas when Congress was unwilling to legislate their existence. Many of these areas later have become national parks (see Albright, 1985, pp.5-6; also Getches, 1982, pp.280-281).

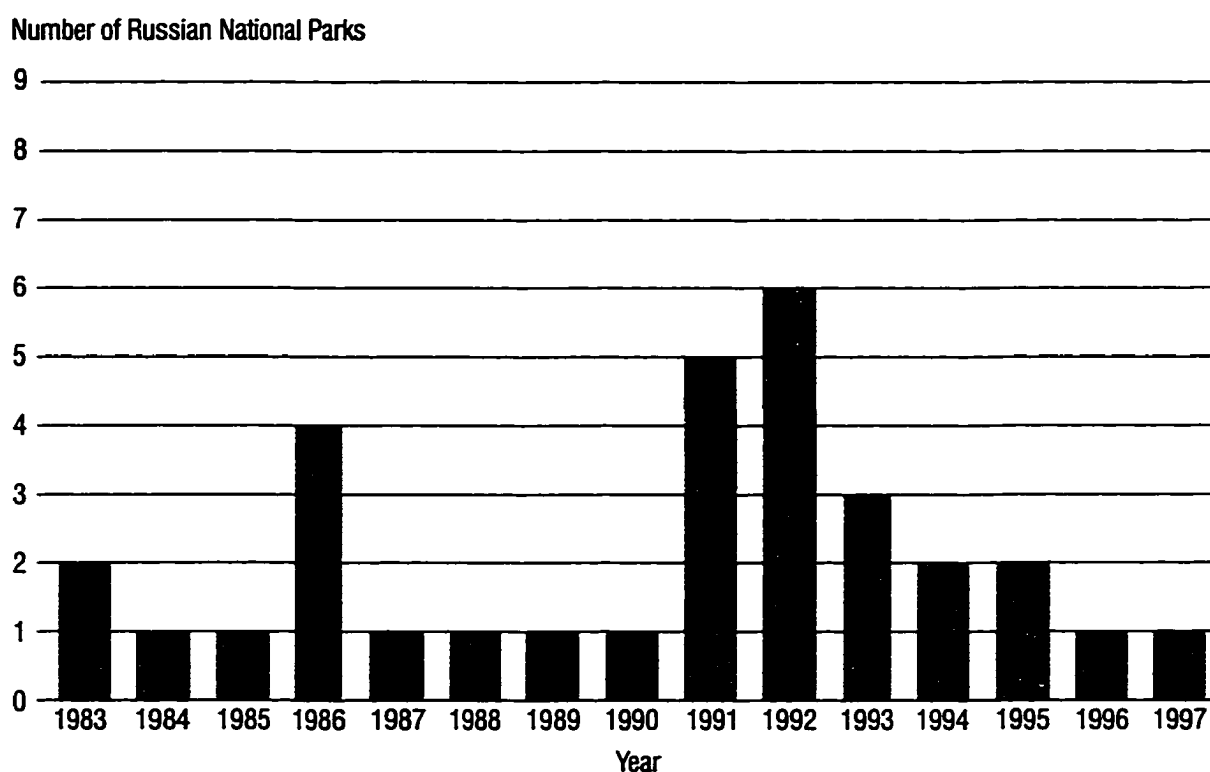
**Figure 6.2 Canadian and U. S. National Parks:  
Rates of Establishment, 1950-1989**



In the person of Gorbachev, Russia for the first time was presented with a like set of circumstances: a leader personally committed to environmental reform, empowered both constitutionally and by infrastructural weaknesses which at least momentarily neutralized opposition to the pursuit of tangible results; the vigorous beginnings of independent, populist-based organizations analogous to western NGOs with access to legislative structures; and administrative decentralization which greatly increased the scope of local decision-making processes. As with many Gorbachev initiatives, once the

national park construct was actively promoted, it became self-promulgating, rising, falling, and peaking once again in synchrony with the rhythm of deconstruction processes rather than the guiding hand of any specific political benefactor (Figure 6.3).

**Figure 6.3 Russian National Parks:  
Rates of Establishment, 1983-1997**



In this sequence of events, the establishment of Lake Baikal's national parks is uniquely representative of the brief Gorbachev ascendancy, a period of counter-deconstruction reformation still strongly imbued with Soviet ideology. The sites can also

be viewed as the first (and perhaps only) successful attempt to move beyond the system's pervasive regionalism and west-of-the-Urals insularity to a closer synchrony with international selection processes and infrastructural standards.

## CHAPTER 7

### PRIBAIKALSKI AND ZABAIKALSKI NATIONAL PARKS

Pribaikalski National Park stretches for over 400 kilometers along a narrow coastal strip of Lake Baikal's western shoreline bounded by the crests of the Primorski Mountains. Olkhon, Baikal's largest island, also lies within the park's jurisdiction, separating and sheltering "Male More" (Small Sea) from the main body of the lake (Figure 7.1). Bordered on the north by the Baikalo-Lenski Zapovednik, the remainder of the park abuts both Hunting and Forest Service lands, as well as a variety of municipal territories.

Zabaikalski National Park presents a more compact construct in a comparatively secluded and less fractious setting. Located on the eastern perimeter of the lake, it includes the southwestern segment of the Barguzin Range, "Svati Nos" (Holy Nose) Peninsula, connected to the mainland by an extensive isthmus, and the off-shore Ushkani Islands (Figure 7.2). Unlike its western counterpart, Zabaikalski also acquired and has retained jurisdiction over both Chivyrkuski and Barguzinski Bays. These waters, along with the Barguzin River, form a moat around much of the park, secluding the site from its surroundings. The Barguzin Zapovednik to the north of the park and a mandated buffer zone on the eastern slopes of the Barguzin Range complete the isolation.

The two national parks also diverge markedly in their socio-cultural contexts (Table 7.1). As could be expected of a site so poorly configured in terms of perimeter to

Figure 7.1 Pribaikalski National Park

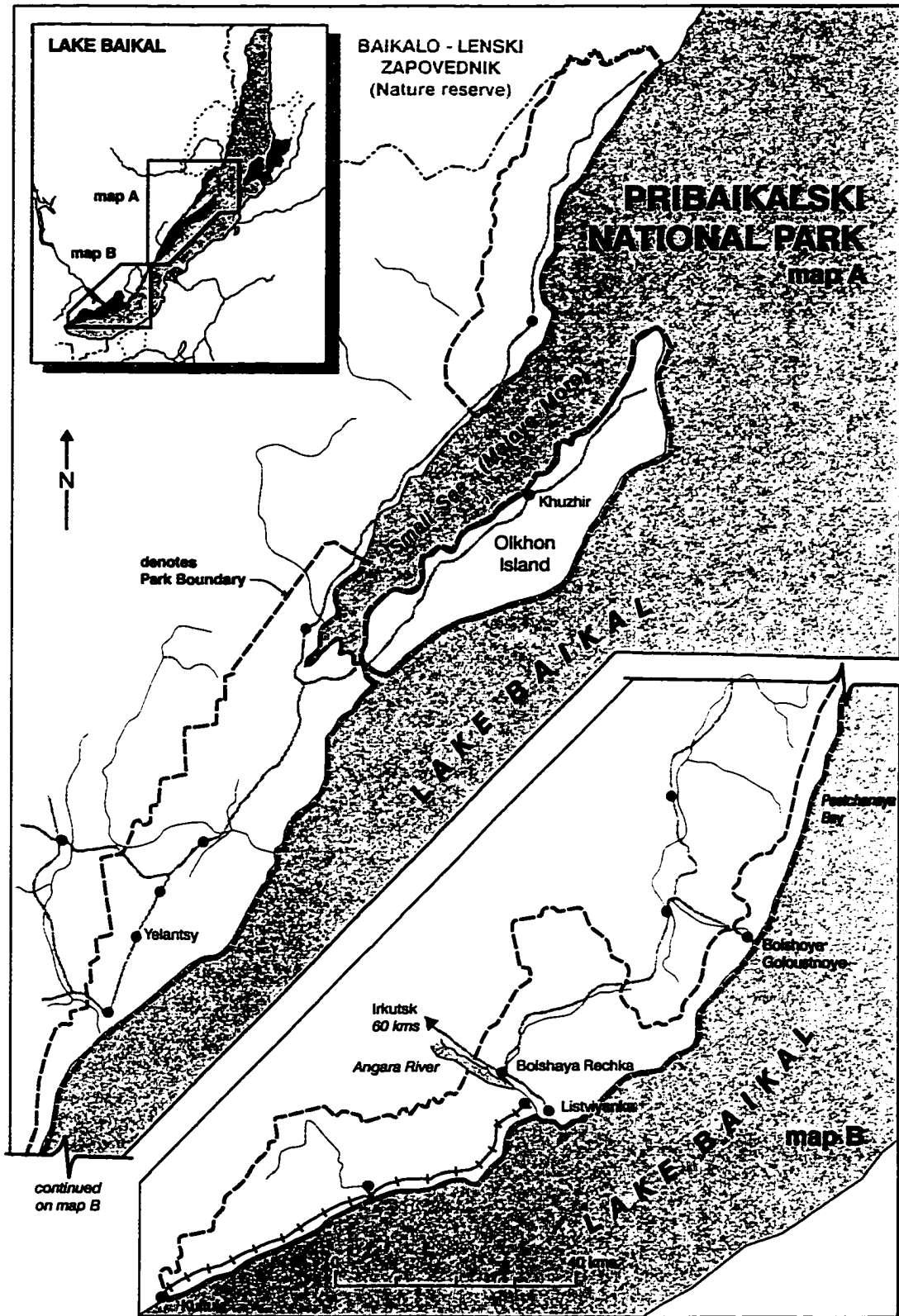
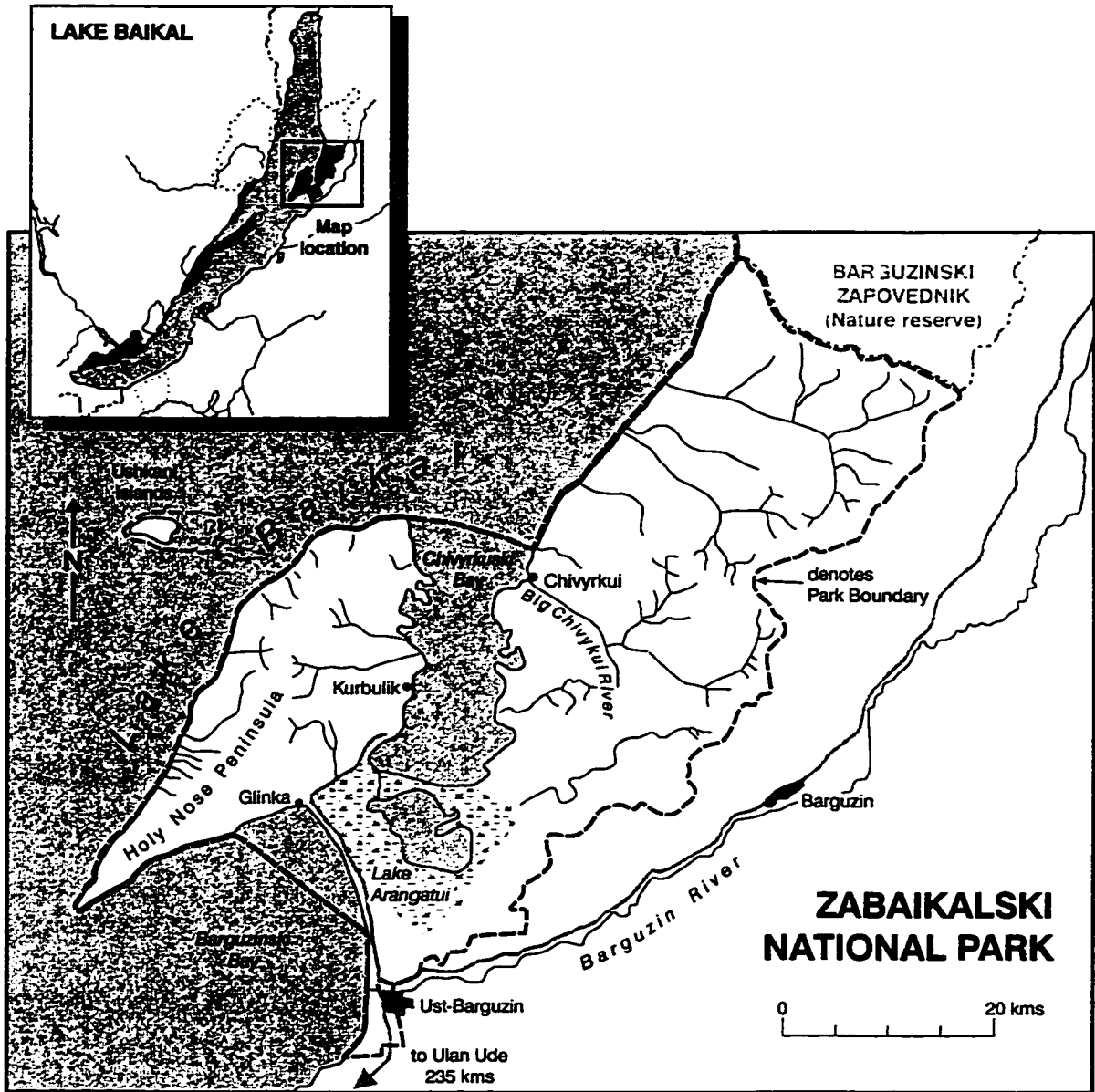


Figure 7.2 Zabaikalski National Park



**Table 7.1 Site Characteristics: Pribaikalski and Zabaikalski National Parks**

	<b>Pribaikalski National Park</b>	<b>Zabaikalski National Park</b>
<b>Size</b>	412,750 hectares	269,300 hectares
<b>Year Established</b>	1986	1986
<b>Configuration</b>	400 km south to north (discontinuous) 3-49 km east to west	80 km south to north also Ushkani Islands 30-40 km east to west
<b>Jurisdiction</b>	Irkutsk Oblast	Buryat Republic
<b>Park Population and Townsites</b>	21,000 Listviyanka (2000) Bolshoye Goloustnoye (800) Khuzhir (3500) Bolshaya Rechka (2000) Yelantsy (4000)	300-500 Kurbulik (350)
<b>Adjacent Lands</b>	Bordered on north by Baikalo-Lenski zapovednik (659,919 ha, est 1986) Multiple administrations west and south	Bordered on north by Barguzinski zapovednik (263,200 ha, est 1916) Barguzin Valley on east — Forestry and farm collectives
<b>Major Urban Centers</b>	Irkutsk (600,000), 60 km west Angarsk (239,000) 100 km west	Ulan Ude (300,000) 235 km south-east

area ratio<sup>1</sup> while situated adjacent to one of Siberia's most urbanized regions, Pribaikalski exhibits high degrees of landscape modification and interactions with adjacent constituencies. Pastoral and agricultural use zones encompass 112,000 ha (27%) of the park. Over 20,000 inhabitants reside permanently within its boundaries, while further enclaves provide seasonal accommodations and recreation for a variety of organizations and an increasing number of private homes. Approximately 1,000,000 more inhabitants live within 60 km of Pribaikalski, radiating out from the oblast capital of Irkutsk.

In contrast, Zabaikalski's year-round population of 300-400 is confined almost exclusively to one small fishing village. The only sizable nearby settlements, Ust [Mouth of the] Barguzin and Barguzin, are geographically removed by water and mountains from the park while the region's capital of Ulan Ude is a six-hour, 235 km ride away.

The parks differ furthermore in their political contexts. Pribaikalski resides within the Irkutsk Oblast and thus is more directly affiliated with central government structures, while Zabaikalski lies within the comparatively autonomous and ethnically defined Buryat Republic. While a Canadian might think in terms of three tiers of government above the immediate community--municipal, provincial, and federal--Russians recognize four--city/county, provincial, republican, and federal. The most common type of province is the oblast (i.e. Irkutsk), parallel in powers to what were referred to prior to 1991 as Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics (i.e. Buryatia). While the ethnic ASSRs have

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<sup>1</sup>A land planning construct derived from biogeography based on the assumption that habitat interactions are most likely along their mutual boundaries. Reducing the length of perimeter per unit area alleviates the potentially negative consequences of this "edge" effect. Circular shapes consequently are deemed preferable, while long, narrow configurations (like Pribaikalski) are least desirable (See Higgs, 1981; Cox and Moore, 1985).

aggrandized political, jurisdictional and territorial prerogatives in the post-Soviet period, the oblasts have remained largely mired in their pre-1991 status, sensitive to, suspicious of, and dissatisfied with the new disparities.

Though differing significantly in site and situation, Pribaikalski and Zabaikalski national parks do, however, exhibit underlying commonalities which have provided a basis for their simultaneous establishment and continue to promote similarity. As their inland boundaries strikingly illustrate, the primary motivation for creating the parks was to preserve Lake Baikal's water quality. Pribaikalski's tortuously elongated catchment-tracing border offers the most striking evidence of this design. The strategy was augmented by bracketing the lake's central and most pristine circulation gyre between pairs of national parks and adjacent zapovedniki (Figure 7.3). This triage methodology, though sidestepping the primary issues of degradation, culpability, and mitigation, accomplished the objective of protecting the best first when the opportunity finally arose<sup>2</sup>.

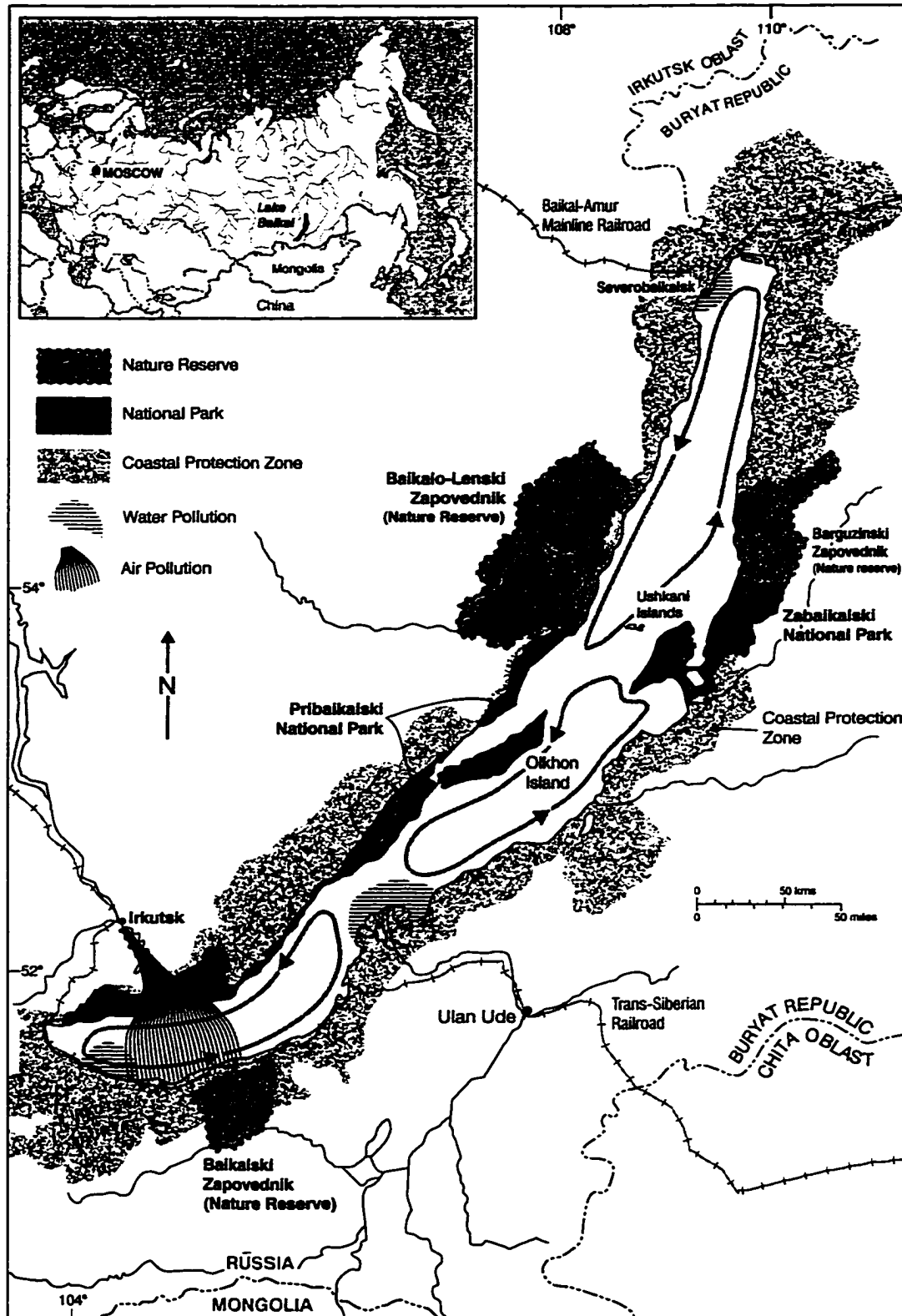
These same waters included Baikal's only major embayments (see Figure 6.1), vital to the lake's ecological well-being and especially to its beleaguered fisheries. Overfishing, damming of the Angara River, pollution of the Selenga, and ill-fated aquaculture projects<sup>3</sup> had greatly diminished stocks. Like the oceans, the vastness of

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<sup>2</sup>The underlying modus operandi of expediency is widely recognized within the region—as reflected in the cynical but accurate statement that "In between the five protected areas are territories with industries and their effects. Thus in one place we protect nature, in others we spoil it" (Naumov, personal communication, July, 1993).

<sup>3</sup>An especially notorious aquaculture scheme in the early 1980s involved attempts to hybridize the lake's major commercial fish species, the omul. The entrance to Lake Arangatui in Chivyrkuski Bay was sealed (see Figure 7.2) and the endangered Selenga and Angara subspecies mingled with that of the Barguzin omul. Besides failing in its primary objective, negative repercussions included loss of other fish species stocks excluded from their spawning grounds and spread of the pernicious pondweed *Elodia Canadensis*.

Figure 7.3 Circulation Gyres and Principle Pollution Sources



Source: Adapted from Belt, 1994

Lake Baikal does not equate with an equal abundance of life nor nurture it throughout.

With offshore depths dropping rapidly to 500-1000 meters, Male More and Chivyrkuski Bay provide essential spawning, nursery and feeding grounds for lake species which lead otherwise pelagic existence in Baikal's expanses. The establishment of the national parks at least in principle protected both of these areas.

The repetitive inclusion of "Baikal" in the national park and zapovednik names further suggests that the sites were viewed as preliminary units in what would eventually comprise a much larger, comprehensive regional conservation zone. True to the macro-scale planning methodologies which persisted even in the Gorbachev era, this plan did exist, envisioning the lake's encirclement by an unbroken phalanx of protected areas<sup>4</sup>. Once in place, these sites would then be "integrated into a single Baykal National Park...a new unified unit, different from the smaller Pri[near]baykalski and Za[across]baykalski national parks...providing a framework for balancing environmental, economic, and recreational interests over the entire Lake Baykal basin" (Vorob'yev and Martynov, 1989, op.cit., p.369)<sup>5</sup>. The mega-park would include,

the water area of Lake Baykal, the coastline, the watershed ranges and adjacent basins, and the Selenga River delta. At the same time zones of construction would be removed from the coast and transferred to the interior of the park, peripheral to the shoreline. The main part of the coast and the small river valleys converging on the lake would be included in the zone of non-intensive recreational activity. Thus, the main part of the area of the park would be under a "nature reserve" use regime, and where

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<sup>4</sup>"We want Lake Baikal to be surrounded by preserved territories, zapovedniki, national parks and other reserves. (Goscompriroda, personal communication, July, 1991).

"We are setting up zapovedniki to bring the cluster together, to plug the interstices, for one huge national park" (V. Neronov, 23/07/93, personal communication, Irkutsk).

<sup>5</sup>In the August, 1991 Goscompriroda meetings, this same theme was reiterated: "We want Lake Baikal to be surrounded by preserved territories. To the present sites, we are currently proposing a Severo-(northern) Baikal national park and a reserve on the Selenga Delta" (N. Zabelina, personal communication, Moscow).

necessary, some of the park would be put under an "absolute reserve" regime. The system of park visitation would combine luxury accommodations and rustic, short-term accommodation in designated areas (ibid.).

This permutation on a well-worn theme distinguished itself in three ways from earlier preservation attempts. First, and most importantly, it allowed the formation process to develop incrementally. In doing so, it was able to move beyond rhetoric to establish three substantial protected area components, enlarging regional coverage by 313% (428,924 ha to 1,314,969 ha) and shoreline jurisdiction by >1000%. Second, though no overarching federal national park legislation yet existed, specific enabling acts were developed which clearly delineated goals, objectives, jurisdictional parameters and responsibilities (Appendix D). Third, a supra-ministerial environmental agency, to be called the Baikal Commission, was developed for the region.

Once established, the national parks shared much in common: their parallel responsibilities, the normal birthing woes of any such site, and a siege mentality brought on by the rapid devolution of the system which produced them. Conversely, the divergent responses to adversity reflected the increasing political and cultural schizophrenia of the region. Many of the problems had familiar international analogies, but all were unique to the Soviet/Russian predicament (Table 7.2)<sup>6</sup>.

A primary goal at the federal level has been to create a National Park Service, unifying and thus strengthening the position of the sites within the political infrastructure.

