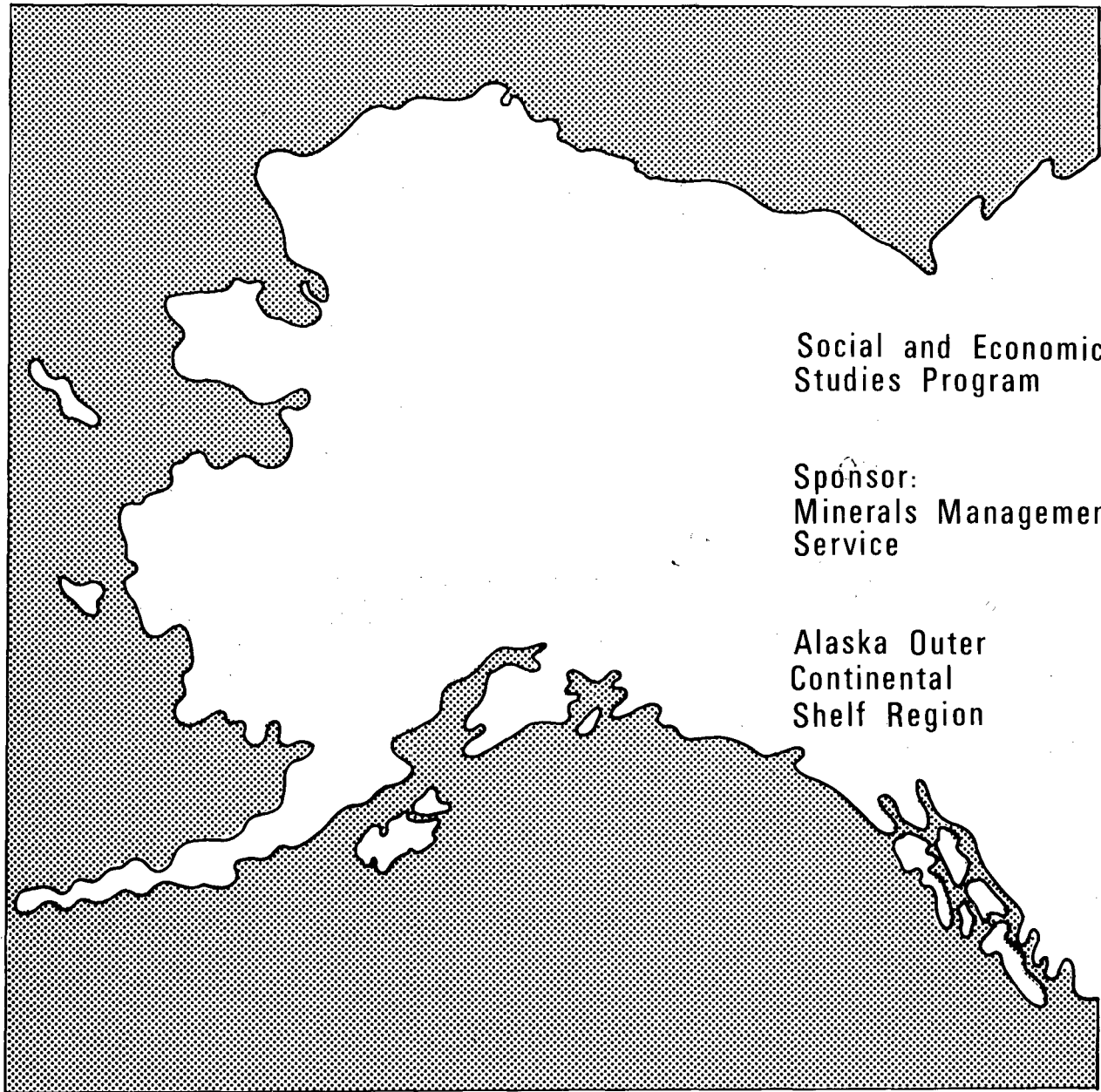


Technical Report
Number 85A



Social and Economic
Studies Program

Sponsor:
Minerals Management
Service

Alaska Outer
Continental
Shelf Region

**A Description of the socioeconomics of the
North Slope Borough
Appendix: Transcripts of Selected
Inupiat Interviews**

APPENDIX G

EDITED TRANSCRIPTS OF KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS



APPENDIX G

EDITED TRANSCRIPTS OF KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

Appendix G contains edited transcripts of twenty-one interviews conducted with residents of Kaktovik, Nuiqsut, and Barrow. The objectives of the interviews were (1) to verify our understanding of testimony given by these residents concerning petroleum development and (2) to extend our understanding of Inupiat perceptions about petroleum development. The reader is referred to pages 35 through 37 for a discussion of the methods used in the key informant interviews and to Chapter Seven for our application of the transcripts of our study findings.

It is important for those intending to use the transcripts to understand that many of the questions framed during the interview were based on previous testimony. Many questions sought to confirm the meaning of previous statements. Taken out of context, these questions would appear to be leading the key informant to provide a particular answer.

It is also important to remember that we have extensively edited the transcripts. We decided that the most valuable use of the transcripts is to provide future researchers with a readily understandable source of information. To accomplish this objective, we eliminated redundant phrases, inserted words where necessary to complete sentences, and substituted words where the context clearly

indicated the word originally used did not have the meaning intended by the key informant. Obviously, the edited transcripts can no longer be considered to be verbatim recordings of our interviews. We strongly believe, however, that we have vastly increased the chances that readers will now correctly interpret the statements of each key informant.

We returned to the North Slope and reviewed the edited transcripts with key informants. Virtually all the changes resulting from this review were items of information still missing from the edited transcripts. We should also add that the process of recording, editing, and reviewing key informant interviews was extremely well received.

Since all of the transcripts of our key informant interviews have been edited, researchers should not consider the transcripts to be exact quotes. While we believe it is appropriate for researchers to reference statements contained in the transcripts, it would be inappropriate to quote transcript statements without first obtaining the approval of the key informant.

To aid researchers in locating material concerning specific topics, we have coded the subjects mentioned in each interview by transcript page number. This computer index immediately precedes the transcripts themselves, which appear in alphabetical order by the last name of the key informant.

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| ERICKLOOK JOE | PRIMARY SPSS KILLED, | 6 |
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SOLOMAN NOLAN

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| ERICKLOOK JOE | INUPIAT NOT GETTING | 2 |
| HOPSON TERZA | INUPIAT NOT GETTING | 11 |
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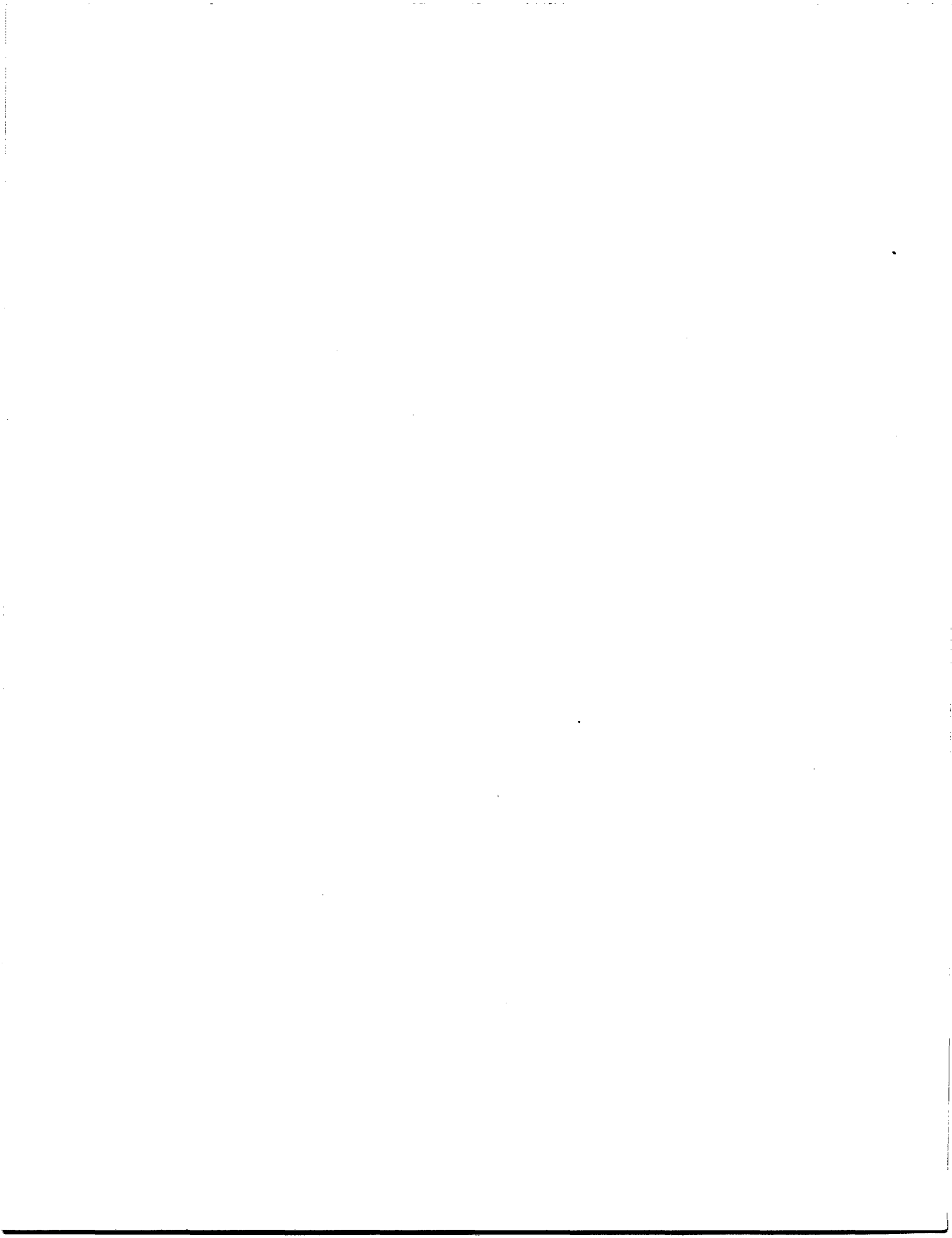
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INTERVIEW WITH MARK AHMAKAK

August 12, 1982

This is Bill Schneider, and I'm with Mark Ahmakak, and we're going to talk a little bit about the OCS oil development and some of the values here in the village.

Q: Mark, I'd like to start with talking about your personal history a little bit. Can you tell me where you were born and where you grew up?

A: I was born in Barrow, Alaska, and my family's history originated from here in Nuiqsut. During the 1940s, my parents moved from this location to Barrow for the purpose of having us be educated, to attend school. That's one of the main reasons why my parents moved to Barrow. All of us-- all of my brothers were born there. But since then, I've attended school here in Alaska. I've never been outside. I attended high school in Glenallen, and I (attended) junior high in Fairbanks--Main and then Lathrop. Other than that, I've been mostly living in Barrow and here. I've been here ever since this village was formed. The reason I moved here was (that) my cultural and family ties are based here. My mother was born here, my grandmother lived here, and my father married my mother. He came originally from Canada. He was adopted from over there, from the Tuklis family.

Q: You mentioned cultural values. What sort of things are you thinking about when you say that?

A: It's not a subject you can talk lightly about in one complete item at a time. It's a whole broad way of just living here. At this time and age, we're living in a combination of economic development and uses of the land (for) such (things) as hunting and fishing, subsistence life mixing with our cash economy system. In view of what I have indicated, I'd like to see all my kids grow up to be culturally tied to our native culture instead of completely giving in to the cash economy. The reason I say that is that our cultural history is mostly based on subsistence values such as learning how and being able to hunt and fish and speak Inupiat, (to) understand and speak it.

Q: What does language, Inupiat language, mean to you as an Inupiat?

A: It means more than the English (language) to me, really. When I was being educated away from the villages, away from Barrow, the main language that we used all the time was the English language. (At school), there was a broad attendance of various

students from all over, (from places) such as Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Alaska Indians, and all kinds of students from all over. It was a Catholic school; it wasn't completely a white school. (The ethnic makeup) was pretty (varied).

Q: Glenallen?

A: It's what you call Copper Valley High School while it was in operation. Right now it's burned down.

Q: When you moved back here from school, what were some of the things you first recognized as important to you as an Inupiat?

A: Being able to understand my elders and hunting and getting back to native food. I've had tremendous problems with eating too much starchy foods from the time that I attended school--problems with my body absorbing all that food--and when I got back to my native culture, everything disappeared. All my problems just disappeared; (my) physical problems just disappeared.

Q: Can you describe some of those physical problems?

A: It was mostly allergy problems to chocolate and the oil; that kind of oil the Western culture has didn't exactly go hand in hand with my body--just a different type of oil that the different culture uses.

Q: Do you remember what the first day was like when you came back?

A: The first day I came back, I saw my father. He told me I looked pale and skinny. That was the first time I'd talked to him in how many years? He told me I was going to have to go out hunting and get fat, so we went out fishing at his camp in Barrow about 30 miles south of Barrow.

Q: Can you tell me a little about your employment experience, wage work that you've done?

A: Well, I've done commercial fishing down in Valdez in Prince William Sound. That was one of my first major (jobs). That was during the time I was attending high school, Copper Valley High School in Glenallen. These folks I knew from Kinney Lake brought me down to Valdez to do some commercial salmon fishing. That's one of the first major jobs I had, as a commercial fisherman. Other than that I've worked as a carpenter, land chief, and also a welder on the pipeline, a welder's apprentice.

Q: Can you tell me a bit about the employment experience on the pipeline.

A: It was pretty well organized. The welder's union was pretty well organized. The main welders taught us how to weld and clean the pipes, get it ready to be welded, and then brush it. It was mainly a welding type of job that we were learning.

Q: Were you trained to do that work?

A: Yes, we did attend the university for about 6 weeks in order to get a job on the pipeline. It was sponsored either by the State or the University combined.

Q: Was that a good experience?

A: It was a good experience.

Q: What do you do now in the way of wage work?

A: I get employment right here in the village whenever it's available, such as this dredging here. Right now, I'm going down to the school to apply for another position, a permanent type of job, instead of this seasonal work.

Q: How do you work out subsistence with wage work . . . to provide some background; to a lot of people outside, it's an either/or situation. Someone's out hunting and fishing all the time, or they're working 9 to 5. How do you work it out?

A: In this situation now, I've been able to work, combining both, not at a very fast speed but working when the job is available. I work so I can pay off all my bills, but when the work slacks off, then I go out hunting. I gather up all the necessary fish and meat and store it and freeze it.

Q: Do you think that oil developers and (the people of) Inupiat communities can work together--can plan together for the future? We don't have any easy answers.

A: It could work, but at this stage, it hasn't been very much sought after. It was mentioned in some of the meetings, (but) it was one-sided all the time. We were being wooed. They'd listen to us all the time: OCS and all these other organizations, (they would) listen alright, but they just file the information. None of them really come straight forward to work with us.

Q: Why do you suppose that is? What's the problem?

A: I don't know. My opinion is that it's a bureaucracy. It's the slow work of the state, and the organizations involved are not doing any follow-up work. They just come here to gather information and that's all. They leave. Even though they may

come at a later date (because) they're supposed to be in contact on whatever projects they're doing, keeping the local people here up to date.

Q: Do you think that abandoned materials are still a problem? In one of your testimonies, you mentioned that.

A: It's not a major problem any more, but it is still a problem. Just last year when I was working for the Department of Fish and Game, we ran into a caribou. It still had meat on it, and there was some cable wrapped all over it. That's how it died; that's how we found it. We found out it eventually died like that after the autopsy was performed by the State Department of Fish and Game. It got tangled up with these seismic wires. Other than that there's still some abandoned dynamite materials south of the river here. It's just deteriorating there. I don't know how it is now, but we go see it every now and then.

Q: What do you think that dates back to?

A: It dates back all the way to when the NPRA was formed, from what I gather anyway.

Q: How do you think that traditional knowledge is important today? traditional knowledge you learn from the elders?

A: I think it is very important. I'd rather place it first than have my kids be educated in the Western colleges.

Q: Why is that?

A: Well, first, you know the oil won't be here forever. It's eventually going to run out. What are our kids going to be left with? They'll have to learn how to provide for themselves (when) all of this cash economy or job availability-- (when) those things are hard to come by at that stage in the future. They will have to provide for themselves from the land and sea and the rivers.

Q: How are you making plans now for your children?

A: As much as I can by being involved and trying to be involved in all these meetings.

Q: You certainly have a record of testifying on all of these subjects. Do you think that oil development is affecting the way that people learn about the land?

A: Would you state that question again?

Q: In a different way? Do you think that oil development is interfering with the way that people learn about the land--young people?

A: At this stage, it's a subject that has to be dealt with directly (by) the elders and the students involved. If there was a lot more planning before all this oil development, we wouldn't have all of these problems. When they came . . . If at that time there was any planning by the oil industry to be involved in doing a study of the social and the economic impact on the village.

Q: What sort of things do you think they might have been able to identify if there had been in-depth studies on the social and cultural problems?

A: At that time, they would have been helpful in a way that the students could have learned or might have learned to mix with the Western culture in such a way as to be educated on the development of the oil industry and these other different organizations. After oil was struck, even though some of us were hardly educated, we knew that it was going to be a big project.

Q: Tell me what you knew at that time?

A: Well, at that time, my relatives--my uncles--were working for ARCO. They were happy to get jobs. There were problems with working for the oil industry because at that time they didn't provide you with time off to do subsistence hunting. But at this stage, they now provide you with time off to get your game and fish.

Q: How do they do that? Is that in the scheduling?

A: Well, after conferring with some of the native leaders, they finally instituted a program whereby an employee can take time off to . . . like if a person is hired by ARCO, they can work either a week on or two weeks on and a week off. My uncle wasn't able to work that way.

Q: Was he able to combine subsistence?

A: (indistinguishable response)

Q: How do you think that the institutions on the North Slope are doing in the way of helping to provide for Inupiat values?

A: Well, various different organizations--they still could do a lot more if they only had better communications with villages such as this place here.

Q: Can you give me some examples from your experience?

A: It seems like the main organizations are ASRC and the Inupiat community of the Arctic Slope. They could have communications with the local people themselves and provide information on their operations instead of just an annual or a newsletter which they formed and sent out monthly. They could do better (because) a lot of our native people don't understand English, or even read, especially the elders.

Q: What's the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation doing now in the way of oil-related activities that affect people in Nuiqsut?

A: Well, they try to work closely with our corporation, but they could do better in trying to help better our corporation also.

Q: What would you suggest if you were working for them?

A: If I was working for which?

Q: ASRC.

A: I would institute . . . first, I would point out to them that in the agreement of the Alaska Native Land Claims Settlement Act that ASRC was required to help each native village organization, but they had a deadline on which they could help each village corporation in 5 years, and after 5 years the ASRC was no longer required to help each individual corporation.

Q: How about ICAS? how are they doing?

A: At this stage, they're just finally getting organized, in my own opinion, but they could do a lot better if money was available from the federal government for their operations.

Q: What do you see as their primary job?

A: Their primary (job)--as I attended their meetings--is just trying to keep the . . . traditional and cultural values intact. At this stage, I can't really talk about ICAS until--this litigation which is against the United States--(there) is finally a decision made on (it) by the federal government court system.

Q: How about the North Slope Borough?

A: North Slope Borough? Well, they do provide jobs, but it's also going to eventually . . . the oil industry money that comes from the oil itself--from the tax revenues--is eventually going to phase out sometime in the future.

- Q: Then what's going to happen?
- A: At that time, I really don't know. This could be the best time to evaluate how the Borough could operate on finding another revenue to keep up with all the demands of all the villages and Barrow itself.
- Q: As outsiders, that's one of the areas that we see as (a problem) down the road in terms of being able to keep those projects going.
- A: The Borough has its duty to community improvement projects or capital improvement programs for all the villages and Barrow itself in Prudhoe Bay . . . I do have a copy of their CIP projects, but it eventually begins to phase out within ten-to-fifteen years.
- Q: What do you think will happen here in Nuiqsut when that occurs?
- A: Hopefully, at that time our corporation will be able to provide jobs continually for our local people rather than having to depend on the Borough for job employment.
- Q: Do you think the village corporation is working in this direction?
- A: Yes, from what I understand, talking with the president himself, it's in the plans--now in the process. But I would not really rely on the North Slope Borough at this stage for future jobs, employment opportunities. Years from now, twenty years from now when these kids grow up, they will also need jobs (since they are) growing up in a cash economy and educational system. (You) see, we're not only thinking (about) ourselves, we're thinking also (about) our kids.
- Q: How about the village council? Are they effective in providing for those needs?
- A: I really can't say much for the village council because they do need some kind of revenues in order to get really organized.
- Q: What benefits did you think you would get from Prudhoe Bay at the time the development started, I guess 1970?
- A: I believe it was in 68? I didn't hear as much at that time. It was just in the stage of getting that oil in a position where it could be pumped.
- Q: Did you ever imagine that it would ever spread as far west as Kuparuk?

A: No, I never did imagine that.

Q: What are some of your thoughts on the OCS development? the outer continental shelf?

A: At this stage, my own thoughts on OCS would be that if they go ahead at full speed on their projects or their programs which they are already putting on paper, on their projected plans, and with the NPRA doing their own projected plans, too, it will have a tremendous impact on this village. The impact would be on the values of subsistence hunting and fishing. There would be a lot of job opportunities, and people are going to have to be careful about how they train their kids on cultural and traditional values. I have seen some of the elders now--not the elders, but some of these men that are older than me--get jobs and stay with the jobs, and they neglect to teach their children how to hunt and fish or how to speak their own Eskimo language and read Eskimo.

Q: How old are you now?

A: 31.

Q: Have your thoughts on OCS changed since you first testified back in '78?

A: I've participated in so many of these meetings--it seems like it is always a broken record--they (have been) saying the same old thing from 1978 up to the present time. All that information that is compiled for the environmental impact statements, they are compiled, and they should be the source which some of these federal and state agencies should be able to look at and go through very carefully.

Q: If you were working for one of those federal agencies, how would you weigh Inupiat interests with the other interests, the national interests, international concerns?

A: First, I would strive to institute a program where the native people can understand western economic values (through) a bilingual program, on a bilingual basis. That would be a first major step. At this time, it would have to be one instituted by some of these organizations which are . . . bilingual . . . real complete, which can be certified even by the state educational system as a bilingual educational system.

Q: What changes have you seen in the balance between cash and subsistence? Have you seen that people are working more now and hunting less, or people are hunting periods of time when they are working wage labor, or isn't it possible to draw those types of conclusions?

A: It is too early to come to conclusions because it has just recently happened in less than 20 years. My grandmother first saw cash way back in 19 . . . even before they moved to Barrow. The first coin she ever saw was a half dollar, from what I gather. It's too early for conclusions. You might say that some of these people work on a steady employment basis, but they too try to get time to go out and do their hunting and fishing.

Q: Can you speculate on what life might be like in Nuiqsut in 20 years?

A: It's too early to answer that question now because at this stage there is still a chance to do a lot of studies of culture and traditions that could and might be done to answer that question.

Q: Has access to areas for hunting and fishing been a problem? oil development?

A: State that question in a . . .

Q: Have people been turned back from hunting and fishing areas? Have they been restricted?

A: Oh, yes. I have experienced that myself in going out towards Nuiktuk(?) over toward DEW Line station. We have been told by oil company officials that we can't hunt near the development area.

Q: Can you explain what happened?

A: One of the first requirements . . . (the state requires) the oil industries to keep the place safe. At that time, we were going on a hunting trip (by boat) towards there. That was a very light experience. At that time, we (encountered) people who told us we (couldn't) hunt in that (area). We said "How come we can't? We've been coming here every year."

Q: What did they say?

A: Well, we just listened to them. We went our own way and didn't say much to them. They were always like that. They didn't talk to us much. I'm pressed for time. Are we almost through?

Q: Yes, just a couple more. Did you take any action? Was there anything you felt you could do?

A: Well, we did bring it up at one of the public meetings, but It was stated again by some officials from the oil companies that it was required by the State for them to institute that there would be no hunting allowed within the areas of the development field.

Q: (Question cut off from end of tape)

A: It would be for the state and the federal government to look into the their projects closely, (where) they have already compiled information from the local people from all the various villages. They do have a lot of compiled information, but they seem to come back over and over again to gather up more information.

Q: Part of the problem there is, I think, the fact that the two different ways of life are so different, and it's hard for people to understand; and that's one reason why we were so interested in your testimony--that you draw some of those connections between different aspects of life, and those are important and significant in creating some bridges.

INTERVIEW WITH NELSON AHVAKANA

August 12, 1982

This is Bill Schneider and George Sherrod, and we're going to talk with Nelson Ahvakana. It's August 12th. We're going to talk a little bit about his personal history and experiences as they may relate to the institutions up here and oil development.

Q. Let's start talking a little bit about your personal history and your family's history. This area isn't new to you. Your family's had a background of living to the East of Barrow, isn't that right?

A. Well, to some point it would be new to me because I was born and raised at Barrow, and the area that is close to the vicinity of Barrow is the area that I know. But this area, like Nuiqsut, is practically all new (to me). I traveled the coastal area all the way up to Kaktovik, but that doesn't make me an expert in that area also.

Q. Where were your parents living before you were born?

A. They lived all over the area. There were some instances when they lived on Cross Island. They wintered there many times and along the coastal area. And a lot of times they were over at Meade River. There are traces of our family that had been buried there at Meade River, so I can't very well say exactly where they have been. But, primarily, I guess they stayed (in the) Peard Bay area.

Q. What influenced their moving over into Barrow?

A. Basically because of the education facilities that (had) been erected at Barrow. Mom didn't have the opportunity to go to school, and she wanted to make certain that her children got that opportunity. So, basically because of that, I guess they went back and started to stay in the area of Barrow basically during the wintertime. In summertime then, they would go out for harvesting and a variety of subsistence hunting.

Q. When did they move into Barrow? Was that before the war?

A. (It) could have been before, yeah. About . . . I can't state that because I don't know.

- A. I was born and raised there in Barrow. I am the youngest of the family, and (my parents) basically were close to retirement by the time I (came) of age.
- Q. Let me ask you for a minute about your work experiences. What are some of the jobs you've held?
- A. There have been a lot. I started from the bottom of the totem pole, more or less. I was hired as a laborer. And then, from there, I went to an operatorship--that's when I went to Barrow Utilities. But prior to that, I was working for Arctic Research Lab. I was working as a warehouseman. I was responsible for incoming, outgoing, everything that pertains to the warehouse. From there, when I got married, I went to Barrow Utilities because the salary that I was getting at that time weren't sufficient actually for my family's expenses and everything. I went over to Barrow Utilities and started working as an operator--(water plant operator). And then, from there, I proceeded on to a power plant operator. And then I became a lead operator there for a while. And then, (I) became a foreman of the Utilities until I resigned in '71 or '72 to go to work for the church as a churchworker, layworker. And I've been involved in other areas, also. At the time of the land claims, why, I was involved with that from the beginning. And when the land claims were acted upon on December 18, 1971, --about a year later I guess it was--I started working for the regional corporation as corporate secretary. I worked there for seven-and-a-half years, and I had various opportunities within (the) regional corporation. And after that, I decided that maybe for me and my family it would be more appropriate for me to get back to the ministry. So, I resigned in '79 and went up to Kaktovik as commissioned lay preacher for that village. I stayed there for three years. Now, I'm here at Nuiqsut.
- Q. Let's talk for a minute about the land claims. Can you tell me a little bit about your involvement in that?
- A. When the land claims were first introduced by our native association in 1963, I guess it was, I wasn't involved then. But in '64 and '65, around that time, then I started involving myself because at that time Joe Upicksoun who was our plant manager at Barrow Utilites (BUECI) was also the president of Arctic Slope Native Association, and I became a secretary to that. And that's when my involvement began . . . with the land claims fight. I was able to go with Joe a number of times to Washington, D.C., and to Anchorage when the Alaska Federation of Natives was born. So, those were the early days when we didn't have any funding capability and everything. A lot of times we used our own funds for traveling. And we felt (that) at the time when we did this, we did it for a purpose, for our people.