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<sup>6</sup>This list was originally compiled from field notes for a report submitted to Zabaikalski National Park following Baikal Watch's original 1991 visit. (Belknap, J. Fox, D., Slocombe, D. S. & Tripp. M., October, 1991). It was thereafter used as a research baseline in four successive field seasons.

**Table 7.2 Site Issues: Pribaikalski and Zabaikalski National Parks****Establishment of a National Park Identity**

- Creation of a National Park Service
- Jurisdictional empowerment over all park resources including aquatic habitats
- Integration of Park Master Plan with local social/political/economic realities
- Definition of park character—development versus wilderness
- Clarification, prioritization and consistent enforcement of park policies
- Fee structures, methods of collection and disbursement of funds

**Natural Resource Management**

- Authorization and funding for research and monitoring
- Implementation of protection/restoration programs for sensitive species and fragile ecosystems, including:
  - all islands, with the Ushkani's given special management status in recognition of importance to nerpa conservation
  - shoreline ecosystems
  - marshes
  - river mouths and deltas
  - hotsprings
- Restructuring of marine resource use, including fishing quotas and nerpa culling

**Visitor Management**

- Controlled versus "wild" tourism
- Differentiation between local, regional and foreign use patterns
- Consumptive versus low impact usage
- Summer/winter visitor loads
- Zoning (on/off limits, concentrated/dispersed)
- Concessions, including authority over granting, siting, physical infrastructure and usage
- Information dissemination and education, including signage and displays
- Ranger training and education
- Sewage/garbage disposal
- Firewood collection

### **Community Relations**

- Environmental education (reactive/punitive or proactive)
- Regulation of fishing, hunting, poaching, grazing, and other subsistence activities
- Involvement of local populations in park planning, management and conservation
- Incorporation of local populations into tourism generated economy

### **Regional Integration: Lake, Republic, Global**

- Creation of a governing body with coordinative responsibilities for all of Lake Baikal's national parks and zapovedniki
- Establishment of further protected areas within the Lake Baikal watershed
- Abatement of major point source pollutants impacting the lake
- Designation of Lake Baikal and its environs as a World Heritage Site
- Continuation and expansion of information and personnel exchanges with national parks worldwide

Likening the Russian national parks' dilemma to that of American sites before the Organic Act of 1916 provides somewhat of an analogy--if one can ignore the vastly different circumstances. Though the most 'national' of the Russian national parks, once established, Pribaikalski and Zabaikalski have been as vulnerable as any site to centrifugal forces and the cascading complications of regional governance. Left to local committees, even substantiation of the parks' basic characters became an arduous process. In 1991, Pribaikalski was entangled in what was being referred to as the "ecological or English model question" (Chizhova, personal communication, July, 1994).

And now it is five years later [since PNP's founding], and those who created it are still trying to understand what exactly it is--perhaps it is a preserve or a cultural park or simply a forest cooperative....After a lengthy

ordeal, the Irkutsk Regional Executive Committee has finally ratified a general scheme for park development...yet it only defines strategy (Abramyonok, 1991, pp.1-2).

Two years later, in reply to a World Bank official, Director Abramyonok continued to express frustration with the lack of congruence between his park's real and perceived roles:

(World Bank Official) We have had Pribaikalski National Park presented to us as a model for regional land planning and a means of preserving Lake Baikal. Could you give us your perspective on this matter?

(Abramyonok) Its really a cultural park, a people's park. There are much too many components for Pribaikalski National Park to handle as regional planners or doers (personal communication, July, 1993).

On the other side of the lake, the same self-analysis progressed differently.

Inheriting a nearly uninhabited site with a minimum of ensconced constituencies, Zabaikalski National Park could afford to dwell on the wilderness versus development, ecological versus English model questions. Initially, opinion (and the park's master plan) tended to favor the built landscapes promoted in previous site plans. As envisioned in the Leningrad Institute of Municipal Design's original 1972 conception for a proposed Chivyrkui National Park, the bay's shoreline would be dotted with sanatoria, a gondola would whisk passengers to the top of Svati Nos peninsula and nature would have been relegated to a therapeutic backdrop. Though in 1991, Zabaikalski's master plan had deleted the gondola, it continued to prioritize development. By the following year, however, a combination of local preference, economic reality, and the input of international perspectives had wrought a major transformation.

We came to the conclusion based on your observations to keep Zabaikalski a wilderness park. We adopted the word "wilderness" from your discussion and the concept was accepted [by the regional government].

Previous to your suggestion/explanation, we did not have such a word before as a designation. Our decision to declare a wilderness park received a standing ovation at the Czechoslovakian conference we attended (V. Melnikov & E. Ovdin, personal communication, July, 1992).

As each park's administration groped its way towards resolution of its persona, contingent events continually conspired to thwart efforts at standardizing the Russian national park model or centralizing authority. Passage of the 1991 Law on Specially Protected Areas was nullified by the collapse of the Soviet Union. A second attempt in the fall of 1993 to pass legislation failed with the dissolving of Parliament. In December, 1994, zapovednik and national park directors petitioned President Yeltsin to:

create within the Ministry of Environmental Protection and Natural Resources a Department for Nature Reserves, and create within the Federal Forest Service, a Division of National Parks, giving these units all management functions over the Zapovedniki and National Parks, including planning, financing, construction, labor and wages, preparation and placement of staff (Russian Conservation News, January, 1995, p.4).

On March 14, 1995, a protected areas act (Appendix C) was signed into law affirming federal administration of national park and zapovednik territories, but leaving jurisdictional structures intact and most decision making to branch organs. Government reorganization following Yeltsin's re-election in August, 1996 demoted the Ministry of Environmental Protection to Committee status,<sup>7</sup> stripping it of all authority over natural resources, including the Forest Service within which the national parks reside<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>7</sup>At the federal level, ministries enforce government policies and manage all activities in their defined sphere of influence. A committee can only coordinate the activities of other agencies that affect its area of responsibility.

<sup>8</sup>In truth the Ministry of Environmental Protection and Natural Resources never had the political strength to consolidate its authority. Water, minerals, fisheries, and forestry all retained their own jealously guarded administrative structures, leaving the ministry functional control only over unclaimed and uneconomic jurisdictions--waters of the continental shelf, the atmosphere, and zapovedniki (Belov, 1996, p.4).

Accompanying changes in federal/regional financing mechanisms brought further constraints. Where previously the Federal Forest Service had included national parks within their budget as specific line items, now lump sum payments were forwarded to the regions, allowing them to choose where their monies should be spent--hardly a message portending the advent of a National Parks Service.

Under these conditions of perpetual political flux, with Moscow never truly turning "Green", the fate of national parks, as per the theme of this work, resided once again in the regions. In terms of the well-being of the Lake Baikal sites, an assortment of intertwining socio-political factors have given Zabaikalski some important advantages. Buryatia, within which the park resides, declared itself a Soviet Republic on April 1, 1991, still a major step short of separation from the Union which other republics (i.e. Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia) were at that time declaring, but a very significant shift towards true autonomy. Externally viewed as another aspect of the country's ethnically propelled democratization process (i.e. Belt, 1992), the move was prompted more by fears for the dominant structure than of it. No referendum accompanied the declaration. Instead, in an ethno-socially stratified society, Buryat elites moved to secure the order which had empowered them. Thus "Buryatia even today has closer ties to the older system than the western shore" (Naumov, personal communication, July, 1993). Some evidence for this conviction is quite visible. Exhortations still dominate the skyline rather than billboards. The statues survive. Felix Dzerzhinsky (founder of the dreaded "Cheka" Secret Police) has a new coat of silver paint and the world's largest head of Lenin (with perhaps a hint of an epicanthic tilt to the eyes) dominates the central square. The city still calls itself Ulan

Ude (Red Dawn in Mongolian). And the Soviet infrastructure continues in place, with all its physical decrepitude and suppression of "democratization", but also buffering the region from the full force of Russia's anarchistic "privatization" process. Zabaikalski national park, as an entity within the political system, benefits from the region's conservatism.

Buryatia's idiosyncratic fascination with the national park concept also has favored Zabaikalski. In May, 1986, the then Buryat Autonomous SSR requested that its entire territory be granted national park status. The application was denied. Five years later, upon declaring itself a Republic, Buryatia sent another memorandum to Moscow decreeing Tunkinski Raion a national park (Figure 7.4), thereby creating one of the largest protected areas in Russia and by far its largest national park (1,183,600 ha)<sup>9</sup>. The "absurdity of the proposition, accompanied by a five page report and a sixth page for signatures" (V. Chizhova, personal communication, 1995), was overridden by the "fait accompli" of political reality. Moscow in turmoil could protest, but it could no longer say no<sup>10</sup>. The site offered neither recreational opportunities nor ecological uniqueness, "but was a territory which experienced a particular significance for the Buryat people (Maxakovsky, 1993, personal communication)."<sup>11</sup>

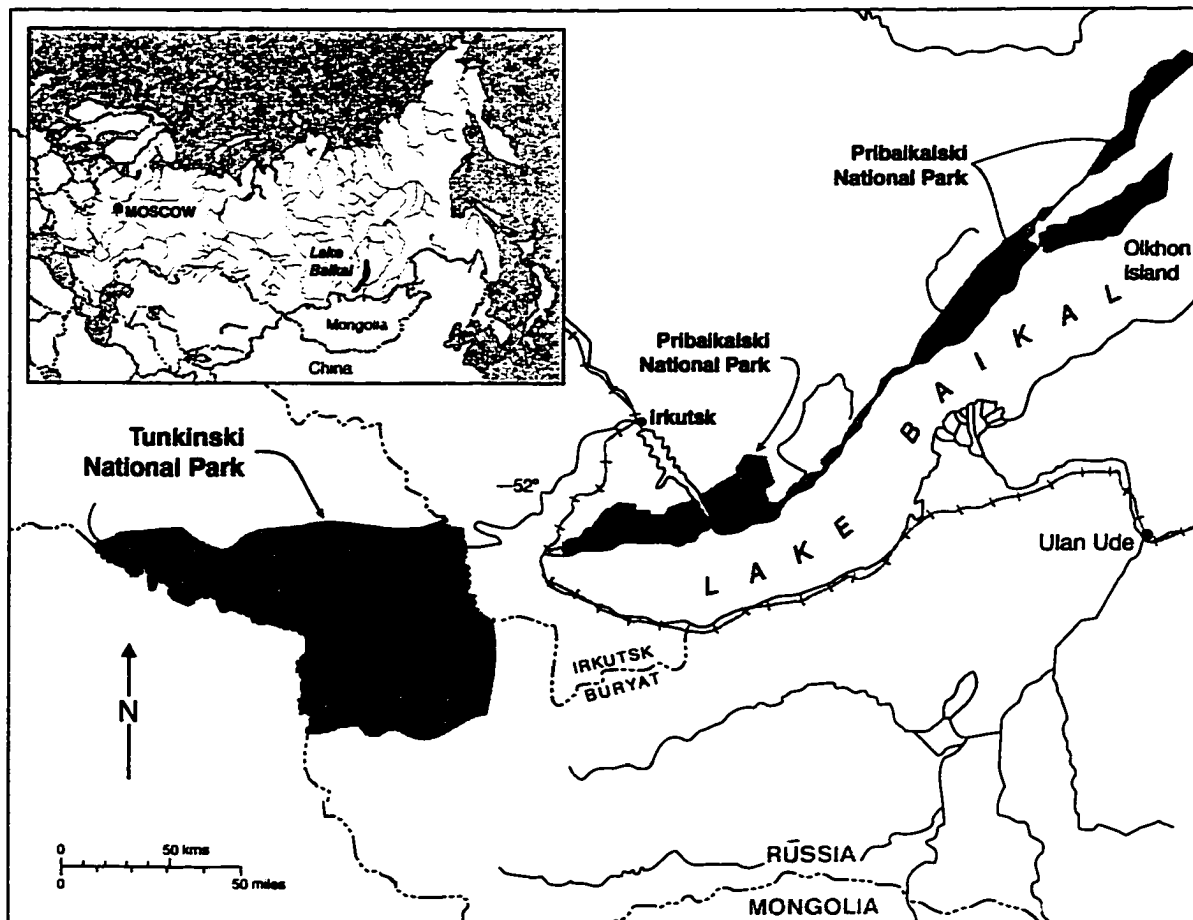
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<sup>9</sup>The other Russian national park mega-site, Yugd Va (1,891,700 ha) is also located in a republic (Komi).

<sup>10</sup>Though the country's political uncertainties definitely contributed to the Buryat cause, their mass, at >500,000 by far the largest of Siberia's indigenous peoples, provided the momentum.

<sup>11</sup>Maxakovsky's full statement further substantiates this work's proposition that Russian national parks are foremost cultural constructs: "Buryats insist on the creation of lands of cultural and historical significance. Tunkinski is not really a national park, but a territory which experiences a particular significance for people who live there."

Figure 7.4 Tunkinski National Park



Source: Adapted from Belt, 1994

Geologically, Tunkinski Raion demarcates a southern extension of the fault-rift zone running from Lake Baikal to the Russian border and beyond to Lake Khubsol in Mongolia. The valley passageway which the fault creates has provided a north-south pastoral herding corridor, a pilgrimage route between the two sacred lakes, and a convenient means of escaping periodic Russian or Chinese assaults on Buryat autonomy (Forsyth, 1992, pp.87-92). These historic attributes once again have come to the forefront, emphasized by a rising sense of Pan-Mongolism<sup>12</sup>. In the current geopolitical context, Tunkinski national park furthermore serves to buffer Buryatia from the adjacent Irkutsk Oblast and secures a territorial linkage with the highly independent Turkic Tuvans to the west<sup>13</sup>.

The resurgence of Buddhism, especially in its animistic, nature-revering Buryat conceptualization, further legitimized the cause of protected areas east of the lake. As in other regions of Russia, environmental and cultural deterioration were viewed synonymously. In Buryatia, this perception had an institutional basis. As Buddhism had suffered, so had the landscape. In the resurrection of one was the resurrection of the other. Interestingly, this vision does not translate directly into any IUCN category much less the tenets of biodiversity conservation. Buddhism's "deep ecology" sees life in all objects, inanimate as well as animate. Thus the importance of a site, including national parks, can

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<sup>12</sup>As with other possible mergers, (i.e. Moldova and Roumania), economic as well as geopolitical practicalities have kept Buryatia from seceding and uniting with Mongolia.

<sup>13</sup>Despite Soviet influence, Tuva was an independent nation, largely consisting of nomadic herders until its annexation in 1944. The usual repressions and collectivization followed. Yet Tuvans in their isolation continued to form one of the country's most homogeneous communities while doubling in population to over 200,000--99% claiming their native language as the mother tongue (Forsythe, op. cit., p.374). Along with the Buryat Aga Okrug in the Chita Oblast, Tuva is the only other national territory in Siberia which can claim an indigenous majority.

be more readily ascertained through an evaluation of its pamyatniki (nature monuments, see Chapter 2) rather than its Red Book species. Judged by these standards, Zabaikalski radiates karma<sup>14</sup>.

Nature reverence, however, does not in itself produce national parks. The success of the concept's ethnic cross-over from an exclusively Slavic base into Buryatia, has relied to a great extent on a few individuals--the proverbial right people in the right place and the right time. In common with the emergence of all national park systems, the initiators were well educated and well ensconced, drawn from, though not necessarily representative of, the Soviet-trained Buryat elite. Introduced to the national park concept through their wide-ranging contacts, they realized its philosophical congruence with Buryat ideals and its strategic use in providing rationale for sovereignty issues<sup>15</sup>. Efforts of the Buryat, Sergei G. Shapkhayev (Director, Centre for Ecological Problems of Baikal, Soviet/Russian Parliamentary Deputy) epitomize the impact one person can have in effecting protected area policy. Shuttling to Moscow brokering agreements, meeting with international NGOs, hosting the IUCN World Heritage Commission, defending the Baikal Commission, he alone has undoubtedly had more to do with Buryatia's "enlightened"

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<sup>14</sup>Zabaikalski's 17 official pamyatniki are divided into four categories: landschaft (the park's major islands); natural/cultural (a relic willow grove, a wild onion gathering site, and marks on Svati Nos that indicate changing lake levels in 1878-1885); geologic (caves, more islands, and two "squeaking sand" beaches); and aquatic (thermal springs). Unofficial "micro" pamyatniki also abound--i.e. sacred rocks of various meanings and uses, a hermit's dwelling, graffiti carved in a tree last century, a panoramic vantage point (E. Ovdin, personal communication, 1991-1994, field observations). Pribaikalski lists "54 pamyatniki, churches included...These are official figures. For a curious and philosophically-minded person, however, any cave, mountain glen, or brook may become the source for deep meditation and inspiration" (Pribaikalski National Park Brochure, 1995.)

<sup>15</sup>Buryats have a reputation throughout Siberia for being 'quick off the mark.' Aggressively self-assured, counting amongst their ancestors, Genghis Khan, their culture has never been one of subservience. Previous to displacement by the Russians, the Buryats occupied the uppermost "yasak" [tribute] gathering niche in the region's ethnic hierarchy.

endorsement of national parks than any other individual. The constancy of his presence (and a very few others) underscores another shared aspect of emerging national park systems--that in their initial phases, establishment is not generated by groundswells from the masses, but by the actions of the few<sup>16</sup>.

Specific to the Russian national park system, the influence of the individual has been further enhanced by policies inherent to the system's decentralized structure. This is especially evident in the tenure of managerial staff. Unlike North American systems where postings are rotated, Baikal's national parks have effectively retained the same directors since their founding now over a decade ago. One cannot overstate the affect that this continuity has had on the character of each site. Once again, Zabaikalski has been favoured, for its founding director, Oleg L. Popov, moved on within a year to become Deputy Minister of Buryatia's Forest Ministry. A brief interim stewardship of Evgeny D. Ovdin was succeeded by the park's present director, Vladimir S. Melnikov, also of the republic's Forest Ministry. Though this lineage could be construed as unamicable to national park directives, the directors' familiarity with the system, and it with them, has worked to the park's advantage. Pribaikalski's director, Pyotor Abramyonok, though a zealous environmentalist/Baikalophile, has found himself

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<sup>16</sup>The importance of Muir, Roosevelt and others in the United States has already been noted. Albright (1985), as second director of the U.S. National Park Service, further acknowledges the power of the individual, citing William Steel's 17-year crusade to establish Crater Lake national park and John D. Rockefeller's stealthy purchase of lands which were to become Grand Teton National Park. The creation of the Service itself was the result of the diligence of two men, Stephen Mather (1st Director) and Robert Sterling Yard (Stankey and Schreyer, 1985 p.249). Beyond North America, the gifting of New Zealand's first national park by the Maori chief, Te Heubeu Tukino is well documented (Pope, 1984, p.232). Within the Russian national park system as well, sites are known by the individuals that have brought them into being (i.e. Vodlozerski's Director, Oleg Cherviakov, see Williams, 1995).

perpetually at odds with Irkutsk's regional administration which view him as an outsider and malcontent--a perception undoubtedly aggravated by his larger than life persona and penchant for attempting (too often unsuccessfully) to circumvent the system. No matter how genuine Pribaikalski's problems, too often its director's actions are perceived foremost as those of a boyar guarding his domain.

Jurisdictional empowerment disputes at the regional level have involved three major categories of stakeholders: government agencies, indigenous ethnic groups, and privatization interests. The most obvious long-standing agency/national park conflict has been with the Ministry of Fisheries, more specifically, with "Rybakkolkhozsoyus", which catches the fish and "VostsibrybNIIproyekt [East Siberian Scientific Fishing Research Institute] which sets seasons, quotas, and limits. These organizations have consistently refused to acknowledge the "Special" designation of the park's waters, despite a directive in Section 1.19 of Zabaikalski's enabling act to:

regulate activities of the fishing enterprises under the Ministry of Fisheries, including quotas, ways, and places (omul, syke, and other fishes).

In the late 1980s, park representatives meeting with the Institute were told they had no expertise on the matter and thus could not set policies (E. Ovdin, personal communication, August, 1991). Illustrative of how conservation measures actually have moved from promulgation to application in post-Soviet Russia (and most probably before as well), "a representative of Baikalrybvod [the Institute's Council on Commercial Fishing] finally came to us [ZNP] and we managed to protect some sturgeon spawning grounds, fishing places and set some time periods" (ibid.).

Essentially, however, Zabaikalski's regulatory role in fisheries has been confined to the onerous and at times dangerous task of enforcement. Unlike Pribaikalski's peak summer visitor season, Zabaikalski's major use is in the winter, when ice fishermen from throughout the Baikal region travel across the frozen lake to congregate on its productive bays<sup>17</sup>. Each angler must acquire a daily license for a nominal fee which permits a 5 kilo "subsistence" catch<sup>18</sup>. The park was allowed to keep 30% of the revenue, "but had to do all of the work" (Melnikov, personal communication, July, 1993). More importantly, it could not regulate the supply of licenses to preserve the viability of stocks as ice fishing is perceived in the region as both a right and necessity.

A second major area of contention between Zabaikalski National Park and the Ministry of Fisheries involves regulation of nerpa, the lake's endemic and world's only species of freshwater seal (*Phoca siberica*). In actuality, the nerpa is everyone's concern. It is Baikal's "Bambi"<sup>19</sup>. Of an estimated 60,000 of these pudgy, big-eyed, and docile creatures, 10% are harvested annually. A further 500-600 are culled yearly in Chivyrkuski Bay, ostensibly to lessen predation on commercial fish. Both the bay and the nerpa's primary hauling out sites on the Ushkani Islands are within park boundaries and thus

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<sup>17</sup>The park's 1993 estimate of 20,000 winter anglers must be taken with some caution, as with all visitor statistics. The numbers, however, do emphasize the contrast with what in the summer seems a tranquil, unsullied setting.

<sup>18</sup>Zabaikalski's 15 June - 1 September fishing season suggests that the subsistence catch extends throughout the year. "Fishing is allowed with rods of all types and brands and no more than ten hooks per fisherman. Allowed daily catch: ide-5, pike-5, burbot-5, perch, roach, yelets--20 kg. Permitted removal from bodies of water of two times the daily norm of each species" (field notes, 1993).

<sup>19</sup>In the parlance of environmental organizations, a "Bambi" species is one with lovable (human) infant-like features. These creatures attract members and sponsors--note the large-eyed, round-faced figures which adorn the mastheads of the World Wildlife Fund (panda) and Baikal Watch (nerpa, of course). Even the Commonwealth Games attempted to neotelize its killer whale logo. For an overview of this phenomenon, see Lutts, 1992).

covered by its directive "to control the shooting of nerpa carried on by the fishing enterprises to regulate the biomass of fish" (Zabaikalski National Park Act, Section 1.9).

A park preference would be to use this mandate to halt the taking of nerpa pending research on species interactions<sup>20</sup> and on causes of recent dieoffs<sup>21</sup>--an enigmatic phenomenon which has decimated pinniped populations globally (Rees, 1997).

Politicization of the nerpa management issue, however, has prevented effectuation of any ameliorative action, thereby preserving the status quo<sup>22</sup>. Zabaikalski's only effective action has been to make the Ushkani Islands zapovedniki, thus minimizing land site disturbances.

Socio-economic structures--old, transitional, and new--also have impeded the resolution of the national park's fisheries management issues. In the Baikal region, as throughout the ex-Soviet Union, industries have been responsible for financing local schools, hospitals, roads, and the other essential infrastructure elements. In a very real way, the entire country was a collection of company towns. Most vulnerable to the recent changes have been single-industry settlements like the Baikal fishing villages, of which

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<sup>20</sup>An earlier "biomass regulation effort" resulting in the extirpation of Chivyrkuski Bay's Giant Cormorant population failed to halt the decline of the fisheries.

<sup>21</sup>"According to a calculation based on incomplete statistics, more than 10% of the population of Baikal seals died in the winter of 1987-1988" (Galazy, 1991, p.51).

<sup>22</sup>Illustrative of "nerpa politics," findings by the Limnological Institute in 1990 attributing seal deaths to industrial pollutants in the food chain caused the Director who released the report, G. Galazy, to be reassigned to the Institute's museum and a new chief administrator, M. Grachev, to be installed to manage research functions.

In 1996, research scientists from the Chemical Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences once again announced that extremely high levels of dioxin had been found in the fat of nerpa specimens from subsequent dieoffs (175 pikograms per kilogram). The Buryat Institute of Biology responded that the deaths "may be a regular springtime phenomenon, a so called nerpa "departure" ...stemming from biological regulation of the population (Russian Conservation News, Summer, 1997, pp.25-26).

Kurbulik in Zabaikalski National Park and Pribaikalski's Khyzhir are prime examples. To threaten the Ministry of Fisheries has been to threaten not just the town's only major employer, but also the town's very existence. Fisheries privatization (1993-1995) has not changed these basic conditions, though it has allowed the enterprises to abrogate their social contract. The national parks now are confronted with either providing infrastructure support<sup>23</sup> or being confronted with the entropy which flows from redundant settlements. This scenario is complicated by the fact that on both sides of the lake commercial fishing crews are predominately Buryat. The antithesis of their elite brethren within the region's societal hierarchy, they are nevertheless--or perhaps because of their plight--an ethnic flashpoint better left unfronted.

Lacking aquatorial jurisdiction, Pribaikalski has not been as directly involved with the fishing industry. Its major agency nemesis has been the Hunting Department of the Ministry of Agriculture. The conflict in actuality was lost by the park at its founding with the non-acquisition of inland Hunting Department lands<sup>24</sup>. This decision allowed for a modicum of water quality protection, but did not provide even minimum habitat needs for large fauna populations. Game animals, such as the Eastern Siberian elk, migrating from the interior valleys in the winter to the milder climate of the lakeshore pass directly through the hunting grounds. Eastern Siberian red deer crowd into the park during the hunting season (September-December), chewing their way through the park's reforestation

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<sup>23</sup>i.e. Pribaikalski supplies Khuzhir's electrical power plant with fuel oil. Zabaikalski provides Kurbulik with 1000 cubic meters of cordwood for winter heating.

<sup>24</sup>Director Abramyonok has continued to prominently feature the Hunting Department territories on the park's master plan map (personal observation, 1991-1995).

efforts. In the "Bermuda Triangle" (P. Naumov, personal communication, August, 1993) south of the Angara River, the brown bear population is hopelessly constricted by the shoreline railroad, the Angara river and encroaching urbanization from the west.

Further impacting resource management strategies are jurisdictional conflicts with resident and ex-resident ethnic groups. Buryats, comprising the major ethnic minority at both sites, also are the main protagonist in most of the disputes. In Pribaikalski National Park, the most contentious locale continues to be Olkhon Island. The island's sparsely forested slopes (as well as large segments of other territory within the park where Buryats have traditionally hunted, fished and grazed their herds) have been zoned as zapovedniki.

This designation excludes resource use, which the park has justified:

because of overgrazing by sheep. The island is severely eroded. We cannot allow it to continue. We must get people to minimize damage, yet they say it interferes with their lifestyle. The Buryats use the island as an "ace card" to get their way, threatening to delete Olkhon from the Irkutsk Oblast and add it to Buryatia or Ust Ordinski (Z. Simkina, personal communication, August, 1992).

Thus a familiar land-use quandary, in its Russian context becomes provocation for once again escalating the deconstruction process. S. Shapkhayev's Principles of Ecological Management in the Baikal Region (1990) provides a Buryat perspective on the inherited instability which decades of Soviet meddling have wrought.

On the basis of an anti-constitutional act of 1937, the Buryat Mongolian Republic was separated into three parts: buffer regions were introduced [between] the regions where the Buryats were in the majority and national areas [okrugs] were formed (Ust-Ordinski in the Irkutsk region and Aginski in the Chita region). This separation affected the nation's development seriously. Assimilation processes and migration were intensified, established economic ties were destroyed ....Sociological and demographic research indicates that without resolute measure aimed at the nation's [re]consolidation, the Buryat nation may gradually disappear as an independent entity (p.57).

Under these circumstances, the retention of Olkhon Island within Pribaikalski National Park has become increasingly problematic<sup>25</sup>.

Zabaikalski National Park has also been the subject of resource-use demands and territorial claims, though not of a like magnitude. Buryats have petitioned to develop the hot springs on the Big Chivyrkui River. Baikal's abundant thermal sites are an important sacred element binding Buryat society to their landscape<sup>26</sup>. In 1990 and 1991, 'totems' equivalent to those found in the Olkhon region appeared on the shoreline of Chivyrkuski Bay. Though passed off as ephemera by park rangers (who nevertheless proffered vodka and money offerings at their base), the objects were actually territory-delineating clan markers (Anonymous, personal communication, July, 1993)<sup>27</sup>. Proliferation of the sentinels in Buryatia to this point has not progressed beyond these original symbolic acts. Their existence, however, does suggest yet another operating bioregional tier. Yet the republic's ethnic polity has actually mitigated rather than exacerbated the impact of indigenous claims against the park. Further self-defining deconstruction beyond the plane of the state has been regarded by authorities as fragmentation antithetical to the well-being of the government, much less pan-Mongol revivalism.

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<sup>25</sup>In stating that "the pride of the park is Olkhon Island" (Tahoe-Baikal Institute, 1994. p.7), Pribaikalski's visitor guide both recognizes this vulnerability and that, bereft of the island, their *raison d'être* would substantially diminish.

<sup>26</sup>The only oft-noted attribute of Tunkinski National Park is its hot springs.

<sup>27</sup>Original speculation on the intention of the markers was corroborated two years later in a conversation with Buryat rangers in the upper reaches of Pribaikalski National Park. "These are sacred posts set up by different clans. Local people do not want outsiders and believe the land should be left to our children." That the conversation could only have taken place in isolation and after repeated contact serves as a reminder that effective fieldwork in the social sciences demands an iterative process.

Buryatia's other indigenous ethnic group, the Evenki, also have claimed rights within Zabaikalski, particularly in the northern, ex-Barguzinski Zapovednik segment of the park. Though demographically insignificant (pop. 2000-3000), the Evenki command socio-political power which belies their numbers. Near obliteration of their unique lifestyle under the Soviet system (Forsyth, 1992, pp. 382-387; Fondahl, 1995a, pp.4-13) has conferred on these people a kind of "Red Book species" status by which preservation of their culture has become a touchstone for assessing the general viability of post-Soviet Siberian First Nations<sup>28</sup>. Passage of Russian federal legislation, most specifically Ukase No. 397 (April 22, 1992) "On urgent measures for defense of places of habitation and economical activities of the numerically small peoples of the North" (Fondahl, 1996, p. 14) has simultaneously enhanced and complicated the Evenki's position. The decree stipulates that state organs establish territories of traditional nature use [territorii traditsionnogo prirodopolzovaniya] or "TTPs," land allotments "transferred without charge to clan communes and families from among the northern First Nations which are connected to traditional activities and trades" (Fondahl, 1995b, p.16). First Nations associations are made jointly responsible with government for delineating TTPs. Issues and problems that have plagued the decree since its inception bear a striking similarity to British Columbia's ongoing native land claims treaty process. Terms crucial to the effectiveness of the legislation (i.e. traditional activities) are open to interpretation; input procedures are ill-defined and difficult to access; resource evaluation is economically

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<sup>28</sup>The Evenki are not alone in this representative function. The Chukchi of north-eastern Siberia serve as well.

rather than culturally based<sup>29</sup>; the decree bestows user and partial (again ill-defined) exclusionary rights without conferring proprietary or disposition rights, land appropriated for present or future industrial development is excluded from TTP claims, and the ukase has yet to become law.

Despite these shortcomings, the legislation's intent does provide a means of obtaining jurisdictional empowerment, should a regional government decide to champion the cause. Baikal's national parks (and zapovedniki) are especially vulnerable given their congruence with the decree's principle criteria--the sites are designated non-industrial lands and encompass comparatively untrammelled territories conducive to the provision of subsistence economies. That the petitioners are requesting the return of ancestral homelands from which they were displaced further validates their claims. The protected areas have increased their vulnerability to the decree by too often derisively opposing those motivated by its intent. Barguzinski Zapovednik's director encapsulated this stance in his retort to Evenki land claims:

Evenki rights to territory? We don't even know if the families who were here still survive. Some have wanted to claim part of the territory, but we quickly were able to show them they had no rights....Also, there are many places where vodka can be obtained easier than here! (personal observation, July, 1993, Davsha, Barguzinski Zapovednik)<sup>30</sup>.

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<sup>29</sup>The preference of native activist leaders for the cultural synthesis approach is underscored by their adoption of the all-encompassing term "territories of life" rather than "territories of traditional nature use." The differentiation marks a crucial perceptual gap over what constitutes community viability. A very pragmatic tension, however, underlies this seemingly sociological impasse. Territories of life are invariably larger (often much larger) than TTPs and as a result are unacceptable to competing stakeholders. The contentiousness of the process has many circumpolar parallels, including British Columbia's own native land claims negotiations.

<sup>30</sup>Though the statement is important to note because of its source, opinion and understanding actually vary widely. For instance, the director's stance later was rationalized as a product of ignorance rather than bigotry. "They are children of their epoch and taught very little of other cultures" (Mikheev, personal communication, July, 1993).

Though TTP's encroachments imperil the integrity of Baikal's national parks, other more immediate threats have taken precedence. Viewed in its proper perspective, the Ukase empowering local indigenous minorities represents only one segment of a vast State divestiture of proprietary interests which began in the late Gorbachev era and accelerated tremendously in 1991-1992. Thus Zabaikalski National Park claimants include members of a long-disbanded collective farm, while Pribaikalski's equivalent enclaves (1/4 of the park) agitate for their own jurisdictional autonomy.

Seasonal accommodation inholdings, both extant at the park's founding and developing since then, present the most immediate threats of jurisdictional fragmentation and negative ecosystem impacts. North of the Angara River, trade union encampments are situated within the fragile false alpine ecosystem of the shoreline strand. Summer visitors throughout Lake Baikal tend to congregate along the shallow, warm water embayments within this zone, trampling the thin groundcover and exposing underlying decomposed granites (Pribaikalski) and loess deposits (Zabaikalski) to Baikal's often fiercely inclement weather. Rapid erosion<sup>31</sup> leaves tamarack and Siberian pines tottering on their exposed root systems and eventually falling. Offering an excellent example of differing perceptions of nature, Baikal Intourist posters highlight one such scene at Peschanaya [sandy] Bay, where a single gnarled remnant (romantic) pine stands watch over ecosystem oblivion (the Lido of Baikal).

Industrial privatization and the region's continuing economic malaise have added a further complication, with previously divergent stakeholders finding mutual benefit in

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<sup>31</sup>The Baikal region is famed for its ferocious winds. Abundant seasonal rainfall and annual temperature ranges of 70-80 degrees centigrade also contribute to the erosional process.

supporting inholdings. Cut-adrift ministry settlements and decaying Soviet group tourist camps have welcomed joint ventures that might prolong their existence. In this regard, Bolshoe Goloustnoe constitutes Pribaikalski's bete noire. Here a redundant timber cutting township has petitioned with the regional Irkutsk ElectroPower Company to electrify the town and develop it as a major tourism centre. Thwarting the project, which is also backed by prominent Irkutsk Oblast politicians, has been a consuming priority of park management which sees in the specific combination of prospective stakeholders a "thin edge of the wedge" deadly to its jurisdictional integrity<sup>32</sup>.

Similar disputes in Zabaikalski have been confined to the park's small outlier south of the Barguzin River (see Figure 7.2). Directly abutting the expanding township of Ust Barguzin, the area became a constant source of transgressions. By 1992, the decision was made to "relinquish the land...except for 8 ha which we are keeping for a visitor centre, campsites, and park personnel facilities. So far as zoning and planning is concerned, we are making corrections" (Melnikov, personal communication, July, 1992). More alarming to the park by far because it breached the geographic moat which had so successfully protected Zabaikalski from major intrusions was the granting in 1991 of a lease to build a hotel complex at Glinka (see Figure 7.2). This Buryat/ Belgian joint venture represented the most visible component of a republic-wide concession bestowed by Buryatia on Baikal

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<sup>32</sup>The actual site, environmentally ravaged and festooned with industrial blight, leaves one to ponder the actual objectives of the proposition. One surmise is that though no self-respecting tourist would ever choose to vacation on the premises (quite possibly the ugliest stretch of Baikal's entire shoreline), a few well chosen dacha residences overlooking the lake would do nicely for the Irkutsk elite. The predisposition of central organs and international institutions to judge projects formulaically rather than in their social context has added to the proposition's validity. Even Goscompiroda was inclined towards approval (Abramyonok, personal communication, 1991), seeing in the venture a win-win scenario for community and environment. The World Bank and like organizations actually are attracted by the desolation, seeing in the site an excellent opportunity to apply their "pilot project principle" through a large infusion of capital investment.

Intour, a regional resurrection of the once all-powerful Soviet Intourist organization. The drama played out over the next three years gave stark evidence that Intourist reborn bore a striking resemblance to its insufferably parochial predecessor and that even the most basic socio/cultural aspects of site planning too often go unexamined and unheeded. Glinka is sited at a juncture of geographic features--Holy Nose Peak, the isthmus connecting the peninsula to the mainland and Barguzinski Bay. In Chinese geomancy, this nexus would be seen to provide the locale with excellent feng shui (wind/water spirituality). Not surprisingly, at Glinka this same combination of attributes also confers sanctity. A sheltering cove, offering fishermen an important landing and refuge, adds pragmatic, yet still interrelated importance to the site. Here the concessionaires erected without park or local constituency consultation a private foreign tourist compound "in the style of Buryat architecture" (Philippe Leonard, personal communication, July, 1991). The fiery denouement came after one year of business. On New Years night, 1993-1994, a conflagration swept the complex<sup>33</sup>. The Belgian investors quit the project in disgust, leaving the ruins of what continues to be (through 1997) the largest new tourist infrastructure investment in Buryatia's Lake Baikal region. The World Bank sponsored regional tourism plan devotes one line to this incident<sup>34</sup> (Environmental Resource Management, 1995, p. D.14). Zabaikalski's reaction to the intrusion at Glinka has been to

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<sup>33</sup>Fear of the match was repeatedly given by park personnel as a reason for not excluding local people from the national parks. Structures become especially vulnerable in the winter when water sources for combating fires are frozen. Bryant (1997, p.14) confirms that "as a weapon of the weak, arson enjoys worldwide favour."

<sup>34</sup>"A high quality hotel on the Svytoy Nos Peninsula, built by a joint Belgian and Russian venture, was destroyed by fire soon after its completion."

reduce the number of available development sites from 10 to 3-4<sup>35</sup> in accordance with its proclaimed "wilderness" status and to arrange contracts with known local entities for the remaining concessions--thus at least temporarily affirming control over that segment of its territorial jurisdiction.

Notwithstanding this enigmatically "successful" defense of local prerogatives, the cautionary tale of Glinka can also be recognised as illustrative of fundamental failure arising from the inability of the involved parties to resolve a basic tension-generating perceptual disparity. Viewed from the perspective of people rather than domain, Baikal's national park users can be divided into distinct groups based on geographic origin--local, domestic, and foreign--each with its privileges, constraints and impacts. To the parks, however, all clientele have come to be defined foremost in relationship to preset internal territorial strictures which by their stipulations physically and conceptually alienate large segments of their constituency. The crux of the problem can be found in Russia's embracement of the quasi-zapovednik national park model. The design's exclusivity severely constrains use, transforming many activities increasingly regarded as appropriate by visitors into trespass. The bases for conflict are readily observable in the stated objectives of the park's functional use zones. Zabaikalski is divided into six such zones, each with its own management regime:

Zapovednik zone--to preserve the ecosystems that are undamaged or only slightly so. Only activities allowed in these areas to protect from fire,

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<sup>35</sup>Glinka remains vacant. The second site, a derelict fisheries complex at the mouth of the Chivyrkui River is also undeveloped. A hostel bordering Lake Arangatui has been built and a floating fishing lodge established on Chivyrkuski Bay (for locations, see Figure 7.2). In 1995, the fisheries enterprise sold its Chivyrkui holdings to a private firm. In turn, Zabaikalski's director ordered the new owners to remove the equipment and buildings from the site on the premise that, as stated in Section E.5 of the 1995 Statute (see Appendix C) the purchase did not include the land, which belonged to the park (Melnikov, personal communication, 1995).

vermin, illness and to make it possible for fauna to reproduce (106,900 ha or 40% of the entire park);

Aquatic zapovednik--to protect individual sections of Lake Baikal in its natural state....All recreation and economic activity is prohibited (3,700 ha or 1% of the entire park);

Zakaznik areas for waterfowl--to preserve at the zapovednik level historical natural landscapes and species diversity of waterfowl....In addition to the protection of waterfowl and the annual culling of the muskrat population, other than berry gathering, fishing for sport or hobby, no other recreational activity is allowed....Haying is allowed to meet the needs of the park, but only at those times when birds are not nesting and only in selected areas (14,200 ha or 5% of the entire park);

Regulated recreation and economic activity (aquatic)--to protect aquatic ecosystems and to insure optimal conditions for organized tourist excursions on waterways. Use of passenger vessels to show people the natural and artistic beauty, various biogeoclimatic zones, including Holy Nose Peninsula, the Barguzin Range, the island in Chivyrkuski Bay, as well as quaint harbors, promontories...for the encouragement of environmental awareness and education. This zone also seeks to preserve reproduction capacities of the most valuable fish species and cull other types of fish as well as nerpa (42,100 ha or 16% of the entire park);

Regulated recreation and economic activity (terrestrial) --to preserve the integrity of biogeoclimatic zones and to provide infrastructure for full-fledged organized tourism and recreation. This can be achieved by providing guided trails and by leading tourists along those trails that have particularly beautiful scenery and are aesthetically interesting because of the variety of ecosystems, including typical and unique communities and natural and archaeological pamyatniki. The goal is to provide environmental education and encourage their protection...as a heritage for the Soviet people.... Domestic organized tourism in this zone will be carried out by instructors from the Buryat Oblast on tourism and excursions....Gathering of mushrooms, berries and nuts is allowed, as is regulation of some populations of animals (93,400 ha or 35% of the entire park);

Recreation areas--to provide active day rests. Also to insure interesting recreation options for those staying several days through Intourist. Activity is not to be concentrated in one area. There are ten specific sites for tourist purposes that border the water areas. Hobby fishing and fishing for sport allowed with the permission of the park....The gathering of berries,

mushrooms and herbs is allowed (8,800 ha or 3% of the entire park). Zabikalski National Park Act, 1986, III. 17.0-17.6)<sup>36</sup>.

Certain facts become evident upon examination of this structure. First, that true to the quasi-zapovednik model, the public is excluded from nearly 1/2 of the park. Siting Baikal's national parks adjacent to zapovedniki has intensified the effect, for the configuration's sizable buffer zones are inevitably off-limits. While the public understands and at least in principle<sup>37</sup> accepts the zapovednik's need for territorial inviolability, the term as an internal national park zoning mechanism does not convey nearly the same degree of respect. Second, that where access is allowed, it is meant to be strictly controlled in place, content and purpose--basically a "hands off" educational panoramic promenade, the antithesis of the typically sought Russian backwoods intimacy<sup>38</sup>. Third, that to succeed in the first two objectives, substantial on-site and regional infrastructural support is essential. Under present conditions, these precepts have become contentious and unrealistic, emphasized by the lack of even a modest level of mandate-designated, user-legitimizing facilities and services.

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<sup>36</sup>Pribaikalski has a like zoning structure with further inclusions to account for resident occupations and activities: zapovednik; zapovednik protecting certain vegetation; zakazniki; regulated recreational use; intensive recreational use; traditional forms of activity; agropark. Pre-park, Irkutsk government sponsored "quiet areas" which can be visited with a guide, ranger, or instructor and where no noise, camping or campfires are allowed also have been retained. At least some of these latter units appear to correlate with Buryat sacred sites and thus may be attempts to provide an extraordinary level of landscape protection.

<sup>37</sup>As many zapovedniki continue to house employees, their families and livestock on site, at times in sizable villages, it is difficult to fully defend the concept that trespass is forbidden because anthropogenic impacts must be minimized.

<sup>38</sup>The Russian penchant for experiencing the fullness of nature--insects, dirt, heat, sweat, toil and all--is far removed from the Romanticist's virtue promoting "Saint Terre" saunter, so incongruously adapted and promoted by Soviet/Russian recreation planners.

The park personnel's emotional response to their lack of preparedness and inability to severely limit visitation until all is in order has been to label users which do not fit within the controlling guidelines "dikiya touristy" [wild tourists]. In some instances, as along Pribaikalski's popular Angara to Kultuk "Krugobaikal" railroad corridor, 90% of park visitors are designated as "wild" (Z. Simkina, personal communication, 1992). At Zabaikalski, almost any backcountry hiker is considered "wild," for the park's master plan has always emphasized peripherally located activities<sup>39</sup>. The "wild tourist" appellation exhibits many other subtleties of perception and application. Local residents are largely exempt from being so labelled. Fishing and gathering rights written into the zoning codes and further broadened to include other limited a priori privileges have alleviated some of the tension so often reported between newly formed national parks and their neighbors.

Defined as residents rather than visitors, local inhabitants furthermore are not charged entrance fees. Though a worthwhile concept in principle, this differential treatment is viewed negatively by other user groups who view the sites as equally theirs. At Zabaikalski, "anyone from the raion (region) only has to show a passport to get in free" (V. Melnikov, personal communication, August, 1993). However, "city-Buryats" who have come 285 kilometers from Ulan Ude to visit the park must not only pay, but are made subtly to understand that they are less than welcome outsiders. Pribaikalski's efforts to both control and benefit financially from its vastly larger and more complex "wild tourist" constituencies have been even more counterproductive. The ill-conceived attempt

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<sup>39</sup>The lack of detailed maps for visitors is explained more by the parks' belief that such information will promote "wild tourism" than by any financial or production shortcomings. The same philosophy suppresses information on flora and fauna locations, "for the poachers will just go in and help themselves" (Anon., field notes, July, 1994; also Losiny Ostrov, July, 1995).

of the park's director to levy entrance fees on travellers using the main road from Irkutsk to Listvianka presents a worst-case scenario of this as yet unresolved controversy.

Provisions within the Specially Protected Natural Territories Statute of 1995 and the 1996 Forest Ministry Act which stipulate that funds from fines are to be a source of revenue and that allow the "bearing and use of firearms, handcuffs, and other police tools" (Stepanitsky, 1995, p.6) could further distance the parks from their constituencies--"wild" or otherwise. These long-sought powers, core "clarification, prioritization and consistent enforcement" elements noted in Table 7.2, are being placed in the hands of forestry rangers inherited by the parks along with the jurisdictional transfer of territory<sup>40</sup>.

Amongst these individuals, a significant perceptual gap continues to exist between previously excluding intruders and presently welcoming them<sup>41</sup>. Aware of the potential for conflict well before the passage of the legislation, park management has initiated retraining programs for selected individuals while concurrently restructuring its personnel composition<sup>42</sup>. Zabaikalski's director in 1992 divided his rangers into two groups, "one for inspection and enforcement, one responsible for visitors, cleaning up sites and putting out forest fires. We have tried to pick the most competent, reliable, and honest for the first

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<sup>40</sup>"Being in the Forest Service, they inherit their personnel. When a park is declared, they just take off the 'leskhoz' sign and put up a sign for the national park" (Chizhova, personal communication, March, 1995).

<sup>41</sup>"Jaegers [rangers] come with a built-in attitude. They are mountain men" (Anon. from field notes, July, 1994). The Forest Ministry's inability and/or unwillingness to provide national park personnel with distinguishable uniforms has been one of a variety of details that has thwarted the transition from reactive to proactive visitor management.

<sup>42</sup>In 1992, Pribaikalski's staff of 250 was divided into 150 rangers located in 11 ranger districts, 35 administrators, 20 engineers and 45 service (office and shop) personnel. No park maintenance or education/naturalist positions existed, nor were such classifications available. Zabaikalski exhibited much the same skewed composition. As part of this work's 1992 field season, two days were spent with park management personnel examining U.S. National Park job position descriptions and discussing possibilities for Russian application.

group. We know it is all a subjective process<sup>43</sup>" (V. Melnikov, personal communication, July, 1997).

International visitors have contributed to the complexities of the "wild tourist," insider-outsider dilemma. In a park system founded on the assertion of local and regional territorial prerogatives, foreign ecotourism (unconventional trips for conventional people), ironically, exhibits a better fit with park recreation mandates and zoning directives than any of Russia's domestic user groups. The clientele is more than willing to be guided. In fact, they insist upon it. They want the maximum number of experiences in the minimum amount of time, thus neither lingering nor wandering off the path. They have been thoroughly schooled in "green camping." They also are able (theoretically) to furnish the parks with hitherto unavailable infrastructure development funds through payment of entrance fees and other services. Thus ecotourists are wooed, cosseted, and deferentially treated (personal observations, 1991-1996). Reaction to this usurpation of recreational opportunities and thus territorial space has been to this point subdued only because so few ecotourists have arrived and those who have come for the large part have done so by invitation. A grasp of the underlying hostility which does exist to such encroachments (and outsiders in general) can best be glimpsed in the narratives of 'unsponsored foreigners' that have visited sites while 'sponsored guests' (i.e. FRNPS tour participants) were being simultaneously feted nearby:

We chugged into port at Ust Barguzin....hard-eyed Russian sailors cast dark stares down upon us as we passed....we had been trying to buy meat, eggs, milk and other staples in every town we had visited for the past week, with no success....hours passed as we tramped the muddy streets from one

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<sup>43</sup>That the bifurcation was seen as a demotion to unmanly duties and resisted by the latter group should come as no surprise.

bureaucrat's office to the next, collecting signatures on our grocery list....arguing with a sharp-tongued woman behind the counter [over] a metal bowl of stiff and desiccated fish....I wondered how many tourists would be willing to fly halfway around the globe to share the experience (Belt, 1992, p.31; also Struzik, 1991, p.69-72).

Amidst all of these forces, Pribaikalski and Zabaikalski National Parks have survived, as have Baikal's other protected areas. Regional autonomy, the core cultural/natural values of the protected areas, and the disparate desires of stakeholders have kept any single constituency from gaining preeminence. This socio-political stasis has allowed the parks the flexibility to grope their way towards solutions specific to the needs of their individual locales. Yet despite the resiliency of the process, countervailing, externally driven centripetal paradigms have actively promoted quite another vision of Baikal's future.

## **CHAPTER 8**

### **EXTERNAL INPUTS**

The nearly instantaneous transformation of the Russian state from a closed/enclosed society to its present permeability is nowhere more evident than in the presence and actions of internationally based stakeholders which have appeared and rapidly proliferated since their Gorbachev/Yeltsin era enfranchisements. Amongst external entities engaged in protected areas activities, most prominent have been international agencies, both governmental and private, the programs they have promoted, and NGOs (non-governmental organizations).