We believed that what was good for our people was good for us. And this was basically a land claims settlement, but after the passing of the bill, when Alaska Federation of Natives got together and got unified, when a unified front had gone to the Congress to appeal, then everything was beginning; when legislation was first introduced, we felt that it was for the purpose of land claims, but that purpose got lost in the making of the bill because everybody wanted to be involved. And it got so complicated that Congress probably didn't even know what they acted upon. That's my own insight on the land claims.

Q. The Barrow Utilities--why were they formed?

A. Barrow Utilities was formed under the Bureau of Indian Affairs. At that time, Golden Valley Electric, they were very much interested in the village of Barrow, (and) they were going to start putting their own utilities in, an extension from Fairbanks more or less. And then, because of a 1964 storm that we had, everything--all of the equipment that they had, supposedly were putting together--was washed out by the storm. So they lost everything that they had. And the Bureau of Indian Affairs came in for the rescue. During the time when Senator Bartlett was in Congress, through his expertise and the late Eben Hopson, Sr., and those others--Johnny Nusunginya--they were instrumental in getting the Congress to appropriate through the Department of the Navy the excess natural gas from the South Barrow gas field, and because of the problem of distribution at that time, the Bureau of Indian Affairs came back and said that they would construct a temporary gas distribution system to the village of Barrow. So they did that by utilizing every available pipe that they could use. Part of it was drill (sp?) pipe, galvanized pipe, black pipe--you name it! They used it. And that's how the creation of the Barrow Utilities was formed. It was created by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and was given to the village of Barrow, stating that the village would run the utilities. But the village didn't really have the know-how to incorporate something of this nature and make it a viable entity. It took long hours and many, many years to finally get to the position that they're in. I was president of that for thirteen years, and within those thirteen years, my main goal and the objective was to make certain that the Bureau of Indian Affairs lived up to their word. I heard, when I was first beginning at that time, Area Director Richmond was in at that time, they initially indicated to the village of Barrow that this gas distribution system would be temporary for six months. And that system was temporary for over ten years. We were fortunate not too long ago--in '78 in fact--to have Congress appropriate to the village of Barrow funding so that through the Corps of Engineers this temporary system would then be relieved

and a permanent system would be installed. That was basically the creation of Barrow Utilities. The Bureau of Indian Affairs was the White Father at this village--you know, the village of Barrow. They knew all the answers, and when they created that entity, every action that the Board of Directors of Barrow Utilities would act on would have to have prior approval of the area director. So there wasn't any way that we could do anything on our own. Everything had to have prior approval of the area director. If there were any mass expenses to be made for material and what not, then everything of that nature had to be approved, where there was tacit need. So we were under the umbrella of Bureau of Indian Affairs, and they tried to do something good for us--for the village of Barrow--by creating that which, afterwards, through the educational process of our people, we were able to relieve ourselves from that and were able to proceed with what we have now. So we've got an entity at Barrow now which is the only entity within the North Slope that is outside the jurisdiction of the North Slope area-wide utilities.

They're the only entity that is recognized presently by APUC, and (they) are regulated through APUC. They are doing it through the tri-part agreement that was the means to get BIA working on the upgrading of the distribution system that was signed by Mayor Hopson, that we signed at the time when Mayor Hopson was mayor of the North Slope and Clarence Antiopia (BIA) was the area director and I was president of the Utilities. I wanted to have that tri-part agreement which would give the Utilities an avenue of where they would be able to go and do their thing, utilizing the capital improvement program of the North Slope Borough. So, through that, the village of Barrow is able to get an additional distribution system, a decent generation capacity and everything, so . . .

- Q. How important do you think that the Barrow Utilities were as a training ground for the native leaders that played such a prominent part in the land claims and in subsequent developments?
- A. Well, first of all, we were able to utilize the tribal officer of the Bureau of Indian Affairs through working with them and Barrow Utilities. We had an open-door relationship with the Bureau of Indian Affairs. And we were utilizing the Fairbanks agency at that time. So we were on the move, educating ourselves through those specific professional peoples that they had that were able to give their time and talent so that we could learn. I think Barrow Utilities did a lot for the leadership of the village because of what I just said. We had that close relationship.

- Q. I was just thinking with Joe, Sam Taalak, yourself, and Eben, it's a significant leadership today. And that working through the decisions for the utility, I'm sure provided some sort of focus for that training.
- A. Yeah. It opened a door to us primarily . . . Through working with those bureaucrats, we were able to learn their technique, and then we utilized that with them, which really caught them off guard because they really didn't know what had hit them, and it was their own technique, you know, that did it--their own game.
- Q. Even the fight to get the gas itself in the beginning though, I think, was an example of . . . self-determination. Could we talk a minute or two about the regional corporation and the formation there?
- A. Okay.
- Q. At the time of the land claims itself, were there divisions within the corporation as to how it should go?
- A. Well, at the time of the land claims, there wasn't any regional corporation per se because that wasn't formed yet. The Arctic Slope Native Association, which is a non-profit organization, was (formed). That was the only association that was working in behalf of our people in trying to get some kind of a settlement--land settlement within the State of Alaska. Through AFN, we were able to do this; but our organization was so small, our tribal entity was so small in comparison to the other tribal areas in certain locales, that even though our people were the ones that had initially introduced land claims, when they found out the importance of this, and then other ethnic groups took over through the auspices of the Alaska Federation of Natives, and our association did what they could for the welfare of our people.
- Q. The land settlement itself, was that what you had expected?
- A. Yes, from the beginning, from our ancestors and everything, the valuation of land for our subsistence was very important to us because within our area, one could not use a hundred acres of land to survive the way the other people could in the other areas of Alaska--especially those areas where they could grow crops and whatnot--here you can't. So, the land was very important to us. We had a formula where we used one thousand miles--I guess square miles--to one individual or something of that nature, where one could actually survive. Because of that formula, we knew that we needed . . . we used the land, so we claimed fifty-six-and-half-million acres as our boundary, which

is used as the same boundary for the North Slope Borough. That was our initial claim within our area. That's what our people used for survival. Just from that you can see the importance of land . . . four thousand Eskimos and fifty-six-and-a-half-million acres of land.

Q. How did you deal with the problem of the large national petroleum reserve? and Arctic Wildlife Refuge?

A. Well, we very well couldn't do anything on those lands because we knew that the federal government had claimed those already. And these claims were made before the land claims fight. We used those areas, though, to prove to Congress that if this amount of land could be taken from us by them and that it has important value, then that basically gave us some knowledge as to the importance and the valuation of our lands. So we were using those for our own gain, more or less, in attempting to try and promote a fair land claims settlement to all.

Q. The lands that were actually selected, were those lands selected on the basis of subsistence value, on the basis of mineral value, a combination of the two?

A. All the land that was selected was primarily for the valuation of subsistence. At that time, we didn't have any knowledge of how to go . . . and select lands that would have wealth potential--lands, you know, that would have some resources and everything. We didn't know. The thing here that we knew, though, was survival. And we have used that land for survival, and, therefore, subsistence was the most important area that we had, that we could use, to try and obtain as much of our lands as possible, because we knew that these areas that were taken by federal government like the petroleum reserve number four at that time, which is NPRA now, and the wildlife range would be restricted. There'd be some restrictions on those lands. Even hunting would be restricted to some certain areas. So, in order to survive and in order to have enough for survival, we knew the importance of land and we knew that subsistence was one of the most crucial areas within our lifestyle. We didn't even want subsistence to be included in the land claims because that's something that one cannot put a value on because subsistence (is invaluable). We've enjoyed it here from the beginning, and our people never waste meat . . . But nowadays, because of the introduction of sports and sport hunting and whatnot, you know, there's a lot of waste.

Q. What about the resettlement for villages such as Point Lay and Atkasook and Nuiqsut? . . . what was going on there? what was the thinking behind that?

A. Well, when we found out that we couldn't very well get the total entitlement of land, we were looking for means of trying to get the best possible total area of land. So when a formula came forth where a townsite, you know, six miles by six miles, I guess it is, to twenty-five people or so--something to that effect, that townsite formula--then in order to claim a little bit more land, we decided that it would be to the best interest of our people to try and promote our people to move back to those areas where they had once lived. Otherwise, if we didn't do that, we would have lost those areas. This was basically an area where we were able to claim back what was originally ours anyway. And we couldn't do it without moving out. So our people were willing to move out and willing to sacrifice--to move out so that more land value would be obtained by our people. Those people like in Nuiqsut, Atkasook, Point Lay, you know, they were able to move out, back to their old village sites.

Q. How did the regional corporation assist in that?

A. Arctic Slope Regional Corporation gave assistance to the villages was that they were able to help them with housing in these areas. Point Lay and Nuiqsut were the two that were assisted a lot more, I guess, by the regional corporation as those two had moved out very early. In fact, the (people) of Nuiqsut had to live in tents for a couple of years, I guess it was, before they even got their housing. They trusted our regional corporation that much. And Point Lay did the same thing, but they had housing down there--what little that was available. Then they were able to get additional housing. And the village of Atkasook had to wait until after the municipality of the North Slope Borough was formed.

Q. So you would say that the regional corporation was pretty successful in helping people to protect values that they considered important?

A. Yes, I would say that.

Q. Do you think that has continued to be the case?

A. I hope so! I hope it would be because that regional corporation is owned by our people. And as long as it's owned by our people, the importance of giving assistance to our villages should be the number one priority to the regional corporation.

It's true that our regional corporation needs to survive also, but I feel very strongly that they should utilize their own means of trying to assist the villages instead of competing with the villages. Presently, I guess, they're competing with the villages through the creation of their subsidiaries and everything that they are working side by side. Like Eskimo's, Inc., for example, and Pingo Corporation which is owned by five villages--three or four villages. You know, this type of thing.

Q. So you think the regional corporation shouldn't be involved in ventures that compete with village corporations?

A. No, I'm not saying that. I'm saying that they should compete because this is good business. But under the same token, they should have fiduciary responsibility to villages in attempting to give some assistance to these villages instead of saying to the villages, "You're too small of a corporation; you cannot do these things because you don't have the know-how." I think they should have some responsibility of lending their capable manpower to assist and to help these villages that are small and aren't doing anything. It's their fiduciary responsibility.

Q. How about Inupiat Community of the Arctic Slope--how do you see their efforts?

A. That's a tribal entity, which is basically different than the land claims. They're still under the umbrella of the Department of the Interior; they're recognized as a tribal entity, and they're under the trust responsibility of the Interior. Those areas that we cannot maintain--they themselves would be able to do (with) federal grants and everything like that under the umbrella of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. They're the only recipient that could probably receive, for our people, "X" amount of funds that would be able to be utilized for those certain areas like social services, for example. Even though these things are being done somewhat through the North Slope Borough, I think there are areas that cannot be duplicated by the North Slope Borough, like assistance, aid, and whatnot, you know, this type of a thing that ICAS could use and could maintain for our people.

Q. Has ICAS been active in those areas?

A. I hope so. I think they have been, yes. But, I can't very well say because at the time when I was involved with ICAS, we made certain that everything that we did was in compliance with the federal regulations. I don't know how they're promoting that now, whether they're working in accordance with those federal regulations that are set forth. If they're not . . . I can't say.

- Q. In one of your testimonies, you had made some reference to concern about seismic testing; has that changed? Are you still concerned about . . .?
- A. Well, seismic exploration that the industry had done previously, prior to their own knowledge of the damages that they had made--yes, I was concerned in seeing that, those damages. But now that they have complied . . . new information, everything, and there's new technology being introduced and everything; I'm not really that concerned about seismic exploration.
- Q. Do you think that subsistence and cultural sites are adequately protected during the seismic operations?
- A. (It) depends on where you are, probably. I would feel that they are, but under the same token I would feel that through the negligence of certain people, maybe they're not. I cannot elaborate too much on this because I don't know the facts. I can't say that they're being protected. But I feel that they are to a certain extent, and even though our people may not be that happy about it, there are some protective measures that are being utilized by the industry.
- Q. How effective do you think the industry has been in informing people about what they are doing?
- A. Now that we have the North Slope Borough, I feel that through the North Slope Borough and through the interest of the villages, there has been a tremendous amount of precautionary measures that the industry has been able to do. Before, our people were "just there"; now, because of regulatory actions and everything, (industry) is very much interested in giving information to the people. I think they're doing a tremendous amount of work in that area.
- Q. Have the people--the Inupiat people--been effective in communicating their needs and values to the industry?
- A. I think they have. I think they have. But in some areas, I could clearly say that people are people. . . . If you require an industry to do this for you, (then) in return you have to do the same thing; in return you have to prove your worth. The industry has been patient enough (in trying) and attempting to have job opportunities within their firms, but our people have to have that willingness to learn also; if they don't, then (they) cannot expect a free hand all the time. The industry cannot be utilized as the Bureau of Indian Affairs. I think the Bureau of Indian Affairs had damaged the thinking of our people in such a way that they have been operating with the assumption that they are going to take care of us anyway. This type of thing. And when the industry came, through the stipulations

that we were able to put forth on hiring and everything, our people--a lot of them--may feel that if they stay home and do nothing, there's going to be people coming in and wanting to hire them--you cannot do that. You have to go out and meet face-to-face, more or less, in order to succeed.

Q. At one point, I think you had used the term, factual knowledge; we were comparing traditional knowledge and factual knowledge; do you see a difference between the two?

A. I would tend to say that there is.

Q. How do you see the two; how would you define the two?

A. Well, . . . I'm running out of illustrations. Well, traditional knowledge is one that is basically passed on by the tribal entity, by your own people. You know, it's something that is valued at all times. And then, the factual knowledge is something that one could learn. . . . It doesn't have to be knowledge that is passed on all the time; it is something that is always changing, to the better. But traditional knowledge, to me that doesn't change. It is there at all times. It's being used in one form, per se, like you know, if you use a harpoon. You could throw that many ways, yes. But it's being used for one thing, one thing only. And, therefore, it is used for that. But if you have a different, new technique that you could learn by going out, that's something else. That's the only way that I could probably . . .

Q. So it isn't a question of traditional knowledge being true or false, but being different in terms of how it's passed on or how it's learned.

A. Yeah, that would be . . . Yeah.

Q. I think that's an important distinction in terms of some of the information we have been getting . . . and trying to understand how people respond.

A. Yeah. Yeah, that's the only way that I could _____.

Q. Thinking along those lines, what do you think the role of the elders is today?

A. Well, . . .

Q. No easy question.

- A. It's not really an easy question. That's true because we're trying to maintain the highest respect that man can afford to the elders. And at the same (time), through the new processes that one can learn through the educational facilities, better techniques are introduced to villages and, therefore, presently we . . . with me, I have a lot of respect for my elders because I know their way of life, basically. I understand their way of life. It also helps me a lot because I'm able to (apply) what they say to what my learning curve is, and I'm always fascinated that the simplest form of education that they are able to give would tie on the learning curve of the sophisticated learning. . . . The Western culture, I guess, is one where I shouldn't say that maybe it's . . . the individual person's capability is not measured through the sophistication of technique but through the true valuation and the appreciation of learned techniques. Am I getting through? . . .
- Q. I'm a little confused . . .
- A. Well, that's what I'm trying to say as far as the elders are concerned because . . . Okay, lets see . . .
- Q. You had mentioned a minute ago that you are constantly surprised at how their traditional knowledge fits in, as I understood, with the things that you are learning in a number of different places?
- A. Yeah! Because without formal education and everything, they know what they're talking about; . . . it becomes a reality in a learned area. Even though they themselves don't have the education, through their own experiences and everything, they come to a realization that what could be learned through education is not a different thing.
- Q. Can you give me an example of how that's come to you in your life?
- A. Well, I can't--I don't think I could. You would have to be here with me for a whole week for me to explain something like this.
- Q. You mean I have to stay another week?
- A. That's my problem; I don't think we have the time to do this . . . but through my own experiences and everything, there are certain times when I could go back and reevaluate what my dad would have said to me . . .at that time. And through new technology and everything that I have been able to follow, what he said at that time is being used now.

And . . . maybe the way it's being used and the way it's being introduced . . . it's maybe different . . . but under the same token, the value of that peace of mind is there regardless . . .

Q. I wondered if it was similar to the feelings I've sometimes had about the wisdom of my grandfather; he's not living in the day and age that I am, but some of the things that he's told me about life and about the way people operate, . . .

A. . . . Well, maybe that's what I'm trying to do; maybe, I don't know. But . . .

Q. _____

A. . . . but I think it's more than that though because what I'm saying, I guess, is that without any education, there's educational capability that could be used--that could be mastered. . . . and the knowledge of our elders. I think that is what I'm trying to say. It takes more than just what life has given in the perspective of one's self. It goes beyond that--goes over to that horizon over there someplace, but a lot further. Maybe that's what I'm saying--I don't know. But that, but that fascinates me a lot . . .

The respect for the elders is not such that it's visible now. That's probably because of lack of understanding of what they have to give. . . . Because of new technology and everything, people may say now, "Why should I listen to those people because they don't have any education?" I think this type of evaluation is bad because they HAVE something to give! If one could only think (about) what they have said, I think there's a lot of in-depth knowledge that is being passed by by what we call (the) "now generation."

Q. Thanks. I think that's going to be helpful in our understanding. One of the things that's come up is the fact that we have a number of different organizations operating on the North Slope, and an individual who is working on the North Slope--has grown up on the North Slope--may be representing two or more of those; how do people reconcile that? how do they avoid the conflict of interest--or don't they?

A. It's hard to reconcile if you're not totally aware of your position . . . the problem that we have with our people is the availability of bodies. Therefore, because of that, those individuals that have proven their worth are being utilized as much as possible; and, therefore, they may be wearing more than one hat . . . In certain communities, like the village of Nuiqsut, one individual may be a councilman, or he may be an advisory school board member, or he could be a president of a village corporation and would be also a member of ICAS,

representative--this type of thing. That person--that type of representation--is one that is hard to replace because of the knowledge that has been given to that person. But a conflict of interest may periodically come forth because of the position that the man is holding or that the woman is holding. So in some cases, it's easy to relieve yourself of that type of a situation, but in other cases if one doesn't adapt himself to the Robert's Rules of Order, then you're in a very bad situation. Because, when you start thinking about this and that without thinking of who you're representing now, then you have a problem. I think under the new leadership capabilities that we have within the villages, this is always the problem because they don't have the know-how of distinguishing for themselves what the certain areas of discussion may be. I hope I answered your question.

Q. (Affirmative tone) . . . Do you think that will change with experience?

A. It probably will. And I hope--I wish that more young leadership would spring up, you know, within the villages, to maybe relieve this type of tension that is in the villages. One can only hope. Probably the younger generation, if they are aggressive enough, could really be beneficial to the progress of our villages.

Q. What do you foresee as the future of Nuiqsut?

A. Well, within the boundaries of this village, and being close to the industry and everything, and through the development of new projects and everything--like a runway or an airport, for example--once these things are completed, there's probably going to be an influx of people because this village is situated in a locale where it's closer to the industry, and people would tend to move here when things are a lot better. They would probably make this their home--their second home--so that travel would be cut to a certain degree. It's hard as it is with people traveling way down for job opportunities and everything they have here.

You know, when they have to travel back, sometimes through problems that aren't their own, they tend to travel two or three days, depending on where they are. And because of that, this village has a tremendous amount of potential to be as big or even bigger than Barrow if it's structured correctly. What I mean on the structure is that the maintaining of everything through the expertise of the council and whatnot that would be available to them. Maybe this village could easily be able to triple its size.

- Q. Would you like to see it grow larger?
- A. If it's maintained accordingly, yes. If the growth is not like the creation of the North Slope Borough. The North Slope Borough's been created--as you very well know--(in a) very short time, within ten years time; and within those ten years, there's been a tremendous amount of growth. And one could hardly cope with that type of growth. If the growth is like that in this village, I think it would do a lot more harm than good. If the growth would be expanded in such a way that it's planned accordingly, then that type of growth I'm all for.
- Q. One of the things that's come out in the testimonies that people have been giving to us is the tremendous rate of change and growth of the oil industry and how difficult it is for people to adjust to that; and as you're talking about the growth of Nuiqsut, I'm wondering whether the borough or the town itself can control that growth, given the growth of the industry next door . . .
- A. It'll be hard. It really will be. But to a certain degree, I guess, it could be maintained. Through the expertise of the North Slope Borough, with unified planning between the village of Nuiqsut and the North Slope Borough, I'm sure that something like this could be well maintained, and also that through the help of the industry (itself), instead of leaving the industry on its, . . . someplace over there . . .with the help of the industry, and through proper planning and everything, I'm sure that it probably would be well taken (care of).
- Q. What do you see in the future for Kaktovik?
- A. I can't very well say too much on that, but the village of Kaktovik cannot very well stay the way it is either. The people will have to accept that they cannot very well be behind the times but that they will have to catch up with time and accept those responsibilities. They're going to be run over if they don't because the industry is not going to hold back, stay back, and expect that village to grow first. They're going to go in if opportunity is there, which there will be. (The people of) that village, to my way of thinking, need to really sit down and prioritize their thinking, not only for themselves but for the future of their children's children. They tend to feel that what is good for them is the only important (thing). They need to sit back and try and plan for what would be good for their children's children. That village is going to grow, also.
- Q. Because of the oil development?

A. Because of the oil development, because of other things. Those people that have governed the village are not going to be there. There's going to be more aggressive people available with leadership capabilities within that village. And when something like that happens, then the older ones are going to have problems in coping with that type of growth. You cannot expect a village to be a subsistence villlage, especially within this area. To a certain degree, yes, if the majority of the people depend on the subsistence way of life, but you cannot use that terminology as an excuse or a scape goat for your own village. People will be people. I don't think we can change that. And there's growth in people. That village had been claiming that they're a subsistence village. But the majority of the people are working, and they don't depend on subsistence the way they used to depend on subsistence because of the growth and everything. Whether they like it or (not), it's there; they themselves are making it grow. It's not anybody else. . . .

Q. I just have one other question; what do you think, what do you foresee for the future of the North Slope? Another easy one.

A. The future of, foreseen future of the North Slope?

Q. The North Slope--Inupiat.

A. (Response in Inupiat: _____

_____)

Q. Now, how can we translate it?

A. The future of the Inupiat people within the North Slope is something that I would like to see be done accordingly, but it's hard to predict what could actually happen. The future is in the hands of our students, those people that have graduated and those people that will be graduating, that are continuously growing in the education field, and the technology here that is being changed continuously and whatnot. I would hope that they have common sense to actually go back within their own culture to understand what has happened already--that they would be able to help formulate a plan that would be instrumental in such a way that not only just our people but people of all races would benefit . . . from this growth--from the growth that we're experiencing. Only time will tell. I would really hope that it'll be a well planned growth--that it would benefit everyone.

Q. You'll be an elder then.

A. I HOPE so! Well, I would hope that I would have the same amount of respect that our present elders are receiving; but if not, I know one thing, that my own family will respect me. I think that I can't ask for any(thing) more. I have tried my best to accomplish the tasks that are before me so that my brother and my sister will be able to benefit from it--not only my own children (but) their children would be able to benefit. This is one thing that I've always had in my mind because this is the basis that the regional corporation, our own regional corporation of Arctic Slope Regional Corporation, was formed under--that we're doing it not only for ourselves but for our children's children. And this type of thinking is always beneficial to any ethnic group; it makes no difference who that person may be or where they are. As long as you have that type of thinking, then the growth that you have within your community is good. But if you have a selfish type of motive, then that's something else. You don't really care about what's going to happen in the future; you care mostly (about) what's going to happen now. And then you want to be part of that (in) any way possible that you can be. I think this type of growth is . . . I don't care for that type. Because the background of who we are and what we are has been known for some time . . . It fascinates people, not only in our own time but in previous years that our leadership has been able to be maintained within our own people. So this type of leadership, I hope, is passed on so that at least those people that will be in the leadership roles will understand the structure behind our cultural heritage that we have, that we have been trying to maintain for some time. I'm proud to be native, but I'm also proud that I'm an American citizen, that I was raised under the flag of the United States, that I know that I am a first-class citizen. The sovereignty of the United States I have accepted--this sovereignty when I was born, when I went through education. I hope that our people never forget that. But there are people also that are trying to maintain their own sovereignty rights, which troubles me very much. . . .

Q. You've covered a lot of ground. . . . George, do you have anything?

George: The one about the criteria . . . I hope this isn't a real complicated question. One of the things that, in the course of our being here and talking to people Bill and I have noticed, is that some people who say they were born near here, say that they weren't--or talked as if they weren't--part of the village; while other people who were born farther away, were; and so we were sort of confused as to what made a person a person from Nuiqsut as opposed to somebody that has just moved here and is not really from Nuiqsut; what are the criteria, or what are the things that would make the difference? How is that difference determined in the minds of people?

- A: . . . They said they were coming last week, but the weather got bad.
- Q: Yeah. Right. In fact, they were going to come the same day I was, but the plane couldn't cut it. It was foggy; it fogged in here.
- A: Yeah, some of my friends called me from there, you know, from (the) Nuiqsut area. (They told me they were) going be here (to talk) about seismic (testing).
- Q: Yeah, if they'd come, I'd really be interested to hear what they have to say. I talked to the people who were conducting the seismic testing here, trying to understand a little bit of what it was that they did, and, of course, my first question was, "Well, can a man swim in the water when you're doing seismic testing?" And they said, "Well, we . . ." They don't know. Who knows, if they don't, (what is happening) down (on the) bottom? Who knows (what will happen to) the fish down there if they start explosive (tests)?
- Q: You mean that air gun . . . ?
- A: Air gun, yeah.
- Q: Yeah. See, I don't know that much about it, so I find it . . . We are always concerned with those things because we live up here, and (maybe) the (oil) people (will) just work in the summertime, and (in the) summer (the) fish (will be) gone; (they will) go away somewhere further south. But we (will) still (be) around all the time, and (we will) look for fish and seal; (we will still) hunt and stuff like that.
- Q: Yeah. You said that the natives help in the development of oil here by working for (the oil companies), getting their friends and neighbors to come and work; in fact, I was going to read that. I didn't know exactly what you were referring to, whether it's a good thing or a bad thing, or . . . it says, "Native peoples are helping in the process by looking out for friends and neighbors and working and so forth in employment."
- A: You look at the natives down here. And (then) you see your neighbors outside, and they don't have anything. And you go visit, and they don't have any heat--you know, things like that. That's the way the native people are. They have to help each other. And we are concerned (about) things like that, too, you know, like especially (about) food, especially food. We need meat, you know. Not even down here only, but farther west and Nuiqsut, Anaktoovik, wherever we belong, you know.