In May, 1990, five members of a UNESCO World Heritage inspection team visited Baikal, spending three of five days in the field and "by ample discussions with eminent Soviet scientists and administrators engaged in the investigation and protection of the lake and its drainage basin (Boyle, Goldman, Kelleher, Tilzor, and Von Droste, 1990, p.2). A followup report listed specific recommendations for achieving World Heritage status, including that:

The area to be proposed...should comprise all the catchment of Lake Baikal.

The proposed Baikal World Heritage Area (WHA) should consist of a Core Zone and Buffer Zone.

- The Core Zone objective should be to maintain the pristine qualities of the natural resources and features within.
- The Buffer Zone should have the general objective of maintaining the integrity of the proposed Baikal WHA. The Buffer Zone should be divided into a number of sub-zones...each with specific objectives according to the specific qualities and uses of the sub-zone.

The administrative framework for establishing and successfully managing the proposed Baikal WHA should provide the following functions:

- Legislation to formally establish the Lake Baikal WHA and its administration....enacted by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR;
- Planning, including the development of zoning and management plans;
- Management for implementation of zoning and management plans....It is suggested that the coordinating body for planning and management be the Baikal Commission.... served by an expert, multidisciplinary secretariat.... The primary function of the Baikal Commission will be coordination with existing authorities continuing to carry out their current responsibilities;
- Research and environmental monitoring, including the involvement of the international research community;
- Community involvement in planning and management with specific provision for community education on the attributes and objectives of the Baikal WHA;
- Funding and the provision of human and other resources.

The proposed Baikal WHA has a number of serious problems which should be addressed in the management plans. They include degradation due to overgrazing, overfishing, at least local eutrophication...and pollution from industry, particularly from the chemical industry (Ibid., p.3-5).

This set of standard prescriptive guidelines provided a template which has served to integrate, validate, and dominate the region's ensuing land-use planning efforts.

By summer, 1991, three separate versions of a Baikal Law incorporating major provisions of the WHA proposal were in circulation. The official federal rendition had been produced in coordination with the Siberian Division of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. A second draft, more representative of regional autonomy interests, had been put forth by the Council of Ministries of the Buryat Republic and the Irkutsk Oblast

Executive Committee. Yet another more specifically "Green" variant was the product of the Irkutsk-based NGO, Baikal Fund, and the Limnological Institute under the guidance of its then Director, Grigory Galazy. The divisions neatly reproduced the basic contestations for supremacy between center and periphery and between economic and environmental loyalties.

On June 12, 1993, Act #653 set in place a federal Baikal Law, fulfilling the WHA's requisite for establishment of authority at the highest government level<sup>1</sup>. Management responsibilities within the legislation were to be entrusted to a 30 person Baikal Commission comprised of representatives of all government entities operating in the Baikal "at no less than Deputy Minister status" (Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources, personal communication, August, 1993). Reaction to the committee's composition in the Baikal region was predictably less than optimistic and once again reflective of ongoing struggles between centrifugal/centripetal socio-political forces.

We do not know how the Baikal Law will work....We insist that you work directly with the territories and not through the Commission structure (Irkutsk Regional Committee for Environment and Natural Resources to World Bank Mission representatives, personal communication, August, 1993).

Its a crazy idea....I am a member of the Commission. It will die out. A few meetings, a few cars, but only if you feed it cash (Limnological Institute Director to World Bank Mission representatives, personal communication, August, 1993).

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<sup>1</sup>Insistence on federal control was a common theme amongst "first wave" international environmental organizations coming through the Baikal region in 1990-1991--i.e. "The republic cannot sign up under UNESCO for World Heritage status. It is waiting for the Russian Republic to nominate it at the Federal, USSR level. Unfortunately the Buryats are not being very helpful with this with their recent self-declaration of republic status" (David Brower, Earth Island Institute Director to Goscompriroda administrators, personal communication, July, 1991).

Today a Baikal Commission is being instituted....If you follow that path, there are no possibilities for implementation....Go through our national park and zapovednik organization. It will be less costly and more effective (Pribaikalski National Park Director to World Bank Mission representatives, personal communication, August, 1993).

The Baikal Commission that was created in Moscow is ineffective and needs to be reconstructed to include local and regional representatives....local people better understand the essence of the problems and potential solutions (G. Galazy, 1993, p.39).

Zabaikalski's ever-pragmatic director only noted that the decision-making structure did not reach down to his level, making it even more difficult to control the granting of national park concessions (V. Melnikov, personal communication, August, 1993).

Two differing though not necessarily incompatible interpretations of the Baikal Law's intentions lay beneath this discourse. One perspective saw the legislation first and foremost as a means of establishing and/or re-invigorating administrative structures. The other viewed the act as a blueprint, if not a Magna Charta, for immediate, regionally controlled environmental action (Galazy, Kazannik, and Shepkhaev, 1991) and was extremely wary/weary of any complex, oversight mechanisms<sup>2</sup>. In November, 1994, Russian Prime Minister Chernomyrdin signed a decree establishing a 15 member Baikal Commission. Participants, despite halving of the originally recommended size, included substantial regional representation.

This action, however, brought to fore a long-simmering dispute between the Irkutsk Oblast and Buryatia over the Commission's empowerment as a supra-regional agency. The controversy was essentially the same one that had plagued all earlier

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<sup>2</sup>Apprehension was not merely a product of the deconstruction process. Federal decrees in 1969, 1971, 1977, and 1987 had each set forth to resolve Baikal's environmental deterioration. None had been effectively implemented.

attempts at over-riding administrative/jurisdictional boundaries. By the 1990s, however, the composition and configuration of stakeholders had changed considerably. In response to the WHA report<sup>3</sup>, the U.S. based Davis Associates became a major new participant in the region. In partnership with the Russian Academy of Sciences and various NGOs, this organization was delegated the task of producing Baikal's land use-plan. Incorporating paradigmatic zoning methodologies as per WHA's formulae, The Lake Baikal Region in the Twenty-First Century: A Model of Sustainable Development or Continued Degradation?, begun in 1991 and completed in 1993, divided the watershed:

into 25 different kinds of zones, ranging from farmland to industrial parks. Each zone has been assigned "preferred" and "conditional" uses; the latter require permits. Anything unspecified is forbidden. More than 52 million acres, including the lake itself, have been set aside as national parks, scientific reserves, landscapes, scenic rivers, greenbelts and landmarks (Gibbs, 1994, pp.14-15).

In the highly politicized atmosphere within which the project operated, the "Davis Plan" became synonymous with Buryatia's aspirations. Original momentum to site the Baikal Commission headquarters in Irkutsk<sup>4</sup> had shifted to Ulan Ude, in part because of pragmatic geographic realities-->80% of Baikal's non-Mongolian watershed resides within Buryatia--and because the work found a higher degree of acceptance and sponsorship on

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<sup>3</sup>"UNESCO acknowledged the lake's unique character and recommended its designation as a World Heritage Area [and that] without direct action to significantly reduce pollution the lake would soon be inappropriate for World Heritage status....This report, recommendations and map are meant to answer that need" Davis Associates et al, 1993, p.27).

<sup>4</sup>Administrative hierarchies tend to flow from Moscow directly to Irkutsk rather than to Ulan Ude, drawn by Irkutsk's larger population, its industrial base, and its "Russianness." These connections as well as the city's ease of airline access from Moscow continued to channel international participants to Baikal's western shores. The Davis group's ability to break away from this pattern was at least in part due to its primary source of funding--a large MacArthur Foundation Grant rather than inter-governmental monies.

the lake's eastern shores<sup>5</sup>. Contributing to Irkutsk's antipathy to the plan was that all of its portion of the watershed except for the upper reaches of the urbanized Angarsk River corridor had been zoned as core protected areas. These same territories also encompassed the lake's most notorious point source polluters, including the Baikalsk Pulp Plant, leaving Irkutsk with major responsibility for fulfilling environmental upgrading targets.

The Davis plan's national park recommendations included four additional units: Barguzin Range (1), north of the Barguzinski Zapovednik to just south of the Upper Angara River; Kotokel (2), south from Zabaikalski National Park inland and along the coastal zone as well to nearly the Selenga Delta; Khamar Daban (3), encompassing territories south of the Baikalsk Zapovednik to the Tunkinski Raion (which interestingly is not designated a national park by the Davis Plan); and Chikoiski (4), far to the east in the Chita Oblast (Figure 8.1). An expansion of Pribaikalski was also recommended as per the park's originally proposed boundaries<sup>6</sup>. Olkhon Island, however, along with the entire Tunkinski National Park were to be reclassified as Natural Anthropological Reserves (IUCN Category VII). Settlements within the newly designated territories would be

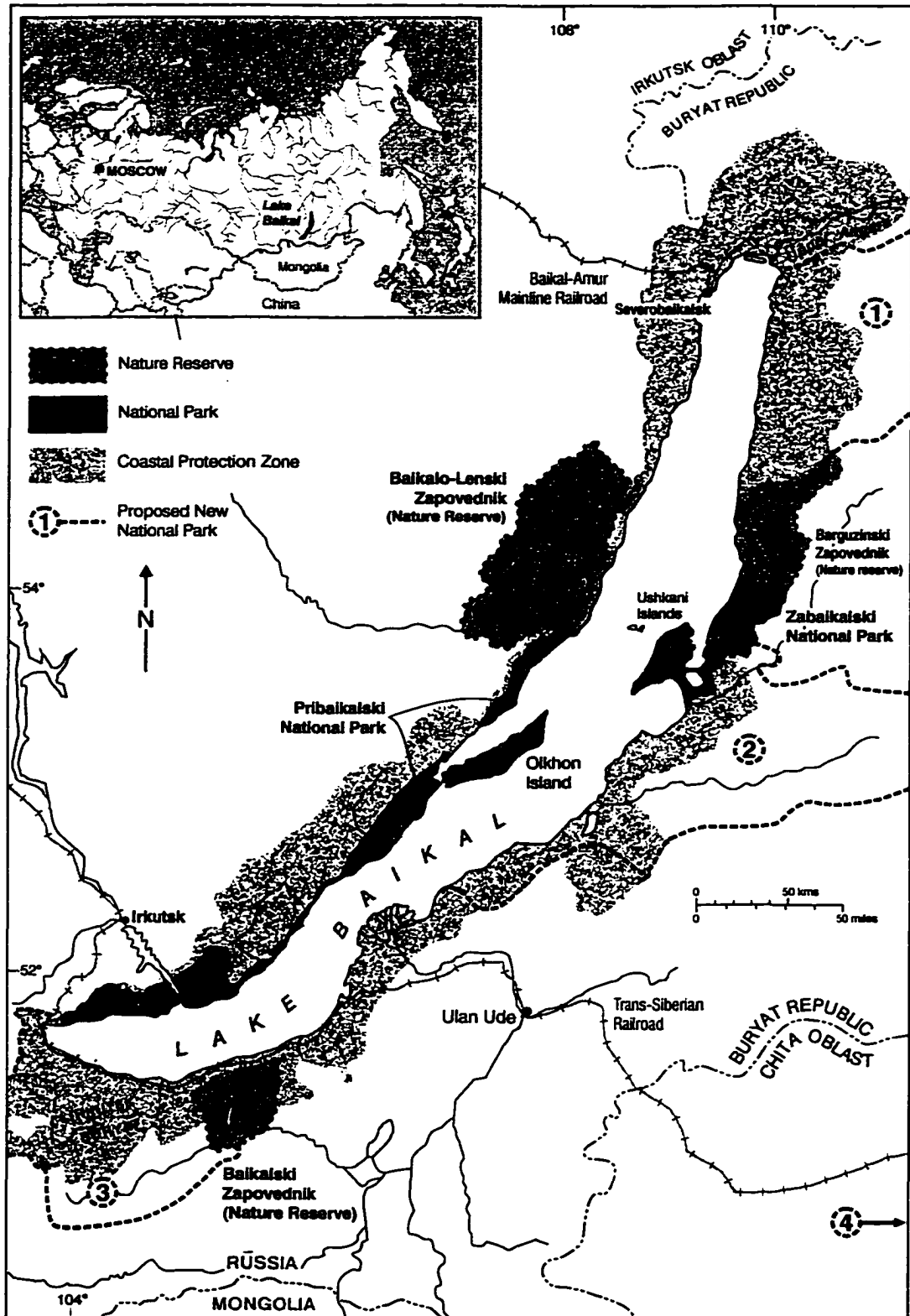
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<sup>5</sup>As project coordinator, Sergei Shepkhaev was once again a "prime mover." With establishment of the Baikal Commission, he became its director. Other "key players" included: Against-- the local environmental writer Valentin Rasputin (Irkutsk) who demanded that Russians rather than Americans resolve the "quintessentially Siberian problem;" the Limnological Institute's Director, Mikhail Grachev (Irkutsk) proponent of an alternative, more economically driven plan; and Victor Danilov-Danilian, (Moscow) Russia's Minister of Environment and Natural Resources whose attempts to "stack" the Baikal Commission had been thwarted.

For--Alexei Yablokov (Moscow), Yeltsin's chief advisor on the environment, a non-ministerial "free agent"; Vyacheslav Mantatov, (Irkutsk) Director of the Russian NGO, Baikal Fund; and Vladimir Saganov, (Ulan Ude) Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Buryat Republic (Davis, 1993, pp.35-37, also see previous quotes, this chapter).

<sup>6</sup>The additional national parks, and in fact many aspects of the Davis recommendations, borrowed heavily from earlier Soviet plans for the region (see, for instance, Vorob'yev and Martynov, 1989).

Figure 8.1 Proposed Davis Plan National Parks



Source: Adapted from Belt, 1994

exempted from preferred and conditional use restrictions by local sub-zoning permits (Davis Associates et al, 1993, pp.65-66).

Despite Shepkhaev's assurances that "we have encountered no organized opposition" (Gibbs, 1994, p. 14; Shestakov, 1995, p. 24), these and other use designations have been resisted, even in Buryatia. The document's insensitivity to the region's complex socio-political context is its principal flaw. Its zoning structure is, in fact, very reminiscent of the widely disparaged broad-swath, acultural, resource-based McHargian planning projects of the 1970s. This methodological bias is recognized by Davis himself (1993, p.37), who justifies its use:

because policies were needed quickly to keep pace with the changes in the economic system and land tenure and because of limited financial resources....To accomplish this feat in a credible manner meant that 1) little new research could be undertaken and 2) allocations would reflect regional rather than site-specific data (Davis, 1993, pp.38-39).

Dissenting opinions even within Davis Associates own team expressed serious reservation about this line of reasoning:

Even though it is obvious, I must point out that the McHarg models of overlay mylar sheets is quite inadequate for the region under analysis. Such modelling has limited use on a small scale, like a town in New England, but very limited validity on the enormous geographical scale suggested here.

I also urge caution in the approach of a typical land use planner. Usually the approach is physical, especially if McHarg ideas are used. The result is that the human beings and culture are essentially ignored, and the plans and maps are useless....By the way, what REALLY is the point of rushing out a map for the World Heritage designation? and of what usefulness is the designation to the Siberian people as a whole? (Richardson, 1991, p.13)

The policy test of physical and biological feasibility assumes accurate data are available to make the necessary assessment possible....I do not have sufficient confidence in the information available to personally endorse any resulting land-use allocation map.... American-style land use planning,

which is based upon a stable and constitutionally based economic and legal system, is simply inappropriate in Siberia.... We have a grave ethical responsibility to be as careful as possible to only recommend those policy revisions we are confident will work (Reidel, 1991, pp. 2-4)<sup>7</sup>.

Whatever the shortcomings, the existence of the Davis Plan, along with establishment of the Baikal Commission, did fulfil two crucial WHA designation prerequisites, allowing World Heritage nominations to proceed and listing of the site on December 7, 1996. The Baikal Pulp and Paper plant continued to churn out its effluent<sup>8</sup>. There were no new national parks. Reflective, however, of the earlier mentioned industrial-scientific paradigm (see chapter 5), legitimizing centralized structures, hierarchies and uniformity had been established, at least on paper. The successful nomination process was led by one of many recently formed international NGO affiliates, Greenpeace of Russia, under contract with the Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources.

NGOs can be classified into three main groups: community-based (grass-roots) organizations (CBOs) which serve specific constituencies in limited geographical areas; national organizations which operate in individual countries and; international NGOs, typically headquartered in developed countries and carrying out operations reaching

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<sup>7</sup>Both Richardson and Reidel resigned from the project, which has since its inception has consisted of George Davis and a varying (dis)array of "Associates."

<sup>8</sup>"In putting Lake Baikal on the List, the UNESCO High Committee urged authorities to...take action against the polluting effects of the Baikalsk Pulp and Paper Mill" (Ford, 1997, p.9)—thus adding yet another footnote to almost forty years of such admonitions. Since UNESCO's original WHA visit, the Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources had proposed international bidding on the plant's remodelling, but the competition had never taken place. The Irkutsk oblast had considered 8 remodelling variants of which the eighth had obtained federal approval in August, 1994. Attendant bidding for this project also had not proceeded. In 1995, another UN delegation, UNEDO (United Nations Economic Development Organization) concluded that the plant's effect on the lake was minimal and recommended that it be modernized and stay in production (Burstein and Dyatlovskaya, I., 1995, pp.4-8).

beyond their national boundaries. All three types have taken active roles in the promotion of Baikal's protected areas while becoming increasingly integrated into financially motivated empowerment relationships once again reflective of the corporate infrastructure model--a modus vivendi and point of convergence of two major stakeholders--regional ministries and international funding agencies. Throughout the 1970s and into the 1980s, collaborations between these latter organizations and NGOs mostly involved top-tier linkages. During the past decade, in attempts to add breadth and depth to the participation process, mid and lower tiers have become favored<sup>9</sup>. In 1994, for instance, World Bank affiliated NGO funding involved CBOs in 40% of the projects, national organizations in 70% and internationals in only 10% (Malena, 1995, p.14). Such figures, however, are misleading, for to sustain prominence international NGOs have spawned their own mid-tier national affiliates. Thus the appearance of a Russian Greenpeace. These in-country counterparts, though staffed at least in part by Russians, are in reality "branch organs" of parent organizations. Contracted to design projects, deliver services or conduct research, they in turn filter funding for sub-components to regional and local organizations, including CBOs, many of which have been formed in response to higher-tier demands for grassroots participation (Meyer, 1993, p.199).

Systemic biases within this structure have significantly impacted regional protected areas movements. Most importantly in terms of the diffusion and skewing of momentum, participation in this hierarchical structure has tended to de-radicalize NGO

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<sup>9</sup>The shift was neither altruistic nor an epiphany, but instead a response to a sustained campaign by upper tier environmental organizations against the ecological destruction associated with World Bank mega-projects.

activities. Greenpeace Russia again comes to mind. The political palatability of biodiversity research also can be seen as predicated on its ability to peripheralize the socio-political dimensions of nature movements, dissipating energies into such non-centrifugal channels as the establishment of zapovedniki, ethnobotany research or environmental education. Least liable to interfere with the state, environmental education is the most often funded CBO activity (Price, 1994, p.50). In terms of gender politics, it also should be noted that this latter task continues to be a women's domicile.

To give another more generalized example, 'proactive' economic sustainability projects are much more apt to be funded than local environmental movements which are equated with indigenous rights/territorial autonomy. These latter functions are viewed as out-of-bounds "internal state affairs," counter-constructive and even more significantly, untouchable by donors<sup>10</sup>. Price (1994) presents these realities from a more centrist perspective, including purported structural advantages.

The sustainable-development paradigm recognizes pressing economic needs without imposing impossible standards of altruistic preservation. It also broadens the scale of discussion: instead of dealing chiefly with local issues, sustainability advocates have entered into national development dialogues. In the process, the role of NGO's has shifted from community-based, second generation groups to third-generation national organizations that advocate significant reforms (p.49).

To survive in this new milieu, project-based local community NGOs, normally with very limited domestic capital, become sensitized to incorporating at the very least

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<sup>10</sup>A surprisingly little understood aspect of the international funding procedures is that even organizations like the World Bank must solicit their monies from governments and private donors. Attracting environmental funds is not nearly as successful as acquiring resource development monies, nor has attaching mandatory GEF (Global Environmental Fund) requirements to World Bank loan packages assured "greening" of the process.

appropriate, non-confrontational terminology. As NGOs multiply, coordinating institutions arise to provide efficient legitimizing linkages which, reflecting the paradigmatic parameters of their funding sources, further subordinate local self-determination. Packaging themselves accordingly, it is not unusual to find a second and even third tier NGO claiming interest in sustainable economics, nature protection, energy conservation, environmental education, ecotourism, appropriate technology, sanitation, public advocacy, women and development, and the rights of indigenous peoples (ibid. p.53, also personal observations, 1991-1997).

International NGOs are equally affected, with similar results. Even the most selfless, volunteer-run organization comes to the realization that a certain level of income is necessary to maintain functions, and that acquiring financial support is the most time-consuming of chores. For small-scale, project oriented NGOs a further stimulus to accepting hierarchical supervision on this and other tasks is that funding sources almost invariably demand tax exempt status of grantees. Acquiring and retaining this designation is a laborious task that can be can be obviated through "umbrella organization" sponsorship.

As well as de-radicalizing NGO movements, the tiered funding process and its heavy reliance on direct and indirect government monies tends to favor existent institutions that have little sympathy for sharing decision-making powers with local constituencies advocating "radical" environmental agendas. Foreign government agencies are especially prone to viewing the shortcomings of ex-Soviet systems not in terms of inherent socio-political defects, but as mechanistic flaws, the results of inefficiency or bad

management practices (Mikhova and Pickles, 1994, p.235)<sup>11</sup>. The prioritization of vastly increased computer capabilities exemplifies this mindset, spilling over into the NGO funding structure with the prominence of support for e-mail networks and environmental data compilation. Though definitely a "significant departure from the previous authoritarian, centralized system of organization and information control" (Mulgan in O'Lear, 1996, p.211), these activities have dominated to the detriment of more activist, project-oriented objectives. The expansion of electronic communication capabilities, though promulgated as inherently populist, also can be viewed as another form of hierarchical elitism, offered only to the knowledgeable and only in urban regions equipped to integrate the technology<sup>12</sup>. Comparatively isolated, a majority of Russian national parks (including Zabaikalski), and most zapovedniki, continue to be excluded from direct participation in any such system.

Accessibility and environmental prominence have subjected the Baikal region to the entire ecopolitical complex of international agency/NGO relationships. Most of the participants have either directly or indirectly included the national parks in their agendas. Yet on-site impacts have been minimal. Organizational analysis offers some rationale for

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<sup>11</sup>As a consultant/participant in World Bank meetings with Russian ministries and regional committees where just such a perception prevailed, I could not help but reflect on the wisdom of the nursery rhyme which stated that, "all the kings horses and all the kings men could not put Humpty Dumpty back together again."

<sup>12</sup>A MacArthur Grant followup sample survey of its Russian environmental e-mail network project received responses from only 11 of 65 member contacts, of which 9 answered solicited questions. Conclusions attributed the meagre returns to inadequate sampling methodologies and members being overwhelmed by the e-mail information flow (O'Lear, 1996, p.215). Personal experience leads to the suggestion that e-mail as a purveyor of information is not nearly as effective as one would like to assume because local network stations themselves become power-broking centres--aggrandizing knowledge, processing it, and dispersing only that which is to their benefit.

this deficiency (Table 8.1). Of 18 entities, 15 were established within the past decade. Contemporaries of the national parks, these organizations of necessity have directed core efforts to their own development and stabilization. Though their multiplicity would seem to offer a profusion of partnership opportunities, the extremely high degree of organizational connectivity in actuality has severely limited the available spectrum for interchanging ideas or project implementation. For instance, ISAR, the Socio-Ecological Union, the Biodiversity Conservation Centre, the Baikal Centre for Ecological and Citizen Initiatives, Baikal Watch, and the World Wildlife Fund for Nature-Russia all exhibit overlapping organizational heritages, structures, and personnel (See Appendix H for detailed NGO biographies). Most importantly, being economically reliant on contributor financing, these entities have been constrained to acting within the confining strictures of their sponsors' agendas. At least 11 of the organizations listed in Figure 8.1, including all second tier members, relied directly on USAID, World Bank, and/or McArthur funds for working capital (see Appendix H). Though resolute in conferring with affected constituencies, congruence between expressed desires and the ability of the agencies/NGOs to fulfill wants and needs within this funding structure has been slight. Park priorities always have stressed local, specific, substantive, and immediate objectives (see Table 7.2), the antithesis of the macro-scale, generalized, long-term strategies within which most of Baikal's agencies/NGOs have had or chosen to operate. Baikal project funding for 1994 clearly illustrates the partiality for the latter approach (Table 8.2).