- Q: Do you feel that working for money and doing subsistence hunting can go together?
- A: Not really. Not really.
- Q: No?
- A: We (don't want that). We don't like to get the money from oil. My feeling is I don't want to get any money from my neighbors-- from my friends, you know.
- Q: Yeah, I was thinking more in terms of (whether) you can hold a job and also do subsistence hunting at the same time. Do you feel that that's compatible?
- A: (That is) some(what) possible. I like to hunt, but I have to work because (for example) if you have a new house . . . We have a new house now, (and) I have to pay for that; I have to make so much a month payments, you know. If you have (to make) payments, like (on) your house and (for) electricity and your fuel, (then) you're not going to get (by) without working. You (can't make your payments), you know. (In a case) like that, you have to work. I like to go hunting; I have always worked, for too long, for 25 years, and I get my retirement now this year.
- Q: Now, you go hunting all the time?
- A: Well, maybe I will still work. I would like to (spend my time hunting), but I have to work over here in the village. This is my plan because when I am retired, I have to help this village-- my home--the people up here. (I have to) help them a little bit. (They) need help, you know. Part (of the) time, I will go hunting. I always say I am going to go hunting there.
- Q: So most people, in fact, have to work for money part-time and also do subsistence, but how many people could live without subsistence here?
- A: I don't know. I can't say (about) that. I won't tell you about that because I know (that in) this place, people always like to go hunting, to pick (their own) food. It's the older people that stay home.
- Q: But do you feel that very many people could, in fact, live here without subsistence? without hunting and fishing?
- A: I don't think so. Not really. I like to work for my food. We don't always like white man('s) food, I'm not satisfied with. I have to go hunting to get my own food, the native food. See, everybody feels like that. Maybe the natives feel like that.

- Q: When you worked for the DEW Line for 25 years, did that prohibit you or make it so that you couldn't go hunting when you wanted to, or what?
- A: No, we would work six months, three-month work, and then we have a vacation. That way we (can) always go hunting.
- Q: Oh, a three-month period off?
- Q: Yeah.
- Q: So then you are able to go out to hunt and fish and so forth?
- A: (Yes), hunt (and) fish.
- Q: During what time of year does that usually come?
- A: I like to (hunt in the) summer--like now, August, September--go whaling. And in the fall, around November, October, September, (I) go hunting for caribou and whatever.
- Q: Uh-huh. (affirmative) Do you have your own crew and things like that that you go out (with)?
- A: Not really. We have a crew for whale hunting. But you don't need a group to go hunt caribou, whatever. Just . . .
- Q: You just do it individually?
- A: . . . just your family (and) friends; if they come along, (that's) fine.
- Q: Uh-huh. (affirmative) But how many crews do you have to go out whaling, generally?
- A: Well, usually (there are) about three or four people in the boat: (one for) steering the boat, (an) engineer, (a) whale harpooner, and (one for the) gun. And the one person is needed . . .

Last year, we almost (had) an accident (with) my crew; (we) almost (had an) accident. This (one) guy was steering the boat. (At) the same time, (there was) a guy on top of that, and he was supposed to be on the float all the time. After he got through with shooting, you know . . . anyway, my steering guy tried to throw that float after he harpooned it, you know. And that outboard motor--he hit it, just a little bit of it. . . . we always tell these guys, "you have to stay where you belong," you know. Anyway, I would take about four, five, six people in that boat, you know, fine.

Q: If you were going to kind of sum up your fears about oil development, what would they be? Like some of them were (that) you fear ocean development because of the unknown--a lot of the unknown. And then onshore development--what is your greatest concern there about the problems created onshore?

A: Well, we (have) to find out who (the land) belongs to; because if they don't (find out who the land belongs to), they're going to be . . . We (would) like to know. Maybe the oil companies (would) like to know who it belongs to.

Q: Well, first is sort of ownership and then also, you were mentioning before, access to hunting in areas where there is development going on.

A: Hunting areas.

Q: Yeah, you were saying that you couldn't go hunting there anymore where there was development . . .

A: Well, (we are concerned that) they (might) stop us because (of) the regulations--government regulations--(whoever is responsible for the regulations)--the oil company. For example, at Deadhorse there are many animals around, but nobody can hunt (them). They don't have any guns either. That's why we said that; that's why we are really (concerned) if they put the pipeline through here. And who knows, then they say, "you people, we are not going to stop you (from) hunting." (They make) promises; (they make) good promises. But we don't find (that they keep their promises). If (the pipeline is constructed), you won't (be able to) hunt anymore.

Q: I know that (in the) Arco area, they made some restrictions.

A: That is (what is worrying) us.

Q: Are there any particular areas--say close to shore--that would be as serious as further out offshore in development? I was thinking more in the shallows, as opposed to further out beyond the Barrier Islands?

A: What do you mean?

Q: Well, there are two kinds of development that's, three kinds of development that seem to be going on. One is what they call just onshore development. Then there's just immediately offshore, which is in the shallows, like Prudhoe and where they build these man-made islands; and they're thinking of (doing development) further out--(in) the deeper areas. Do you see any special concerns for that deep area?

A: Well, not really. But down (in) the Deadhorse area, (there) is already exploration (going on) down there. And they already (are) taking care of that. If (the development is in) the shallow place, it's not really bad at all--not bad at all. But we don't know. Sometimes about three miles, two miles . . .

Q: (Question from unknown person in background) How far offshore are you talking about?

Q: Well, in some areas, they may be going quite a ways offshore.

Q: (Unidentified voice) I mean how far?

Q: Beyond the Barrier Islands.

Q: (Unidentified voice) Fifty miles out?

Q: Well, it's at least beyond 7 to 10 miles out.

A: . . . but that place is about twenty feet deep. I think that's where they tried to make an island . . .

Q: Yeah, they made man-made islands.

A: (Are) they still working on it? We don't know.

Q: I don't know.

A: Maybe (we should) try to stop that. That's another thing--(when) they make a thing like that . . .

Two years ago, the whales came through here about a mile and a half (away), maybe. (That) is really, really good. (But) everytime we started to go hunting, the boat (was too slow because of) the ice, you know, and stuff like that.

Q: In general, what do you think of the North Slope Borough's efforts to influence lease sales and things like that?

A: I don't know; those North Slope . . .

Q: Have they been ineffective?

A: We always argue with (them). A lot of times, they do not really help out little places like (this). They _____ already have things down there. But here we are different. We are different because we are (in) the reserve. We have (a) hard time (when we) try to get (things) from the North Slope Borough, from Barrow. (They give us) some help, okay; but (with a) lot of things, we . . . always stop us.

- Q: I know that Kaktovik was one of the few communities to initiate their own suit for development, which didn't go along with the North Slope Borough. Eventually, I guess, they went along with Kaktovik and Nuiqsut and so forth.
- A: That's true. We try to get along with Barrow, (but) everytime they get something, we (are) not right . . .
- Q: Do you have any representation in the North Slope Borough?
- A: Who's (our) representative anyway? I don't know about it.
- They are supposed to be coordinators, yeah. But, I don't know how they work.
- Q: How about the Eskimo Whaling Commission? Has it been very helpful with the offshore (development)?
- A: Oh, yeah. The Whaling Commission is doing pretty good. I agree with that; it's helping a lot.
- Q: It has worked pretty effectively? How about the regional corporation? Has that been very effective?
- A: Well, not really, I guess. But I don't know about those things, you know, because I (don't) ever hear much about it. I never go to the meetings down (at) Barrow, you know. But we have regional corporation (representatives); one of them is from here. Everytime (our representatives) go to the meetings, we don't know what's going on. They never tell us about it. How are we going to know? We always see the paper; that's all.
- Q: Do you think that because the regional corporation is concerned for its profit, they sometimes work against your own interests?
- A: I don't know. I won't (comment) because I don't know about it.
- Q: That's kind of an interesting thing. Is there anything else going on in the village now where the community's trying to make some kind of efforts to prevent any kind of development or oil research?
- A: You mean right here?
- Q: Yeah, I mean any litigation or anything like that.
- A: We have (our) corporation, but I don't know (what they are) doing right now. I (am) not a member of that. We have corporation committees--whatever you call them--(that) take care of it. But we don't know what's going on, really, because we don't have the meetings (very often). All I know (about) is the council--work with the village council.

Q: Is the village council pretty active in this area?

A: We're looking at our places--like you say, (the) reserve and lease sales, whatever; we talk about (it a) lot. We still take care of that.

Q: I was just curious on this side, in the employment area. Do you see any beneficial aspects to development in the area, like employment or anything like that?

A: What do you mean?

Q: Well, for example, if some oil company did come in, is there anything that's beneficial about that oil company's coming in?

A: I don't know.

Q: Like would there be more jobs or was that a good thing or is that a bad thing?

A: I don't know really. (It) could be (if they) give us the oil, okay. (They would have to) help us.

Q: That's a real concern though, getting oil here or gas?

A: Gas or whatever. If they want to do something for the village, fine, but not for the north.

Q: For somebody down in Anchorage?

A: Yeah, one time (I gave) testimony about that; oil caused this; it costs too much to live.

Q: Do you know of anybody in town that is working for the oil companies here or that works at Prudhoe Bay or anything like that?

A: Yeah, three or four people (working for the oil companies).

Q: Is it a good job, good experience for them? Do they like it?

(Unidentified voice) You'd have to talk to those people.

A: We don't know about it. I never worked (for an oil company). Somebody (should) know.

Q: Yeah. Did you like working for the DEW Line and so forth? Was that pretty good?

A: As long as I got my money, (it was) good pay. As long as (you have) payments to make, things like that, you have to work. That's another thing. You are not going to live by hunting alone today because of the change of life, the changing of the village, the changing of your culture now. (It is) different.

Q: So people are really dependent upon a cash economy to a large extent.

A: People have to realize what they belong to. Like myself, I'm working for my family--to raise my family and for my family (to) go to school.

INTERVIEW WITH JOE ERICKLOOK

August 1982

This is Bill Schneider and George Sherrod, and we are here talking with Joe Ericklook. Maggie Kovolsky is going to help with interpretation. We're going to talk a little bit about oil development and some of the experiences you've had, Joe, here in Nuiqsut. Maybe we could start out by having Joe tell us a little bit about himself, where he was born, . . .

A: He was born seven miles outside of this town, up the Colville River, and he lived up there until he was 20 years old; he lived up there by hunting and making his way of life. He lived there until he was 20 years old, and then he moved to Barrow, and he (lived and worked there). Then he decided to move back to where he was born, so in 1973 he moved back (to Nuiqsut).

Q: What year did he move to Barrow?

A: In 1950, he relocated to Barrow.

Q: Maybe he could tell us about his work history, about the employment he's had.

A: When he was here, until he was 20 years old, there wasn't any kind of employment. Therefore, all he did was to hunt and (lived) by hunting and whatever he could catch using his dogs. Then he went to Barrow; after 20 years of living here, he moved to Barrow. He finally got a job in Barrow as a laborer. As a laborer, he got people ready to come around this area, cat trail . . . He would just load up and get their stuff ready.

Q: Since he's come back, what has he done in the village?

A: When he came back here, he was a carpenter. He built houses. He was also running equipment as an operator.

Q: Has he ever worked around oil (for an oil company)?

A: He worked for an oil (company). He was a truck driver for just a short time, three months. He was located way up near the Nuiqsut.

Q: Could he tell us about that job--how he got it?

A: He got a job application from Manpower, and they called him, and that's how he got the work.

- Q: Could he tell us a little bit about how he liked the job?
- A: He enjoyed driving a tractor. He enjoyed the job.
- Q: Why did he come back? Was the job over?
- A: Yes, the job ended, so he came back.
- Q: Has he tried to find work?
- A: He says time and time again, he has put in applications with the oil (companies), trying to get back on the job with them or with any other--Sohio, Arco . . . but he has never been called for.
- Q: Since we don't know who he gives the (applications to), could he tell us a little bit (about that)? If he wants a job, who does he go to see?
- A: They have applications here from Arco at the city office or at Kukpik, and he will fill them out; and he thinks they send them on over to (the oil companies).
- Q: We would like to know, when he was working in Barrow and maybe at Prudhoe, did that affect his hunting?
- A: Right after his working hours, he goes out to go hunting. Yes, that's what he did. At quitting time, he goes out hunting.
- Q: Is working at Nuiqsut better than working somewhere else because of that? Is it easier to hunt when he works at Nuiqsut than when he works someplace else?
- A: He says he never ran into any kind of problem (with) going out to go hunting, and he says as long as the oil rig is not too close . . .
- Q: Maybe he could tell us a little about what "too close" would be.
- A: When he was out hunting in the Prudhoe Bay area, they told him he was getting too close (to) the oil rigs and that the guns couldn't be shot there.
- Q: But did he see any reasons other than they told him? Were there other reasons that he saw . . .? Did he see any game there?
- A: Yes, around the area, there was a lot of game, but he was told not to (hunt it).
- Q: Does he know who told him?

A: It was a written rule within the oil company--their employees. And then they passed the word around, and when he heard it, he was afraid to hunt there.

Q: Was he working for the oil company then?

A: No, he was just from here, going around that area hunting.

Q: When Joe testified, he talked about concerns with oil drilling offshore and the effects on subsistence. Maybe he could tell us more about that.

A: He said he has always depended on the sea mammals because he never knows how long his job is going to last; and when his job ends, he has no income, no money to go to buy food; so he goes to hunt for his food.

Q: And does he think that drilling on the sea will affect that?

A: He said that it would probably harm the animals.

Q: Can he give us examples of what he thinks could happen?

A: He says he has seen it around the shore, in the Prudhoe Bay area near the ocean, when the animals would drift ashore with oil on them and they had died. And he says they probably will have oil spills here and there, and he has seen a lot of animals that have died because of oil, and he thinks that is what could happen.

Q: That there will be an oil spill?

A: Well, you know, even when they are careful, he says why did he see this happening? From the ocean, they drifted and came in, and they (were) full of oil.

Q: Does he think they are (more) careful on land?

A: He says (that) right now he has noticed that they are more careful in drilling on land.

Q: Maybe Joe could tell us more about when he saw the seals, when that happened at Prudhoe Bay, when he saw the animals washing ashore.

A: Not exactly the seals--but he has seen fish and heard from other Inupiat, too, about what they have seen.

Q: Does he remember what year it was that he saw those?

A: He hasn't seen them, but his friend David told him about it.

- Q: Bill wanted to know that the people who told him he couldn't hunt . . . were they people working there, were they security guards, were they people he knew who just had read the rules and said he couldn't do it?
- A: He said it was the people who were there, employed, passing the word around.
- Q: Since he has been here a long time, he's probably seen lots of changes at Nuiqsut since he was a young boy. Maybe he could tell us about those changes.
- A: He said, yes, he's noticed changes because now he's employed with the North Slope Borough and he goes out to hunt. He noticed this because of the job. When he lived here years before, there were not any kinds of jobs available. So now it is much different.
- Q: Is that better than before?
- A: He says, yes, he enjoys having a job and also going out to go hunting. He likes it now because the animals are not too disturbed. He thinks that if they start drilling down there (offshore), the sea animals will start being really disturbed. You know, when they go to hunt, they always approach any animal as quietly as they (can); and he thinks all this noise (from oil exploration and development) going on is going to (make them) drift farther out.
- Q: Maybe Joe could tell us what he thinks the future will be like.
- A: He says (that) so far, he has enjoyed the way the development has been not too fast and not too slow, but his job opportunities, little job opportunities he sees living in the village . . . that makes him happy. He really can't see that far forward.
- Q: Since he lived at both Barrow and Nuiqsut, maybe he could tell us what he thinks is different between the two.
- A: He says he can't see a big difference between Barrow and here. When he lived there (in Barrow), he did his hunting and working, and he listens to the radio station, and he hears people talking about the offshore lease sale that's going on here.
- Q: But he doesn't see a difference between living in Barrow and living here?
- A: He says when he lived in Barrow, he did more hunting on the ocean. He depended on all that when he (was out of) work, (out) of a job. And that is precious to him, being able to go out and hunt, and he's really not in (favor of) that offshore drilling.

- Q: It must be hard to go to the ocean and hunt here because it's far away. Maybe he could tell us a little bit about that.
- A: He says (that) it's a little hard because we have to go a long way. But he still manages to go out; he misses his seafood, the seal, fish . . .
- Q: I wondered about the institutions. Does he think the institutions like the North Slope Borough or the city government have been doing a good job in _____ people?
- A: He says he is aware that the North Slope Borough always gives help.
- Q: Does he know of examples? Can he give us any examples?
- A: Employment.
- Q: Does he think the city . . . maybe he could talk about the city (of Nuiqsut).
- A: He knows about the corporation through the store; (it) gives (a small amount) of employment.
- Q: This spring the people in the North Slope Borough didn't get any whales. Could he tell us a little bit about what that meant?
- A: He says it was too bad. And he thought maybe it was because of the quota(?) limits they gave. He thought maybe they didn't count right and that they should know that there are more whales out there, but they are putting a stop (on whaling) like that because they are so _____ down there. That is the thought that came to his mind.
- Q: Could he explain that a little bit further?
- A: He has a feeling that maybe it was just fixed like that. He thought that probably the reason they put a quota on it was because they were anxious to maybe start drilling down there.
- Q: Has he seen the oil development affecting the whales?
- A: He says he hasn't seen that because he hasn't been doing that (whaling), but he has a feeling that an oil spill would harm them.
- Q: What if there were no whales? What would that mean?

A: He says that there are a lot of animals besides the whale. He says they depend on the seals and different animals they were brought up with. When they can't find work, that's where they go to get their food. They can't always depend on the grocery store.

Q: What would he like to see Nuiqsut like for his children?

A: He would like to see his children working, being able to go out and work (in) the oil field on the land instead of (development) on the ocean because he has a feeling that his children are going to depend on the sea mammals for when they can't find food.

Statement: He would not like to see them drill in any kind of water, even on the river. He would like for them not to drill on the rivers because of the (risk to the) fish that they depend on. And he knows that sometimes when there is an oil spill, the water never (is) clean (again). It continues to have oil on top of (it), and he thinks it does a lot of harm to the fish.

Q: There's talk about a road. Maybe he could tell us his thoughts about that, on the road between here and Dead Horse.

A: He likes the idea of having a road to here because he thinks they may be able to get stuff a little cheaper and will be able to go (to) get supplies. He thinks having the road there would maybe cut the cost of living down a little bit.

Q: What about the expansion of the Kuparuk field and hunting?

A: He knows he can't do anything about progress, and he might as well join it.

Q: Is that the way he said it?

A: Yes, and he says (that) maybe our children from this village can find work there. He can always go hunting on this side of the area. Most of the time, _____ his hunting isn't always up in that area, up around the ocean part.

Q: That's really an important thing that he just said.

A: His feeling is that it's growing and we can't stop it, right? It is growing, and seeing it grow, he would like to see our people in the village able to work, too. Maybe that's what he was happy about--jobs, more jobs.

INTERVIEW WITH TERZA HOPSON

August 9, 1982

This is Bill Schneider and George Sherrod. We're going to be talking with Terza Hopson about her experiences here and specific questions about the oil development activities and future of life here. Maggie Kovalsky is going to help us with translation and maybe even some questions.

Q: I'd like to start this interview with a little bit of your personal history: where you were born, some of your experiences as a young girl when you were growing up.

A: I was born in Barrow, in a little camp about 5 miles from Barrow--in a summer camp when my father was out sealing and ugruk hunting in a place called Nunuvak in 1917. I was raised in Barrow all my life. We had camps up the river for fishing. My grandfather and my father used to take us up the rivers for trapping and fishing. In the summer they'd hunt down in back of Barrow for walruses and seals. It was subsistence (living) all the way through (my life). We went to school in the winter--grade school. In the summer time we went out again camping until it was late summer (and time) for school to begin; then we'd head back to Barrow. That was the way of life in our day. The whole village would (go) out to camp (from) Barrow.

Q: Just getting food for the winter?

A: Food for the winter. The seals (were) kind of hard to get, too. (We) used the blubber from the animals that they got for heat in the wintertime. When I was growing (up), my mother still had this oil lamp; when we didn't have enough blubber to heat the house, she lit that little Eskimo lamp, (and it would) keep the place warm. Then I got married, and life was a little different. The stores had little, you know, not too (many) supplies, and we still had to make our own clothes and still had to make my kids clothes. There weren't hardly any store-bought clothes in those days, and the mothers would prepare the girls (teach them) how these garments were made and how to tan so their husbands could have good clothing when they (went) out hunting. More and more these days, they use store-bought stuff. (It is) easier to get now. That way of life is pretty (much) past now, but we still have . . . we still know how to make mukluks and parkas. Nothing takes the place of that garment in this weather . . . for hunters you know. They'd be gone for days at a time, and your clothes are . . .

Q: They have to be able to last?

Q: Yes. And they'd get wet--these store-bought boots and stuff like that--that felt would get wet, and it takes quite a while to dry (it) out. But the caribou socks and stuff like that, you take them in the house, and whatever you (have, maybe) a tent, you can always dry them out; and (there's) no danger of getting frozen feet.

Q: Where were you living when you got married?

A: Barrow.

Q: Did you stay at Barrow, then?

A: We stayed in Barrow off and on, and we'd camp up at Cape Simpson; my husband would trap and hunt there. (We would) go up to the rivers for fishing in the fall and then go down and get . . . Of course, in the summertime, we'd stay in Barrow and get enough walrus and ugruk and stuff like that for dog food. It still is that way. They still get that even though they don't have any dogs. They still hunt for walrus and ugruk, whales, and stuff like that.

Q: When did you move to Nuiqsut?

A: 1973. I moved in with that whole bunch that moved in because my mother was raised in the Salvaniktu area where that Hulu Bay is. She was raised there, and they used to have camps up on the river there; and then when there were no caribou, they'd head down to Cross Island and live off of that island on the ice, when the caribou were out. My grandfather used to say that some days the caribou would be there, and he used to say that they're very much like ducks--the next day they're not there, just like ducks (that) fly off somewhere. And that way, they followed whatever game that they could get; and when they couldn't get caribou, they would have to head down to the ocean. And Cross Island is where they used to go and start their camp out in the ice. (They) would leave their families on that island and make another camp down on the ice. The (meat) was always too far out, and they'd have to have one camp in the middle; so whenever they caught anything like polar bear or ugruk or seal, they'd (take) it to that second camp. From there, there'd be some young kids like my mother and Floyd Ahvakahna, who was young; young people would haul it up to the main camp on that island. That way, they used to survive those hard winters, and at the same time, they'd have enough to share whatever they'd get with some people who were very hard up and didn't have enough dogs to travel back and forth like they did. So that's why this hunting is so important; when there's no oil here (when the oil runs out), we'd like to have our land the way it was because even though you have some store stuff (available), it's not enough for us because we're so used to living off of the land. It's

just like your deep freeze, you know; you go out and get whatever you need. If your neighbors or friends are hard up, you just give them whatever you don't need, and it's share and share alike. That's the village life, (and it) still is. I think you should talk with Lucy Ahvakahna about this thing down at Beachy Point. They used to get lots of fish down there. Now after (the oil companies) got through with it, they don't get anything down there. They used to just put their nets out there and get some fish.

Q: I think somebody will be talking with Lucy because she's given quite a bit of testimony in the past . . . And the sharing patterns continue today?

A: Yes, even among the young people. Just now on the phone, I was talking with my stepdaughter, and a couple of old people phoned in and asked for some fresh meat. When her boys came, she (told) them, "Even though I didn't tell you this, be sure and remember to give some out to the old people that don't have anybody to hunt (for them). Give some of that fresh meat to them." She met her husband going out the door when she came in; (he) was taking that stuff to some old guy that needed it. So it's still very much . . .

Q: How about your life here in Nuiqsut since your husband's gone?

A: More and more, it's gradually getting . . . you know how some people are, whenever they get comfortable, then that's it. They don't think about the other person. It's getting like that. I see it happening everyday. When people used to get some fresh meat, they'd give it out because when you get (the) next bunch, then you save that. The first catch is just shared with the village.

Q: The first catch?

A: Uh huh, (the first catch) of caribou or any fresh seal or anything. And the next time you go out and you get more, that's when you put away your stuff for your use. Some of it, you give (away) if there's . . . We don't get hardly (any) ugruk or any seal or any ducks here, but I get enough from my relatives and friends from Barrow; they send some in. And if Kaktolik gets a whale, maybe clear down at Point Hope, they'd catch one (and) then they'd share it.

Q: Did you notice after your husband died that people shared more with you?

A: About the same. When he was alive, there'd be some (sharing), and (it happens) a little bit more since he passed on.

Q: I wanted to ask you about your work history--wage work. Did you hold other jobs before you were the North Slope Borough representative?

A: I never did. I worked for myself.

Q: You never worked for oil companies?

A: No.

Q: When you held the job as the North Slope Borough representative, what sort of things did you do? Coordinator is the title?

A: Yes, we set up places for personnel that came in for different purposes--set up meeting places for them. We would send in weekly reports--I mean monthly reports--and just coordinate. Whenever there was something of interest that the Borough (needed) to know, we let them know; and whatever the village asked or whatever they wanted to let the Borough know about, (we coordinated) these things. It was coordinating. It gets so that it . . . before, when just my husband and I were representing the North Slope Borough, they didn't have a camp; our house was headquarters for the four (representatives) in those days. We used to feed them and sometimes put them up. But now they have a camp, and it's less work. But it was nice working with them.

Q: We were talking about sharing before. Do you think that oil development and activities will endanger the sharing?

A: I don't think it has anything to do with that. It's the people themselves; it's the village life that even (the amount of) money a person gets, it doesn't change his inner person, you know, (when he) is raised with this sort of thing.

Q: If someone is working wage labor, do they share different things than someone who is subsistence working?

A: I think if a person doesn't work in the village, I think more and more people (share with) them; and if they are getting money, it makes a little bit of difference. You don't mind if they come in to buy some stuff (from) you. If they have money and you're not working, I think it sort of evens up like that.

Q: You've had a chance to kind of see some changes in the development of oil here in this area. When you first came, did you have any idea that oil development would expand as much as it has?

A: Yes, we kind of figured it (would).

Q: Do you think that the Inupiat and people here in Nuiqsut have been able to guide that development?

A: What do you mean?

Q: Have they been able to protect their way of life?

A: Yes, just about. You know, more and more they worry about any oil companies that (might) come in close to the river or any activities like that with oil companies. It worries a lot of people. It just upsets them.

Aside from Interpreter: I guess they depend on what they catch, you know. I think that because of the high cost of food . . .

A: Yes. From the stores, the cost is so high, (and if) you have to (buy food from the store), it worries them when they think (about) these (things).

Q: But you kind of knew that oil development would take place?

A: But not this close. We didn't figure on the Kuparuk (being developed). We just thought it'd be further up at Prudhoe. That Kuparuk area is one of the best fishing places that they (have). They get . . . good fish there, and (it's good) fishing in the fall (there).

Q: Does anyone fish there now?

A: Not now. I think that they moved further down. When they used to live in the Beachy Point area, that's where they'd go . . . because I remember my husband told me when they were traveling up (there), they would spend the fall there. A lot of people--old people like Takpuk and the whole bunch--were living there. They'd go up the river--even Clay. If Clay were here, he'd give you a better idea of that area, of hunting in that area.

Q: Clay Kuparuk?