It must be noted, however, that to their credit international agencies and NGOs have attempted, especially during initial contact stages, to promote the national parks

**Table 8.1 Typology of Non-Governmental Organizations  
Active in the Baikal Region National Parks**

	<i>Administrative Centre</i>	<i>Year Established</i>
<b>FIRST TIER ORGANIZATIONS</b>		
ISAR	Washington, D.C.	1983
Raleigh Institute	London	1989
Schumacher Society	Great Barrington, MA	1980
Sierra Club	San Francisco	1892
UESS - SPODEK	Prague, Czech Rep	1989
<b>SECOND TIER ORGANIZATIONS</b>		
Biodiversity Conservation Centre	Moscow	1992
Baikal Watch	San Francisco	1990
Baikal Center for Ecological and Citizen Initiatives	Irkutsk	1994
Greenpeace-Russia	Moscow	1995
Socio-Ecological	Moscow	1988
Union (SEU) World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF)	Moscow	1995
<b>THIRD TIER ORGANIZATIONS</b>		
Baikal Fund	Irkutsk	1989
Baikal Wave	Irkutsk	1990
Baikal Friends	Ust Barguzin, Buryatia	1994
Canadian-Soviet Freshwater Twinning Project	Toronto	1991
Friends of the Russian National Parks	Victoria, B.C.	1993
People's Front	Ulan Ude	1987
Tahoe-Baikal Institute	South Lake Tahoe, California	1990

Table 8.2 Biodiversity Conservation Grants in the Baikal Region, 1994

<i>Sponsor</i>	<i>Amount(US\$)</i>	<i>Description</i>
Japanese Government through World Bank	600,000 (1994)	Develop regional ecotourism masterplan
German Government	657,900 (1994)	Land-use plan for developing ecotourism in Olkhonsky and Goloustninski raions
USAID	184,225 (1994-1997)*	Enhance ecotourism recreation development, alternative energy, and deep water port construction in Pribaikalsky N.P.'s Bolshoye Goloustnoye
USAID	271,350 (1994-1997)	Develop unified regional tourism plan
USAID	479,250 (1994-1997)	Olkhon Island sustainable development project
USAID	222,850 (1994-1997)	Training/technical assistant to local governments to implement Baikal regional land use plan. Assist creation of protected area system legislative framework.
USAID	300,000 (1993-1994)	Complete development of comprehensive land use plan
ISAR	2,410 (1994)	Biodiversity summer camp
ISAR	25,000 (1994)	Creation of Lake Baikal environmental centre
MacArthur Foundation	250,000 (1992-1994)	Comprehensive land use plan
Trust for Mutual Understanding	3,000 (1994)	Participation support for American specialist in regional land use plan implementation
Weeden Foundation	10,000 (1994)	Support for national park exchange program, ecotourism
Weeden Foundation	5,000 (1994)	Support of land use planning work on Olkhon Island
Mott Foundation	100,000 (1992-1994)	Communications linkages, US experts to environmental leaders

\* annual funding for multi-year projects

Source: Biodiversity Conservation Center (1995, March). *Report on Financing of Biodiversity Conservation in the Russian Federation.*

agendas. Prototype funding packages all emphasized detailed, on-site, infrastructure support (Earth Island Institute, June, 1992; Earth Island Institute/SEU, September, 1993; World Bank/External Affairs, Canada, October, 1993; Worldwide Fund, January, 1994). Even if one were unaware of the interactions of the supplicants, comparison of their submissions readily reveals each endeavour gaining sophistication from previous failures to meet concurrently developing funding criteria. Excisions and changes in emphasis from one document to the next provide insights into the operative filtering mechanisms which have thwarted national parks objectives.

June, 1992--programmatic objectives: salary support for zapovednik and national park staff members (including scientists,rangers, and administrators);....scientific/ technical support;....construction of park and zapovednik accommodations (Earth Island Institute, p.8).

October, 1993--immediate operations assistance objectives ....Some of the requested internal [site] submission items not included here are nevertheless valid....Raises in pay and other employee benefits were excluded from this project, although they are recognized as significant problems. The inadequacy of staff housing and buildings such as schools in isolated reserves was recognized as a problem but such expenditures must be rationalized in the context of the privatization process underway, and the need for an overall review of staffing level requirements in the protected areas....Military surpluses would seem to be one potential source for required items such as firearms, night vision equipment, and binoculars (External Affairs, p.20).

By January, 1994, the World Wildlife Fund, though continuing to include the national parks in their documentation, had excluded them from the funding request, preferring to concentrate on the less problematic, more marketable, biodiversity-oriented zapovedniki<sup>13</sup>. Though site support (equipment, transport, fuel and supplies, aircraft

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<sup>13</sup>Under this plan, Baikal's three zapovedniki were to be allocated \$US817,000 (Krever et al., op. cit., Attachment 10.1-10.3).

rental, construction, monitoring and control) continued to comprise the majority of the \$US17.5 million proposal, \$US4.5 million now constituted a federal level "pot-sweetener," indicative of a heightened awareness that even with deconstruction the federal ministries had to be assuaged<sup>14</sup>. Constrained by personal preferences<sup>15</sup> and procedural obligations to negotiate from the center outwards and top downwards, the multi-tiered funding mechanisms had their "meddling," grassroots activities deprioritized in the process<sup>16</sup>. Of the technical assistance packages submitted, only the World Wildlife Fund's proposal was even partially successful, and that only in supporting selected high profile zapovednik projects as sub-components of yet another USAID multi-lateral project<sup>17</sup>. Baikal's national parks, which expected so much from the flurry of agency/NGO interest in their well-being and continue despite themselves to be held in thrall by the process<sup>18</sup>.

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<sup>14</sup>Foreign NGOs in the heady early days of change often nonchalantly circumvented both the ministries and parliament bureaucracies, appealing, for instance, directly to Yeltsin though his inner circle of reformers (personal observations, July, 1991). These routes proved ineffective and shortlived. The ministries, however, offered solidity and structure--and adapted just enough to become the route of choice.

<sup>15</sup>Instructions to the World Bank Baikal Identification Mission team, for instance, were to work only through the "solid" Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources (which later was demoted to commission status, see Chapter 6) and NOT to meet with such seemingly ephemeral rival power blocks as the Socio-Ecological Union and Yeltsin's personal environmental counsellor, Professor Alexei Yablokov. The latter had deigned to "lecture" a top World Bank official on the organization's responsibilities and thus become person non grata (personal communication, February, 1993).

<sup>16</sup>The approval standards for ISAR's "Seeds for Democracy" small grant program (headquartered in Moscow) offer one glimpse of how this process works. A series of Buryat applications for environmental rehabilitation which stressed "returning areas to their original owner--the spirits of nature" were rejected offhand as inappropriately mixing the pragmatic with the ethereal (ISAR staff, personal communication, August, 1995).

<sup>17</sup>In 1996, foreign grants constituted 7.2% of zapovednik budgets, distributed unevenly amongst 17 sites. World Wildlife Fund contributed \$US300,742--43% of all major donor support. Sikhote-Alinski (Siberian tiger refuge) and Bryanski Les (core forest of the Arbat's Line) were two major recipients (Stepanitski, 1997, pp.30-31).

<sup>18</sup>After 4 1/2 years of planning and negotiations (1993-1997), the World Bank's GEF Biodiversity Conservation Project (World Bank, 1996, May) has begun to enter the implementation stage. Pribaikalski and Zabaikalski National Parks have been included as key elements in the project's US\$26 mln Lake Baikal regional component. Thus once again the sites have been drawn into the fray.

have received nothing. To the rejoinder--"If the results were nil. then why spend so much time discussing the topic?"--one can only offer the observation that the significance of what has not happened is often as important as what has.

Frustration over the inability of foreign organizations to deliver meaningful results has found increasing voice amongst Russian environmentalists (Sneider, 1994; Simonov, 1995; Domanova & Blinnikov, 1997; also Ovdin, 1993, personal communications). From being whole-heartedly welcomed as saviours and defenders of the faith, within less than a decade of their appearance international agencies/NGOs have become viewed, especially in high impact regions like Baikal, as analogous to if not actual organs of the depressingly familiar "apparatus" (personal communications, 1993-1997). A repetitive, seemingly choreographed, pattern of doing business has been responsible for this shift in attitude. Simonov (op. cit., 1995) summarizes one such project from the Russian grassroots perspective:

This project came under scrutiny of conservation groups when it was completely redesigned from a US\$3,000,000 "forest regeneration and fire prevention" effort... into a US\$16,000,000 undertaking in "biodiversity conservation and sustainable forestry."....It is clear that community-based economic development is necessary...however it seemed highly likely that the project would focus on industrial economic development...According to that early plan, out of US\$16,000,000, US\$1.5,000,000 was earmarked for various "conservation measures", US\$9,000,000 proposed to "promote US investment", and one million to "public sector strengthening"--i.e. to pacify local officials.... While observing the practices of international aid agencies local environmentalists and authorities feared that money would be used to "tame" the non-governmental sector, keeping them busy quarrelling over resources....All these concerns and fears were exacerbated by the fact that [the project] planners were having tremendous problems with communicating their mission clearly to various entities in Russia. Their plans changed daily, and thus they were hesitant to release any information to the public, or even to governmental agencies.  
NEW CONCERNS....We are rather concerned that the project has considerably slowed. Teams of consultants have come several times to

Russia and [re]designed plans involving the participation of a large number of governmental agencies, protected area managers, scientists and environmental NGOs....In the regional administration, certain officials have threatened to cancel the project if implementation does not start. There is widespread fear that resources that could be spent on support to Zapovedniki and parks, protected areas planning, ranger training, marketing of minor forest products, will be spent on yet more "clarification" of the project's working plan by consultants (pp.16-17)<sup>19</sup>.

Though specific to the Russian Far East EPT project<sup>20</sup>, the description has equal applicability to the Baikal region. Not surprisingly, many of the international beneficiaries have been the same (i.e. USAID, ISAR, WWF). Audits verify this most damaging of truths that environmental funding throughout Russia is largely controlled by and profits foreigners. In 1994, for instance, of US\$12.5,000,000 in total external support for Russian projects related to protected areas, 85% was spent on non-Russian consultants or on foreign-controlled joint partnerships (Biodiversity Conservation Center, 1995, p.13). The most conspicuous element of this phenomenon in the Baikal region has been the generation of US\$1.7,000,000 in competing ecotourism plans, all contracted outside the country (see Table 8.2).

Ecotourism, a "foreign" concept in itself, repeats the basic stakeholder contestations which have underlain the Soviet/Russian national parks movement. The term's variant definitional parameters delineate familiar core conflicts over the commoditization of nature, over territorial control, and over the rejection or interjection of

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<sup>19</sup>Revelatory, but by no means suggestive of inevitability, the article's author as a "Biodiversity Conservation Project general consultant", was within two years defending just such projects in the same publication against much the same accusations (Simonov, 1997, p.27).

<sup>20</sup>The Environmental Policy and Technology Project was awarded by USAID to a consortium with the acronym CH2M HILL, backed by the firm of Winthrop/Rockefeller. Other participants, besides those already mentioned, were the U.S. Forest Service, Pacific Energy and Resources Center, Harvard Institute for International Development, and GreenCOM.

social/societal contracts--all reflective in turn of the degrees to which local constituencies are viewed as active/passive participants or agents in formative processes (e.g. Romeril, 1985; Ceballos-Lascurain, 1987; Audubon, 1989; Ziffer, 1989; Boo, 1990; Butler, 1990; Hvengaard, 1991; Wood/Ecotourism Society, 1992; Nelson, 1994; Orams, 1995; Weaver, 1997). Though the trend has been to broaden ecotourism's scope from "environmental sensitivity through responsible travel" (Ehrenfeld, 1992) to an increasing incorporation of cultural/ societal components, by 1989 Ziffer already had encapsulated the ideal, all-encompassing ecotourism model:

A form of tourism inspired primarily by the natural history of an area, including its indigenous cultures. The ecotourist visits relatively undeveloped areas in the spirit of appreciation, participation and sensitivity. The ecotourist practices a non-consumptive use of wildlife and natural resources and contributes to the visited area through labor or financial means aimed at directly benefiting the conservation of the site and economic well-being of the local residents (Ziffer in Gianneccheni, 1993, p.431).

Though in theory at worst benign and at best benevolent, in practice ecotourism intersects precisely at the contentious conjunction between national development goals and the interests of local people. Russian ecotourism has not avoided this placement's pitfalls, but rather has been promoted insistently as an economic panacea, part conservation, part sustainable development, part business as usual. As central elements in these plans, Baikal's protected areas have found themselves very much in the fray. To their misfortune, the national parks have been especially vulnerable, for they have come into being in the "self sufficiency era" when for the first time such sites are expected to generate sufficient income to rationalize their existence. Ecotourism provides a much more plausible conceptual basis for fulfilling this obligation than politically unsupportable

equivalent user fees. This strategy is based on certain suppositions: that the environment must provide alternate economic justification for its withdrawal from natural resource exploitation and; that prevailing societal structures and land tenure systems will not change substantially and thus locally controlled preservation arrangements are not likely to succeed. Given these preconditions, ecotourism is seen to provide the national parks with necessary financial stability while allowing inhabitants specified participatory roles in its realization--in a very real sense, helping to pay the rent. Nadirova (1993) summarizes this post-Soviet vision of Keynesian conservation:

Under these circumstances, when a larger portion of the home population will not be able to afford large distance tours or expensive facilities, foreign tourism could become a good means both of maintaining the existing recreation network and for developing some new regions...for example, the Lake Baikal area...In this case, the idea of national parks seems very promising (p.8, also see Areyev and Miecowski, 1991, p.2).

Defined as it is by the capacity to generate capital, emphasis on foreign involvement is integral to this ecotourism model. Viewed furthermore as providing "a preferred alternative for land management," and as stimuli by which "local communities will maintain or improve their economic situation and thus support conservation" (Hvengard, 1991, p.13), this ecotourism paradigm is also patronizing to and disenfranchising of the regional movements which established the sites. Promulgated as economic pragmatism, it is finally, as statistics confirm, dangerously unreliable. During the first five years following the opening of the Baikal region to non-Intourist visitations, and thus to the initiation of ecotourism ventures, international travel even to the most accessible Irkutsk area fell 54% (Table 8.3)--and has continued to fall thereafter.

**Table 8.3 Irkutsk Tourism, 1990-1994**

<i>Country of Origin</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>1991</i>	<i>1992</i>	<i>1993</i>	<i>1994</i>
Japan	3,669	4,114	3,490	2,946	2,428
Germany	4,025	3,790	2,870	3,844	1,769
United States	1,272	3,021	2,864	5,022	905
Great Britain	2,338	1,503	1,057	1,003	277
France	918	1,298	381	1,000	180
Others	8,450	9,680	5,338	1,992	3,948
<b>TOTAL TOURISTS</b>	<b>20,672</b>	<b>23,406</b>	<b>16,000</b>	<b>15,807</b>	<b>9,507</b>

Source: Volkov, 1995

Japanese have comprised the largest and most consistent segment of the region's tourist market, attracted primarily by neither Baikal's natural setting nor its cultural attractions, but by the gravesites of thousands of relatives captured in the waning moments of World War II and sent to die in Angara labour camps. American visitation peaked in the early 1990s with the influx of consultants, first wave "egotourists"<sup>21</sup>, and a short-lived Alaska Airlines generated tour program. European tourism has shown similar boom(let) and bust scenarios. Estimates have placed ecotourism's portion of the market at from 3% to 5% and declining (Environmental Resources Management, 1995, Vol.I, p.27). Of this

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<sup>21</sup>"Egotourists" can be defined as those drawn by the prestige of penetrating new tourism frontiers and by the accompanying lack of restrictions on their activities. In the Baikal region, this phenomenon was epitomized by the "Camel (cigarette) Landrover Road Rally (1990), the appearance of the first international kayak expeditions (i.e. the Lake Superior/Baikal Twinning Project) (1991) and the phalanx of wandering reporters, writers, and photographers knowledgeable of the cash value of 'adventure journalism'.

number, Zabaikalski National Park has hosted less than 80 registered foreign ecotourists annually (V. Melnikov, personnel communications, 1997). Pribaikalski, though situated infrastructurally and demographically to a greater advantage than its east shore counterpart, has fared just as poorly in terms of foreign ecotourist revenue production (Z. Simkina, August, 1995, personal communication). Analysis of Baikal ecotourism constraints reveals a multiplicity of shortcomings, each contributing to the region's as well as the parks' continuing malaise (Table 8.4).

Given the continuing emphasis on ecotourism by both international agencies and NGOs despite these realities, the possibility that its promotion might only constitute 'the thin edge of the wedge' for conventional tourism development cannot be overlooked. World Bank/ERM/Davis Plan generated documents support this contention. Though proffering ecotourism, and with it the proper obeisance to environment and cultures,<sup>22</sup> projects stress land-use zoning, transportation, catering provisions, and performance standards--all traditional tourism concerns. The ERM Baikal ecotourism masterplan furthermore bluntly asserts ecotourism's subservience:

Growth in the ecotourism sector is related to, and dependent on, growth in the overall tourism sector: ecotourists share many facilities and infrastructure used by all

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<sup>22</sup>The World Bank, USAID and other such lending institutions all have produced excellent guidelines and operational directives for ecotourism development (i.e. Operational Directive 4.20: Indigenous Peoples, (September, 1991), World Bank), yet habitually ignore these documents in practice.

**Table 8.4 Baikal Ecotourism Constraints**

<b>Natural</b>	<p>Moderate to low wildlife viewing opportunities. Mega-fauna depleted by hunting. The remainder widely dispersed or, where concentrated, difficult to access due to demanding terrain or zapovednik restrictions.</p> <p>Except for the nerpa, dominant land fauna and flora are circumpolar and thus do not comprise a unique regional experience.</p> <p>The region's unique biodiversity (i.e. sponges, gamerids) is found in its waters and is thus neither readily available for viewing nor of sufficient interest to ecotourists.</p> <p>The lake's immensity is difficult to appreciate. Its scale contributes to a sense of unchanging character which restricts interest. Natural vistas do not compare with those found in competing destinations.</p> <p>Inclement climate restricts use to a short summer season (mid-June through mid-September). Spring activates a considerable population of mosquitoes, blackflies, biting midges, and, most significantly, encephalomyelitis-bearing ticks which do not decrease until July.</p> <p>A self-generating weather system famed for its winds makes the crossing of mountain ranges and water excursions uncertain and sporadically perilous</p> <p>The most highly attractive natural sites (shoreline, hotsprings, tundra, islands) have low carrying capacities which significantly restricts their use. Where these resources have been degraded or when it becomes known that they are off limits, ecotourism potential rapidly declines.</p> <p>The lake and its environs continue to suffer from lack of place recognition, most often being confused amongst potential ecotourists with the negative image of the Aral Sea or another such natural disaster area.</p>
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<p><b>Infrastructure</b></p>	<p>Remoteness from Europe and North America makes air travel necessary. Privatization of Aeroflot and its subsidiaries has made this form of transportation expensive, unreliable, inconvenient, and, at least perceptually, unsafe.</p> <p>Regional surface and water transportation is severely restricted. Air service to key local gateways such as Ust Barguzin was closed in 1992 and has not reopened. Lack of lakefront wharfage further limits ease of entry.</p> <p>Aside from the expanding homestay industry, expensive, marginal quality Soviet-era accommodations continue to dominate the market.</p> <p>Within protected areas, facilities are poor to non-existent. Park headquarters are situated off-site and are extremely difficult to locate.</p> <p>A high degree of entropy extends throughout Russian ecotourism operations, from program development and marketing to agency operations and personnel management, minimizing the possibility of cost-efficient program replicability.</p>
<p><b>Social/Political</b></p>	<p>Ecotourists compete with other resource users for site access. For example, major "hiking" trails in Zabaikalski National Park originated as routes to gathering sites (nuts, berries, wild onions, mushrooms) and continue to be used as such. Potential for conflict is highest over trespass on sacred sites, which have become increasingly off-limits to outsiders, yet continue to be promoted as tour highlights.</p> <p>Ecotourists seek timely communion with nature while others take care of the details, especially the elimination of prolonged discomfort or true peril. Ranging in age from the mid-40s through 70s, they are comparatively fit, but still susceptible to the physical maladies of their age cohorts--thus the need for reliable infrastructural support, including medical facilities. This biographical profile does not meld well with the realities of the Baikal region.</p>

tourists, some of which are large in scale (e.g. airports, airlines, rail and road systems, large hotels)....As a small niche in the overall tourism market ecotourism cannot viably support the necessary improvements in these large-scale facilities....Thus any examination of ecotourism growth potential must include an assumption of growth in the overall tourism sector in the region (op. cit., 1995, p.107).

Substantial variances in the carrying capacities of the six selected Baikal OEAs (Optimal Ecotourism Areas) provide further proof that ecotourism as promulgated in the region conforms to Butler's "Trojan Horse" concept (Butler, 1990) and Wheeler's "ruse by any other name" (Wheeler, 1994)<sup>23</sup>. Three sites are within the national parks: the Angara River corridor to Lystvianka, proceeding south to Kultuk (Pribaikalski); Olkhon Island (Pribaikalski); and Zabaikalski National Park itself. ERM's carrying capacity projections, based on Soviet-derived biophysical data with only an extremely subjective weighting of social/cultural factors, place the visitor load for a 100 day summer season on Olkhon Island at 2,230 people per day. In recognition of what it terms "the possibility of cultural swamping" (V.1, p.89), this number represents a 50%+ reduction of the originally derived 4900/day capacity. The report unites Zabaikalski National Park and the Barguzin Valley to generate a 3,635/day equivalent figure, again reduced from 13,117/day due to unspecified "highly sensitive" socio-cultural factors (ibid., p. 91). Nowhere is the possibility breached that even these visitation loads are of an unrealistic or unacceptable magnitude, especially in terms of the defining characteristics of ecotourism. An oblique reference to why the park and adjacent valley are treated as a single entity is revelatory of the unswerving macro-scale momentum of the project:

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<sup>23</sup>"The parameters of what precisely ecotourism is have never been clear. They are becoming increasingly blurred as it becomes basically little more than a marketing vehicle, a green light for development. Ecotourism is just another form of tourism--a ruse by any other name" (ibid, p.10).

In accordance with the current National Park management plan, which sets a limit of 300 people per day within the park, this would mean that the vast majority of potential visitors should be directed to areas outside the park (ibid.).

Most obviously passed over in the statement is the glaring discrepancy between the national park's vision of its capacity and that projected by ERM's methodology. Instead, the "overflow" is shunted into the Barguzin Valley! Even this conclusion is based on a basic misunderstanding, for the 300/day figure in actuality represented the park master plan's intuitive estimate of foreign ecotourists it could host per summer season, based on available of physical/social infrastructure, but also on the ability to control future growth (V. Melnikov, personal communication, 1995).

Vetting Zabaikalski's trails before the arrival of the first ecotourists, ranger's traversing windfalls, lost in a swamp, or soaked by sudden downpours, would query, tongue in cheek, "I eta tosha ecotourism?" (And this too is ecotourism?) (E. Ovdin et al., 1992, personal observation). These doubts form Baikal ecotourism's underlying theme--can this altruistic, even noble, concept truly be adapted to Siberia and if so has the formation process already been subsumed and subverted by incompatible macro-scale economic objectives? (Cohen, 1987, p.15; Wheeler, op. cit., p.10). Answers to these questions are of utmost importance to the national parks, for they have been forced by the times and circumstances to buy into the equation.

Surprisingly, despite trepidation and frequent charges of manipulation and exploitation, "ecotourism" continues to command a broad base of local adherents, not just in Russia, but worldwide (Hobbs, 1996, pp.18-19). The resilience of the concept is drawn from its bioregional perspective in which it is seen as providing a viable economic means

of increasing self-sufficiency and self-regulation. Whereas the underlying ecotourism objective of international agency proposals has been to facilitate restructuring, local constituencies perceive its autonomy value--as expressed by the Russian anarchist, Pyotr Kropotkin, "not out of control, but out of their control."<sup>24</sup> The two visions are mutually incompatible, for to accept the latter is to negate the growth potential and profitability which the former necessitates.

The legitimacy of ecotourism's bioregional interpretation is buoyed by repeated findings that foreign visitors are drawn by opportunities to interact with the lives of local inhabitants (Hamley, 1991, p.393). Nature serves in this regard as a backdrop to cultural contact, with the use of existent infrastructure an attraction rather than a constraint. Here is where Baikal finds comparative advantage with like "natural" sites elsewhere, for the region possesses several important features:

thematic entry--to reach and enter Zabaikalski National Park, for instance, one first flies from Alaska to Siberia, then takes a three day train trip, followed by an eight hour bus ride, a never-to-be-forgotten ferry crossing of the Barguzin River and finally a park patrol boat.

aesthetic landscapes--the region is dotted with wooden- housed rural villages, surrounded by gardens, animals and fields. Instead of going into post-Soviet decline, with privatization of dwellings a number of these settlements have responded with a resurgence of vernacular architecture.

cultural traditions--A variety of ethnic groups (Buryats, Russians, Evenki, Old Believers) live in close proximity, retaining and rebuilding their ways of life while still exhibiting consistencies which keep the region from seeming too chaotic (common language, literate, Europeanized Homo sovietica).

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<sup>24</sup>Prince Pyotr (Peter) Kropotkin (1842-1921), geographer, author and social revolutionary, stationed in the Baikal region through the 1860s.

These attributes, coupled with moderate physical activity (day-hiking<sup>25</sup>, bird watching<sup>26</sup>), have attracted ecotourists to the Baikal region. Ironically, while the national parks continue to be promoted as the places to encounter "authentic" environments (Moore, 1991; Zurick, 1992), visitors rank highest their experiences beyond the park's borders (FRNPS post-tour surveys, 1993-1996, also see Hamley, 1991, p.393)<sup>27</sup>.

Ideally, ecotourism as bioregionally perceived should be locally owned, use as many people as possible and be sustained on local materials and products. This modus operandi cannot be viewed as merely a short-term palliative or a stage in Butler's tourism area cycle (Butler, 1980). The economic constraints of small communities are often no hindrance, as many of the skills needed, from taking in guests to guiding, are traditional duties. Labor is intensive, but requires little capital investment and is profitable. Visitor seasons, at least in the northern latitudes, are short and thus do not greatly impact on established occupations.

The ecotourism project developed as an component of this work has used this rudimentary structure successfully to expand social, political and psychological empowerment of Zabaikalski National Park and of inhabitants in the nearby town of Ust Barguzin by:

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<sup>25</sup>After surreptitiously gauging the stamina of the first FRNPS ecotourists, a planned five-day trans-Barguzin trek was hastily reformatted into a series of markedly less strenuous excursions. All groups thereafter have confirmed the wisdom of that decision.

<sup>26</sup>The north/south orientation of the lake makes it a major migration corridor along the Siberian flyway. Zabaikalski National Park's Chivyrkuski Bay is especially noted for its fall fly-through as well as its resident bird population.

<sup>27</sup>Hamley's 1989 survey of tourism in the Northwest Territories found 60.8% ranked landscape and scenery as most interesting, 23.1%, the people, 13.7% culture and architecture; 11.5% fishing and hunting; and 8.7% wilderness and nature.

- increasing economic wealth--ecotourists can have an economic impact disproportionate to their numbers when targeted locally. Currency disparities can further magnify the effect. Over a four year period (1993-1996), earnings from a very modest 50 FRNPS (Friends of the Russian National Parks) participants provided US\$32,000 to buy park vehicles, a new (Russian) bus for transporting visitors, tents and other "ecotourist quality" equipment, ranger, cooks and driver wages, and a discretionary fund for unbudgeted needs (i.e. food supplies for firefighters). These earnings, despite all the funding millions swirling through the region, were the park's largest source of international income. Villagers benefitted financially by hosting participants at a per diem rate equivalent to 1-4 weeks local earnings<sup>28</sup>.
- accessing channels of decisionmaking--by implementing its own ecotourism program, the park was able to confront what otherwise constituted an extremely worrisome potential infringement of its territorial jurisdiction. By openly advertising in the town newspaper for ecotourist hosts, the park also took the still unusual step in Russia of not just quietly offering the opportunity to insiders.
- providing a sense of self-confidence/potency--knowledge gained from the interchange of ideas in developing and managing an effective, ongoing program (i.e. contract negotiations<sup>29</sup>, coordinating the homestay program, training rangers as guides, evaluating visitor surveys) has bred a level of confident professionalism that has been of great worth in the advocacy of park objectives. Villagers and their homestay guests have built many lasting, mutually supportive relationships.

A significant difference between FRNPS's role and that of other NGO promoters of Baikal protected areas ecotourism has been its commitment to the timely design,

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<sup>28</sup>From 1993-1996, average income, largely a result of inflation, climbed substantially. Thus the per diem differential. Though the payments might seem disproportionate to local earnings, in reality the families only hosted participants for 3-4 days of the year--not enough to create an undue economic imbalance. Of more concern as the years progressed was balancing place (the park) and personal loyalties in terms of financial disbursements.

<sup>29</sup>One small but significant example of this process involved ranger guide duties. REI (Recreation Equipment Incorporated), a third party signator on some of the trips, insisted that the rangers cook, dig latrines and carry excess luggage for the ecotourists. The first two were acquiesced to as reasonable and environmentally sound. The third was refused as demeaning the sense of camaraderie that such a hike should entail.

delivery and promotion of a specific program (Appendix G). As regional tourism has continued to slump amidst much advice and expertise, it has become increasingly evident that it is not sufficient, efficient or perhaps even morally valid to engage exclusively in the purveyance of ideas or connections. Internationally funded environmental NGOs operating in the region, however, continue to perceive themselves in traditional roles as researchers, educators and advisors<sup>30</sup>. These functions precisely fit the third tier participatory niche of international funding agencies. Such positions increase NGO profiles, but also, by dictating the terms of engagement, lessen their effectiveness. As Giannecchini (1993) has observed:

it appears tacitly understood amongst these groups [tourist industry, government functionaries, conservationists] that policies and regulations concerning ecotourism, from carrying capacities to sustainable development, would be determined between the tourist industry and government. Conservationists were cast in the role of altruistic and cost-free shepherds of the resources that would insure profits. Most noteworthy, perhaps, was that the conservationist seemed to accept this role willingly (p.430).

Thus, in practice, the state of Baikal ecotourism reflects the larger discontinuity between the prosperity of local communities and stewardship of their locales and the interests of centralizing economies. Intentionally or not, external inputs into the region have been consistently biased towards the latter approach. As national parks, especially in

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<sup>30</sup>The product of foreign NGO consultancy roles, as viewed during this work, has been generally abysmal. For instance, the July, 1991 Irkutsk Ecotourism Conference, billed by Baikal Watch as the first such meeting in the region, consisted mainly of local "ecotourism entrepreneur's" hawking everything from offroad vehicle excursions chainsawing their way through the taiga, to hot air balloon rides and shooting game from MI5 helicopters. Meetings of almost any duration are promoted as seminars, symposiums, or conferences because as such they become legitimizing "deliverable products" in the funding game. Of more direct import to the national parks were the reams of material (also "deliverables") conveyed to them by NGO's--building plans, concessionaire contracts, job descriptions, training manuals, master plan documents--all in English. Translation, being time consuming and often quite technical is left to the bewilderment of the parks.

their emergent state, do not fit well within this working model, they have not benefitted from it.

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Bivens (1997) presents a case study of this phenomenon in "Aboard the gravy train: In Kazakhstan, the farce that is U.S. foreign aid."

## CHAPTER 9

### TRENDS, PROGNOSSES AND CONCLUSIONS

A parable of sorts is illustrative of the unlikely range and often unexpected impacts of the "sorting out process" within which the Soviet/Russian national parks have emerged.

Sandor Petofi was a fervent Hungarian patriot, young, tubercular and a poet. In 1849, he died in the battle of Segesvar when Russian forces crushed Hungarian nationalism. The politically passionate works he left behind included "Talpra Magyar" which, set to music, became the country's anthem. In 1989, however, just as Hungary was once again resisting Russian domination, Sandor Petofi appeared, at least in the form of his mortal remains, on the east shore of Lake Baikal, buried in the Barguzin cemetery (Beck, 1989; also personal observation, 1991). He had arrived there originally as a prisoner of war, settled in, married, sired at least one child and died in 1856. Ensclosed in the local pantheon of "agitators against class tyranny," Zabaikalski National Park's patrol boat was named after him. Yet such was the region's geopolitical isolation that Petofi remained a battlefield casualty for 140 years. By 1992, Hungarian forensic scientists had excavated and identified his bones and had returned with them to Budapest where they were laid to a hero's rest in the national cathedral<sup>1</sup>. In the depression where he originally had been interred, a wooden pole now stood, banded in the colors of the Hungarian flag.

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<sup>1</sup>Digging up the past, quite literally, has been a widespread post-Soviet occupation. Note, for instance, the Katyn Woods exhumations of Soviet-massacred Polish officers. Russia has produced its own ultimate resurrection in the discovery of the Romanovs' remains. Unlike Petofi (who already has attracted revisionist scoffers), the Tsar and his family continue to lie unburied amongst controversy over the degree of sanctity with which they finally will be laid to rest. See Robert Massie's The Romanovs: The final chapter, 1995.

The park boat meanwhile had received a new coat of paint rendering it for the time being anonymous.

As a cautionary tale, this episode serves two purposes: to counteract the tendency to forget the recentness and abruptness of change in Russia and; to remind one of the purposeful insularity and complexity of the territory trodden. The success or lack thereof of constituencies, domestic or foreign, has been proportionate to how well each incorporated these "Petofi Principles."

To succeed, myth must not overwhelm reality. Though beset with difficulties, protected areas have not suffered nearly as unduly as portrayed, nor have the sites been targeted exclusively for depredation. Their problems have been the problems of the country--social turmoil, political instability and economic collapse. In fact, as this work hopefully has shown, protected areas have flourished in this climate, without which Soviet/Russian national parks most probably would not have come into being. Nor have protected areas, and especially national parks, been pauperized. In 1994, total support for the 29 national parks was a U.S. equivalent of \$24,333,000 (\$10,643,000 federal and 13,690,000 regional contributions)<sup>2</sup>. Though devolution of responsibilities has shifted funding decisions to the regions, overall response has been to continue to support the parks. As also should be brought into focus, it is Russia that has paid the bills--despite the numerous activities of international organizations. With few exceptions, these latter

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<sup>2</sup>Zapovedniki did not fare as well, with a US equivalent \$19,448,000 allocated (\$6,888,000 federal and \$12,560,000 regional contributions) for 89 sites totalling 29.5 mln. ha.--\$.66/ha as compared to the national park's \$3.72/ha. The common surmise is that this differentiation represents "stronger support for protected areas which can be used by the public" (Nasser and Piatina, 1995, p.24). More likely, the variance reflects the comparative financial stabilities and obligations of the Ministry of Environment and the Forest Service.

forces have consistently prioritized the transfer of their own familiar management paradigms while investing minimally in on-site infrastructural or operational capital expenditures. Surveys of Russian USAID environmental exchange program participants found "almost unanimous" agreement:

that the term 'exchanges'...was a misnomer and should be avoided. Many Russian participants pointed out that, at least in Russian, 'obmen' [exchange] means 'trade of one object or skill for another, always of the same value....The way exchanges have been done, however, has provided little opportunity for Russians to contribute. USAID projects, in fact, were explicitly supposed to 'promote American values' among Russian participants, not to help the Russians to promote their own (Domanova and Blinnikov, 1997, p. 33).

Truth, justice and the (North) American way, however, has little pertinence to Russian national parks, even in such specifics as promotion of biodiversity as a guiding principle for site selection. More likely, given that the major stimuli have been and continue to be socio-political, the preferred 'scientific' methodologies are counter-productive--especially so in that where perceptual parity is to be found is primarily among the government institutions and agencies whose inertia for decades prevented the creation of national parks.

Where new national parks have been established, the primacy of cultural landscapes still prevails. Ugra (estab. 1997) adds Kaluga to the list of oblasts possessing national parks and preserves a segment of the abatis line in which:

many key turning points in Russian history have left either their physical or spiritual marks....It is primarily because of the rich historical and cultural value that this region is being planned as a National Park (Dobrushin, 1995, p.8).

Comparable characteristics dominate Pskov oblast's Sebezhski National Park (estab. 1996), while, to range once again beyond post-Soviet Russian borders, Lithuania has added four national parks, one for each of the country's dialect regions.

Where national parks have not been established, they have lacked just such cultural components. The effects of distance decay could be hypothesized as the reason for clustering of national parks in heartland Russia and the paucity of Siberian sites. That proposition is only correct in that much of the country east of the Urals remains scantily populated and thus 'placeless'. There, preservation of nature can best be accomplished by instituting zapovedniki--or so the thought goes. Efforts of both Primorki Krai's Ecological Program (Ford, 1997, p. 10) and Khabarovsk Oblast's Institute of Comprehensive Analysis of Regional Problems (Sukhomlinov, 1995, pp.3-4) to establish national parks failed because the proposed sites encompassed wilderness rather than landscapes.

After an original period of enamourment, international funding agencies too have de-emphasized national parks with all their complexity in favor of the much more manageable goals of peopleless zapovedniki. An article survey of the Biodiversity Conservation Center's Russian Conservation News reflects this trend. Issues 3 (May, 1995) and 4 (August, 1995) contain 7 of 24 and 5 of 17 articles discussing Russian national parks. Issues 11 (Spring, 1997) and 12 (Winter, 1997) include only 3 of 32 and 0 of 29 on the topic. Two articles on Kazakhstan national parks, as well as accounts of zapovedniki in 3 other post-Soviet republics, reveal another aspect of this reprioritization. Frustrated with lack of progress in Russia, international funding, including its 'green'

components<sup>3</sup>, increasingly has gravitated to the more politically compliant peripheries, especially to the resource-rich, geopolitically vital Central Asian states.

Another shifting trend of import to the country's national parks is the recent legislative restructuring of Russia's protected areas system. The 1995 Law on Specially Protected Areas for the first time broadened the responsibilities of zapovedniki from conservation, research and monitoring to include environmental education--a fundamental function of national parks. While the additional role is primarily an attempt to make zapovedniki more palatable to local constituencies and not a purposeful aggrandizement of power, the change does nevertheless undermine the national park's exclusivity.

The same legislation also has created a new major category of protected area--the regional natural park, analogous to Canadian provincial parks or to state parks in the U.S. This outgrowth of evolving federalism, allowing regions to develop (and finance) their own parks in theory makes it much more difficult for such entities to rationalize the need for new, centrally funded national parks. Regional constituencies, however, continue to promote national parks precisely because they are not confined to the 'natural' and because only one class of protected area carries with it enough sanctity to enforce its existence against transgressions in perpetuity, unimpaired unto future generations<sup>4</sup>.

Passage of a new (1996) Forest Code containing provisions for allowing the transfer of woods to regional governments has alarmed environmentalists who fear the

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<sup>3</sup>i.e. World Bank loan requirements include environmental monitoring financed by project deposits into and from the Global Environmental Fund (GEF).

<sup>4</sup>Though the initial national parks legislation (Appendix A, Goals and Objective Tasks) included a clearly stated perpetuity clause, current statutes do not. The concept, however, continues to be implied and is interpreted as such in the content of the legislation.

areas designated for protection will be plundered instead (RCN, 1997, p.12). The Forest Service's increased independence upon demotion of the Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources could counter or promote either effort. Much depends on where the organization feels its strengths reside. The Service's monopoly has already suffered to the extent that it has been drawn into the country's 'Canadianization' process. Though the land base continues to be owned by the state, republics and oblasts have increasingly acquired rights to resources, including their forests.

Countering this tendency in Russia is the still strong antipathy to resurrecting the well-remembered Soviet era of natural resource exploitation. Again finding parallels in Canadian controversies over the (re)definition of crown lands<sup>5</sup>, the conflict presents another instance of opposing industrial and bioregional paradigms, with governments viewing the lands for their utility value in supporting the state while many local constituencies regard the territories as public domain "of and for the people". That Russian national parks continue to spring into being from the regions and that the sites incorporate Forest Service lands argues for the assumption that as of yet their protected areas development process has not acquired the full rigidity of its Canadian counterparts.

The uniquely Russian inflexibility of its national parks movement is evidenced by the persistent lack of sites beyond the Slavicized taiga. To assign protection of all other regions to zapovedniki is to deny differing perceptions of place. Few non-Russian ethnic groups, however, as yet have pursued their own national park designations. Perhaps

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<sup>5</sup>In British Columbia, this process continues to be played out in the old growth forests. On one hand, an increasing percentage of the populace has already redefined crown lands to mean public lands, with all the rights of due process which that entails, while provincial governments and their ministries view the controversy as a definitional misunderstanding.

Russia's preference for the scale of the 'European' site model finds little compatibility with ethnic visions of cultural preservation. One hint that this may hold true can be detected in the magnitude of the few proposals that have been put forth. Buryatia's original proposition that its entire republic be declared a national park, and the vastness of the eventually established Tunkinski site, suggests a quest for more than the symbolic. To draw again on Canadian equivalencies, British Columbia's present land claims negotiations reveal a pattern of 'order of magnitude' discrepancies between what native bands perceive to be land base requirements for assuring cultural continuity and what provincial governments view as politically and economically reasonable (Richter, November, 1997, personal communication). National parks fulfil the need to preserve archetypes within the latter parameters. In following these strictures, North American sites have committed many of their mega faunal populations, and especially their predators, to eventual extinction (Newmark, 1985 ). Indigenous groups perceive quite readily that this model's constraints are equally antithetical to their long-term needs. In Russia, where sites are currently being proposed by ethnic constituencies (i.e. in Yakutia), sizes range in the millions of hectares. The suggestions, though based on valid perceptions of necessity, have as little likelihood of succeeding as do the desires of their Canadian brethren<sup>6</sup>. If national parks do move beyond the Slavic heartland and its eastward corridor it will be because ethnic administrations have accepted the sufficiency/expediency of symbolic representation and/or the biodiversity paradigm has finally come into its ascendancy. The latter will prevail only if the ministries and

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<sup>6</sup>Even where they have been established, as in the 'anthropological' national parks of Ecuador and Brazil, the vast tracts set aside for indigenous peoples have been rapidly violated (Kane, 1993).

supportive institutions which promote the concept can assert their authority and overcome largely self-induced inertia. Even given these improbable accomplishments, the prospect of tundra, steppelands, desert or other non-forested national parks is dubious as long as the system's governance continues to reside solely in the Forest Service.

Within the Baikal region, the activity which brought the national parks into being has been superseded by a decade of entrenchment. That all of the protected areas established have survived is important unto itself. Longevity alone confers a certain measure of legitimacy. Despite a profusion of committees, plans, coordinative centres, expert opinions, visitations, and consultations, the parks remain much as they were at the time of their founding. Threats to their territorial and jurisdictional integrity have not been successful, though Pribaikalski continues to be beset by handicaps of configuration, inholdings, urban proximity, ethnic unrest and political meddling.

Though no new protected areas have been formed since the dissipation of the Gorbachev momentum, at least one new "variant"<sup>7</sup> has brought another >100,000 ha within the administrative jurisdiction of the Barguzinski Zapovednik. As an "ecotourism management zone," the region suggested by the Davis Plan for establishment of Severo-Baikalsk National Park is presently undergoing pre-tourist impact evaluation. The actual intentions of this exercise undoubtedly are multifold, for the north-eastern shore of Baikal is extremely difficult to access. Whether 'camouflage' for extending protected area coverage or to access funding, the project has shown that preservation measures do exist beyond IUCN classifications.

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<sup>7</sup>The expression often came into play during this work's field research. Translated as "here's one way we may be able to (or are going to) do it." In essence it reflects the less than systematic, attuned to the moment, person to person decision-making process which has enabled Russians to persevere.

The summer of 1997 brought a resurgence of international agency/NGO interest in the region with inauguration of the World Bank's long-delayed Baikal component of the GEF Russian Federation Biodiversity Project (World Bank, op. cit., 1996). Once again all that could scurried to a one-day explanatory meeting in Ulan Ude, partnering with the necessary Russian cohorts and revising proposals later to be winnowed in Moscow. One funded project, using the LAC (Limits of Acceptable Change) planning system (see Hender, Stauky and Lucas, 1990), has begun a regional visitor management study initially targeting Zabaikalski National Park (Suknev, August/November, 1997, personal communication).

What all the activity continues to ignore is the principal issue common to all the sites--to whom should Russian national parks hold first fealty? As this work has demonstrated, Soviet/Russian national parks have emerged as manifestations of political change, reconfigurations of control played out on the landscape. The result of regional and local actions, the sites have come into being as appropriated, representational public space. However, in their management--in the quasi-zapovednik zoning and in the attitudes towards "wild tourists"--the parks continue to project competing ideas about what that space constitutes and who comprises the public. Planners and administrators, as well as the national park statutes, view the sites as spaces for recreation and education, subject to usage by an appropriate, controlled and orderly public. Management plans prioritize the economic benefits, including ecotourism, and the ecological significance of the sites.

The public at large, and especially local constituencies, see the parks quite differently as spaces marked by the absence of coercion, freely accessed for the enjoyment of uncomplicated interactions with the landscape. To these groups, Russian national parks are defined first by their Russianness. Russians have formed the parks, financed them and it is with them that their future lies. These sites, not zapovedniki or any other category of protected area, represent renewed conceptions and ideals of society.

Resolution of these differences has begun at the park level, as administrators, rangers, visitors and local constituencies come into daily contact. Whereas at the beginning of this work's field research few beyond a narrow stratum of activists acknowledged the existence of such a foreign concept as national parks on Russian soil, today there is a much wider acceptance of the sites and shared understanding of their cultural and ecological goals. Though the postulate of an optimist, the parks should continue to integrate ideology and practicality if allowed to pursue this goal within their local contexts. The fears that this approach will generate a 'Tragedy of the Commons' seems, based on the past decades performance, unlikely. Foreign funding agencies and their subsidiaries will continue to add to Russia's long history of international interventions. As in the past, most such efforts will be thwarted, though not without repercussions. A worst-case scenario would be that the more grandiose economic schemes will only succeed in re-empowering governmental structures which the country so recently deposed. This work in its process of discovery and in its participatory practices has made diligent efforts to eschew that path by concentrating on specificities rather than generalities and on the realities of the past and present rather than on the

myriad of uncertain futures. As Mikhova and Pickles assert with just the proper degree of pontification,

As new societies...emerge from the old, and as former patterns of centralized power are reinscribed in the contemporary political landscape, questions of democracy and freedom increasingly need to be addressed at the level of specific practices and possibilities. If the devil is in the details, then geographers... must respond to two important challenges: developing a deeper understanding of the political economy... and putting in place new democratic concepts, practices and systems (1994, p.235).

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## Interviews

Of the great many people with which I have discussed the subject of this work, the following individuals have been especially notable for the knowledge and insights they have contributed.

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### **Acronym Glossary**

E.P.T. - Environmental Policy and Technology Project  
 ISAR - Institute for Soviet/American Relations  
 Mof E. - Ministry of Environmental Protection and Natural Resources  
 MSU - Moscow State University  
 USAID - U.S. Agency for International Development  
 (Baikal) designates American/Canadian specialists involved as volunteer consultants in the Baikal Region.

## Appendix A

Sixth Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR  
25 July 1991

### PROJECTED PRINCIPLES FOR LEGISLATION IN THE USSR & THE REPUBLICS FOR SPECIALLY PROTECTED NATURE AREAS

The principles under consideration are designed to regulate the affairs and relations involved in the organization, protection, and utilization of specially protected nature areas. The goal of this project is to preserve both ordinary and unique eco-systems, as well as individual objects occurring in nature, remarkable for their natural formation, the genetic richness of their animal and plant life, and the research that can be performed on natural processes in the biosphere, including control over changes in its makeup.

#### Section III

#### STATE NATURAL NATIONAL PARKS

##### Goals and Objective Tasks for State Natural National Parks

State natural national parks are created with the purpose of preserving natural complexes (eco-systems), which possess special ecological, historical-cultural, or aesthetic value and which are designated for use within the framework of nature-protecting, recreational, educational, and scientific goals. State natural national parks therefore represent nature-preserving institutions.

State natural national parks are to be entrusted with the following objective tasks:

The preservation of typical and unique eco-systems and objects of nature;

the preservation of cultural heritage and natural artifacts (objects of archaeological, historical, ethnographical, or other importance, as well as noteworthy scenic landscapes);

the providing of ecological education and organized rest and recreation opportunities in natural conditions for the populace at large;

those parcels of land and water allotted for the organization of state natural national parks, along with everything located within their boundaries in the way of natural resources and objects of nature, are to be placed at the disposal of the indicated parks for their use in perpetuity.

## Procedures for Formation and Status of State Natural National Parks

State natural national parks are to be formed according to procedures established by legislation of the USSR and the republics.

A state natural national park is a legal entity and is to base its activity on the regulations pertinent to it.

Expenses incurred in connection with the activity of these state natural national parks are to be financially accounted for through state budgetary allocations or through other sources of income.

## The Regime for State Natural National Parks

Within state natural national parks, the regime for protection and utilization of an ecosystem - as well as of natural and other objects - is to be established in a manner differentiated according to the type of zoning for the area under consideration (be it zoned nature reserve, recreational, or other area within the park), and also in a manner taking into account the area's ecological, recreational, cultural, and aesthetic value.

Within the territory of a state natural national park will be forbidden any activity creating a threat of harmful influence on those natural complexes and other objects under protection, namely:

any actions modifying the hydrological regime of the parks;

any manufacturing, construction, or exploitation of industrial or other objects not in keeping with the activities designated for the parks;

any geological prospecting, drilling, exploiting, or mining of useful minerals and metals;

any routine cutting of wood as the main order of business;

any introduction (acclimatization) of new species of animals or plants.

Within state natural national parks, other forms of activity which involve any lowering of natural, scientific, cultural, or aesthetic value for park territories may be limited or forbidden.

## **Appendix B**

Resolution of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation Government  
August 10, 1993 No. 769

### **STATUTE on NATIONAL NATURE PARKS of the RUSSIAN FEDERATION**

#### **I Primary Tenets**

1. National nature parks of the Russian Federation (hereinafter referred to as national nature parks) are institutions for the preservation of nature. They are earmarked for nature conservation, recreation, educational, scientific and cultural purposes, and their territory (or area of water) includes ecosystems and sites that have special environmental, historical and aesthetic significance.

National nature parks are regulated by the Russian Federation Constitution, the Russian Federation Laws, decisions passed by the Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation, resolutions of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, and the Russian Federation government decrees and orders, as well as this statute, under the jurisdiction of which national nature parks fall.

#### **II Primary Tasks of National Nature Parks**

2. National nature parks are responsible for the following primary tasks:
  - preserving model and unique ecosystems and sites, as well as historical and cultural pamyatniki and other cultural heritage sites;
  - creating conditions for regulated tourism and vacationing in nature;
  - developing and introducing scientific methods for preserving ecosystems in areas used for recreational purposes;
  - restoring damaged ecosystems and historical and cultural objects;
  - organizing environmental education among the populace;
  - introducing environmental monitoring.

### **III Process for Forming National Nature Parks**

3. National nature parks are formed by resolution of the Council of Ministers and the Russian Federation Government by conferring special authority to regulating bodies of the Russian Federation. This process is preceded by corresponding decisions made by the executive powers of the constituent republics of the Russian Federation, krais, oblasts and autonomous regions as agreed to by the local Councils of People's Deputies, as well as the land owners, who will be included within the boundaries of the national nature park.

The size of the territories of the national nature parks is expanded in this same manner.

4. Protected zones may be created for the purpose of protecting areas of the nature park against adverse impacts upon adjacent terrestrial and aquatic areas.