A: Uh hm. (affirmative) He's out of town now. He used to be in and out of there all the time when he was young and his parents lived around that area.

Q: So you have seen oil expand and move into areas that you didn't expect it to.

A: No. (meaning yes, she didn't expect it)

Q: And have you seen examples of how that affects Inupiat people here? You mentioned the fishing in Kuparuk.

A: That Fish Creek was . . . last year that was our worry . . . Fish Creek area where the good fishing is. They go there in the fall and in the summer. And caribou hunting . . . (It's a) good caribou hunting area. They were worried about that mostly, in that Kuparuk (area). Because since we moved here, they would talk about going there for fishing, before the Kuparuk area was developed.

Q: You're talking about going to Fish Creek?

A: No, to Kuparuk. And now that the oil companies are there, they . . . that worries the whole village on both sides.

Aside from Interpreter: They think they can't go there to go fishing if all this commotion is going on in Kuparuk.

Q: So, you think that they feel that they can't have access to that area because of the oil companies?

A: I don't think good fishing would be around there. For eating (fish), you have to get out where it's clean, to get whatever you can get, (fish where it's) not disturbed by some oil companies, like that.

Q: How does oil development threaten caribou?

A: Some years, you know . . . I think you have to talk with the hunters. I'm not a hunter. I've never even gotten a caribou, and I've never even gone out fishing, except for the summer up and down the river here where we have fish nets. I think you'd do well to talk with the caribou hunters about that.

Q: Let me ask you a question that will sound silly because it's obvious to you, but it's important for me to ask it. Why are Inupiat foods important? Why are Eskimo foods important?

A: If I ask you a question, why are your vegetables, your food important to your life? It's the same thing. We don't grow anything from our ground in this area, this part of the country. Nothing grows from our ground. And (meat) is about the only thing that we depend on that's here. When you don't have money, you go out there and get your food, when you don't have a job. And the jobs are not so easy to get in this area.

Q: I guess in answer to your question, (I) would say I could replace the vegetables that I like with other things, and it wouldn't make that much difference to me. But when I talk to the Inupiat people, they say that their food is very special to them, and it can't be replaced by other types of foods.

A: Some of that food is uncooked--I mean, eaten without cooking. You just prepare it, age it a little bit, and then freeze it. And it's important to us. When we don't have enough oil or any gas or anything to heat and cook the food with, we can (still) eat it. That's why it's so special. We can prepare it to fit our way of life, (our) lifestyle. We can't do that with store-bought stuff.

Q: You can't do that with store-bought food?

A: You can't. With what we get, we can fix it--like you would make some hams and whatever you have that you get from the farm. We can prepare (our food) in special ways to fit our lifestyle. But with anything that you bought from a store, like roast and steaks and stuff, (we can't). Even the fish sometimes, we fix in certain ways.

Q: Do you think that oil development and subsistence are compatible? Do you think that they can both happen at the same time: that people can hunt and fish and trap, and there can still be oil development?

A: I don't think it would be the same. It might work, but it . . . we just don't . . . even though nobody can help it, we don't like for it to happen because we don't know what the outcome will be. We're not sure if this drilling and all that sort of thing would be safe. It's just a gamble on anything like that; it's too much, and it's scary for us to think about it.

Q: There is development now, and it's coming from the east; there are lease sales out in the ocean, and yet people are still hunting and fishing and trapping. I guess my question is, can that continue? Will people still be able to hunt and fish and trap?

A: Fortunately, the oil companies are very careful in how they do these things. It wouldn't make too much difference, but if there's a spill or anything like that . . . See, from (the time of) our ancestors, when there were no caribou up there and there'd be some ptarmigans in the winter, you'd catch a lot of ptarmigans and leave some of them. Still, you just don't get enough nourishment from them. Unless you have some oil, like from seal, ugruk, walrus, and whale, you just die out. There's not enough nourishment kept in the ptarmigan.

Q: We're talking a little bit about mixing the ptarmigan with the oil and the importance of the balance.

A: See, you get ptarmigan; you get lots of it. But still you . . . people die off without any help from the blubber you get from the sea mammals, and that's why our sea is so important to us.

My grandfather used to say that, and it's known all over the North Slope--that's it's like that. In those days when they were getting these ptarmigans for their food, the wife would get the back part and give the meaty parts to her husband since he's a hunter and needs more strength than she does. In the end, he'd be worse off than (she would who is) getting the back because from the lungs and from the kidneys and whatever was in (the part the wife got), there is more nourishment than the meat in the breast. They knew that, too. So that's why our sea mammals are so important to our diet. With caribou and moose and the others, it (lack of nourishment) doesn't happen. But in times when you can't get the meat, the ptarmigans are always there.

Q: How well do you think that the North Slope institutions are doing for the people with respect to oil development? The North Slope Borough, have they been effective in protecting . . . ?

A: They're trying. You can't just say No to all those who are wanting to do this (development). Then you don't have to . . . Even if you have a say, you can't stop (development), you know. You just have to sort of try to be a go-between among the people of the North Slope and the oil companies. You look after your own side of the thing.

Aside from Interpreter: Even though you say No, it's going to happen.

A: It's going to happen. That's the sad part of it. They've given all kinds of testimonies and all that, and they get some help, (but) the oil companies keep on . . .

Q: How is the North Slope Borough working for the people's values? I'm looking for some examples.

A: The Planning Commission over there meets with the oil companies, different oil companies, when they are getting ready for things like a lease sale and drilling, and they have tried--even though they don't have a say--(to) say No, but (the oil companies) still go ahead with it. They (just) have to go there, like a go-between. You know, it's probably very hard to do. Even though we don't want (the oil companies) there, they have a right to go on ahead with their business, too. And what hurts most is (that) you try, but nothing (comes from it). That's why these hearings and everything else are so . . . getting so that they just get you mad. You just don't get anywhere. Even though you say No, they're there (the development happens).

Q: Why do you think it is that they're not responding? Or are they listening and just ignoring you?

A: (They are) just ignoring (us) like the government (when it) took over the whole United States and ignored the Indians. History (is) repeating itself again.

Q: Do you see any other institutions on the North Slope as (being) effective in working towards protecting Inupiat values?

A: The Environmental Protection people and these conservation people, I think they go to extremes. I don't know. You have to talk with some hunters; I think you (will) get more answers (about) that (from them). I'm just a homebody.

Q: But you've been very active in the Borough and worked hard for the Borough, so your observations are more . . .

A: Yes, there are people in the Planning Commission that are trying to . . . They can't say No; they have to sort of go half way.

Q: . . . You say they're . . .

A: Just enough . . . like when I used to hear (that) the Canadians were taking good care of the Natives over there. Way back, I used to hear that, and I wondered what they did over there. And then one time, my husband and I were at the Lions' convention in White Horse, and when they started having these cocktail parties, we'd go out and hire a cab and go around and see (the area). Then one day I wanted to go see the graveyard--the Indian graveyard they had over there. (We asked if) there was an Eskimo and Indian village close by. (The cab driver) said Yes. So (we asked him to) take us down there because we wanted to see it. We saw these new log cabins all over (in) one area. He said those were Indian houses. (They) all had all these sawed logs for winter. I saw those things there, stacked up for their winter use. "Oh," (I said), "they prepare themselves for the winter." "No," (the cab driver said, "they're being paid by the government to cut those logs for their own use." I just (about) got sick, you know. My goodness . . . getting paid for your own (winter preparations), that's just spoiling the way of life for hard-working people. Their independence (is) taken away from them. We don't want that to happen here among the Inupiat people. If their subsistence way of life is taken away from them, what good will they be? It's just like those Indians I saw at White Horse: there was an area for their own village, and (they were) being paid to cut their own firewood. No Eskimo would want to be seen (living) like that. If the oil companies ever have (an) accident or anything, if we couldn't get any fish or seal in the waters there, where will we go to get it? Will the government help us get (food) from other countries or something? That's why we're scared. Our stores are . . . you know, they run out of a lot of things, and we have to do without sometimes; (we) depend on those (subsistence foods).

Aside from Interpreter: We can't depend on the store.

A: No, we depend on what's out there.

Q: We talked about sharing, talked about the land, (about) going back to places that are important. And we talked about independence, being self-sufficient. What are some other Inupiat values? What are some other values that you see to this way of life?

A: Those people--like if there aren't any . . . if even one man gets (some game meat) and the people are out (of food)--they share (the meat), whatever they get. I think that's one of the valuable things that we have, being Inupiat natives.

Aside from Interpreter: It's always been done like that.

A: Yes, you are looked down upon (when) you don't share--when your (friends) are going without anything, and you don't share. For instance, one man had some caribou, and he let his sister work to put it away. This happened in the early 1900s, and the story is still told. This man told his sister, "If you butcher those caribou, you will only have one, and the rest of them are going to be ours." So she worked hard all day while her husband was out hunting, and then when nighttime came, they went to sleep; and in the morning, they woke up wanting to put away her share from her brother's catch. Her brother was gone and his family--no meat--nothing. And her husband couldn't get anything. Pretty soon they were starving; their dogs starved off. They started walking to Barrow. It was quite a ways, and they went. They had a little boy. She was carrying (him), and her husband couldn't catch anything. And there were no caribou. They walked and walked. This man hadn't been to Barrow, but she had; and she showed him the way. Then he built a little snow house for her and the baby. And he said, "I'm going to go down and follow the directions to go try and hit Barrow village, and from there I'm going (to) send somebody to come and get you." So, he couldn't do anything more for her; he tried to melt some water in his hands so she could have some water. And he left her, and his strength was so low he crawled most of the way; and you know the place where the Arctic Research Lab has their camp there? That's where he landed. I mean he ended up going there instead of (to) Barrow village. There was a house there at the time, and he crawled in there. The people that lived there notified the village, and some dog teams went up to get this woman (and) found her still alive--pretty bad. But she managed to make it. And this man, her brother, was looked down upon by the North Slope people in this area. He ended up by living down in Point Lay all his life even though his relatives were here. This woman's children are still living in this village. So, if a person doesn't share anything like that, they're branded, like this man was because he didn't share. So anybody else would be

looked down upon like that. You have to live with yourself if you live Inupiat. You have to live with yourself. You have to share. It's the only way. The life is hard, and if you don't (share) . . ., I don't think anybody thinks about sharing too much unless your neighbors or your friends start running out of meat like that, and then some of us just have to start sharing.

Q: Do you think that the Kukpiik Corporation has been effective in working for the people?

A: It's there to make money; it doesn't care about the stockholders. You have to pay just as much as anybody else to try and get your stuff from that store.

Q: How about Pingo?

A: I think just one family is benefiting from that outfit.

Q: Have there been employment opportunities for other people?

Aside from Interpreter: Very little, unless you want to be a laborer.

A: Yes, very little. Some of the kids that graduated this year (who were) trying to get enough money to go to school--to some college--were given some chances to go there and work. (There were) girls about 17 (or) 18 years old; they expected them to pull these big planks and things from the water, like a superman. They couldn't do it. They just came back. There's not good communication between that outfit, I don't think, when (things like that happen). I think some people should get more interested in that and look into it.

Aside from Interpreter: Because I was sure hoping that when Pingo started, (they would take the) children that just graduated and (give) them on the job training, you know, so they could work with that company and work (at better jobs) than just going out and picking up trash or lumber or . . .

Q: It's hard to break into the employment in the oil industry. That's something that the people have been talking about, the difficulties.

A: You have to have some training in order to get a good paying job with them. You have to have some experience in that field, and nobody has it.

Aside from Interpreter: They would like to try to (get) it, but no money, no training.

A: No training. They don't have any training courses or anything for this, I don't think.

Q: And yet, the Inupiat have been involved in oil-related activities since the '40s.

A: In those days, when the Arctic Contractors were in, when they first started exploring, they needed drivers for those cat trains and stuff like that. That's how they were involved in it--drivers and builders for those cat trains.

Q: Was your husband working on that?

A: No, he worked as a carpenter. He belonged to the Carpenter's Union and worked in the carpentry area there.

Q: I often think back about that period and the way the Inupiat were employed, and I wonder if that helps in terms of employment today. But it's another generation.

A: Yes, it was . . . the younger generation. (At one) time, there was some talk, and I used to see in the newspapers that the Inupiat weren't going to be like their ancestors (since now they work as) drivers, carpenters, mechanics, or welders. They wouldn't know how to hunt or even (to) survive in the North. That was wrong. That was very wrong. Living in the Arctic, you can't get that hunting out of you. It's there. You grow up with it.

Q: I hear you saying that they were able to balance wage work with hunting, fishing, and trapping. Could they do both?

A: They can do both. But they thought that this was the end of it in the 1940s. Even though you have a job, . . . you have that hunting in you. You're involved in it right in your own home. You see the hunting gear of your father. And they go out in the boat, and you follow, or get on a snow-go, get on a sled, and follow them. Or in Barrow, they'd go out to the ice and get seals, and you follow them; or (you) go whaling even though you hold a job. You just grow up with it. You can't get it out of you; it's our way of life. You can have a good paying job and still be able to hunt whenever you get a chance. My son-in-law is an engineer there in Wasilla . . . he hunts. He likes to hunt . . . same thing.

Q: Maggie, do you have questions for her?

Interpreter: She answered a lot of my questions.

Q: Just one last one. In 20 years, what do you think Nuiqsut will be like for your children? I don't have an answer in mind.

A: I'm scared to think of it. You know, I left Barrow; I was raised there. But I'm scared of it; I don't want this village to be the same as Barrow, but you can't help progress.

I think, if we have good leaders and good people in the village, if they keep it under control, I don't think it will end up like Barrow, even if it grows. We can't stop the progress; it has to come with the good and bad together. But with better government . . . even if it gets to be like Barrow . . . they say it's going to be bigger than Barrow, but I hope there'll be good people to rule it.

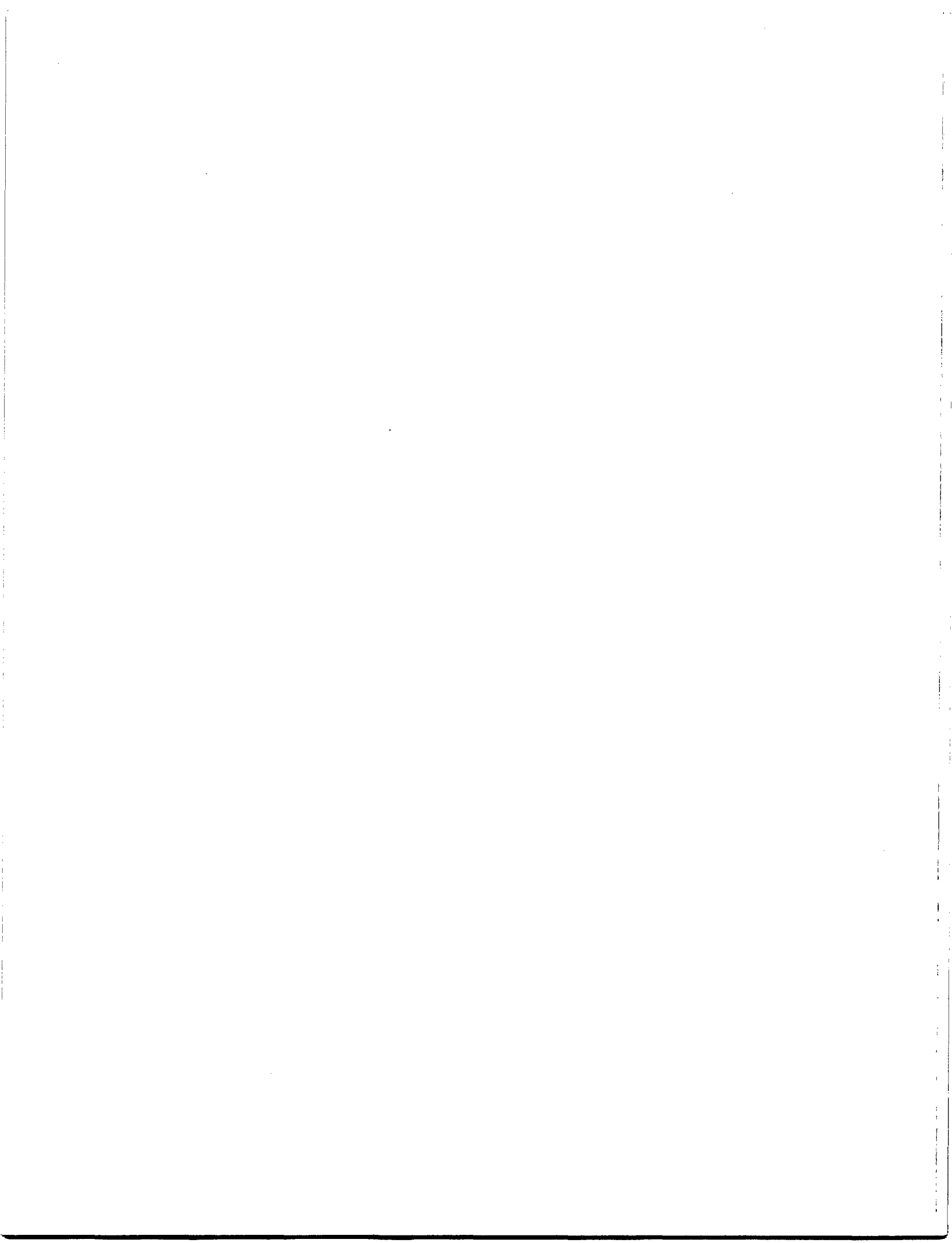
Q: What would make a good leader or a good ruler? What traits or what qualities are good in a leader? What should a good leader be like?

A: What's a good leader like? It's the same way . . . A person has to have know-how and be interested in keeping the law--have his interest in the village, not all for himself, (but for the) community. Did that answer your question?

Q: I hope that the future's a bright one.

A: I hope so, too. They told us--I was kind of scared, you know--(that) this place would be even bigger than Barrow someday. And if it's going to be, if it's going to grow, then we hope that we get good people to run it and (that it will be) a good place to live in. I'm kind of scared for the village because if they open that Haul Road, we're too close to it, and (there are) just going to be people coming in. We don't want that. We just want to be left alone and just (left to) live the way we want, (like it is) now, just trying to make a go of everything. We managed to build a couple of churches and a good school since we've been here, in nine years. We'd like to get more people in--more good people.

Q: Thank you very much



INTERVIEW WITH CLAY KAIGELAK, SR.

August 10, 1982

(Tape translation by Beverly Patkotak Grinage)

Statement: (Clay) When they spread the oil around, I always (help) them clean it up. About 30 miles east of here, within the islands, the depth of the water is about 20 feet; this is where they drilled.

Statement: (Maggie Kovolsky) He [Clay] had a chance to work this winter with the oil companies, Shell Oil, and he was inspecting oil spills. He said anytime there was a little amount spilled, he reported it and (helped) get it all cleaned (up).

This is Bill Schneider and George Sherrod, and we're working with Clay Kaigelak, and Maggie Kovolsky is acting as interpreter. It's August 10 in Nuiqsut.

Q: (Bill) Clay, you were talking about your experiences working for Shell Oil.

Q: (Maggie) Isn't it correct that this was the first time that you worked with Shell Oil?

A: (Clay) Yes.

Q: (Bill) Could you explain a little more about that?

A: (Clay) I think that they are drilling in very deep water. And in front of Long Island, they made an ice island (where) the water was 40 feet deep. I don't think that they will drill there (for) a couple of years. They are just going to test it to see if the ice will damage it.

Q: (Bill) What work were you doing?

A: (Clay) (I was an) inspector. (The island) was planned to be 15 feet above the sea level. I moved to another site before this site was completed. They had planned to put in sand bags in July, so I think they have put in sand bags there already.

Q: (Bill) Can you tell us briefly some of the jobs you've held over the years?

A: (Clay) I have not worked with other oil companies. I've always worked with the people that make the ice roads.

Q: (Bill) For how long?

A: (Clay) From 1976 to 1977.

Q: (Bill) Did you work in the early days in the oil exploration period?

A: (Clay) No, because I've always worked in other jobs.

Q: (Maggie) What kind of jobs, DEW Line? What other jobs have you worked in?

A: (Clay) I have worked at the DEW Line, in Barrow, in Umiat, and all sorts of different places.

Q: (Bill) I had heard that you were a cat driver?

A: (Clay) I'm a cat driver; I'm a heavy equipment operator.

Q: (Bill) And you get calls from all over?

Q: (Bill) Where were you born?

A: (Clay) In Barrow.

Q: (Maggie) But you've traveled here while trapping? Wasn't your wife living at Beechey Point?

A: (Clay) Yes.

Q: (Bill) Did you live at Beechey Point?

A: (Clay) I lived at Beechey Point (from) 1934 to 1942; that's when I moved to Barrow. I (have) lived down in the other place, Foggy Island. I stayed there quite a few years. Maybe . . . I could count it: 1922 to 1934.

Q: (Maggie) (At) Foggy Island?

A: (Clay) Yes.

Q: (Bill) So you left Barrow and then went to the Foggy Island area?

A: (Clay) I went to Foggy Island when I was a small boy. After I got married, I moved to Beechey Point in 1934.

Q: (Bill) What was Beechey Point like in 1934?

A: (Clay) There were about three or four houses with a store.

Q: (Bill) And then when did you move back to Barrow?

A: (Clay) In 1942.

Q: (Bill) Why did you move back?

A: (Clay) I went so my children could go to school. (There was) no school (at) that time (at Beechey Point).

Q: (Bill) Was there work in Barrow in 1942?

A: (Clay) I (always) worked down in Barrow, and when I (didn't) have a job, I went hunting from Barrow all the way up here.

Q: (Bill) When did you come back here to Nuiqsut?

A: (Clay) In 1973.

Q: (Bill) Was that that original trip back?

A: (Clay) Yes, I came here late; I came in on the plane. I had a job so I came in the summer.

Q: (Bill) Why did you decide to come back?

A: (Clay) I don't know; my wife wanted to move here.

Q: (Bill) So this area is pretty important to your wife?

A: (Clay) Yes, she likes fresh meat.

Q: (Bill) What changes have you seen in Nuiqsut over the years?

A: (Clay) It hasn't changed that much, but the river has gotten bad.

Q: (Bill) Have you noticed changes in the number of people?

A: (Clay) Yes, we are getting more people.

Q: (Bill) When you moved back here, did you think that there would be all that oil development?

A: (Clay) I thought they'd get closer to us, but they really haven't gotten that much closer.

Q: (Bill) You thought they'd be closer than they are now?

A: (Maggie) Yes.

Q: (Bill) Can you tell us what you thought, tell us a little more about what you thought would be happening?

A: (Clay) Well, they are trying not to get too close to us; they are just drilling on our rim.

Q: (Bill) But you had expected that they would be even closer?

A: (Clay) Yes.

Q: (Bill) Did you think about that fact when you first came here?

A: (Clay) Yes.

Q: (Bill) Do you think that there have been good opportunities for people?

A: (Clay) Yes, some people go (to the oil fields) for jobs, but some people quit those jobs.

Q: (Maggie) But that time when we didn't have jobs--they never hired us?

A: (Clay) Yes, when we first came.

Q: (Bill) What has development done to the land?

A: (Clay) They have become very careful right now. Before we moved here, there were fuel drums all over the place--careless. They now clean up every year.

Q: (Bill) Have you noticed changes in animals?

A: (Clay) I don't know. The fish were once very plentiful here.

Q: (Bill) Where have you noticed the change in fish?

A: (Clay) Well, fish have been scarce now for three years.

Q: (Bill) What causes that?

A: (Clay) Well, it's because of the closure of this river's mouth.

Q: (Bill) So it's not development--oil development; it's natural--nature closing the fish off?

A: (Clay) I don't know. I don't know if the oil development is the cause or not.

Q: (Bill) Would you like to see more oil development?

A: (Clay) There is no way that we can stop them because they have already begun. It has become hard for us because they are trying to start (drilling in) the ocean.

Q: (Bill) Why are you worried about the ocean?

A: (Clay) Well, when the ice ridges begin to form, they will destroy the oil drill(ings). The ice is much more powerful than anything.

Q: (Bill) And what might happen?

A: (Clay) It will destroy it [the oil drill or rig].

Q: (Bill) And then what?

A: (Clay) It will take our animals (from us). Well, when there is a big storm in Barrow or even Barter Island, the ice can destroy everything.

Q: (Bill) What will that oil do, if it spills, to the animals?

A: (Clay) There is no question that they will run away to some place else.

Q: (Maggie) That is, if they don't die, right?

A: (Clay) Yes.

Q: (Bill) Would it be different onshore?

A: (Clay) It is quite different on land for the animals, but they have become more careful.

Q: (Bill) In your life, have you been able to continue to hunt, fish, trap, and also work wage labor? Do you think the children today can do that?

A: (Clay) They have become somewhat difficult today.

Q: (Bill) Do you know why they have become unpredictable?

A: (Clay) All they think of is money now.

Q: (Bill) Are they still hunting, fishing, and trapping--the young people?

A: (Clay) Yes.

Q: (Bill) But you also think that they want the big jobs in oil?

Q: (Maggie) They can still hunt after working hours, right?

A: (Clay) Yes.

Q: (Bill) Why do you think that you were chosen to be supervisor?

A: (Clay) Because they want me to keep an eye on them since there are so many--to see if they're doing anything wrong; this is why they asked me to be inspector.

Q: (Bill) Were there other people involved in that program?

A: (Clay) Yes, but the rest are all white men.

Q: (Maggie) Were you the only Inupiaq there?

A: (Clay) Yes.

Q: (Maggie) Did you come home at intervals?

A: (Clay) Yes.

Q: (Bill) What are some of the important Inupiat cultural values--important things--that you'd like to see continued?

A: (Clay) The Inupiat way of life is much better (than white man's lifestyle). Hunting and just the Inupiat way of life is better because we don't treat each other harshly among the Inupiaq.

Q: (Bill) Why do you think that more people aren't involved in oil development?

A: (Clay) It is because they require people with an education.

Q: (Bill) Education in school?

A: (Clay) Yes, people that have studied a trade.

Q: (Bill) But on your own education, did you spend a lot of time in school?

A: (Clay) No, not even kindergarten.

Q: (Maggie) Haven't they taught you how to operate a tractor?

A: (Clay) No, I learned just by watching.

Q: (Bill) Is it different today for the young people?

A: (Clay) It isn't that much different. They are learning.

Q: (Bill) Gee, it's hard for us sometimes to understand with all those jobs over there in Prudhoe Bay and so few Inupiat there.

A: (Clay) Yes, I think that way, too, because there are many people here that could possibly work there.

A: (Clay) ARCO has really grown since West Kuukpaagruk expanded with white people.

Q: (Maggie) Coming from the outside?

A: (Clay) Yes.

Q: (Bill) Why?

A: (Maggie) That's what we always ask, why.

Q: (Bill) Do you have an answer?

A: (Clay) We don't know either.

Statement: (Maggie) That's what we always ask each other, why? But we never know why. That's what we thought. Like he stated earlier, he thought maybe it was because of the education, but he was never educated, and he was willing to learn; and you know he learned how to operate a tractor. That's why, if he can do that, you know, our young generation can do that, too. Like on-the-job training or something, so we could be able to work in the oil fields. But we were never given that opportunity although when we meet with Sohio, ARCO, we always ask them. Like our children just graduating from high school--we wondered if they could get summer jobs so they could go on to college, (but) they wouldn't hire them except maybe (for a) few laborers.

Q: (Maggie) Our children, when they need money, they still won't hire them. I asked them why it is that way.

A: (Clay) That is right.

Q: (Maggie) What were you going to say?

A: (Clay) Well, our children haven't had college. I have only one child that has been to college, and she never gets a job; she's a secretary. My other children that just had good schooling know more about working.

Q: (Bill) Did you have to join the Union?

A: (Clay) Yeah, I'm a Union man. I am still a Union member.

Q: (Bill) But . . .

A: (Clay) I know West Kuukpaagruk and Foggy Island well.

Q: (Bill) So you've seen a lot of changes in Kuukparak?

A: (Clay) Yes, I know that.

Q: (Bill) Do you think that it will go back to the old way?

A: (Clay) There is no doubt that it will never return. There are too many things now; it will never return.

Q: (Maggie) You mean land-wise?

Q: (Bill) Yeah. Do people still hunt over there and fish?

A: (Clay) No, they do not allow them to hunt. I can trap there because they gave me permission.

Q: (Maggie) They let you trap after giving you permission? Where is it from?

A: (Clay) Yes. They, themselves, (gave) permission for me (to trap).

Q: (Bill) Do you start from here when you go over there to trap?

A: (Clay) No, they hire me out there.

Q: (Bill) How do you get there when you're trapping over there?

A: (Clay) By plane. I get traps.

Q: (Maggie) While you're working?

A: (Clay) I just trap.

Q: (Maggie) And where do you sleep?

A: (Clay) (In a) hotel; they have food; everything's there, and (it) is free. They let me have a pickup, snowmachine.

Q: (Bill) You have a snowmachine there?

A: (Clay) I use their snowmachine and their pickups [truck].

Q: (Bill) So you do your trapline now with a pickup truck, huh?

A: (Clay) Yes.

Q: (Maggie) While you are working?

A: (Clay) No, they always provide a pickup for me because I have nothing.

Q: (Maggie) Because they know you?

A: (Clay) Yes, because they know me.

Q: (Bill) Are there other people that trap like that?

A: (Clay) No, I don't know of any.

Q: (Bill) And no hunting and fishing over there?

A: (Clay) Yes, they do not hunt out there.

Q: (Bill) How about fishing?

A: (Clay) They fish with fishing rods.

Q: (Maggie) But they do not allow net fishing?

A: (Clay) Yes, I don't know of any that fish with nets.

Q: (Bill) What do you think about the next twenty years for your children?

A: (Clay) I don't know; it is hard to predict.

Q: (Bill) What would he like to see for his children?

A: (Clay) Well, I would like my children to live good lives and not to lack anything.

Q: (Maggie) And you would like to see them have jobs?

A: (Clay) Yes, I also want to see all the people in Nuiqsut have jobs.

Q: (Bill) Has Pingo been helpful in getting employment for people?.

A: (Clay) Yes, but they don't have many Inupiat employees. They just have a lot of white employees. I worked for Pingo about a year ago, and they had almost all white employees. I worked west of Kuukpaagruk. There are a few Inupiat working out there in the camps, but there aren't very many.

Q: (Maggie) As you know, a long time ago, we shared everything. when someone was really poor. Is this how people lived back then?

A: (Clay) Yes.

Q: (Bill) Is there anything you want to tell us on the record here for people in the future to hear about in terms of oil development?

A: (Clay) We would like to see more Inupiat working out there [Prudhoe Bay] since we are Alaskans. They just hire too many white people.

Q: (Bill) What can be done to make that happen?

A: (Clay) It should be the job of the bosses.

Statement: (Bill) Thank you.

INTERVIEW WITH SAMUEL AND SARAH KUNAKNANA

August 9, 1982

- Q: (Bill [Bill Schneider]) I know that you traveled a lot in your time and you've lived in a lot of different places out here. Can you tell us just briefly about where you were born and some of the places that you've lived?
- A: (Sarah [Kunaknana]) Although I was born in Barrow, I was taken east to Cross Island at two months of age. My father caught a whale at Cross Island.
- Q: (Bill) Was it that old timer, Taaqpak?
- A: (Sarah) Taaqpak caught a whale quite a long while after my father. It was after I had become a big girl. When I was 9 years old, my family along with his family (Taaqpak) went whaling in a small boat. My father was the first one that got a whale there, in 1921.
- Q: (Bill) And then you traveled around quite a bit along inland rivers?
- A: (Sarah) Yes, we went all over because my father traveled a lot. We would stop somewhere and spend the winter. We traveled until I was grown up.
- Q: (Bill) And Samuel, where were you born?
- A: (Samuel [Kunaknana]) In Barrow.
- Q: (Bill) And when you were a young boy, where were you raised?
- A: (Samuel) I was brought here in 1921 as a young boy, around this area by Kukpik.
- Q: (Bill) Have you at any time worked for the oil companies or any exploration companies?
- A: (Sarah) No, although I have not worked for the oil companies, I talk in their meetings. I talk even though I refuse their requests for me to speak.
- Q: (Bill) Samuel, you worked in the Barrow area?
- A: (Samuel) Yes, I worked with the oil contractors in 1946 or '47 or '48. I worked with the oil company until they were finished.

- Q: (Bill) At that time, when you were working in the Barrow area, was that natural gas?
- A: (Samuel) [Answer inaudible]
- Q: (Bill) You had described a fire that occurred [rest of question inaudible].
- A: (Samuel) Yes, when I worked with the contractors in Barrow [rest of answer inaudible].
- Q: (Bill) Was that a big fire?
- A: (Samuel) Yes, [rest of answer inaudible].
- Q: (Bill) Sarah, one of the things we're interested in is that you've testified a lot of times. Do you think that helps? Do you think that's helping the people to understand about Inupiat life?
- A: (Sarah) Yes, I talk because I am trying to be of some help.
- Q: (Bill) What has oil development at Prudhoe Bay meant to you here at Nuiqsut? Has it changed your life here?
- A: (Sarah) They have not helped since I moved here in 1970. Now that I am getting older, I have thought about getting some help; but to this day, I have not received any.
- Q: (Bill) What was she thinking would happen?
- A: (Sarah) Well, Mike Jeffrey had helped me with paperwork, but it has been such a slow process.
- Q: (Maggie Kovolsky, interpreter) Oh, do you mean your house?
- A: (Sarah) Yes, my property at Prudhoe Bay. Last spring when they took me to an island, we noticed that the land on my property was really ruined. We didn't stop there.
- Q: (Bill) This was your father's house where there was some stuff taken?
- A: (Sarah) Yes, they didn't stop for us because the land was so rough. It had been destroyed due to constant work on it. I didn't see how far they had worked on it because they didn't stop for us. We couldn't even see the house from the road they took us on to go to the island. I know the size of the property. . . . (My son) worked on the property so nobody can go on it. You know that time they took us out there, that's the only time that we spent the night there.

- Q: (Maggie) Have they prohibited you from going there?
- A: (Sarah) We can go see it, but there is never (anyone who) can take me there. Also, when they took us to Flaxman Island, the weather was stormy, and it was getting dark. They just passed by (my property) without stopping. It was the time that we traveled with the land surveyors; I think they were _____ employees. But the next day, they just took us out there [I think she means Flaxman Island] by a small plane without stopping there.
- A: (Sarah) And on our way back, they just passed by it again even though the weather was excellent. That's when I started thinking that they were trying to avoid my property although they had told me that they would help me with my property.
- Q: (Bill) Whose jet was that?
- A: (Maggie) The oil people.
- Q: (Bill) This is one of those questions that's going to sound silly: Why is that land important to you?
- A: (Sarah) Well, I've made up papers on it and have given them to Jimmy Kasak, but I think he's mixed them up or lost them. When those people took us to Edgecumbe (Sitka) to dance, our director came and talked to me while we were on one of those fast planes, saying that he would help me if I am willing to wait.
- Q: (Maggie) What was his name?
- A: (Sarah) I didn't write his name down, but he's one of those bosses. It was when we went to Eskimo dance; I think it was in 1970. And on that trip, after they had let us sign some papers, they didn't even give us any money. They just fed us--the time when we went there Eskimo dancing. Those people out there (oil companies) . . .
- Q: (Bill) Samuel, when you were working for the oil companies, how did you manage your subsistence hunting?
- A: (Samuel) When I was working for the oil companies, I didn't live by hunting. They didn't give us time off even on Sundays. We worked every day.
- Q: (Bill) How did you get food for the family?
- A: (Samuel) Well, when I was getting a salary, I bought food for them.

- Q: (Bill) Was that difficult, not being able to share traditional food?
- Q: (Maggie) Did you guys eat Eskimo food?
- A: (Samuel) Yes, we ate Eskimo food.
- A: (Sarah) Well, the people that hunted, shared their food with us.
- A: (Samuel) We also bought Eskimo food.
- Q: (Bill) Do you think that oil development here is going to affect subsistence?
- A: (Sarah) Well, when they get too close . . . [interrupted by Maggie]
- A: (Maggie) That's how they feel--that if they got closer, they heard you can't hunt five miles from the drilling.
- Q: (Bill) Have you heard about people here in the village being turned back from hunting?
- A: (Sarah) Well, you see, I don't know. They haven't held meetings with us, although we are here.
- A: (Samuel) Well, when I worked with the oil company, you couldn't hunt there or trap there. They don't allow you to carry a gun to work; they do not allow any hunting--the oil companies.
- Q: (Bill) Would that be true (for people) in Barrow that would be out hunting?
- A: (Samuel) I don't think they prohibited the people that weren't working, but the people that were working had rules to follow.
- Q: (Bill) Could they go by there, or did they have to go around it?
- A: (Samuel) Well, those first oil companies didn't give the Inupiat laws to abide by, even though they went hunting there.
- Q: (Bill) There's been a lot of talk about offshore oil development. What are some of the differences that you see between offshore and onshore?
- A: (Samuel) Yes, there is a difference. There is probably a difference between drilling in the ocean and drilling on the land. Well, there are a lot of animals in the ocean. Although there are a lot of animals on the land, if they drill a hole in the ocean and they have an accident, the animals are very important--the animals will (be) lost.

- Q: (Bill) Does that mean it's safer to have oil development on land?
- A: (Samuel) When they drill on land, the animals will sense (or feel) their presence and will avoid it.
- Q: (Bill) Is it better not to have any development then?
- A: (Samuel) On the water?
- Q: (Bill) Both.
- A: (Samuel) I think that if they drill on land, it is better. You see, I have survived by hunting from the ocean. During the winter, the summer, or anytime, I survive by hunting. The ice--its current--is powerful, and the formation of its ridges are powerful, and I know this (is a) fact. I feel better about their drilling on land.
- Q: (Bill) Are there certain places where the ice is more dangerous than other places? certain places along the coastline where the ice conditions are more dangerous?
- A: (Samuel) Yes, when the wind is strong--strong from a certain direction--the ice begins to form ridges.
- Q: (Bill) Along the coast from Barrow down to Demarcation Point, in bays, or out in the ocean, is there a difference? (Are there) certain places where the currents are stronger, or doesn't it matter to be anywhere?
- A: (Samuel) Although the currents in Barrow are powerful, the currents here depend on the wind's strength.
- Q: (Bill) Are there any areas that are known particularly for strong currents in ice?
- A: (Samuel) It's the same. When you're traveling down there, everything is rough [meaning ice ridges]. Many times, it's so rough (that) you can't find a path.
- A: (Sarah) When the westerly winds are strong, the ice is powerful. You cannot survive when it is strong from the west.
- Q: (Bill) So, Samuel, you were one of those people that was involved in looking for the spot, locating the spot?
- A: (Samuel) Yes, I was one of the people that was selected to choose a location since I had lived here before. I came here by airplane when they were selecting the site for the village. And now it is our land.

- Q: (Bill) Why did you choose this spot?
- A: (Samuel) We looked on this side of Kukpik and the other side of Kukpik in search of land for the village. We found driftwood here and there that was wet, and we finally decided on a dry spot.
- Q: (Bill) Did you ever think that the village was going to grow this big?
- A: (Samuel) Yes, they told us in the very beginning. The white people told us that the village was going to get this large.
- Q: (Bill) Why is that?
- A: (Samuel) It is because of the oil. We are close to the oil here in Nuiqsut--the plentiful oil; therefore, the village was to grow large . . . also, (because of) the coal.
- Q: (Bill) We were talking a little about your knowing that there was oil there and that the village might develop. How did you think that development and subsistence would go together?
- A: (Samuel) White people came to me to plot out how much hunting land we needed and the size of the hunting land.
- Q: (Bill) But you thought more people would come in here?
- A: (Samuel) They let us know. They also let us know about white hunters. They let us know (where) our hunting area (was) and told us to keep it and not to allow them to drill in the lakes that are over there.
- Q: (Bill) Because they are here?
- A: (Samuel) Yes.
- Q: (Bill) Is there a problem with hunting areas?
- A: (Samuel) There are probably some (people) hunting around here, but I have heard of people hunting just a little south of here.
- Q: (Bill) Has the dredging work here affected the fish at all?
- A: (Samuel) We can still get fish even with their operation going on.
- Q: (Bill) Sarah, when you think about the next twenty years, what sort of place would you like Nuiqsut to be for you? for your children?

- A: (Sarah) It is getting larger. They said that more houses are going to arrive.
- Q: (Bill) You'd like to see it grow?
- A: (Sarah) Well, I don't know, but my children would like to move here; and they don't move because there is no housing for them.
- Q: (Maggie) I have heard that you were involved in reindeer herding from some people.
- A: (Samuel) Yes, I was a reindeer herder.
- Q: (Maggie) I heard from my father one time that he [Samuel] used to herd reindeer in this area. My father used to sit us down and tell us stories. Whatever happened to those reindeer?
- A: (Samuel) The wolves killed most of them, and even before they were all killed off, they were abandoned.
- Q: (Maggie) How many years were you a reindeer herder?
- A: (Samuel) I worked just in the summers herding reindeer. There were many of us, including Silatqutaq [Baxter Adams], Kiuluk, myself, the Tigusiaq couple. Tigusiaq is my uncle, the one that is in Fairbanks. My uncle Tigusiaq [English spelling is Tegoseak] was a reindeer herder here. There were a lot of us because there were a lot of reindeer. When we (went) to get them during the day, that whole area was dark with them.
- Q: (Bill) Of all the work you've done, what'd you like the best?
- A: (Samuel) Well, you see, when they give me a job, I take it, whether it is herding reindeer, _____, and the job in Barrow.
- Q: (Bill) Sarah, one of the things you said in your testimony was to avoid Cape Halket, that you have ancestors buried there.
- A: (Sarah) It's not Cape Halket; it's Beechey Point.
- Q: (Bill) Are there particular values at Cape Halket that you talked about?
- A: (Sarah) Cape Halket is a land spit. At Beechey Point are three of my brothers (buried there).
- Q: (Bill) Is there anything that you'd like to add?

A: (Samuel) Not too far from here, my mother, four of my siblings--not too far from here are their burial (sites). When we first came here in 1920, that was the burial ground--the burial ground of the first people that were here.

A: (Sarah) There are a lot of other people up there, too.

A: (Samuel) Yes, there are a lot of people there.

Q: (Maggie) How far is it?

A: (Sarah) Just a little way over there.

Q: (Bill) What do they call this place [the burial ground]?

A: (Sarah) Itqiliqpaa.

A: (Bill) I've seen a map of that.

Q: (Maggie) Did you have a house at Itqiliqpaa?

A: (Samuel) Yes, there were a lot of houses there.

A: (Sarah) Sod houses . . . We also had a house just across from here for several years, with my parents.

Q: (Maggie) They moved around a lot, didn't they? My father also did that.

A: (Sarah) Yes, they moved around a lot, making sod houses in each place.

Q: (Bill) Do you think development is going to affect sharing?

A: (Sarah) Well, you see, our fishnets that help us are having difficulty in helping us. People in the village are always sharing; for example, when someone is lacking something, people help that person.

Q: (Bill) Is there anything else we should make on this permanent record?

A: (Samuel) I always like to make a comment because I have lived here in this area. When white people come to me for information, I tell them that I have lived here since 1920, and I try to help them with information that I know. When we arrived here in 1920 from Barrow, there were people that lived here. We live here where our ancestors had once lived. There weren't very many white men here; and the ones that were here, I knew them. Peterson came here in the summer with his two small boats.

- A: (Maggie) Captain Peterson came here with his little ship; he went through to Canada. My father knew him very well.
- A: (Samuel) Ships from over there also started coming here.
- Q: (Maggie) Going back and forth to Barrow?
- A: (Samuel) Yes, going to Barrow and back. Finally, people started getting boats like Charlie's, with two motors.
- Q: (Bill) Charlie Brower?
- A: (Sarah) No.
- A: (Samuel) Charlie Edwardsen had a camp by the dump down there. Their dad had a store down there at Uulikpak. There were people from Point Hope working at the trading post: Sakkaaluk, Nanauq's parents.
- A: (Sarah) Eskimo people were there . . . people from the ships . . . from Point Hope . . . different Eskimo people.
- A: (Samuel) People went to Beechey Point by ship to go trapping. It was like a village.
- Q: (Bill) Well, there's been a lot of change over the years.
- A: (Samuel) Yes, the white population is getting larger; it's really changed. When we were trying to survive, we tried to trap for extra money.
- Q: (Bill) I wonder what your kids will be doing twenty years from now?
- A: (Samuel) Well, our children are living with luxuries. In our days, there were no electric lights and gas lights, just small lamps. There were no gas stoves, just kerosene stoves. Everything used kerosene.



INTERVIEW WITH DORCUS MAUPIN

August 25, 1982

Q: This is Michael Baring-Gould and George Sherrod, and we're here with Dorcus Maupin in Barrow, and the date is the 25th of August, 1982, and we're going to be talking about oil impacts and oil development. Maybe Dorcus can start off by telling us a little bit about herself.

A: My name is Dorcus Maupin. I have lived here in Barrow most of my life--most of my childhood. What I'm concerned about is . . . last year they held a meeting about drilling in the Beaufort Sea area, here in Barrow. They want to drill on the ocean, 16 miles offshore--something like that. (I'm concerned about) how the drilling could affect the future--for our future generations. If they drill, the accidents (could) happen. The current is very fast. Last summer I was riding my three-wheeler to the point near Nuvuk, and the current was a few feet away from me (where) I was looking towards the ocean. It (moves in) one direction something like seven miles per hour, and eighteen feet away from that (current) is another current going the opposite direction and just as fast--maybe faster. You have to really get to know your country to see how fast the ice can go. The animals are very precious to us here in town. I grew up eating seal meat, walrus, bearded seal, the ducks; and most precious of all, once a year we catch the whales. We really look forward to those celebrations--happy times for the whole town of Barrow--and other villages also. We don't want any offshore drilling (because) it could be damaging to the sea life here because of the fast currents that go (through this area). Like I said before, I was born here in Barrow (and) as long as I can remember, way back when, we have traveled inland along the coastal area. Every summer, we (would) go out and hunt with my grandparents; of course, they are both dead now.

Q: Were they from Barrow?

A: Yes, they were. And we would go inland and stay the whole summer up there and exist mainly on food like fish and ducks and whatever. And when we traveled through the coast towards Wainwright, my father would hunt seals and walruses and sometimes a caribou would come along. Then we would dry the meat for winter food and cut up the blubber from the seal and make seal oil. And by skin boat, we would come home, and that would be the main food for winter. Eskimos have been existing like this for thousands of years. The game that they hunt has been their main source of survival--their income. This is a very good country here, and my two younger (kids) were raised

here in Barrow, and I (want) for them to learn--my 13-year-old went inland this summer and she was taught how to cut the fish and dry it. She was really excited about it--that somebody was teaching her how--and I was very proud of that fact.

Q: Did you teach her?

A: No, somebody up there taught her how to cut it up and hang it up and dry it. They call it _____, and it's very nutritious when you eat it.

Q: Do you know what kind of fish it is?

A: It's a white.

Q: Oh, a white fish.

A: (affirmative)

Q: Can you tell us a little bit about your work history--where you've worked and what kind of jobs you've had?

A: Well, I worked at the Post Office in '76 for awhile, then at the Top of the World Hotel, then the radio station here in Barrow. Now, I'm working for the Purchasing area.

Q: Was the Post Office your first job?

A: Yes, it was, and I enjoyed it because you get mail from all over . . . like (during) the tourist season, you know, you get to mail the post cards from people from all over the world.

Q: What did you do at the radio station?

A: I just translate their messages. (I was) a disc jockey, and I really enjoyed it because I had fans all over the other villages, like Point Hope, Point Lay. They would give me long distance calls and say "we really enjoyed your program." This is what you want to do--serve other people, not just your own people here in town, but (people in) other villages.

Q: Does the radio station try to tell the people in the villages news about what the Borough is doing?

A: Well, they have messages like "so and so is going over there; you have to meet them" or "keep the runway clear," and the weather reports--those are very important, especially the translating--talking in Inupiat. And sooner or later when you're on, they'd say, "we were sitting six hours listening to you because you can translate" and so forth, not just in

English. There are some old people that come to me when they come from Wainwright and say, "we appreciate what you did." Plus, the music itself--you can pick your own type (of music).

Q: What about when the Borough--the North Slope Borough--wants to do something and it wants to let the villages know, do they put that over the radio?

A: Oh, yes. They have to. Like in Kaktovik, Anaktuvuk Pass, or something--if there is an election going on. I was the chairman for the election last year when there was a vote for a new Mayor, and it's very important that the messages go on (the radio) to Wainwright. Of course, they have phone systems, too, and you (communicate) back and forth like that through the phones. But the big factor the radio plays is (letting people know) who gets elected and so forth. The villages in the other areas get real excited (about) who's going to be their new mayor and stuff like that.

Q: Are there special news programs about the Borough that the radio gives?

A: Well, I think we're living in swiftly changing times, you know; everything changes from year-to-year, and besides the messages, they wait to hear what goes on here in town. I don't know what forward changes (there will be) but . . . just the same it's overall.

Q: The radio tells people changes that happen then?

A: (affirmative)

Q: When you testified, you talked about sea currents, and also, when we first started, you told us a little about sea currents. Can you tell us how you think they would affect oil development?

A: Yes, it would definately affect it because it--the wind--changes. It can change, I know, when I'm walking down (along) the tundra, like after work or something; I can feel the changing of the weather just by observing the atmospheric changes, and sometimes you have to bring an extra jacket. When the weather changes, it (might) get calm, and it changes gradually. And when you walk quite a bit of distance, then you begin to feel the wind coming swiftly. And the currents--they're unpredictable. One fall the ice was way . . . it seemed like overnight--it came up the shore and it was about fifteen feet high--just ice--and it was really close to the houses. They have pictures to prove it. I mean, it was just packed. There was just no shore at all--just ice--feet and feet (of ice).

Q: Do you think the ice would wreck drilling rigs?

A: That's right. Absolutely.

Q: What would happen then, do you think, if a rig was wrecked?

A: Well, it's not good for the people here, especially if they have nets; they fish and they hunt--(it would affect) especially the animals that are living underneath the surface.

A: It would affect everything. It would affect the birds; it would affect everything, the life.

I saw Life Magazine when I was living in Seattle a long time ago. There was a rig in Canada, and it broke and there were just birds--dead birds--everywhere from that oil. It was just the most pitiful thing you ever saw. There were just dead (birds) all over.

Q: Do you think the Borough has tried to do something about this--maybe like to stop oil development?

A: I don't know.

Q: Okay. You mentioned in your testimony that development would lead to less native foods. Can you maybe tell us how you think development would lead to . . . give us some examples on how development would make less native foods?

A: You mean building up the rigs?

Q: (affirmative)

A: . . . fourteen miles offshore?

Q: Or any development. If you can think of an example of how any development . . .

A: I'm really concerned that if they drill offshore, that's going to be something new, close by where they (the villagers) hunt; (it) would really upset the people, especially the native people. It would affect their way of life. They would watch and wonder when it was going to (break) loose or when it was going to get wrecked. It's not a very nice thing to think about . . .

Q: Do you think it would make them worry?

A: Yes, it would, especially because the native people up here know the weather like nobody else (does). Outsiders don't know it, and (native people) learn to predict it.

- Q: But can you give an example of how that would mean less native foods? Is there an example you can think of?
- A: Well, if (the drill rig) breaks down or something like that, it would affect the fish and the seals that swim underneath and maybe they would just avoid that area. It's poison; that's what it is. It's (detrimental) to their existence.
- Q: This is sort of a silly question, but maybe you could give an example of what it would mean to the people to have less native foods? What would that mean to you?
- A: Well, it would affect their well-being. You cannot live on store-bought food, period. You can live on it maybe just one day--half a day or something like that--and that's it. It doesn't mean anything to the people here. The hamburgers, they don't have nutritional value because they put additives into (the beef). They fatten the beef--put hormones in it. But with native foods, it doesn't have any chemicals, so we thrive on that. It makes strong bones and well-being for the children when you feed them native foods--and for the elderly, too.
- Q: You think if there were no native foods, people would be sick?
- A: They would be, yes.
- Q: What happened this spring--they didn't get any whales? Is that right? What did that mean to the people here?
- A: It's a sad occasion. It's very touching to know from house-to-house that, if they are lucky, they have relatives in Wainwright that caught the whales, (or) in Point Hope, (or) in Kaktovik, (and) they would send some to Barrow and share it, which is nice. So we just have to pray harder for the whales for next year.
- Q: It caused problems this year though?
- A: I guess they just have to hope for a better tomorrow.
- Q: You have been working fulltime jobs for quite awhile. How has that affected your ability to do subsistence things--to fish and to gather berries and greens?
- A: Well, I mostly buy from people who are hunting up there. I've got to. I listen for the radio announcements, "so-and-so is selling the fish," and I go there and buy some. Then you have to. If you have friends in Nuksut, if you have friends in Kaktovik, Atkasook, inland, (and if) they're willing to send something to you over the Cape Smyth, then you get it that way. But you have to buy it.

Q: You don't go out on the weekends or after work?

A: I could if I had a gun. I'm going to purchase one sometime next summer so I can get a three-wheeler and go hunting.

Q: What changes have you seen in the village of Barrow that you think were caused by the oil development that's happened so far?

A: I have seen lots of changes . . . when I was a girl, we saw these snipes that (would) just swarm the beaches. When I go to the shooting station--they call it _____--I hardly see them anymore. Like I said in my testimony before: where are they (now)?

We used (to see) them. When the ducks didn't come, my grandmother and I would go, and she would build me a little net--(the) homemade kind--then I would go down there, spend four hours, six hours, catching those little ones and take them home, and we (would) eat them for supper.

Q: And you think that the birds are gone because of oil?

A: Oh, I don't know why they are gone, but you see less of them every year. It may have something to do with the (fact that) there are so many chemicals along the beach. Maybe they're moving somewhere else. I have seen few of them this summer.

Q: What about things in town itself? Have the towns changed because of oil?

A: I think if they drill offshore, it's going to affect a lot (_____). Right now, there are still fish down on the coast and inland. I hear that when they drill inland that some of the fish are affected, too.

Q: Where did you (hear that)? . . . (from) who(m)?

A: My father told me. Yes, he remembers (from when) he was working at Narrow.

They used to call it Navy Base a long time ago, and he remembers those old men that he used to work with--at the time they were younger, during the '40s and the '50s.