Decisions on whether to create such protected areas and statutory approval thereof are passed by the executive bodies of the constituent republics of the Russian Federation, including krais, oblasts and autonomous regions upon consent of the local Council of Peoples Deputies and the land owners.

### **IV National Nature Parks Management**

5. National nature parks are managed by specially authorized government bodies of the Russian Federation as determined by the Council of Ministers and the Russian Federation Government.

National nature parks are headed by directors appointed by the governing regulatory bodies of the Russian Federation, under whose jurisdiction the national nature parks fall.

Pursuant to Russian Federation law, this statute and other normative acts, the director of a national nature park manages the activities of the park, bears full responsibility for it, and ensure that the tasks assigned to the park are executed.

### **V National Nature Park Procedures and Enforcement Thereof**

6. Within the territory of a national nature park, varying regimes are established for their protection and use, given local natural, historical, cultural and social specifics. In accordance with this, the following functional zones may be established in national nature parks:
  - zapovednik zones, within which any type of economic or recreational use is forbidden;

- zakaznik zones, which create conditions for preserving objects of nature, and within which strictly regulated recreational activity is allowed:
  - educational tourism zones, created to organize environmental education and familiarization with the sights in the national nature park;
  - recreational zones, including territory set aside for sport and amateur hunting and fishing;
  - zones for protecting historical and cultural sites, fostering conditions for preserving ecosystems and cultural heritage sites;
  - agricultural landscape sites, earmarked for conducting environmentally sound agricultural practices;
  - economic zones, within the boundaries of which economic and productive activities are conducted, as necessary for the functioning of the national nature park and for providing for the primary needs of the people living within the park boundaries.
7. In the national nature parks, located in areas inhabited by native peoples, zones can be established for traditional, extensive land use, which is not destructive to the surrounding environment and which does not exhaust biological resources.
8. Limitations on visitation to national nature parks by citizens are defined by the park administration on the basis of scientifically grounded norms on using the area for recreational purposes. These limitations must be agreed to by the government management bodies, under whose jurisdiction the national nature parks fall.
9. The following activities are forbidden within the territory of the national nature parks:
- any activity presenting a threat to the existence of ecosystems and historical-cultural objects that have been placed under protection;
  - geological prospecting and mining of mineral resources;
  - the operation of plants in the following industries: cellulose-paper, chemical, metallurgy, nuclear energy and any other facility that represents an environment hazard;
  - hydrology-related activities;
  - road construction, pipe laying and the laying of electrical wires and other communication lines not related to the functions of the national nature park;

- the holding of large-scale athletic and spectator events;
  - setting up camp, pitching tent and lighting campfires in non-designated areas;
  - the movement and parking of mechanical vehicles, permitting domestic animals to run loose off the common roads and waterways, and in areas not designated for this purpose;
  - the floatation of timber along waterways and bodies of water;
  - the introduction of plants and animals foreign to the local flora and fauna;
  - the felling of primary forest and logging of soft resin;
  - other forms of activities can be forbidden or limited in national nature parks that would compromise the environmental, scientific, aesthetic, cultural and recreational value of the territory.
10. Regulations for using lands that fall within the boundaries of the national nature park but are not subject to withdrawal from economic activity are set by the executive powers of the constituent republics of the Russian Federation, krais, oblasts and autonomous regions.
11. The specifics of zoning and the regulation of each national nature park is determined by its individual statute, as approved by the Russian Federation governing body, under whose jurisdiction the park falls.
12. Compliance with a national nature park's rules and regulations is enforced by its law enforcement staff comprised of:
- the director of the national nature park and his deputy;
  - senior government inspectors for protecting national nature parks (departmental chiefs in charge of managing the rational use of nature, the protection and restoration of ecosystems, rangers [forest wardens] and ranger assistants);
  - government section enforcement agents for protecting the national nature park (forestry and hunting specialists);
  - government inspectors for protecting the national nature park (specialists in charge of managing rational nature use, foresters and huntsmen).
13. Public inspection can also play a role in the protection of the national nature park. In ensuring protection, the administration of the national nature park and its staff works

in concert with government agencies for the protection of aquatic resources and fisheries, hunting inspection, and government internal affairs offices.

14. Government law enforcement agents protecting national nature parks are given the right to:

- demand an explanation from citizens and officials as to why they violated the rules of the national nature park and nature protection legislation, including legislation on the protection of fish stocks, wildlife, aquatic, forest and land legislation, and {they have the right} to inspect the documents of citizens and officials as to their rights to be located in or travel through the park, use its resources or be engaged in economic or any other form of activity on the territory of the national park or their protected areas;
- suspend the activities of citizens or officials that contradict nature protection legislation and the rules and regulations of national nature parks and their protected areas;
- visit any enterprise, institution and organization, hydrologic engineering facility, ships and other means of transportation located on the territory of the national nature parks and their protected areas for the purpose of verifying compliance with the requirements of nature conservation legislation;
- confiscate items produced and implements of illegal nature use from the violators of nature protection legislation, and documents in a manner prescribed in current legislation;
- within the bounds of their authority, write protocols on administrative violations against the environment and historical and cultural pamyatniki, and bring the people who have committed these violations to the police or the local authorities in town and villages;
- sue, in the appropriate manner, enterprises, institutions, organizations and citizens and their associations for indemnification of damages caused to ecosystems and historical and cultural sites within the national nature parks and their protected zones, as a result of environmental violations.

15. The law enforcement entities of national nature parks are responsible for conducting activities for the use, reproduction, protection and preservation of forests. The list of national nature park law enforcement employees responsible for the state protection of forests shall be confirmed by the body of government of the Russian Federation that manages forestry practices.

16. State inspectors for the protection of national nature parks are issued a cost-free uniform by the governing body, under whose jurisdiction they fall, that is adorned with corresponding identifying markers and breast insignia.
17. Employees of the national nature park law enforcement service have the right to maintain and carry fire arms pursuant to the approved Table of Arms.

## **VI Scientific Research and Education Activities in National Nature Parks**

18. Scientific research activities in national nature parks are directed toward the development and introduction of scientific methods for preserving biological diversity, ecosystems and historical and cultural sites in recreation areas, as well as toward the assessment and forecast of the environmental situation in the region.
19. Scientific research activities in the national nature parks is conducted:
  - by staff employees of scientific departments and laboratories of the national nature parks, according to scientific research plans that have been pre-approved by the scientific and technical councils of the national nature park;
  - on a contractual basis in line with the general programs of the national nature park, and given approval by the state governing bodies, under whose jurisdiction the national nature park falls;
  - research is also conducted by scientific research institutes and appropriate institutes of higher education.
20. Scientific and technical councils are set up in national nature parks for the purpose of examining issues pertaining to the scientific, conservation, recreational and educational activities of the park.

The composition of the scientific and technical councils and their statutes must be approved by the state governing bodies, under whose jurisdiction they fall.

21. Plans to conduct forestry, biotechnological, recultivation and restoration projects, as well as other efforts to regulate wild animal populations on the territory of the national nature park must be reviewed at the scientific-technical council meetings.
22. Educational activities of national nature parks include the publishing of booklets, photo albums, trail guides, informational materials and other printed matter, the organization of museums and open air expositions, the creation and building of interpretive walking paths and trails, the organization of school-run ranger zones, the conducting of educational and work internships among students from appropriate institutes of higher learning and specialized institutes, the publishing of the activities

of national nature parks in the mass media and other forms and methods of socio-ecological rearing, educating and propagating knowledge about the environment.

## **VII Economic Activities of National Nature Parks**

23. Economic activity in national nature parks is geared toward ensuring the appropriate protection of ecosystems and historical and cultural sites, providing maintenance activities to care for and restore these ecosystems and historical and cultural sites, and organizing regulated tourism and recreation in nature.
24. Regulated tourism and recreation is developed pursuant to approved project materials, whereby national nature parks lease plots of land, natural sites, buildings and facilities to interested legal entities.
25. The construction and use of hotels, camping grounds, tourist bases, public cafeterias and other concessionaire facilities, the creation of facilities for recreation, cultural and necessity services is performed by interested state, cooperative, public and private companies and institutions under terms set forth in corresponding agreements concluded with the national nature parks.
26. In the absence of legal entities that are interested in the construction and use of tourist and recreational sites, national nature parks can independently conduct these activities using funds allocated from the budget. Moreover, income derived from utilizing these facilities is calculated as part of the expense budget of the national nature park.
27. Hunting on the territory of the national nature parks is done by the parks independently or by leasing designated hunting grounds to other hunters.

## **VIII Legal Status of National Nature Parks**

28. National nature parks' lands, mineral wealth and waterways replete with all the resources of the plant and animal kingdom, historical and cultural objects, as well as buildings, structures and other facilities, are exclusively federal property and are given to the national nature parks in a manner outlined in Russian Federation legislation.

The confiscation of lands and other natural resources of national nature parks is forbidden.

29. National nature parks are accounted for when developing territorial maps, maps of land-tenure regulations, and planning maps. These plans are subject to obligatory approval by state governing bodies of the Russian Federation, under whose jurisdiction the national nature parks fall.
30. National nature parks are legal entities, that are financed by the republican budget of the Russian Federation, non-budgetary sources attracted for these purposes, as well as from their own funds. They have their own accounts, including hard currency

accounts, in banking institutions of the Russian Federation, and they have a stamp depicting the coat of arms of the Russian Federation and the name of the particular park.

## **IX Monitoring the Activities of National Nature Parks**

31. Agency monitoring of the activities of national nature parks is conducted by government regulatory bodies, under whose jurisdiction the national nature parks fall, as well as by other government bodies within their authority.

Government monitoring of the activities of national nature parks is conducted by government bodies that have the special authority to do so.

## Appendix C

### FEDERAL STATUTE ON SPECIALLY PROTECTED NATURAL TERRITORIES

#### Section III

#### NATIONAL PARKS

##### A. General Provisions

1. National parks are nature-preserving, environmental education and scientific research institutions, whose territory (or area of water) includes ecosystems and sites that have a special environmental, historical, or aesthetic value, and are earmarked for such purposes as: preserving nature, providing an educational and cultural framework, and conducting related tourism.
2. Ownership of the land, water, minerals, plant and animal worlds that inhabit the territory of national parks is conferred to the national parks based on rights stipulated by federal law.
3. Historical and cultural objects placed under state protection in the prescribed manner are bestowed upon the national parks by consent of the government agency responsible for historical and cultural pamyatniki.
4. In individual cases, plots of land of other users, as well as owners, can be located within the boundaries of the national parks.

National parks bear the exclusive right to acquire the lands indicated with federal funds and from legal sources.

5. National parks are fully owned by the federal government.

Buildings, structures, historical-cultural and other pieces of real estate are assigned to the national parks by right to manage operations.

6. A specific national park functions on the basis of a statute that has been approved by the government agency under whose jurisdiction it falls. This is done in accordance with the specially empowered government agency of the Russian Federation that is responsible for environmental protection.
7. National parks are surrounded by a limited-use buffer zone.

## **B. Primary Objectives of National Parks**

The following tasks are placed upon national parks:

- preservation of ecosystems, as well as unique and model (etalony) natural plots and sites;
- preservation of historical and cultural sites;
- environmental education for the public;
- creation of terms for regulated tourism and recreation;
- conducting environmental monitoring;
- restoration of vandalized natural ecosystems and historical-cultural sites.

## **C. Procedure for Creating National Parks**

National parks are founded by resolution of the Russian Federation government provided that it has received consent by the subjects of the Russian Federation on whose territory the park is to be located, and provided that government entities who represent local bodies of government within the Russian Federation give consent. The same holds (true) for the specially authorized government agency of the Russian Federation responsible for environmental protection.

## **D. Procedures for Special Protection of Territories in National Parks**

1. In some territories of national parks, varying degrees of protection are assigned to special zones given the particular nature of their natural, historical-cultural and other characteristics. Stemming from these characteristics, a number of different function zones can be created within the parks, including:
  - zapovednaya (strict protection), within whose bounds all forms of economic and recreational use of the area are prohibited;
  - osobo Oxranyayemaya (with greater protection), within whose bounds conditions are created for the preservation of ecosystems and natural objects and within which only strictly regulated visitation is allowed;
  - educational tourism, designated for organizing environmental education and becoming familiar with the tourist sights within the park;
  - recreation, designated for recreation;

- preservation of historical-cultural sites at which conditions are created to ensure their preservation;
  - provide services to tourists, e.g. establishing places for overnight stays, setting up camp sites and other types of tourist services: cultural, social and informational;
  - economic activities which encompass those types of economic activities that are necessary for the functioning of the park;
2. Within the bounds of the national park, any and all activities that could cause harm to the natural ecosystems is forbidden. The same pertains to activity that may damage the plant and animal life, as well as cultural-historical sites that may run counter to the goals and objectives of the national park, including;
- the exploration and mining of minerals;
  - activities that would ruin topsoil and geological outcroppings;
  - activities that would lead to changes in hydraulic regimes;
  - the planting of orchards and dacha garden plots with the bounds of the national parks;
  - construction of highways, pipelines, electric power and other utilities, and the construction and use of farms or housing that is not related to the operation of the national park;
  - primary use felling, swath felling or stock piling of wood, hunting and fishing, industrial stock piling of wild plants, activities that cause damage to plant and animal habitats, biological collecting, introducing living organisms for acclimatization;
  - movement and parking of mechanized modes of transportation that have nothing to do with park operations, allowing farm animals to run in off-road areas and water ways that are designated for general use, and for them to wander outside areas specifically designated for them, allowing logs to float down streams and bodies of water;
  - organizing athletic and other spectator events, organizing tourist sites and building of campfires outside specially designated areas for such activities;
  - removal of items that are of historical or cultural value.
3. In those areas in which natives to the region live within park boundaries, traditional extensive use and extraction of nature's gifts is permitted. In special areas such traditional economic activity is permitted as cottage and folk industry, as are types of

use of natural resources that go with them. This is arranged with the consent of the director of the national park.

4. On those lands included in the boundaries of the national park not subject to confiscation from economic use [inholdings], it is forbidden to expand on existing buildings and no new buildings may be constructed. The land use rights for such areas are approved by the government agency responsible for the specific jurisdiction under which it (the park) falls, and by consent of the local authorities of the executive body for the subject of the Russian Federation in question.
- Issues relating to the socio-economic activities of the farming entities are coordinated with the national parks. The same is true for developing populated areas that lie within the bounds of the national parks or within their buffer zones.

### **E. Particularities of the National Park Statute**

1. National parks are non-profit based juridical entities, i.e. they are non-commercial organization and are created at the expense of the federal budget as a financed nature-preserving institution.
2. The following is a list of the types of funds that the national parks receive and have at their disposal as prescribed by law:
  - from educational, recreational, scientific, advertising and publishing, and other activities that do not contradict the purposes bestowed upon them;
  - in the form of rental fees, via indemnities due to damage done to ecosystems and other sites located on the territory of the park;
  - by confiscating, in the prescribed manner, gear for hunting, fishing and other unlawful practices in the wilderness;
  - voluntary assistance and donations.
3. Fines imposed by authorities for environmental violations, as determined by resolution of the authorities of the national park, are deposited into an independent national park fund and are managed under a separate account.
4. The national park may act as a founding entity and participate in the activities of foundations, associations, and other organizations that promote the development of national parks.
5. Plots of land within the bounds of the national park may not be privatized. The same is true for buildings, structures, and shelters.

6. National parks, as well as owners, proprietors, and users of plots of land located within the park's territory have limited use due to the primary objective of preserving wildlife. Consequently, these entities receive a tax break as determined by federal legislation of the Russian Federation and by legislation of the subjects of the Russian Federation.
7. National parks have the right to their own symbols (flags, epaulets, emblems, and the rest). The government of the Russian Federation determines the manner in which the national park symbols are approved, used and protected.
8. The manufacturing of print, souvenir, and other large volume products or goods for general consumption, that include using an image and copy of natural, historical, and cultural sites (with the exception of those that belong to a religious organization), and are located on the grounds of the national park, including valuables from museum collections of the national park, is conducted by the management of the national park.
9. If the national park falls across the territories of two or more subjects (jurisdictions) of the Russian Federation, it cannot be considered grounds for violating their territorial integrity or for changing their status.

#### **F. Organizing Services for National Park Visitors**

1. Tourism and recreation on the territories of national parks is regulated on the basis of approved and licensed projects to conduct activities to foster regulated tourism and recreation as provided by the management of national parks, as long as the services being offered to the tourists do not contradict the goals and activities of national parks and does not damage any ecosystems or historical-cultural heritage sites. The type of license is approved by the government agency of the Russian Federation within whose jurisdiction the given park falls.
2. Once a license has been issued, the bearer can obtain the right to lease a plot of land, wildlife site, buildings and structures under terms defined in specific agreements that have been signed with the management of the national parks. These agreements must be registered with the government agencies under whose jurisdiction the national park falls.
3. The bearer of the license presents for approval project documentation for all forms of work planned, in compliance with the license and the lease agreement. Approval is granted by the management of the national park and the government agency responsible for the park.

The government of the Russian Federation determines the manner in which licenses are granted and annulled, the way in which wildlife sites, buildings and other structures are leased.

## Appendix D

### STATUS OF ZABAIKALSKI STATE NATURAL NATIONAL PARK

Federal Forest Service, 1987

- 1.1 Zabaikalski National Park protection founded by the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation on 9/12/86.

The goal: to preserve unique natural ecosystems of the Baikal Basin and to create an infrastructure for developing organized recreation to go on in the park.

- 1.2 Boundaries--northern boundary along the southern boundary of the Barguzin State zapovednik. East and south-east along the peaks of the Barguzin ridge until it hits the north-east corner of the 2nd quadrant of the Ust Barguzin Forest Service lands.

Moreover, the park includes the Ushkani Islands. And a buffer zone of 9800 hectares which extends to the benzene (gasoline) storage town just south of Barguzin. Also a strip of water from the surface to the bottom extending 3 kilometres out from the shoreline.

Aquatic zone--546 sq. km. or 54,600 hectares.

Park total--269,100 hectares, including 37,000 hectares of Lake Baikal, the entire Chivyrkui Bay of 27,800 hectares and 10,000 hectares of Barguzin Bay.

- 1.6 Park financing--the park is to be self-financing.
- 1.7 The park falls within jurisdiction of the Ministry of Forest Service of the Buryat Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

The park is headed by a director that is elected by the park staff. The first deputy to the director is also the head ranger.

- 1.9 Directives--to regulate the extent of recreation, control and regulate activities of the fishing enterprises under the Ministry of Fisheries of the Russian Federation, including quotas, ways and places. (omul, syke, and other fish) Also to control the shooting of nerpa that is carried on by the fishing enterprises. To regulate the biomass of fish. To administer the buffer zone.

- 1.11 Scientific research is carried out on a research basis dealing with ecosystems, recreation and economic activities.

1.13 Control over concessionaires.

II. 14 TASKS [objectives] of Zabaikalski National Park

14.1 Preserve the integrity of various biogeoclimatic zones; preserve the water surface of Lake Baikal and Lake Arangatui; preserve various geological sites; preserve the flora and fauna; preserve pamyatniki (historical, natural, cultural).

14.2 Restore impaired natural communities.

14.3 Create an infrastructure for tourism and recreation, as well as an infrastructure that makes it possible for visitors to acquaint themselves with pamyatniki.

14.4 Develop an optimal working plan of economic and recreational uses of the ecosystems.

14.5 Organize biological and environmental monitoring.

14.6 Organize environmental education for the population and provide information on environmental protection and local cultural (regional) studies.

II. 15 RESPONSIBILITIES

15.1 Responsible for protection from forest fires.

15.2 Responsible for protecting flora from pests, vermin and illness.

15.3 Responsible for preserving and reproducing land and aquatic fauna.

15.4 Responsible for pamyatniki (natural, historical and cultural).

15.5 Responsible for maintaining forests by thinning, cleaning up windfalls, regeneration [planting].

15.6 Responsible for gathering roots and plants.

15.7 Responsible for maintenance of tourism facilities.

15.8 Responsible for coordinating and monitoring uses of park territory for educational, recreational, cultural and research/scientific purposes.

## II. 16 USE OF FUNCTIONAL PART OF PARK AND BUFFER ZONE

### Prohibitions

- 16.1 No one is allowed to visit the park without permission.
- 16.2 No surveying is allowed, except for purposes of delineating park boundaries.
- 16.3 Mining of minerals or exploitation of aquatic resources is not allowed.
- 16.4 Construction of buildings other than those in the park plan is not allowed.
- 16.5 Construction/use of fish hatcheries and farms is not allowed.
- 16.6 Catching of productive [breeding] omul and syke is not allowed.
- 16.7 Also not allowed--any harmful fishing practices.
- 16.8 Culling of fish, nerpa, or land fauna out of season is not allowed.
- 16.9 It is illegal to dump industrial and domestic wastes into rivers and lakes.
- 16.10 It is illegal to organize clubs, camps, athletic competitions and other events that would include a large audience.
- 16.11 It is illegal to have campsites and campfires in non-designated areas.
- 16.12 Vehicles must stay on provided roads.
- 16.13 Destruction, harm or vandalism of natural sites or any other sites (ie. buildings) is illegal.
- 16.14 Graffiti on cliffs, rocks, trees, is illegal.
- 16.15 Cutting trees for general use is illegal.
- 16.16 Burning of last years grasses is illegal.
- 16.17 Collecting of mushrooms, berries, and cedar nuts is allowed in designated sites only.
- 16.18 Commercial hunting/trapping or catching of animals in their lairs is prohibited except for regulation of species as carried out by the park itself.
- 16.19 Dogs without leashes are prohibited, as is the training of dogs.

- 16.20 It is illegal to enter the park with firearms or for hunting.
- 16.21 It is illegal to bring fishing nets into the park iff not in line with existing rules.
- 16.22 Recreation/sport fishing only in designated areas as regulated by park.
- 16.23 Without permission of the park, one cannot enter "functional zones." [zapovedniki and zakazniki]
- 16.24 It is illegal to graze in forests except in designated sites.
- 16.25 Processing of sand, gravel, clay or other rock material is prohibited.
- 16.26 Any other forms of activity which damages ecosystems or involves reducing the natural and cultural values of the territory is prohibited.

### III 17.0 FUNCTIONAL ZONES

There are three functional zones, each with differing levels [regimes] of protection in terms of economic, recreational and other things for which they are used.

- 17.1 Zapovedniki along the shoreline territory.

The purpose is to preserve the ecosystems that are undamaged or only slightly so. Only activities in these areas to protect from fire, vermin, illness and to make it possible for fauna to reproduce.

106,900 hectares or 40% of entire park.

- 17.2 Aquatic zapovedniki.

Main purpose is to protect individual sections of Lake Baikal in its natural, optimal state. ie. natural habitats of various types of fish. Here are found the best conditions for fish habitats in the bay. All recreation and economic activity is prohibited. No fishing, no culling of nerpa can take place. Only things done here are activities related to preserving these aquatic ecosystems and preservation and reproduction of ichthofauna found in these areas.

3,700 hectares or 1% of entire park.

- 17.3 Zones for regulated recreation and economic activity.

Primary function--to preserve the integrity of biogeoclimatic zones and to provide infrastructure for full-fledged organized tourism and recreation (including trails).

This can be achieved by providing guided trails and by leading tourists along those trails that have particularly beautiful scenery and are aesthetically interesting because of the variety of ecosystems that prevail, including typical and unique communities and natural and archaeological pamyatniki.

The goal in such areas is to provide environmental education and awareness to park visitors and to encourage awareness of environmental protection as well as the historical and cultural values as a heritage for the Soviet people.

Throughout this territory are trails of five various lengths/difficulty/time to traverse. Facilities ie. campsites, signs, moorings at the end of each trail for day activities: information booths, athletic fields, sandy beaches for swimming and sunbathing, designated spots for fishing.

Domestic organized tourism in this zone will be carried out by instructors from the Buryat Oblast council on tourism and excursions.

The purpose of any type of forest maintenance [in these areas] is to plant local species characterized by highly aesthetic qualities and the ability to withstand recreation stress. [no longer pursued in the park] Also planting after forest fires. Cutting dead or fallen trees within 100 metres of the paths and thinning for sunlight allowed.

Gathering of mushrooms, berries and nuts is allowed, as is regulation of some populations of animals.

93,400 hectares or 35% of entire park.

#### 17.4 Zone of regulated recreation and economic use of Baikal and Arangatui (aquatic zone).

Primary function--protection of aquatic ecosystems and to insure optimal conditions for organized tourist excursions on waterways. Use of passenger vessels to show people the natural and artistic beauty, various biogeoclimatic zones, including Holy Nose Peninsula, the Barguzin Range, the islands in Chivyrkui Bay, as well as the "quaint" harbours, promontories etc. This is all to be done for the encouragement of environmental awareness and education.

Another important aspect of this zone is to control the omul, syke and other fish populations, including the nerpa. This will be done by the fishing enterprises under the Ministry of Fisheries in combination with Rybakkolkhozcoyus (Fisheries Collective). Quotas will be determined by methods set by VostsibrybNIIproyekt (East Siberian Fishing Scientific Research Institute Project) and the Limnological Institute. Numbers will actually be set by the Committee Council on Commercial Fishing within the above institutes.

[Only] monitoring [enforcement] of quotas, time periods, way in which fishing takes place is controlled by the park. This zone also seeks to preserve reproductive capacities of the most valuable fish species and cull other types of fish as well as the nerpa.

42,100 hectares / 42.1 sq. km. or 16% of the entire park.