And he remembers the fish dying off in the lake up there. Now, they don't have any left anymore. So he sees little changes, too, that he tells me (about).

Q: You think there is a difference between offshore development and onshore--drilling out in the ocean as to drilling on land?

A: Well, onshore--inland--is probably more (easily) protected . . . than offshore drilling would be. There's no danger of waves coming in and ice damaging the rigs (in onshore drilling).

Q: Uh-hm. (affirmative) This sounds like a silly question: sometimes people have said that ice in certain places is very bad and would ruin a rig, and some of the questions that other people, not the Inupiat but people other places have said this, "Well, there must be someplace where the ice is safe, where the ice is stable . . ."

A: There is no such (place) where the ice is safe. To be honest with you, I won't ever say there is a safe place; as long as the currents are there, (there is) no such thing as safe ice or what you're referring to.

Q: Okay. Do you think that a subsistence lifestyle and development --maybe should we say onshore development--can happen together, can work together? Do you think that Prudhoe Bay and maybe the work that they've done at Kuparuk can be done and still allow people to hunt and fish?

A: Well, (yes) if they are careful and do not do it right in the lake where the life is. I don't know who okays them to do it-- (who says) this is where you can drill, who evaluates that. I haven't looked into that, but if I were my father's age, I would really consider sending an older person . . .

Q: You think maybe if the older people were involved . . .?

A: . . . because they know their earth like nobody (else does).

Q: Do you think that people can hold down jobs and work for oil companies and still practice subsistence and do the things that are important to being an Inupiat?

A: What do you mean?

Q: Well, can someone, like, work at Prudhoe and come back to Barrow or one of the villages and go and hunt and be, shall we say, a good father?

A: The only thing about the oil underneath the earth--gas, oil, or anything--is (that) it isn't going to stay there forever. You can use so much; then it's gone.

That's the only answer I can give you. So after the oil is gone, the Eskimos will . . . (it is) very important that the animals are there, you know, that (they are not) affected by drilling. The animals are there to stay--the oil isn't.

Q: Since they (started) drilling here in the '40s, people knew that there was something here, but some people seem to have been surprised when Prudhoe Bay--when they started drilling there. Has the oil development there been like you thought it would be? Has it happened the way that you thought it was going to happen?

A: Oh, I didn't know at the time. I was down in Seattle when they started that. But now they have thirty-seven rigs. That's a lot of them in such a few short years.

Q: Uh-hm. (affirmative) Did that surprise you?

A: Uh-hm. (affirmative)

They'd do it (drill) anyway, regardless of how you testify and so forth. They'd sneak it here and there and start drilling. Who has the power to do it?

Q: What do you think will happen in the next five or six years?

A: I don't know. I can't give you a specific answer on that.

Q: Well, no one can. That's a hard thing. Do you have any thoughts?

A: All I know is that in my heart--for the sake of the people, I hope they don't drill offshore because it would affect the animals; . . . who knows, maybe the oil would just continue a few short years and affect the animals underneath the surface; then they would go away, and if something goes wrong, there goes your food.

Q: Uh-hm. (affirmative) This is a tough question. Do you think, or how do you think institutions like the North Slope Borough and ICAS and other organizations--do you think, or how do you think they've been trying to protect the Inupiat lifestyle?

A: I think they went to the meetings right along with AIW--you know, whaling commissions . . . and they have an agreement that--I think they are against drilling offshore.

Q: Then you think that they're saying that to try to protect the people?

A: Yeah.

Q: Can you think of another example of maybe what they're trying to do to protect the people?

A: Well, if this recording I just made is for the testimonies about offshore drilling, I'm very much against offshore drilling, in my own words, regardless of what the ICAS or what anybody thinks, for my own children's children, you know. When I no longer exist, my children will (exist) maybe. When the oil and gas is all gone, the animals are here to stay, and we want to protect them. We want them here. We want the whales here. We want the birds here, the fish, etc. My ancestors thrived on that, (and) so can we.

Q: Uh-hm. (affirmative) This is perhaps the toughest question, so if you want to think for just a second--what do you think Barrow or the North Slope will be like in the future when your children have grown up? What do you think life here will be like for them?

A: Do you mean if they (will) exist the way they are right now?

Q: Well, how do you think they will exist?

A: Well, I think they are going to exist as long as there's no drilling offshore. They'll be able to go to the _____ and have their nets out there along the coastline area further away from Nuvuk; there'll be some fishing. They'll have more peace of mind and, who knows, maybe the bears will come back; I don't know.

Q: Do you think that there will be jobs here in Barrow for them? that they will work here?

A: I guess there will be.

Q: If you could wish something for them--if you could say, "I would like my children to have this," what would you like them to have in the future?

A: I'd like them to have an education, (to be) self-supporting most of all. Their Inupiat way of life . . . If the jobs are gone, you are going to be living mostly on the native food, and that means much to me, and I will tell them this.

Q: Uh-hm. (affirmative) Maybe, Michael, do you have any questions you'd like to ask?

(New Interviewer)

Q: You mentioned earlier, before we started taping, about native foods; you serve the greens and the birds . . .

- A: We call those _____ the greens, and when you go further inland and you see these other, they're growing on willows--willowlike bushes--and you pick those, too. My grandmother used to pick those along with the berries and the greens and the mushrooms. The things that grow underneath--they have pink flowers on them, and they are sweet and give you vitamin C.
- Q: Does everybody here still know about those?
- A: I don't know. I tell my children. I take them for walks and then I tell them. They're right there, right along the coast all the way from Wainwright and inland, too. They're all over. The only thing is that they're destroying some of them. They're blasting over there at Gravel Spit (?). But, I took my children there. We had a bonfire, and I picked a bunch of them, and we just ate over there and it was good. Because there is a short season here in the summer, you have to make the most of it.
- Q: Dorcas, would you like to add anything? Would you like to say something maybe in an area that we didn't ask a question about? For the record, would you like to say something?
- A: Like what?
- Q: Anything that's on your mind.
- A: Well, for the well-being of my own people, I hope the hunting like they have here exists forever, till the earth gives away, because we love it. I hope they don't destroy too much of the, like I say, the little bit of greens that I introduced to my children and (to) a lot of the neighborhood kids, too. Some of them--they had no idea what they were, and they said to me, "What are you eating?" And I would tell them, "Didn't they tell you what these were?" Then they start looking forward to walks with me in the summertime. When I was a girl, we used to walk down the beach, and we caught those little fishes; we called them _____. And, my grandmother would make me a net, you know; then I would scoop down and get them; they're very easy to cook. You can boil them in something like five minutes and eat them. And I think they should be around this time of year--the last part of August, you know.
- Q: Will they come in the fall?
- A: Yeah. They swim together, you know, and you just watch out for them, and then you have to walk very slowly and just get as many as you can. It's a lot of fun. And those little ones, I want my children to see them, too, . . . to hunt them along with me

and their children. It's nice to see something like that when you take a walk, and you get all excited because there's food there at your feet. All you need to do is just take them.

Q: I think gathering that food is really important . . .

A: Yes, it is. You'd get excited, too; if you were born and raised here in Barrow, you'd get excited, too, because to outsiders, it means nothing; to us, it's just precious.

Like the little crees, when you take a walk and you pick them up and eat them, you feel happy; you go down the beach, and you see those little (Inupiat word) fishes; you take them home and eat them. And there's lots of things to see down there in the ocean.

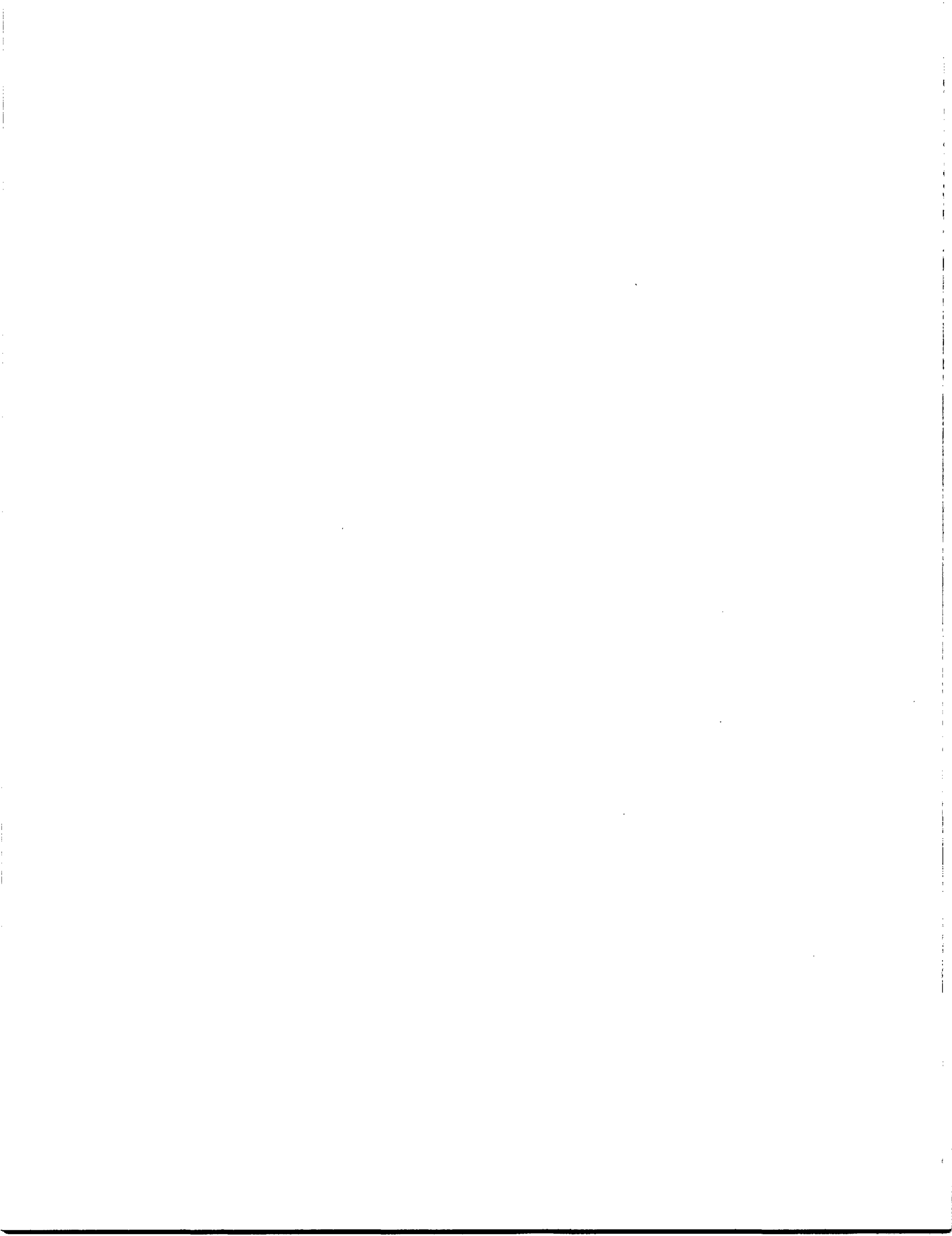
Q: Now that you are working, how often do you get to eat native food?

A: I get it through my friends; and I try to--like I said before, I have to watch for signs of (food being sold). Sometimes they put (up) a "fish for sale" (sign) and so forth, and then you rush over there. If you're lucky, you get a few, so much a pound--freshly caught ones; they're really good.

I have to have it something like four days out of the week. I can survive maybe a couple of days on store-bought food. That's it--no more. I'm older; my kids, (it's) the same thing with them.

Q: Do they like Eskimo food better than store-bought food?

A: That's right. Yes, they do. Whatever little food I get from friends and my relatives, I cook it. It's really delicious when you cut up the caribou into small pieces, put on gravy and rice, and they call it _____. That's a delicacy. It's really good--really delicious. Most of all, there are no hormones--no chemicals--in the food to (make me) worry about what I've been eating. You eat your fullest when you eat the native foods because you know it's good for you. It gives you well-being.



INTERVIEW WITH WARREN MATUMEAK

August 27, 1982

(This is) Michael Baring-Gould, and I'm with George Sherrod; this is an interview in Barrow, August 27th, and we're talking with Warren Matumeak who, I believe and we'll find out in a minute, is a whaling captain who lives in Barrow and works in Barrow with the school district. What I'd like to do to start is (have) you give us a little bit of personal background as to maybe how old you are, where you were born, and how long you've lived here in Barrow and maybe where you first did whaling and just sort of background.

A: I was born in Barrow on December 26, 1927, and I have lived most of my life in Barrow, except for a few months in the Seattle area--about three months--and about two years in Anchorage, and I (have) traveled here and there every so often as a representative for the planning department of the North Slope Borough. I am working part-time for the North Slope Borough as administrator for the interim zoning ordinance, and my full-time job here is with the school, Barrow Schools, as a maintenance supervisor. I have lived up here most of my life and have participated in the whaling ever since I was a teenager. In those days, we had to hunt to survive, you know. I missed school just to do that--just to hunt to help support my family. I know a little bit about whaling, like most of the other people that are up here, and I know what the ice can do. I've been out there, and I've lived off the sea mammals. I'm a resident of Barrow, and I know the environment.

Q: How long have you been on the Planning Commission?

A: I have been with them since the Borough was organized. When Mayor Hobson was still alive, he appointed several of us as planning commissioners, and later on, I was appointed as administrator for the interim zoning ordinance after it was written.

Q: You have worked with the coastal zone management plan, too, then?

A: Yes.

Q: And how long have you been with the school district; how long have you worked with the school district?

A: Twelve years.

Q: Twelve years? And your job here is in the maintenance department?

A: Yes.

- Q: Is that a full-time job or . . . ?
- A: That is a full-time job. I'm under contract with the school district.
- Q: What did you do before the Land Claim Settlement Act, in the formation of the borough? I guess you worked for the school district for a few years before that. Like in the twenties and the thirties, were you working then, too?
- A: In the twenties, I was too young. In the thirties . . . forties, when there was work available then, everybody (would) grab any kind of work (they could) do. But I became employed at the Barrow Native Store as a clerk when I was about 17 years old and worked with them, with the Native Store for quite a long time. So I was better off than most of our people who could (have) worked, but work wasn't yet available in those days.
- Q: And at that time, were you whaling, too, and hunting?
- A: Yeah, we whaled every spring.
- Q: How old were you when you started whaling?
- A: Probably eleven, twelve . . . whenever I could. They trained us, our older people; they liked to have us out there so they could train us (when we were) very young.
- Q: And was that with your father, your family?
- A: Yeah, my father. My father was with some other whaling crews, but he was the one I followed, and I joined the crew he was whaling (with).
- Q: Are you a whaling captain now or a member of a crew?
- A: Yeah, I had a whaling crew a few years back, but my whaling boat was taken away. I left it out on the ice where we thought it was safe, but a good west wind came up with a strong current and took some of our whaling boats with it. So I never tried to make another boat after that, but I've been whaling with other people.
- Q: Was that the same time that Wesley Aikens . . . he talked about his boat getting crushed in the ice . . . four or five years ago?
- A: That was after that. Now, in fact, I was whaling with Wesley Aikens; he was our captain when we lost our boat. It was very bad at that time. We lost five boats, I think.

Q: Yeah, that's what he said, that five boats got crushed in one lead.

A: That was the time when everybody was just thinking about living, you know. That was when ice was crushing, and it was (moving) pretty fast. We were dodging the ice just to keep alive.

Q: What happens during the whaling season with your job here? Do they give you time off from the school district?

A: The school district personnel are given annual leave, and besides annual leave, we can take two weeks of subsistence leave without pay. So if any of us has used up our annual leave, we can also take subsistence leave and go whaling or go hunting and fishing.

Q: And so how do you normally take the time off in the springtime for the whaling? Is that when you . . .?

A: Yeah, I'm older now, so I don't whale very much. A lot of younger people do that; people here take time off for whaling. And most of the inland people . . . I'm about to go to my camp and get ready for fall fishing.

Q: When was the last time you went whaling?

A: Maybe about three years ago.

Q: And where's your camp? Where's your fish camp?

A: Oh, about 44 air miles southeast of here.

Q: Is that at Meade River, too?

A: No, that's just below Chip River, another small river which we call U _____ River.

Q: Do you go once a year or several times a year?

A: No, several times a year.

Q: (In) what seasons do you go?

A: In the springtime--goose season. And also after the ice (in the) river breaks up for fishing and whenever I can in July. I'm about to go there again.

Q: When you go now, is it for fishing or for caribou or . . .?

A: It'll be mostly to supply my camp with gas. I plan to take some gasoline and other groceries that I expect to use next fall after freezeup. And if I can, I'll get a caribou. Right now, they're pretty good and fat.

Q: Let me ask you some questions about the testimony. I know that you testified on, I think it was this spring, for the lease sale--Lease Sale 71--from our notes here, I think it was this spring, on one of the offshore leases. Then I think you also submitted some testimony on PET 4 or something a few years ago. A lot of the comments you made this spring at one of the hearings were that very little is understood about the ice movement and the dangers--particularly of the near-shore ice--of oil spills and difficulties of clean-up of oil spills. Also, I think you recommended that they needed to delay the lease sale until the coastal zone management plan was completed. Could you talk a little bit about the ice movement and what some of the dangers of the ice movement are?

A: Yeah, the ice movement which they continually monitored in Prudhoe Bay area and on the Barrier Islands is much different from the Barrow coast area, Point Barrow area. And the currents in the Prudhoe Bay area are not as harsh as the currents here in the Point Barrow area. They haven't done any kind of testing to speak of in this area except for maybe (when they) were monitoring whale count in the springtime, (they) probably did a little monitoring on that one. But what we are afraid of is that if the lease sale takes place without (requiring them) to test any kind of structure out in deep water, say beyond twelve meters--twenty-meter and probably sixty-meter areas, I think that any kind of structure out there will not withstand the strong forces of ice moved by strong currents because I have (seen) how the ice can act out there, during my lifetime. There is one gravel island being built in the Prudhoe Bay area that's called Seal Island, and it's in about a twelve-meter area, and it's going to be monitored. But that area over there does not have the strong currents like we have here, so I think that Seal Island will probably (withstand the ice). But that type of island, if it was built out here in the Barrow area, would not stand. I know that because I know the ice out here in our area. We're all afraid of it. If the industry (that is) bidding out in our area here gets the bid for certain areas in deeper waters, and they build a structure and they start drilling, if they find any oil out there . . . I don't see how they can get the oil out from the island out there because there is nothing that can stop the strong currents in our deep waters outside of the Barrow area.

Q: When you talk of the Barrow area, what area are you specifically talking about? Are you talking about, like, west of Point Barrow, or are you talking about someplace between Point Barrow and Cape Halkett or . . . I think it's really important . . .

A: I'm talking about just the Point Barrow area on either side, to Cape Simpson west of here, and straight out north and just below Sea Horse Island--the area that I have been hunting in all of my life. This area I know. I have seen ice go up the bluffs here right at the edge of the town, and the bluffs are fairly high, maybe twenty feet. The ice will just override that (the bluffs); and it's shallow, kind of shallow quite a ways out, but with that wind and the current, the ice goes through the shallows. (There was a lot of) gouging there, probably, but then (the ice) went up over the cliff and piled along the cliff and a lot of it went over on top of (the cliff). These are the things that I know. And a lot of our people that (are) my age and older know these things. You have heard about these people who excavated some bodies, and according to their report, they think (the bodies) were crushed by the ice. This place that they found them--about 200 years ago--there was a lot of land between that house (where the bodies were found) and the bluff. So it must have been a big ice override. (It is) in the same area that I'm talking about, where the ice override (occurred) quite a few years ago. They say they were crushed by something heavy on their chests, and they think it was ice.

Q: How big have you seen the pressure ridges get here? How high do you remember them as being? What's the highest you've seen them?

A: Oh, boy. This year, the ice was kind of flat, and we didn't have too many high ridges. But it's not the ridges so much. Ice has a funny way of moving. Sometimes (it) makes one big ridge, but sometimes it will make a ridge with sort of a flat top, up to maybe half a mile wide; and it's just flat, heavy ice rather than big peaks. It can gather up to half a mile wide. This we have seen (when) we've (had) to cut trail to go out whaling.

Q: Is the current always pretty consistent, or do you get places where the current goes in different directions, too, and that makes complications with the ice and builds up the ridges higher?

A: It's not that; it's the current . . . We have two currents. Sometimes the top layer of water goes west while the stronger layers on the bottom go east. And when all of the current goes one way, especially from the west with the wind and all the current, upper layer and the lower layer go together; that's something you cannot stop. It goes and goes. (There are) weak spots, like the one you probably heard about from Wesley Aikens,

just this morning, where we were caught during the whaling several years ago. It can be really bad. So that's why I'd like to see some kind of structure out there before they make any lease sale. Maybe the government and the industry or State of Alaska can all pool together and make a structure out there as a model.

Q: To see how it withstands the ice?

A: Yeah, and then sell it to those people who want to buy it. Yeah, I think those people . . . they want money so much, and the industry, they are eager to buy. They don't think (about) safety first. It's money both sides are thinking about. What I'd like to see (is) a structure out there--maybe one in twelve meters, one in twenty meters, and one in sixty meters. And (they would) see how badly (the structures) will be flattened out, and they will be flattened in such currents, in such types of ice movement with the current we've seen many times.

Q: Does the coastal plan of the borough . . . does that address or talk about the issue of the ice at all?

A: Ah, yes, it talks about (everything).

Q: In your testimony, you also talked about Absorb and their ability to handle the small oil spills, but you mentioned fears that they couldn't deal with the large spills.

A: No, they cannot deal with the large spills in Alaskan conditions that I know about. Now they have tested little oil spills in the Prudhoe Bay area, and they have had some success; but it's just like testing in a lake where there are no currents at all and no heavy ice pileups, and it's just flat and easy going. In that kind of area, I think they have the capability to clean up the oil before thaw. But we are mostly talking about what appears in this area, in our area, and in ice in the Asabath area--even in the Prudhoe Bay area further out--that structures should be tested first. Even if the structure withstands (the ice pressure), Absorb people do not really have the technology to clean up in ice ridge areas where they cannot get into the oil that may get in between the ice ridge formations and, therefore, would be very harmful to any seal or any living animal that went through there.

Q: When would be the worst times for those oil spills? Would that be like when the ice is building up or in the spring when the ice is beginning to break up or . . . ?

- A: When the ice is coming in with 100 million tons of force, nothing can stop it. Nothing can stop that kind of force. Now I know how they (are) making gravel islands, and they build up structures of cement and then low force ice comes in and piles up and breaks up, and, therefore, it also (asked that they) make more barriers for the (gravel) islands. That's fine, but that's (ice with) little pressure that they know about. What they don't know about is real ice pressure, like 100 million tons of ice coming right at you along with the current and the wind. This kind of thinking has not gotten into their minds yet. Certain people have said "we know we've got the technology for cleaning up." Yeah, I agree, but they have low pressure areas over there _____ they can do some cleanup. But they do not have the technology for cleaning up in the ice pressure areas like we have here. There's no way anything can clean up when ice is moving the way it does once every few years.
- Q: In areas like this, around Point Barrow, is the ice generally worse relatively near the shore or down by Cape Halkett, sort of off the Barrier Islands, or is it even worse far offshore? One of the leases which they anticipate occurring in two years, (they) plan on leasing ocean way, way out, a hundred miles off the Barrier Islands. Is it going to be dangerous way out, too, or is it mostly sort of near the Barrier Islands that the conditions would be worst?
- A: I don't know; probably about the same. But you are dealing with deeper water areas and less deep areas, maybe starting from twelve meter areas, twenty meters, and to sixty meters. We have areas where ice breaks in and out during the winter. And usually after the ice is piled up and grounded to the bottom, most of the area up here and beyond that during the winter, it . . . comes and goes. Every time we have a good east wind, east current, then the ice moves out. And the west wind during the winter comes in, and (ice) just piles up again. But inside of that, if you start drilling in November after all the ice is well placed and then until March, that would be a safe place to drill. Up until March, I do not have too much problem with (drilling) in here after it freezes up good. But out there, out beyond that deed line is where you'll have the same force coming in and out, and it's pretty strong. We already have that pressure ridge forming ice, and it's frozen solid. One time (the ice) came in, and everything that was fastened to the ground was lifted from the tide and current, and (whatever was) on shore went up on the bluff. This (sort of) thing (is what) I'm really scared of. So any structure that is used inside this pressure ridge area, if that type of wind came up with the current, (the structure) would not stay. So it's pretty hard to tell which is (a) better (area to drill in)--which would be better in our area--because I think all the areas have dangers.

That's why--and a lot of people agree with me--(I want to see) some form of ice island built before this lease sale so that the United States government who is selling outside the 3-mile limit and the state of Alaska who is selling inside the 3-mile limit and the industry will know what to expect, you know, after testing--a test structure of some kind.

Q: Would the danger be just to the islands and the drilling platforms, or would there also be danger to the pipelines that bring the oil from the islands or the platforms to the shore.

A: This is no time to talk about a pipeline coming in from our area out there. That probably would not (withstand the ice). We're talking about extracting oil. First, you've got to see that the structure stands, which, I believe, will never happen. You're talking about one island in deep water, and you have 100 million tons of ice going against it; that little island will not stand. (It) might help if you had several islands, all of those other islands would help to slow (the ice) down some. But this little island by itself will never stand. We have these pressure ridges from Point Barrow and beyond, (to the) west and all of this ice is shallow, miles long, several miles. [End side 1] There were a lot of people that believed that even those platforms over there on the other side of the world, they thought they could stand. And those little waves, without any ice, they toppled them over. That's the danger we're in. People believe that they can do it and then find that they cannot do it. And up here, if that happens, you're (affecting) our diet, our main line of food! Whales, seals, polar bear, fish, ducks.

Q: Will it be equally damaging to all of those species, do you think, to all the different animals you hunt, all the different marine mammals?

A: Yeah, I don't know exactly how their food chain is. Now, when one of them dies, the other fishes in the bottom eat the carcass. I don't know exactly which do what; but they're all . . .

Q: All related?

A: Yeah.

Q: One thing which somebody talked about last night--they mentioned that you had been involved in, I have forgotten who it was, one of the oil companies or maybe it was the Department of Interior, asked you to observe some of their monitoring programs, I think. I'm pretty sure they mentioned your name as being one member of a group of people who were taken, but I can't remember what it was . . .

- A: Yeah, I have taken several trips to Prudhoe Bay to take a look . . .
- Q: But I wondered also, in terms of just ice conditions--about which you obviously know a great deal--have any of the oil companies or groups that are thinking of the drilling, have they ever asked you for your advice or your information on the ice? It seems that you're somebody who knows a great deal about the ice.
- A: Yeah, they do; I mean we talked about it. But we were talking about the Prudhoe Bay area which you cannot compare to our area over here.
- Q: Who has asked you for information? Was it the oil companies, or . . .?
- A: Well, you're talking about the permit system . . . no?
- Q: Maybe you can remember it better, George, but last night, and I can't remember who it was mentioned that you had been asked to go along on some tour that was monitoring . . . I'm not sure, maybe this was the seismic or something else. But you know a great deal about the ice it seems, and we wondered whether any of the oil companies had ever asked you for information that you know about the ice, whether they have ever asked you for advice because you do know a great deal about it.
- A: We've been invited to take a look on several occasions (at the) islands--man-made islands in the Prudhoe Bay area and also in the Barrier Islands. And what I saw over there is mostly good; Tern Island and the Seal Island that they are building, I think, have to be studied for two years. They (will) probably turn out to be in a safe location, but what I would like to see is something like what Exxon has (for) their drilling pad. Their drilling area on North Star Island is enclosed in sheet piling. Now that sheet piling will also help to contain an oil spill, oil blowout within the structure--the drill, and (it would also protect the drill rig) from an ice override if there is one. Now that is good protection. On some other islands where they drill, they (are) taking a risk. If there is an ice override, then they stand to lose all of their equipment if the thing would topple over. Yeah, I've been on their islands and also have seen their monitoring systems that they placed on the islands.
- Q: Do you think that they listen to the information and advice which you give them?

A: Well, I sign the permits for the North Slope Borough, and we have to look closely to see if the structure is in a pretty safe area. When we think it's pretty safe, we will sign it, with stipulations that (if they are drilling in) the area and if there is a blowout in March or April and May, then we want to be sure there is time to clean up before the thaw. So with those stipulations, we have allowed drilling. The North Slope Borough has agreed, you know, _____ that they be allowed to drill. And now we're doing this [allowing drilling] even with a lot of opposition from our own people because the North Slope Borough really is not against industry. The North Slope Borough is for industry as long as it's operated in a safe manner and will not harm any wildlife and also do very little damage to the environment. The North Slope Borough is the best form of government. With the North Slope Borough, we have better housing and better living through the industry money, through taxes. But if something is not in line with our thinking, then sometimes we'll deny the permit. . . .

Q: Have you denied permits? What happens when you deny permits?
. . .

A: Yes, we have denied permits. And we say that . . .

Q: Were these onshore or islands?

A: Mostly offshore and on some occasions onshore where there are fish nearby or lakes with fish. And (in these cases, the oil companies) come around and they make an application; we listen for awhile; we deny the permit. And then they come back, and they try to conform to our way of thinking; and when we think that it is safe, then we give them the permit. So industry really has been sort of trying to comply with our way of thinking. We've known some good people in the industry. They came to understand us, and we got to know each other.

Q: Have there been times when they have not complied with what you have required in the permits or . . . ?

A: If we find that they do not comply with our permits, then we say "no drilling," and we stop them. Other state agencies, they have almost the same types of stipulations. Like some of those stipulations, if they are not followed, then . . . I listened to all of the meeting yesterday, and when the guy said this rule doesn't comply with what they wanted, they're stopped and will not be issued another permit.

Q: Generally, do you feel that there is a big difference between the onshore drilling and the offshore drilling . . .

A: Yes.

Q: Do you feel the onshore (drilling) is pretty safe or . . . ?

A: (It is) much safer because you don't have ice movement and the currents to deal with. (It is) much safer. (If) you get a spill in there, it will be (contained) within the vicinity of that drill. But if it's out on the ice, then the current will spread it out. If they have a big blowout like they had down in Mexico, that (would be) very dangerous. There's no way to contain that kind of a spill--out on the ice like I was talking about this afternoon. So I'm sure people don't know what they're talking about. They say that we have the technology to do it, but they haven't tried it. All they know (about) is that little testing over in the Prudhoe Bay area, with no currents to speak of--no pressure ridges to speak of.

Q: Even (if) there weren't any oil spills from the rigs, such as over at Prudhoe Bay, is there still a fear that the rigs being there might be disruptive to the whale in terms of the whale migration? Is that something . . . ?

A: The whales that are already in there, to my own thinking--I don't speak for a lot of these other people--I don't think (they would be) much (of a) deterrent to whale migration if they are within the Barrier Islands. (The) only real danger is that they're talking about (using) ice breaker-type tankers which they want (to use) to export oil. Tankers--that is really dangerous.

Q: Dangerous from the . . .

A: Dangerous (because of) the ice.

Q: From the ice and from the spill on ice or dangerous from the noise from the tanker to the whale? or both?

A: I don't know that I have a problem with the noise. It has to be a very big noise to really scare the whale away, I guess, in my own way of thinking. Like if there's noise here and another noise there and another one over there, if (the noise) was like that, then they would shy away. If there was one (noise), then (the whales) probably would hurry and pass (by) that one. But that's just guessing. I know how the whale behaves. Even when you are going after a whale with a paddle, not with a motor, and you happen to hit the side of the boat with that paddle, then they dive. They hear that noise. So I cannot really determine . . . a lot of the animals, like caribou, they (remained) in the Prudhoe Bay area after the pipeline, they get used to is, they're mostly _____ because they're land

animals and they see that it doesn't move when they're feeding right under it, and they go right through it. But the whales are probably different.

Q: Do you think that the big danger from the tankers, though, would be being crushed by the ice and . . .

A: Yes.

Q: . . . spills, from the spills from tankers?

A: Yeah, it's not only the noise that bothers (the whales). It's also the fumes they smell in the air. Even just a camp in the ice--your own camp--when you're camping during whaling in the springtime, if they go just on the wind side of you, I mean the wind's blowing from you to them . . .

Q: They dive?

A: They dive. They don't stay around (if they) smell you. They like clean smells. Clean smells.

Q: You talk about the importance of Native food and whale meat to the Eskimo. Would you like to say a little more about . . . How important that is?

A: Yeah, people who eat real food . . . [noise interference] It's good to have steak; I like steak and some restaurant food. But I cannot eat (it) year-round. I get tired of it real easy because it's not the same food that I was raised with. And I have a stomach that (can stand) more (of a) variety than your stomach. Your stomach has a very narrow variety of foods (it can stand) while mine can also eat your (type of food), except maybe for sauerkraut. That doesn't agree with my stomach, you know. I like to eat a good meal; and after eating good, hearty, white food, I need an Alka-Seltzer. Yeah. Even at home, I eat real food, real meat, and then have dessert--have some kind of food, maybe even soda pop [buzz saw noise].

Q: What happens in years like this year when there haven't been any whales . . . get the whale meat?

A: _____ Point Hope, Wainwright, and Barter Island, they have the best food there is, in Barrow. After we use other food--seals, caribou, and this . . . like your own food--when the (food) you like to eat is not there, you (have a) craving for it but cannot get it; that's the same situation we got into _____ [buzz saw noise]. I guess I could tell you _____.

- Q: Do you get muktuk from other places, from other villages then?
- A: Yeah, we took a little bit from Wainwright and the _____ over there. But we would like to have some in the freezer where you can get it everyday when you want to.
- Q: Do you have to buy that, or is that just traded?
- A: Mostly given.
- Q: Is that from family, from relatives?
- A: Friends. Yeah, we do that between the villages; we send our friends _____ caribou if they don't have any fish or caribou. They do the same way we do . . . When you receive food like that, then you have it _____.
- Q: Could you talk for just a little bit (about) the changes which you feel are most important that have occurred in Barrow, in the community of Barrow, and what the impact of oil has been in the community in Barrow? What have been the changes that have occurred in Barrow as the result of the oil?
- A: A lot of changes (have) happened since the oil industry came in. And those people who know how to spend their money, they supply themselves with better homes, better equipment to hunt, and faster outboards or faster snow machines than we ever used to have. And it makes life easier for a person to go hunting and get his own meat. The meat that you guys eat is available in the stores, too, but it's so expensive we don't bother to buy (it). We'd rather hunt and get our own meat. But for those that make some money and don't know how to spend it, (having money is) disastrous for them because they're using it only for drinking. They get a drinking problem, and they keep at it to a point where they can't go without (alcohol), you know. Lucy Dobson . . . this sort of thing is very disastrous to some of our people. But for a lot of our people, it makes life easier for them because of the industry coming up. We do not have too (many) problems with the industry although there are some problems, even on land where industry is drilling. Mostly in Nuiqsut, which is closer to those drilling rigs, (people sometimes are restricted from going where they used to hunt because industry has set up camp there. That's one of the problems that is happening.
- Q: Certain areas get closed to hunting?
- A: Yeah, but it's understandable that the company would want to protect its property, too. As far as the North Slope Borough is concerned, industry can stay, but let us keep our animals the

way they are--at least without disturbing them and without damaging the environment. (When) they do move out, they clean up those (areas where they have been); we've seen (that). They do pretty good work. It's this lease sale out in the deep waters that is really getting us into a rage--that we're not very happy about.

Q: Does having the jobs and the better income that people can get from the jobs and the hours of working, does that interfere with people being able to hunt and fish . . . ?

A: No, most of the people that are working can take some time off, make agreements with their employers to go hunting, and that's good. On good days for hunting, they go; (they are) excused. I don't know if all the companies are doing that. But . . .

Q: Do many people from here in Barrow go and work for the oil companies? Are there many here, or very few?

A: Very few go to (work for) the oil companies. There are quite a few Natives from other regions that go to (work for) the oil companies. The North Slope Borough and ASRC are creating jobs in our villages, making buildings (construction jobs) and new homes . . .

Q: Why did few people go? Is that because there are local jobs, because of their jobs with the North Slope Borough?

A: Probably, the jobs are created here. Some people go to Prudhoe and work a week on and a week off--two weeks on, two off--something like that. But when the jobs become available here, this is where people tend to work. It would be their first choice.

Q: Who goes and works at Prudhoe? Is it young people, unmarried people, or older people or . . . ?

A: Mostly, (it is) a little bit (from each) of the three classes: singles, young marrieds, and some older people. But, like I say, whenever they can be closer to their families and work is available here, that's their first choice.

INTERVIEW WITH JONAS NINGEOK

September 2, 1982

This is a translation of an interview taken by Michael Baring-Gould of Jonas Ningeok, Kaktovik, September 2, 1982.

Jonas was asked to tell a little bit about himself. He was born near Kaktovik and, therefore, named Kaktovik as his birthplace for his paperwork purposes. He was born September 18, 1922. He moved to Barrow with his family when he was quite young and doesn't recall exactly when. He lived in Barrow until 1958, when they moved back to Kaktovik.

Jonas has never been to school in his life. When they went to Barrow when he was young, his aunt took him fishing as it was his parents' wish that he go with her. After a year, when they went back to Barrow--the month of April--Tom Brower took him on as a reindeer herder. He worked for him every year.

Jonas confirmed that Tom Brower was the last of the reindeer herders. He also confirmed the story of the reindeer grazing on the Cape east of Barrow. Something scared the reindeer that day (one day), and they moved south and mixed in with the caribou. Tom Brower tried to get permission to go into PET 4 to bring them back, but he wasn't given the permission; they couldn't get them back across the line, and the reindeer eventually got lost.

He has also worked for Arctic contractors, which were the first of the contractors to go into Barrow looking for oil. He started out as a laborer, and they put him on whatever was available--equipment operator--and he worked for them until they closed down.

Ever since he returned to Kaktovik, he has worked for the DEW Line site--24 years--and hopes to retire next year. He is presently working as a laborer, doing janitorial work. And he has also worked as maintenance man and heavy equipment operator. And right now, he is tired of janitorial work.

He also works with woodwork at Barmain for use in the other DEW sites. He fixes equipment for the other DEW sites, and the company also sends him to the other DEW sites to work.

He recalled Ice Island as being one of the first stations he had ever been sent to from Kaktovik. Right now, there are two Eskimos and three white men working at the DEW site from the village of Kaktovik.

Jonas has worked for the DEW Line site, and he was asked if he would be willing to work for an oil company if he had a chance; his response was, "No." He is much more interested in working a steady job, and since he is working as a permanent employee at the DEW site, he'd much rather work there until he retires. He is thinking more of his retirement than anything else. But he also says that oil company (work is) good work, and he probably would work for them if he had no choice; but he, at the present, wants to keep on working at his permanent job with the DEW Line site until he's eligible for retirement. He had been offered jobs when the oil pipeline companies opened at Prudhoe Bay, but he turned them down.

He works six days a week and takes Sundays off. He goes hunting after work. During the whaling season, he gets permission to have a day off, but he doesn't take weeks off. At one time, he took a week off, but the weather was so bad at that time--for one whole week--and he ended up doing nothing. So ever since then, he takes his days off a day at a time.

When it's whaling season and the weather looks good, he tells his boss, "If I don't show up tomorrow, you know where I am." And the boss gives him the okay to go ahead.

Michael Baring-Gould asked him about the two times he gave testimony on the lease sale--the first one in 1979 (the first Beaufort lease sale) and the second in 1982--on the Outer Continental Shelf. Michael pointed out the need for Eskimo food or how he personally felt about the difference between Eskimo food and the white man's food.

Jonas said that it is a hardship--a big hardship--to go without Eskimo food. He is not used to eating white man's food all the time. The results are that he gets hungry faster, or the food (doesn't) agree with him often. He recalls one day when he went hunting with Billy and brought along beef with a lot of fat, and when he got hungry, he also felt the need to eat some fat. So he ate the beef with all that fat on it and got sick. Billy scolded him by saying that he shouldn't have eaten that kind of fat as it wasn't much good. But Jonas had no alternative at that time; he felt the need to eat fat, and the beef fat is different from caribou or seal fat. A person gets sick from beef fat but not from caribou fat or seal fat.

It all depends on what you grew up eating; and as an Eskimo, Jonas grew up eating the caribou, the seal, and the whale. And as a result, he doesn't get hungry right away, or he doesn't get sick from eating the kind of food he grew up with. He is quite used to them, more so than white man's food.

It makes no difference to him what kind of Eskimo food he is eating--caribou, seal, whale, or any other kind of Native food; he enjoys them more, and they are more solid than chicken or beef. He feels that the Inupiat food agrees with him more than the white men's food. You don't eat the same Inupiat food all the time. (There are different) seasons for the (different) animals. In the summertime or wintertime, there is caribou and fish. In the springtime, there is sheep--mountain sheep. In the spring, also, there is whale, and there are ducks that come in the summertime. There is a season for every animal, and the Inupiat hunt them according to what season they arrive; and so there is always a change in what you're eating, all year-round.

Jonas gets weak when he has white man's food all the time. So whenever he goes away--for instance when he went to Ice Island quite some years ago to work--he tries to take caribou with him.

He was asked if he had enough time to do much hunting as he is working at the DEW Line site. His response was that he had enough time to hunt after work.

Michael also asked him about (when) he gave testimony that he should share food--(that) he was taught by his father to share food with the other people. And Michael asked when Jonas doesn't have time to go hunting because of his job at the DEW Line site, if the other people shared their food with him. His response was that, with the Native people, it is a tradition to share food. It is kind of hard to give food that you buy from the store, like beef or chicken, but it is traditional to share your Inupiat food--your Eskimo food--with the other people when they need it. When they need the food, you naturally give them Inupiat food; you share it with them.

Michael pointed out that they do the same with their gardens when they harvest a lot of vegetables from their garden. It is like a white man's tradition to give vegetables to relatives and friends.

He was asked the question (someone had translated from one of his testimonies) that when the whale is caught near shore there is mud in the stomach, and Michael wanted him to confirm this and why there is mud in the whale's stomach. Jonas doesn't recall ever saying that; he's sure there was a mistranslation of that fact.

Michael asked this question about the mud in the stomach because he was concerned about the whale swallowing oil that might accidentally be spilled into the ocean and settle on the ocean floor; and if the whale does get mud in the stomach, he was concerned about this and about the whale swallowing the oil and getting poisoned from it.

Jonas responded by saying that even though the whale doesn't get mud from the ocean floor in his stomach, he still could get spilled oil in his system because the whale eats the shrimp that float around

and the whale opens his mouth wide and goes after the little shrimp. And as a result, he could easily swallow the oil if there is an oil spill; that is dangerous for the whale. The whale swims to the shrimp and doesn't swallow the shrimp with the water, but he opens his mouth wide and goes after the shrimp. After he closes his mouth, he lets the water out through his baleen--it's just like sifting the water out--and there are (shrimp) left along his baleen and that's what he swallows and eats as food.

He was asked to confirm his testimony about the oil being the big danger to the whale. Jonas confirmed that the oil is very dangerous to the whale. It could get in the whale's eyes and cause injury. And if the whale swallows the oil, it could be dangerous. The whale breathes through a spout on top of its head; the oil could be squirted through there, too, and cause injury through the breathing system that the whale has.

Jonas firmly agrees, or confirms, that if there is spillage in the ocean, the oil would be very dangerous to the whale. Not only is it dangerous to the whale, but it is also dangerous to any animal that lives in the ocean, like the seal and fish; any sea animal would naturally suffer from the oil spillage.

He was asked to confirm the hearing sensitivity of a whale. Jonas believes--or knows--that a whale has very sensitive hearing. They can feel the vibrations in the ocean, and the drilling done in the ocean would keep the whales away. He knows, for instance, that a whale is easily scared away by an outboard motor running in the water. He recalls one time a sixty-five foot whale came up near Point Barrow and there was noise, and it quickly disappeared.

He recalls several times when a whale disappeared because of undue noise made on the ice. The whale can hear noise made on the ice--it's the vibrations they're sensitive to. They have very keen hearing.

He also says that the whale is often scared away by the seismic boats because of vibrations that are caused by the bombs that explode--by the explosions in the water. A whale could naturally be scared away by these explosions. The vibrations of an explosion travel quite a ways, and the sensitive hearing of a whale makes it more intensive for them. They can easily hear and keep away from that explosion or the area where the explosion was. Some of the whales would be scared away, but not all of them. He doesn't believe all of them would be scared away.

Jonas was asked how he felt about the drilling companies putting up drills on an island. He felt better about the drills--the rigs--being put up away from the ocean; that's between the barrier and the island. It would be all right, but it's still dangerous for the fish because the fish are between the island and the mainland;

they go through there all the time. It would be all right to put them up, but it would be dangerous.

If the equipment were adequate, it would be all right to put up an oil rig between the island and the mainland. That, he feels good about; it's okay to do that.

Q. "If they do put in oil wells, what controls would you like to see put on the drilling, or on the oil companies to minimize the effect which it might have on animals, fish, seals, whales--would there be certain restrictions which you would like to see placed on them so that they wouldn't maybe drill at certain times of the year, or things like that?"

Translator: His reponse was that it would be most helpful if they would put up a drill in as safe a way as possible, with the right kind of equipment, and do a lot of research before they put up a rig, use the right kinds of equipment that are safe and make sure that they won't have oil spills as much as possible.

They shouldn't use any explosions on the east side of Kaktovik when it's whaling season time. Those explosions scare the whales away. And that would be one regulation that would be most helpful.

This regulation was requested during the testimonies, and I believe that they are working on it now: that there shouldn't be any explosions set out on the east side of Kaktovik during the whaling season.

In the springtime, they usually set off seismic explosions. They start the explorations in the springtime, and that's just when the whaling season starts. It would be good if they (would) stop during the whaling season. Whales come in from the east side of Kaktovik, and that's exactly where they always have the seismic exploration.

During the whaling meetings, this is always the main topic and it's (very) important to the Natives that this should stop, at least during that season. Last year, they had these seismic explosions going on during the whaling season, and it really affected the hunt. . . . It drove the whales away.

Jonas was asked if there would be any benefit for the village of Kaktovik from this oil exploration. It would be of benefit to the village of Kaktovik if the people were given jobs--the people that are right there in the village. They've often said that they would hire people from the Kaktovik village, but so far that hasn't been true. It would be of benefit to the people--this oil business would be of benefit to them if they were the ones who were hired.

At one time, quite some years ago, ARCO sent in applications, and about seventeen to nineteen people made (out) applications for jobs. But they were never hired. Those were the applications for jobs at Prudhoe Bay when (the) pipeline first started. As of yet, they have not been hired.

It would also be a big benefit to the village if oil were discovered close to Kaktovik and pipes were put into the village for the heating system. That would be one good thing there.

He was also asked how Kaktovik would change if there is oil development.

There was one point made, when they were planning to put up the pipeline--the Arctic Gas pipeline; they were making plans to drill not too far from Kaktovik, and they were planning to bring in about two thousand men there to work. It bothered the people of Kaktovik because they were concerned about the big change it would make on the village pertaining to liquor and drugs. Because it happened to the other villages, it could happen easily to Kaktovik--the villagers of Kaktovik would have no way of controlling the liquor and drugs that would go through the village. That is one big concern they have about having an oil company right close by.

Jonas was asked about how he felt about the seismic work being done now and (the fact that) more airplanes come into the village than before. The main thought that Jonas has on that is (that) as long as the planes don't intentionally scare away the animals that are around the village of Kaktovik, it's all right with him. His main concern is the animals, like the caribou, that migrate around there. As long as they're not intentionally scared away by these planes, it's all right.

He used Fairbanks as an example. In the city of Fairbanks when it comes hunting season, they have to go quite a distance to go hunting--a long ways from Fairbanks. And if that doesn't happen to Kaktovik, it would (be better for) the village. Because in the village of Kaktovik, the people don't (have to) go very far to go hunting. And if there is no big change in that habit, it would be helpful to the village if the animals weren't scared away. Especially during the summertime, the men need to make their kill near the village because they have to pack the meat home--carry it home with them.

There have been instances where small planes fly over the caribou, back and forth, and that scares them far away, and it's bad for the hunters because when that happens--and it has happened--they have to go further (to hunt) than before. And a lot of times they need to get the meat home before it spoils, and they usually carry it on their backs; they walk in the summertime to carry the meat home.

Jonas was asked if there were other ways that hunting could be harmed besides the oil spillage and the noise of the airplanes.

The interpreter asked Jonas if the hunting would change drastically if the oil companies were to build sites all over. And he also pointed out to him that there have been planes already that (have flown) over that chased some of the caribou away.

A question he asked was how would the hunting change because of the population that would increase and all the construction going on all over? He pointed out that the migration of the caribou has been changed a lot by the pipeline construction that has gone on already. All these changes in the hunting procedures have changed a lot in the other areas where there was pipeline construction and he asked Jonas if he thought the same thing would happen in the Kaktovik area. Jonas replied that it would most certainly change if the population were to increase in the village or around the area of Kaktovik. There would be a big change in how many animals could be caught.

Jonas is most certain that if the population were to increase around the Kaktovik area, the (construction workers) would want to go hunting, too, and they would have a big advantage over the villagers because they would have planes available. The villagers never have enough money to go out hunting by plane; and the construction workers, having all the money, would have an advantage over the local hunters; that is, by flying to areas where there are caribou, where the caribou happen to be. And he's most certain that the local hunters would have a harder time getting caribou and other animals that used to be close by and which have left the area because of all this construction going on.

Jonas was concerned about the regulations and the limits that are put on how many animals you can kill. If they were to put that into action at Kaktovik and the (construction workers) or white people were to be included in that, he's pretty sure that the local hunters would have a hard time getting their limit of animals because those animals would be quite a distance away and the people who are hunting by airplane would have a big advantage.

A. Like, if we had a (large) (influx) of people, our hunting, you know . . . we've got limits on our hunting. If they included the people that came in with our limits, too, and if they go out hunting with airplanes or whatever that we don't go out with, we'd have a hard time getting our share because there would be too many people hunting.

Q. Were there other things that he said?

- A. That was the main thing; just that with the regulations, if they change them to include those other people that come in, then that would really make it bad for us, if they start putting regulations on us like they do in the big towns.
- Q. So maybe a rule that they should make then would be that people, if they do come in, they shouldn't be allowed to hunt and fish. My last questions are basically ones on organizations and institutions and what Jonas feels about them and whether he feels they have helped the village or not. Like the North Slope Borough, does he feel that the North Slope Borough has brought benefits to the village or have there been problems with the North Slope Borough which he feels are important? Is the North Slope Borough doing a good job representing what the people of Kaktovik need, and why, in regards to oil development?

Jonas was very unsure how to reply to that. He just said he wasn't too sure. He pointed out that sometimes when they ask for help, they don't do very much to complete what they were supposed to do in order to help the village. They miss out on important parts; they don't do everything, or Jonas feels that they didn't do their best in helping. A lot of times, they have helped, too. It depends on what is being asked for. He said he has heard about the workers doing good jobs or not doing their job. He has heard a lot of viewpoints from other people. As for himself, he's not sure how to answer the question. He doesn't get too involved in the goings on of the North Slope Borough, and a lot of times he's not really aware of what's going on. He knows only what he's heard from other people, so he's not sure exactly how to answer that question from his own viewpoint, only from what he has heard.

There have been a lot of good things that have happened through the North Slope Borough, and some bad things. He's reluctant (to give) an outright answer on . . .

He said he's got two feelings; he has a hard time (expressing) what he feels about the North Slope Borough. A lot of times they do really good, like the things they say they are going to provide us with. They do, and a lot of times they don't. Because he doesn't deal directly with the North Slope Borough, he doesn't really know which way to think about it--whether they are doing a good job or not doing a good job. Like with his housing, he's had problems trying to get his house from the North Slope Borough. When they first started, they said they were going to provide housing for everybody. And he had a hard time getting his house because they'd say, "No, you can't have it. Yes, you can have it," and they'd go back and forth; he never knew what was going to happen, and it's on his lot. His lot is a restricted piece. And they told him he couldn't have his house because of the regulations on how much money you have to earn--it's supposed to be low income, but the way the people work up here, they make a lot of (money); and there's no way

you can get (qualify for) low-income housing--like him. He works at the DEW Line all the time and makes a lot of money; that was what his problem was, too, in trying to get this house. But he needed a house; he didn't have a house. So they tried to take it away and (then) they said, "Yeah, you can have it," and he's had problems with it. That's the sort of (bad) thing they do. They say they are going to provide housing and then they don't. Now they are renting some of their houses instead of (providing homes through the) home ownership program.

Q. Does he have to rent the house or does he own the house or is it still not settled?

A. No, he's on home ownership now. But he had a hard time getting into that because they said, "No, you can't have the house," and he said, "Well, if you don't give me the house, then get it away from my lot, move it out." That's what it came down to. The North Slope Borough, when they first started, that was their main (goal)--to supply housing for everybody. And now they are just messing around with that. And we've really had problems with housing.

Q. How about reflecting or representing what he thinks is important in regards to oil development. Has the North Slope Borough been helpful or done a good job in terms of protecting what he feels is important to protect: controlling oil development in the way he would like to see oil development controlled?

A. That's a hard question. That's one main (problem) we have, (a) communication (problem) between the North Slope Borough and us. We've got the coordinator that is supposed to be the communication person between the North Slope Borough and us, but we never hear anything, just what you read in the paper. So, that's a hard question to answer because we never know what they're doing.

Jonas has mixed feelings about the North Slope Borough

Q. And that's very difficult. It seems that everyone I've talked with in Kaktovik has very definite ideas: that they don't want to see oil development occur outside of the islands, out in the ocean. That's been the main concern of people here. And I was wondering whether the North Slope Borough has helped in that. I know from the testimony that Michael Jefferies of Legal Services has come over many times and that he has supported the people. I just wondered what Jonas felt about the organization of the borough--the North Slope Borough itself, the regional corporation; whether he also believes that they are helpful in obtaining the goals which he sees; or whether the Eskimo Whaling Commission--whether they are helpful in terms of the people of Kaktovik _____.

The interpreter asked Jonas if he felt that the Arctic Slope Corporation or the North Slope Borough or the Whaling Commission were of any help to the people of Kaktovik. Jonas replied that he's pretty sure that these corporations are doing their best to help the people of Kaktovik. But (from) his own viewpoint, he feels that there is something that is not quite right, but he can't pinpoint it as of yet. He can just feel it, but he knows that the corporations are doing their best. Jonas said he knows that they go out to these big meetings, like the Whaling Commission meetings and all the other meetings, and he feels that the villagers don't hear everything that goes on in these meetings. And it's pretty hard to understand at first exactly what's going on. But in the end, they usually come through.