#### 17.5 Zakaznik areas for waterfowl

Also allow for regulation of the muskrat population.

Preserve on the zapovednik level historical natural landscape and species diversity of waterfowl.

This area is on the territory of the Chivyrkui land neck that connects Holy Nose with the south-east spur of the Barguzin Range. During the construction of the Irkutsk hydroelectric station, this zone was often called the flooded zone [because of the rise in the lake which inundated this area, though not as much as was expected. Thus "the flooded zone" may have been a "before the fact" designation.]

This area has an interesting geomorphic structure. It is primarily covered with thick sedgelike vegetation, bogs. It contains some extremely good feeding grounds/rookeries for waterfowl, including gulls, ducks, cranes, swans and others. Likewise a favourable muskrat habitat of which population control is necessary.

So, in addition to the protection of waterfowl and the annual culling of the muskrat populations, other than berry gathering, and fishing for sport or hobby, no other recreational activity is allowed in this zone. Conservation management is based on protecting ecosystems and improving the conditions for habitat and reproduction of existing fauna.

Haying is allowed to meet the needs of the park, but only at those times when birds that inhabit this territory are not nesting and only in selected areas.

14,200 hectares or 5% of the entire park.

#### 17.6 Recreation Areas

Primary functions--to provide active (one) day rests. Also to insure interesting recreation options for those staying several days through Intourist and large scale daily activities for visitors to the park.

Recreational activity is not concentrated in one area. There are ten specific sites for tourist purposes that border the water areas of Lake Baikal.

Recreation and economic activity is oriented towards meeting the demands to maximal satisfaction of short and long term stays in the park.

Forestry activities should be carried out for the purpose of planting trees that will help in the overall goal of environmental protection, be attractive and help in the anthropogenic impacts on the park.

Amateur fishing and fishing for sport allowed with the permission of the park.

Within this zone, activities taken to protect the territory from forest fires and to protect trees from vermin (pests) and disease. Also to protect and preserve natural, historical and cultural pamyatniki, to clean up the forest, forest regeneration and additional uses, such as the gathering of berries, mushrooms, herbs.

8,800 hectares or 3% of the entire park.

### III. 18 BUFFER ZONE OF ZABAIKALSKINATIONAL PARK

18.1 Along the [land] borders of the park, forms of recreational and economic activity allowed are identical to the adjacent functional zones of the national park.

18.2 In the aquatorium of Lake Baikal, the regime of recreational and economic activities is accepted as analogous to 18.1.

### IV. 19 ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

19.0 Conservation management is handled in the following manner:

In accordance with the statute as ratified by the Ministry of Forestry in the Buryat ASSR. The park has law enforcement rangers that simultaneously enjoy the rights of carrying out law enforcement activities, protecting fishing and law enforcement matters dealing with state hunting. Headed by the park director. The director of the park is the head state inspector on conservation in the park. Deputy directors are likewise deputies of the head state inspector.

20.0 Enterprises, institutions, organizations, and citizens are required to compensate for all losses caused by harming the environment of the national park. The manner of compensation is determined by the USSR and the Russian Federation.

## V. 21 REVENUES

### 21a. Sources of income are the following:

Deductions or taking of some money from fisheries enterprises of the Ministry of Fisheries of the Russian Federation and from the conglomeration "Rybakolkhozsoyus" from the annual quotas of various fish species and from the culling and killing of Baikal nerpa (for the environmental regulation of biomass in terms of fish and nerpa).

- 21b. 15% of the funds earned for social and cultural enterprises from the Barguzin and other mixed administrative regions.
- 21c. Entrance fees into the park "beyond the Barguzin River".
- 21d. Fees for using tourist huts.
- 21e. Hotel, banya and laundromat fees.
- 21f. Entrance fees from the central collective farm.
- 21g. Fees for using beach areas in the zone of visitor services of the Ust Barguzin zone.
- 21h. Fees for using aquatic and on-land transportation.
- 21i. Special lectures and excursions for visitors given by park employees.
- 21j. Profits from trade - souvenirs, booklets and the like.
- 21k. Fines collected from enterprises, institutions, organizations and individual citizens for damaging the park or violating park rules in the functional zones.
- 21l. Funds received from selling "fluffy" furs and meat of several on-land fauna killed for population regulation purposes.
- 21m. Revenues taken in from sport and amateur fishing as well as shooting of flying [migratory] ducks.
- 21n. Profits earned from timber that has been cut for cleaning or thinning of forests and other such felling.
- 21o. Profits from leasing land to various organizations on the territory of the park.

21p. Other sorts of income.

In the future, in the event that economic activity remains stable and constant and that there are favourable financial conditions, the issue of financing all operating expenses in order to maintain the park could be addressed whereby expenses would be covered by the above mentioned revenues. This would provide a stimulus for more effective management of the park without additional funding from the central budget.

VI. OTHER ISSUES PERTAINING TO RECREATIONAL AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITY IN THE PARK

- 22.0 Activities related to the environmental regulation of various aquatic species of fauna, the biomass of freshwater white fish and regulating the population of nerpa, controlled culling of water fauna or culling of non-game animals will be carried out in accordance with resolution by the scientific-technical council of the park in accordance with Goscompriroda of the Buryat ASSR.
- 23.0 To regulate amateur ice-fishing in the buffer zone of the park in the Barguzin Bay the following measures are taken: winter amateur ice fishing will be carried out under the control of the national park; fees for fishing are excised by the park by deducting 10% of the fees paid to the republican hunting and fishing societies.
- 24.0 Amateur and sport fishing by tourists in the spring, summer or fall periods in the recreational zone of the park can only be done at the mouths of the rivers (Bolshoya Cherimshana, Malenki Cherimshana, Bolshoya Chivyrkui) and within the range of one kilometre upstream from the shoreline of Lake Baikal within the riverbed. Also, tourists can fish in special zones set up for special amateur and sport fishing in Chivyrkui Bay, in Lake Arangatui and Barmashevo (a smaller lake near the mainland side of the tombolo connecting with Holy Nose Peninsula).
- 25.0 All contributions to the revenue of the park are to be deposited into a special account in the Agroprombank (Agroindustrial Bank) in the settlement of Barguzin. All of these contributions form a special fund called, "Social-economic development fund", with up to 90% of all revenues of this fund and up to 10% used as material incentives for park employees. The manner in which the money from this fund is spent is decided by the scientific-technical committee of the park.
- 26.0 Park employees are allowed to carry firearms in the park as outlined in statute "Gosudarstvennoi Okhotnich'ei Inspektsii" and "Gosudarstvennoi Inspektisii Rybookhrany."

## Appendix E

### FRIENDS OF THE RUSSIAN NATIONAL PARKS

#### Documents of Incorporation

#### CONSTITUTION

1. The name of the society is Friends of the Russian National Parks Society (hereinafter referred to as "the Society").
2. The purposes of the Society are:
  - (A) To increase the public awareness and appreciation of Russian Parks as an integral element of the global network of protected areas and to encourage and facilitate their establishment, development, effectiveness, and success by:
    - (1) disseminating information about the parks through publications, lectures, school programs, the visual media, and other educational avenues;
    - (2) bringing to the assistance of the parks the abilities of appropriate specialists as well as the talents of the public at large;
    - (3) designing, implementing, and actively participating in projects formulated to fulfil park management mandates;
    - (4) providing individuals and organizations with opportunities to experience the environments and activities which these parks offer.
  - (B) To promote the exchange of expertise between Russian national parks and like systems worldwide.
  - (C) To work with other organizations which share like goals.
3. The control and conduct of business of the Society shall be vested in its Board of Directors, consisting of a President, Vice President, Treasurer, Secretary and at least one Chair of a standing committee. This provision is unalterable.
4. The operation of the Society shall be carried on without purpose of gain for its members and any profits or other accretions to the Society shall be used for promoting its purposes. This provision is unalterable.

## Appendix F

### FRNPS ECOTOURISM CONTRACTUAL AGREEMENT

#### 1. ITINERARY

1.1. The Friends of the Russian National Parks Society (hereafter FRNPS) and Mazamas agree to jointly sponsor a trip to the Lake Baikal region of south-central Siberia according to the itinerary noted below and subject to the following conditions. Maximum number of participants for the trip will be 12, with a minimum number of eight. The trip is to be scheduled for August 1-18, 1998. These dates may be modified to comply with changes in airline and/or ground transportation schedules.

1.2. The itinerary will consist of:

Day 1:	Depart US
Day 2:	Arrive Khabarovsk. Sightseeing. Hotel.
Day 3:	Depart Khabarovsk on Train
Days 4-5:	Continue Trans-Siberian Railroad journey
Day 5:	Arrive Ulan Ude. Sightseeing. Hotel.
Day 6:	Travel to Ust Barguzin. Homestay.
Day 7:	Day Excursion. Homestay.
Days 8-11:	Exploration of Zabaikalski National Park (hereafter ZNP). Day hikes. Tent Camping.
Day 12:	Boat trip to Ushkani Islands and Chivyrkuski Bay. Tent or boat camping.
Day 13:	Return to Ust Barguzin. Homestay.
Day 14:	Cross Lake Baikal by boat to Irkutsk
Day 15:	Arrive Irkutsk. Sightseeing. Hotel.
Day 16:	Flight from Irkutsk to Khabarovsk. Hotel.
Day 17:	Depart Khabarovsk for US. Same day arrival in US.

#### 2. OPERATIONS

2.1. FRNPS will make all arrangements and provide and pay for all costs not specifically the responsibility of clients from Khabarovsk arrival on Day 2 to Khabarovsk departure on Day 17.

2.2. Mazamas will provide a tour leader for the trip.

2.3. Mazamas will pay FRNPS for services, which shall include:

- transfer from airline terminal to hotel in Khabarovsk and from railroad station to hotel in Ulan Ude;

- hotels in Khabarovsk, Ulan Ude and Irkutsk. Double rooms unless client requests and pays for single supplement. Homestays may be substituted for hotel accommodations prior to departure if agreed upon by both FRNPS and Mazamas;
  - boat excursions on Lake Baikal and crossing to Irkutsk;
  - all ground transportation, including trans-Siberian rail;
  - all meals;
  - English speaking guides in Khabarovsk, Irkutsk and Ulan Ude and an interpreter for hikes in Zabaikalski National Park. Clients will be expected to carry their own day packs on
  - park hikes;
  - permits and other admission fees within the park;
  - equipment for group cooking. Clients to provide own dishes and utensils;
  - FRNPS/ZNP will provide tents for camping. Clients will provide sleeping bags and pads;
- .3. ZNP camp chores, including cooking and general campsite setup will be the responsibility of and carried out by the park staff. Clients may volunteer to assist.
- 2.4. FRNPS/ZNP/Mazamas will make every effort to minimize ecological impacts on the areas visited. Staff and clients will be instructed to:
- bury, burn, or carry out all biodegradable trash;
  - carry out all non-biodegradable trash;
  - refrain from degrading the water quality of lakes and streams with any kinds of camp wastes. Such measures shall include the placement of toilet pits well removed from water sources and their refilling with soil before leaving campsites.

### 3. COMMUNICATIONS

- 3.1. Mazamas will send a trip client roster to FRNPS as early as possible and provide updates whenever changes occur. A final roster will be provided no later than 90 days prior to departure (though individuals may be added thereafter).
- 3.2. Upon receipt of this roster, FRNPS/ZNP will provide any support documents necessary for visa applications to the attending visa service. For convenience and to minimize problems, all clients must obtain their visa through the professional visa service specified by FRNPS. Costs for the visa and preparation services will be the responsibility of the client.
- 3.3. FRNPS/Mazamas recognize the importance of communications for effective client service. Both parties agree to maintain frequent communications regarding preparations and sign-ups. Upon receipt of any communication within the 90 days

previous to departure, the receiver will acknowledge receipt within 5 working days, even if the requested information is not immediately available.

#### 4. FINANCIAL TERMS

- 4.1. Mazamas will pay FRNPS US\$2700 per client for the above mentioned trip.
- 4.2. There will be no charge for the Mazamas tour leader.
- 4.3. Mazamas will deposit a 15% advance payment of US\$405 per client upon receipt of signups.
- 4.4. Mazamas will deposit a second payment of \$US405 per client at least 90 days prior to departure.
- 4.4. Mazamas will deposit the remaining payment of \$1890 per client at least 45 days prior to trip departure.
- 4.5. Client cancellation fees upon receipt of written notification apply as follows:
  - 60-90 days. ....\$100
  - 30-59 days..... 20% of cost
  - 14-29 days..... 40% of cost
  - 1-13 days..... 65% of cost
  - No Show..... 100% of cost

Client substitutes may be accepted to preclude cancellation fee charges. All cancellations within 90 days prior to trip departure, however, must pay a US\$100 processing fee.

- 4.6. FRNPS reserves the right to cancel a trip if sign-ups are inadequate to make the trip economically infeasible to operate. If this should happen, FRNPS will give a full refund to all clients. However, FRNPS is not responsible for additional expenses incurred by clients in preparing for the trip (e.g. trip/medical insurance, non-refundable air tickets, visa fees, clothing/equipment).

**AMENDMENT OR ADDITIONS TO THIS AGREEMENT MAY BE MADE ONLY WITH THE WRITTEN CONSENT OF BOTH FRIENDS OF THE RUSSIAN NATIONAL PARKS SOCIETY (FRNPS) AND MAZAMAS.**

## Appendix G

### NGO Biographies

ISAR (Originally, Institute for Soviet-American Relations) -- A major NGO coalition coordinator administering and disbursing monies from international agencies to the second and third tiers. A US/ Russian NGOs partnership program (USAID funded), for instance, included the Sacred Earth Network, Audubon Society and the Sierra Club. Another USAID sponsored program, "Seeds for Democracy," provided small startup grants to grassroots groups for communication needs, conference travel, recycling, toxics monitoring and green publishing. Indirectly involved through its oversight activities in Baikal projects linked to protected area.

Raleigh International -- Operated on the Earth Watch model, with paying volunteers providing assistance on professional/academic research projects. Drawn to the Baikal region by opportunities to expand its base, in collaboration with the Royal Society (UK) and the Baikal Centre for Ecological Research, one of the Limnological Institute Director Grachev's creations. Participated in trail/ campground construction in Zabaikalski National Park and a Davis Associates/MacArthur Grant pastoral inventory in the Barguzin Valley.

Schumacher Society -- Continuing in the tradition of its mentor, E.F. Schumacher, author of the 1973 environmental clarion call, Small is Beautiful: Economics as if People Mattered. Initiators of the Olkhon Regional Land Trust project, funded by George Davis, Associates as part of a USAID grant. Primary objectives are to "provide regional ownership through a democratically structured organization, to secure private-use rights for specified purposes, and clarify ownership of buildings and land improvements, and thus facilitate investment and needed business development (Witt, 1993, p.7). A counterforce to the retention of Olkhon Island in Pribaikalski National Park.

Sierra Club -- Offering "Lake Baikal Service Trips" (sweat equity ecotourism). Active in both national parks with maintenance activities (i.e. trail clearance/cleanup, construction of campground sanitary facilities (outhouses) which the parks totally lacked).

UESS-SPODEK (Institute of Ecological Dreams and Realities) -- Society for the Limitation of the Deficits of Ecological Capacities) -- a University of Prague student ecological organization for training "future experts in the field." Conducted baseline research for Zabaikalski National Park wetland management plan in cooperation with the Buryat Scientific Centre of the Siberian Division of the (former) USSR Academy of Sciences. Project funded in part by the International Council for Bird Preservation (UK), the Fauna and Flora Society (UK) and British Petroleum. Produce Ecology of the Svjatoj Nos Wetlands, Lake Baikal.

**Baikal Centre for Ecological and Citizen Initiatives** -- A conduit set up to funnel first tier NGO and international development funds to the region (i.e. a public awareness and participation program to increase participation in air, water and radiation legislation, co-organized by Baikal Watch and funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) through Save the Children Foundation (US). Director, Irina Dyatlovskaya was previously employed by Pribaikalski National Park, where her ex-husband (Hank Birnbaum [US]) continues to serve as a ranger.

**Baikal Watch** -- One of many region/subject specific sub-sets of Earth Island Institute (US), founded by David Brower, also founder of Friends of the Earth and first executive director of the Sierra Club (see McPhee, J., 1971). Organizer of the 1991 Baikal national parks expedition. An example of the one person (Director Gary Cook) spin-off organization, attempting to dominate the lucrative international liaison niche by being all things to all people. A persistent presence.

**Biodiversity Conservation Center** -- Originally a committee spin-off of the Socio-Ecological Union (November, 1992). In 1993 awarded a MacArthur Grant (US) to support its own core umbrella/ clearinghouse activities. Founding members include V. Stepanitsky, presently Chair of the Department of Protected Areas Management and Margaret Williams (RCN present Editor in Chief). A conduit from first tier organizations (The Nature Conservancy, ISAR, World Wildlife Fund) to national parks, zapovedniki and local environmental groups. Publisher of English language Russian Conservation News, in partnership with the Pocono Environmental Education Center (US), supported by MacArthur, Turner, Weeden and other (US) Foundation Grants.

**Greenpeace-Russia** -- Coordinates Baikal's World Heritage designation application. Serves to legitimize the national park's as essential to the nomination process.

**Socio-Ecological Union** -- Russian initiated umbrella association developed as an alternative to Soviet dominated environmental organizations. Served much the same role with the influx of international organizations, facilitating linkages with ngos as well as "like-thinking" officials. Becomes a major "green power broker" with election of members to the Russian Parliament.

**World Wide Fund For Nature-Russia** (sub-component of World Wildlife Fund (US) -- Major grant organizer for Russian protected areas projects, including the Baikal Region. Supported by a MacArthur Grant, reformats unsuccessful international agency/ngo technical assistance proposals into a US\$15.5 million biodiversity conservation investment portfolio (Conserving Russia's Biological Diversity, 1994). Coordinated in Russia by Svet Zabelin, founder of the Socio-Ecological Union.

**Baikal Fund** -- An amalgamation of efforts borne of late 1980's protests over the shipment of Baikalsk Pulp Plant effluent into the Angara River watershed. Dedicated to stopping the pollution of the Baikal region.

**Baikal Friends** -- Established by Alexander Beketov, Zabaikalski National Park staff member to promote non-funded park projects (i.e. an ecology centre, nature museum) and to protect the nerpa. An example of a local CBO reflecting higher tier desires for grassroots constituencies.

**Baikal Wave** -- Engaged in environmental education/ monitoring. Small scale projects (i.e. adapting western environmental teaching materials for local schools, collecting data to support illegal actions within protected areas). Increasingly integrated for grassroots sub-contracts by upper tier organizations. Co-chaired by long-time Irkutsk resident, British ex-patriot Jennie Sutton.

**Canadian-Soviet Freshwater Twinning Project** -- Included as an example of the many organizations looking for partnership opportunities which visited the region immediately after it became accessible. Another Baikal Watch introduction, seeking "mutually beneficial exchange programs [and] the financial support required for their full realization" (Great Lakes Alive, 1991, p.8). A outgrowth of "Great Lakes Alive", in turn the product of two Ontario NGO's, Trees for Today and Tomorrow (founded 1988) and The Environmental Hazards Team for the Great Lakes Inc. (founded 1989).

**Friends of the Russian National Parks Society** -- An outgrowth of Director Michael Tripp's doctoral dissertation research at Zabaikalski National Park. At present largely confined to assistance at that one site, including yearly ecotourism programs.

**People's Front** -- Sergei Shepkaev's first environmental organization which developed into the Buryat Political Party, successfully electing him a People's Deputy to the Soviet Parliament in 1989.

**Tahoe-Baikal Institute** -- A "twinning project" variant sponsored by the Tahoe Conservancy and accredited by the University of California. Unlike UESS-SPODEK's in-depth approach, the more common introductory short course program with a culminating field experience. Park work has varied depending on arrangements. A luminary in early Pribaikalski contacts.

Appendix H

FRNPS "Travel Siberia" Brochure

# TRAVEL SIBERIA!

*The Experience of a Lifetime*



G. PAVLISHIN

*Explore the Siberian wilderness with  
Friends of the Russian National Parks*



**T**he establishment of national parks in Russia is a very recent phenomenon, in many ways symbolic of the country's rapid social and political changes. FRNPS's purpose is to increase international awareness and appreciation of these sites as an integral element of the global network of protected areas and to encourage and facilitate their establishment, development, effectiveness and success. The Society is pursuing these goals by:

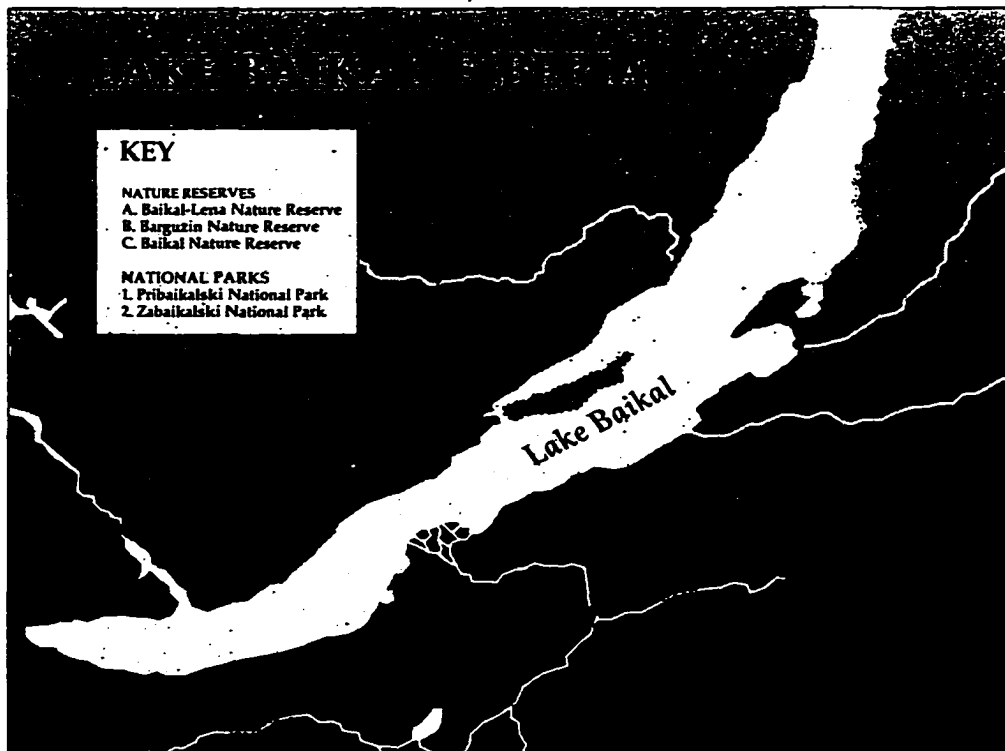
- making information about the parks available through publications, lectures, school programs, the visual media and other educational avenues.
- bringing to the assistance of the parks the abilities of appropriate specialists as well as the talents of the public at large.
- designing, implementing and actively participating in projects formulated to fulfill park management mandates.

- providing individuals and organizations with opportunities to experience the environments and activities which these parks offer.

We welcome membership in the Society, aid in its objectives and donations to its projects. A one year membership fee of \$15 will keep you updated on our activities, bring you articles on Russian national parks and reservation priority for FRNPS expeditions.

If you have further questions about the Society or its work, please contact:

**MICHAEL TRIPP**  
**FRNPS DIRECTOR**  
 2816 SEAVIEW ROAD, VICTORIA,  
 B.C. V8N 1K8  
 (604) 477-4407





**Expedition Fee:**

\$\_\_\_\_\_ per person for twenty days (round trip from Anchorage).

**What to Expect:**

An exceptional exploration of off-the-beaten-track Siberia, the outcome of two years of fieldwork and planning. Taiga forests, the world's oldest and largest lake, a botanists wonderland - and good "birding" too. The first North American group hikes over the Barguzin Range. Hot springs and banyas (wood-fired steam baths) for rejuvenation. Lodging with local families. Hearty Russian meals and hospitality. Seven person groups to insure travel within the context of Russian society. Much more.

**Expedition Fee Includes:**

All in-tour transportation and accommodations, most meals, group leader/interpreter, excursions, park entrance fees and hiking guides, preparation and site information materials, year membership in FRNPS.

**Expedition Fee Does Not Include:**

Air fare from place of residence to Anchorage and return, some meals (i.e. supplementary back-packing supplies), personal necessities and incidentals, passport, travel insurance and any applicable airport departure taxes.

**Transportation and other Cost Conditions:**

Air fare is based on a group excursion booking with Alaska Airlines for international travel and Aeroflot for the one-way return to Khabarovsk at the end of our journey. Though every effort will be made to keep these and other costs within projections, FRNPS reserves the right to raise the expedition fee to offset price increases.



**RESERVATIONS**

**YES! I/We want to join the Friends of The National Parks Expedition.**

Please reserve \_\_\_\_\_ space(s). As a deposit, I/we have enclosed a cheque for \$\_\_\_\_\_ (\$\_\_\_\_\_ per person) made payable to ERNPS.

Expedition Preference: July 4-23 \_\_\_\_\_ July 18-August 6 \_\_\_\_\_ August 1-20 \_\_\_\_\_

Name(s) \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ Province \_\_\_\_\_ Code \_\_\_\_\_

Phone: Home ( ) \_\_\_\_\_ Work ( ) \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_ Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Please mail to:

**MICHAEL TRIPP  
FRNPS DIRECTOR  
2816 SEAVIEW ROAD  
VICTORIA, B.C. V8N 1K8**