A. The Eskimo Whaling Commission and the ASRC really help out by going to court and attending meetings and all that. But the only bad thing was when they got into that _____ meeting they had with the International Whaling Commission when our delegates from here (went) to that meeting and they walked out, that creates a bad feeling. And, you know, they shouldn't do (things like that). It's bad for our image when they go to a big meeting like that and then walk out. That's when they don't help, when they do things like that.

Q. Let me ask one last question. The Arctic Regional Corporation and I guess the village corporation, too, are profit-making corporations and some of the businesses that they've gotten into, invested their money in, are construction companies and work with some of the oil companies, like Pingo, _____. Does he think that is a good thing for the regional corporations to invest their money in? Does he not think that's a good idea?.

A. He appreciates the profit-making corporations. He feels good about it.

Q. As long as they don't drill for oil out in the ocean?

A. (Jonas) Yes, that's for sure. I don't like it, drilling in the ocean.

Q. But if they invest in projects that are on the shore, then that's all right?

He (didn't say much) about the oil being drilled for on land, but he's pretty much against drilling down in the ocean because of the danger of the storms and the ice that piles (up) and could cause damage, and as a result there could be a lot of oil spilled. (Even if) there (was) no wind, the ice, once it started moving, could pile really high and cause a lot of damage. There (are) really strong ocean currents going on all the time, shifting one way and then the other. (Discuss ice piling up, sometimes to 30 feet).

Q. Are you a whaling captain?

A. No, a crew member for Archie's boat.

Q. Do you throw the harpoon?

A. Archie throws the harpoon _____.

Q. Is the captain always the person who throws the harpoon?

A. No, the captain picks someone.

INTERVIEW WITH WESLEY AIKEN

August 27, 1982

We're talking with Wesley Aiken today. It is August 27th, and we're in Barrow; we're going to be talking a little bit about oil impacts and some of the testimony that Wesley has given in the past. Wesley, could you tell us a little bit about yourself?

A: Well, I've lived here all my life; I was born in 1926 in January.

Q: In Barrow?

A: Here in Barrow. I have worked for this regional corporation since 1972. I'm still working for them. I (have) talked (to) quite a few people when they come around and tried to answer what they have (asked, not only about the) BRA but (about) other lands, you know, where I have lived. I used to live (out) there, 150 miles east of Barrow, until I was about twelve years old; (then I) came back down here (to go to) school. (I was) in school for about three years--three or four years. Ever since then, I don't think I have gone out of Barrow (for) more than twelve months; (that was to) Juneau.

Q: Where did you grow up? Where was it, 150 miles east of Barrow, near Prudhoe?

A: No, about 120 miles--pretty close to 120 miles--near Cape Halkett, you know, the trading post, out (where) there (is a) house site. They call that Lonely, right near Lonely.

Q: Do you remember when the Navy was first drilling here in Barrow, when you must have been a young man?

A: Yes, I worked for the Arctic Contractors in 1947 until 1952, I believe. I worked for them, and I remember I was working for them when they put that camp up, you know, putting in pipe for the camp; I worked on that.

Q: What did you do for them? What was your job?

A: My job was operating heavy equipment (as a) truck driver at the time.

Q: Where did you learn to drive trucks?

A: Up there. I worked with trucks. I worked with them for maybe one year (as a) laborer, and I learned to drive these trucks and operate heavy equipment; that's where I learned.

- Q: Could you tell us a little more about the other kinds of jobs you've had? What did you do after the navy?
- A: In 1954, I went back to work for Puget Sound Drake; that's when they built this DEW Line site. I worked for them maybe two and a half years on the construction . . .
- Q: What was the name of the company?
- A: Puget Sound & Drake out of Seattle. I worked as a teamster. I joined the teamsters (as a) truck driver until 1964. Then I went to work for (the) BIA down here in Barrow. That was for the Barrow Utilities contract, I think it was, that belonged to the BIA. I worked for them maybe until 1970 or '71 I think. Then I (came) to work here; I've been working since 1947, but I never got rich. But I've been making my living.
- Q: You've had a lot of jobs. Have you found that when you had to work a job like that, that it made it hard to fish and hunt?
- A: Well, I never go out on my vacation down to the lower 48, for vacation. When I have my vacation, I just go out to my fish camp and have my vacation out there. I never have enough money to go down there [to the lower 48] somewhere. So I just go out to my fish camp.
- Q: What about on weekends and after work? Do you find time then to (hunt and fish)?
- A: Oh yeah, lots of times I go on weekends--go fishing.
- Q: What were the hours that people worked (for the DEW Line site, for Arctic Contractors)? Did you work five days a week or seven days a week?
- A: Seven days a week for Arctic Contractors, 9 hours a day.
- Q: Nine hours a day?
- A: Seven days a week.
- Q: Did you live out there?
- A: No, I lived out here in Barrow. Then when I went to work for Puget Sound & Drake, I worked six days a week, nine hours a day.
- Q: Many people say that one of the reasons now that relatively few people want to work for the oil companies is that if they work for the oil companies, they can't participate in subsistence (activities). Do you think that's true?

- A: I don't know; I never worked for the oil companies.
- Q: You had a job very similar to that though, when you were working all week, working long hours. Was it hard to find the time to hunt and fish?
- A: Yes, it's pretty hard when you work seven days a week. You don't have enough time. Unless you take time off, it's pretty hard to hunt.
- Q: Will they give you time off during winter season . . . ?
- A: Yes, they'll do that when you ask (for) it. In those days, you didn't get paid when you had time off, you know. It (was) a construction job, and they didn't give you vacation time. You just had to get the time off and not get paid for as long as you stayed out there--maybe a couple of weeks.
- Q: In the old days, when you were younger and people depended a lot on the caribou and fish, who would supply that for the family?
- A: Well, there were other people you could send out there while you worked, you know; (people) who were not working could supply the grub.
- Q: Were you married then?
- A: Yes.
- Q: Did you have other people living in the house who would go hunting then while you were working?
- A: Yes, my brother-in-law was living with us, (and he) would go out hunting.
- Q: Which do you like better, that kind of work or this work?
- A: Well, I'm comfortable right now. . . . my age, you know. Lots of people ask me to work on construction, like Dick Hill over here at the high school; he was asking me if I would go to work for him. I don't want to work 10 hours a day. Of course, I could do carpentry work, you know, but I don't want to work 10 hours a day, six days a week. So I'm not going to retire (from) this job here as long as they keep me around.
- Q: We were wondering why--we may have been wrong but--you hadn't testified on Number 71 when they had the public hearings here. Was there a reason that you didn't testify then? These were the hearings for the oil lease sale by the Barrier Islands.

A: Maybe I was too busy at the time.

Q: What times have you given testimony? We have (information) that you have given testimony; are there other times?

A: I don't remember . . . in '71. I must have been fishing. I was, I think, out of town for maybe two, three weeks at a time--busy going down to D.C. I was with the ASNA--that's Arctic Slope Native Association--when they were fighting for the land claims. I was one of them. I always (went) down to Washington, D.C. for lobbying. Sometimes I got stuck down there for two or three weeks until they passed it in 1971.

Q: You were with Sam and Nelson Ahvakana?

A: Yes, like Joe. So I don't know how I was able to give testimony on that. For some of those hearings, I must have been out.

Q: The '71 hearing was last fall; this would be with the lease sale of '71. That would have been last fall. I think it was in the spring.

A: I wonder where I was then.

Q: Well, if you had been there, would there have been something you would have wanted to say if you had been at that meeting?

A: Probably. No matter what we say around here, we don't stop them--these oil companies. There's no way of stopping them.

Q: Why is that? Why is the testimony not heard?

A: Well, they must hear it; but the oil companies . . . with the seismic (testing), you know, no matter who you hollered to, they did it anyway. Those are the things that I (have) learned, you know, or have seen. No matter _____ what a man says, it just doesn't stop them. They come in and do it--maybe next month, after the hearing. They do it anyway. They want to hear (our testimony), but they always do what the company wants. They said they weren't using explosives but (rather) some kind of air gun on the ocean sites. Those are things that I've seen.

Q: Do you think that people saying things does any good at all? Does it make the oil companies be more careful?

A: Well, maybe they (are) getting more careful, but they never stop; they're getting more careful, but I think . . .

Q: Do you think other people see this, too--that they understand what you understand?

A: Some of them, yes; some of them might. (They have been coming up here) so many years for hearings; but even when the people say not to do it, they come and do it anyway. But they are getting more careful. Like, they had the hearing last fall (about) operating out there for seismic (tests) all winter long. I've seen those seismic (tests) out there right to the east of Cape Halkett. And there are whales out there.

Q: What was most of the testimony on the seismic activity last fall? Did most people testify that they didn't want to see any seismic activity?

A: Yes, a lot of people testified . . .

Q: To stop the seismic (tests)?

A: Yes, right.

Q: But they went ahead anyway?

A: Right.

Q: Do you think sometimes, like when there have been law suits filed, do you think that the corporations are trying to make the oil companies listen to the people? Do you think the Borough or UPI or someone that you could think of is trying to help the people?

A: They probably (are) trying to help the people.

Q: Can you think of an example?

A: Well, (in order) to slow them down, there are these law suits, you know.

Q: Do you think the law suits work? What do you think law suits do?

A: Well, I think they slow (oil developers) down, but they don't ever stop them. The way I see it, they never stop them.

Q: When we were at Nuiqsut, we talked to people. One of the main things that they were upset about was that they couldn't hunt near Prudhoe Bay, near the oil rigs, and things like that. Do you know, when ASRC drilled, did they have areas closed where people couldn't hunt, too?

A: No, I don't think so. No, I don't (remember that). You might (not have been allowed) to shoot there, right near the drill site, but you could hunt.

- Q: Do you think people will be able to hunt and fish like at Cape Halkett if ASRC puts up buildings and stuff there? Will they try to close that to hunting and fishing?
- A: There's no drill site there. They can hunt on their land, you know; there is an old DEW Line airstrip where they like to hunt.
- Q: Is Cape Halkett a good place to hunt for some animals?
- A: Yes, some caribou and probably duck; probably some fish, too.
- Q: People will still be able to hunt there, (do) you think?
- A: Oh yes.
- Q: You talked about the importance of eating native foods in your testimony. And, I think, that's something that people in Washington don't really understand completely. Could you tell us (about it)?
- A: They can't begin to understand what I eat, and I can't really understand what they eat over there. (A person) likes to eat whatever he grows up with. Like if you grew up there, (you might) like to eat some kind of salad, you know; that might be your favorite. And I (might) like to eat some kind of meat that has been cooked; that would be my favorite. And yours may be some kind of salad.
- Q: Do you still eat lots of native food?
- A: Oh, yes. When you get up to my age, you know, I like to eat just meat.
- Q: How do you get the meat you eat now? Where does it come from? Do you hunt it?
- A: Yes; in fact, my wife and I took a couple of weeks off and went up to my fish camp. We got fish; we got some caribou. We got enough caribou to last us maybe for a couple of months, and we've got enough fish to last us almost all winter.
- Q: Where's your fish camp?
- A: It's about forty-five miles south of Barrow in the Meade River. I have a little cabin down there, 160-acre native allotment.
- Q: When there were no whales taken this spring, did that affect the people's diet here in Barrow?

- A: Yes, probably some of them.
- Q: Did it affect yours?
- A: Well, I missed it, yes. Yes, I missed it, too.
- Q: How did it make you feel?
- A: You know, once in awhile you like to eat different foods. So if there is some muktuk (available), I'd eat it.
- Q: When you don't have muktuk, like this year when there weren't any whales, what do you eat instead of the muktuk? Are you getting more caribou or . . . ?
- A: (We eat) oogruks and all kinds of food, you know--seal, dried meat.
- Q: Is this because you didn't get a whale . . . ? Do you have to buy food or do you just get more (game)?
- A: Well, it doesn't matter, you know. You buy more food if you don't have enough meat, and the meat costs us maybe \$10.00 a pound, maybe more--beef, if you get the the meat, and some of us don't get (that) much money, you know.
- Q. Do you think that hunting and fishing and subsistence and development can happen at the same time? that you can have both of them?
- A. Our hunting starts around April, (and) you can hunt whales for about a month and a half in the spring. In the fall, (there are) maybe two or three weeks when they come in from the East. But (you can) hunt caribou and ducks almost all summer, maybe for a couple of months. We only have a couple of months of summer anyway, you know.
- Q. Do think there could be development and still (be) subsistence? that there could be oil development and subsistence? that they could happen at the same time?
- A. They could (happen at the same time). Yes, (if they don't lock up land), if only they do it (in some way that) they won't block the migration. . . . I don't know about on the ocean side (offshore development), but they have never blocked anything on the land.
- Q. They haven't?
- A. I (have) never seen anything blocked up on the land.

- Q. Have the caribou migrations been changed at all because of the oil development?
- A. No, I have not seen much change. The caribou (are still) coming in from (the) South almost every summer. I don't know about the east side of the pipeline.
- Q. You've seen a lot of changes in Barrow in the years you've spent here. So (do you) think that any of the changes, or can you think of a change, that was the result of the oil development?
- A. The big change around here is I (can) take it easy since I put the pipe to my house.
- Q. Natural gas?
- A. Yes, I don't have to pump the oil. I never worry about running out of oil. That's the only thing, you know.
- Q. What are some of the other changes you've seen in Barrow?
- A. A lot of things. They used to run the dog teams here, too. You had to cook for the dog teams; you had to feed the dogs, you know--whatever you got. You'd try to help them in the winter, give them a hot meal. Now, you don't worry about cooking a hot meal for the dogs in the winter. All you need is gas for the snow machines to go out and get the caribou; that's all it takes. Some of these young people, they don't know how to live out there without any gas or something. They don't try to find out how to survive out there in the winter.
- Q. Why do you think that is--that they haven't tried to find out?
- A. Because they have everything they need if they have gas and the snow machine running.

INTERVIEW WITH HERMAN AISHANA

September 1, 1982

Okay, this is Michael Baring-Gould; I am talking with Herman Aishana in Kaktovik on Barter Island. I believe it is the first of September, Wednesday. Herman is, I believe from talking with Archie . . . he suggested we talk with him in addition to the testimony which he has given at various hearings. He is a member of the city council, and I believe a representative for the Eskimo Whaling Commission.

Q: Could you maybe start, Herman, by just giving us a short introduction or history of where you were born and how long you have lived here in Kaktovik and telling us a little bit about yourself.

A: Okay, my name is Herman Aishana. I was born in Wainwright, Alaska, March 19, 1938. I was born and raised there 'till I was about 8 or 9 years old. Then we moved to Barrow for a while. Then we moved up to Mead River, which is at Atkasook (?) right now. We spent about 4 years up there. I went to grade school and then (moved) back to Barrow. I spent about a year there. I joined the Guards, and after basic training for 6 months out in Fort Ord, I came back. I got a call from the DEW Line and migrated over to Barter Island in 1958--July 3rd as a matter of fact. And I settled down and got married and have been living here ever since. All these years after I got married, I have been trying to be active in the City Council and (in) village affairs.

Q: How long have you been on the City Council?

A: Oh, I was out (of the Council) for a little while--maybe 5 years--and then got back (on) again a couple of years ago. When the North Slope got formed in 1972, right after that, I started out with the Village Council and (since then) I (have held) the job for the North Slope Borough--(since) 1973 or something like that. And I'm also a member of the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission, representing my village. (I'm) also a board member of Kaktovik Corporation.

Q: What does a representative for the North Slope Borough do?

A: Actually, it's something like a liason between the Borough office over there and the City and all of these other projects.

Q: So like, does that put you in charge of things? Do you have to make arrangements for like the housing, the different CIP projects the Borough has?

- A: Well, sometimes we get a lot of visitors from Barrow, from the North Slope Borough Office. I try to make arrangements for them to have meetings. I try to coordinate with people here, notifying them that they will be coming. And (if it is), say, an informal or town meeting with others involved, we try to set up a meeting for them--something like this. Any major problems that come around, like some shortages of what the city has that need attention from the North Slope Borough.
- Q: Do you also have a job here in town, like working at the DEW Line or things like that?
- A: Well, I worked there before.
- Q: When did you work at the DEW Line?
- A: Oh, it would be a while back. I can't even remember exactly when I got off. It could have been the early '70s, around '71 or '72.
- Q: Did you work there a long time or just a short time?
- A: I worked there for quite a while, (from) '58 (to '71 or '72), I would say.
- Q: What did you work on at the DEW site?
- A: Well, I was a laborer. . . . I gradually worked my way up to labor operator. They were (listing my job title) as an operator mechanic by the time I got off.
- Q: Did you ever work for any of the oil companies, like over at Prudhoe or on the pipeline?
- A: No, I haven't.
- Q: Let me start off by asking you a couple of questions on the testimony. We had that you testified at three different hearings. The first one was on Point Thompson, and the second was on the National Wildlife Range. And the third one was on the Lease Sale 71. On the Point Thompson hearings, one of the big points I think you made, if we got the testimony correct, was that you were concerned that too little was known about the sea currents and the ice movements, particularly during the breakup in the spring and that this posed a real danger for offshore drilling. Do you feel that this is still a major problem? That was the hearing--the Thompson hearing. It was in 1978. Or do you feel that that situation has been addressed through any of their studies or research or anything; or do you still think that the sea currents and the movements of the ice, particularly during breakup period, is a particularly dangerous time or dangerous thing for offshore drilling?

A: Well, what I actually pointed out at that time was what I witnessed on one of my hunting trips over at Brownlow Point. That's pretty close to the lease sale area, around Flaxman Island. (I) remember the time I was over there; (I) went down to the ocean there (to) hunt for seal. It was a calm day, but the currents, I found out, were pretty strong in that area down there.

I saw an iceberg down there that was traveling something like the speed of a tug boat, (with water) swirling behind. It was really (moving). And I thought that if (there) was a big enough iceberg like that traveling at that speed, and they put some kind of a derrick out there, a platform or something, I thought that (the iceberg) might do some damage, you know, to the rig.

Q: How far offshore was that?

A: It was about 4 or 5 miles out.

Q: Are the currents worse, like outside of the Barrier Islands?

A: I think it was there. We were out there on the main ocean.

Q: Which is the most dangerous area do you think, where the currents and the ice flow? . . . Is it near shore or further offshore, or are there certain places like that approximate island where you think the currents are most dangerous? Or do you think--is that something which covers the whole coast or . . . ?

A: I don't really have any idea. Last fall, I found out the currents are pretty strong underneath the surface, too. The currents are pretty strong down there, too. We just found that out last fall. This line was about, let's see, about 50 feet (long) or something like that--maybe less. The reason I found out about that is that the weather was calm enough on top and it seemed like the icebergs weren't moving. There were no currents on top, but there were a lot of currents down (below).

A: We found that out when we caught the first whale last fall. The whale wasn't dragging all the way to the bottom. It was just hanging without hitting bottom. It was dead, but we didn't know it. The float was keeping it from hitting bottom. We noticed this float was really traveling, and we actually thought the whale was still alive. . . . It was pretty fast.

Q: And it was just the current pulling it?

A: Yeah, we were hanging onto the boat, and every time I put the reverse on the engine, you know, it would stop _____.

Q: Where was this, west of here?

A: I think around Flaxman.

Q: That was Flaxman, too?

A: Around Flaxman, I've seen stronger currents over there. Whenever the tides come in, the weather is pretty . . . (it is) easy enough to figure out when the tide will be coming in.

Q: Are there certain times of the year when it's more dangerous than other times? Like, as you said, is it the spring, when you get the breakup, that the greatest danger occurs, or . . .?

A: I can't really say for sure.

Q: Or is it also bad in the wintertime, when you get pressure ridges?

A: I think it's relatively all the same (throughout) the year.

Q: How do you feel about oil activity and oil development inside the Barrier Islands, where maybe the current isn't as bad? Do you still think it's dangerous to drill there?

A: I don't have that much concern about rigs inside the Barrier Islands. There's no danger there. What I'm really concerned about are the ones that go outside the Barrier Islands, on the outer continental shelf. Pressure ridges can build up down there, and mother nature can be pretty nasty some years. If not this year, then it (bad weather) could happen next year. We (had a) storm come up one time and really got flooded over here. It was kind of bad.

Q: What happened with the pressure ridges?

A: Oh, it wasn't the pressure ridges.

Q: Or is it the ice?

A: Sometimes the ice just piles up on the beach. If (the current) is strong enough, it doesn't stop right away. The other thing I've seen, and this was inside the Barrier Islands, over at Camden Bay--not Camden Bay, but at Bullen Point, that old DEW Line site over there--I saw that building over there demolished by ice piling up; and the garage over there (was also demolished).

Q: In other words, it piled up on the shore and took out the building?

A: Piled right into it, yeah.

Q: How high did the ice get?

A: It was quite a ways off shore. It was about 100 yards or so (offshore). . . . And the (building) was sitting about, oh, maybe a little over ten feet above sea level. It's amazing.

Q: It just pushed the ice up and took away the building?

A: Yeah, it didn't wipe out the whole building, but it really made a mess out of it; it was a metal building.

Q: Let me ask you a couple of questions on the onshore development and the testimony you gave on the National Wildlife Range. One of the points you made was that you were concerned over the use of CAT Trains and their impact on the tundra for the doing of seismic exploration and work because of the damage. Is that the damage that can occur to the tundra just from the CAT Trains passing over when there isn't enough snow? Is that the concern you were saying then?

A: Oh, yeah. There are regulations (that prohibit the) use of any CAT Trains in wildlife areas. Of course, I think they've got this technique now to make ice roads, but (the tracks left by the CAT Trains) are still pretty visible sometimes. When you are traveling through the air, you can see all these (tracks). But the actual damage I've seen was not in the wildlife range, but around (the) Kavik River, or something like this. I think it was these seismic people; (they) traveled with CAT Trains and stuff like this. I've seen some trails there (where they have torn) up the tundra.

Q: Is there any safe time when they can use the CAT Trains or when they can do seismic work? What are the conditions when it might be safe to do that? Or are there no conditions when it would be safe to do that?

A: I don't think there should be any kind of a CAT Train operation around here. If they want to enforce that . . . They're even giving us a bad time, let alone CAT Trains. Sometime they might even stop us from using snow machines to ride around on.

Q: Another point you made at that same hearing was that the aircraft they were using, and I'm not sure whether it was for seismic work or whether it was the aircraft which Fish and Wildlife was using for the counting of caribou of the Porcupine herd, anyway, those flights should be stopped because they were scaring the caribou a lot. Do you still see that as a problem?

A: Oh, yeah, (we are) still seeing that as a problem. As a matter of fact, one gentleman this past summer, right here, actually saw aircraft harrassing caribou just east of here. They're not supposed to do that, I don't believe. They told us they are not supposed to do that, but they still do it.

Q: Who is doing that? Is that done when they're counting the herds?

A: I think this was done when they were trying to count the herds.

Q: Does that come from just flying too low?

A: Well, they are not supposed to swoop down on the herd or anything for any reason. They are not going to hunt them or anything.

Q: How do you feel about the flights which they are doing now for exploration, I guess, on the refuge? . . . seismic work, but they're doing the navitational . . . ?

A: I haven't been on any of these flights. I don't even know where they are operating. I know there are a lot of helicopters flying around here. They don't tell us what the heck they're doing. I don't know where they're working. I know there's a bunch of helicopters--about half a dozen of them sometimes. . . . I count them some days and see pretty near half a dozen of them sitting in the airport.

Q: And they haven't told you what they are doing or where they're going?

A: No. No, they don't tell us what they're doing.

Q: How do you find that out?

A: They have been (flying in) that direction, and I know . . . (There are) rumors that they're doing something by the first Fishhole, Hulahula. I don't know; (it's) just a rumor I've heard. They haven't invited anybody from the village or told anybody what they are doing, or where they go.

Q: Do you see them when you are over on the shore? When people are hunting, do they see them working over there?

A: I know some of them are putting up these towers. I don't know what they are there for. I have seen these towers going up all over the place with propane bottles on them. I'm pretty sure that they're working on those. Some of them are working on those.

Q: You also--in the hearings, I guess it was, earlier this spring for lease sale 71--you testified in that hearing that you are opposed to offshore drilling, especially outside of the three-mile limit, due to the danger to the bowhead and the poor technology that exists for drilling. Could you talk a little bit more about what some of the specific dangers you feel are? And maybe a good point to start on that would be how you feel about the seismic work and the boats that are going on? Do you see the seismic activity, the boats, as being threatening to the whale and to the whale migration?

A: Some people have actually seen these boats dragging something apparently (along) the bottom of the ocean. It goes all the way to the bottom of the ocean, just dragging it. I'm pretty sure they're seismic boats. They operate pretty close to (the time of) our hunting season. Nobody has been really concerned about them, but I know we are concerned about them because we think they might be diverting the migration route of the bowhead. Of course, we don't want to go all the way out (in the ocean) 30 miles to get the bowhead (when) they can travel close to the shore. If we can get one closer to the village, the better it is for everybody. I'm very opposed to the seismic boats at this time of the year when the bowheads are traveling back, migrating back. When it's our turn to hunt bowhead, I would like to see them stop these operations for a little (while), at least until our hunting is over. That's what I'd like to see.

Q: What would be the times when it should be stopped?

A: Right about now.

Q: You mean from the end of August till the . . .

A: The main hunting we do is in the month of September. And I know that this ice we have around here is not going to go out. If it doesn't go further out, then the ocean will freeze up sooner (than usual).

Q: If what doesn't go out? If the ice doesn't go out?

A: Yes. And that way (if the ice remains and the ocean freezes soon), it will cut our season shorter.

Q: (The ocean) tends to freeze up quicker when the ice is around there, close to shore. And this way . . . If there was no ice, (if the) whole month of September (would be) ice free, then we wouldn't worry too much about (the season being cut short). On offshore drilling, the reason why I opposed that was that the oil industry has not shown the people up here that (they have the) technology (to handle a) blowout (if it) should occur. They have not demonstrated anything to convince our people up

here (regarding ability to deal with accidents). I'm pretty sure all the people up here are opposed to offshore drilling. They still have to see something to convince them that it will be safe. Until they see something like that, I'm pretty sure all the people up here, the native people up north, will be opposed (to) the offshore drilling.

Q: What could they do to prove to you that it would be safe? What do you think? what steps should they take? What kind of action would you like to see them go to before they do drill?

A: Well, they should have the (clean-up) equipment ready 24 hours a day, some place close (to the drilling site). I'd like to see some kind of equipment to clean up the spill, if it should occur, and the man power to do it in just a little while. I don't know what their plans are; they haven't shown us any of that kind of stuff.

Q: Does that also mean putting restraints, stopping the drilling at certain times of the year when it would probably be very difficult to get any equipment out to do any clean up like when the ice is breaking up or when the ice is forming? It would obviously be very difficult to get equipment through, or booms, or anything if there was a spill. Do you think they should limit the drilling to certain periods of the year?

A: Yeah, I think they should. You never know what will happen because out there, where it forms pressure ridges and all, I know that the ice has a lot more volume underneath than when it's floating--ten times the amount of ice (underneath the surface than is) floating up there . . . pressure ridges and like that . . . If there was a blowout in a place when it's pretty rough (bad weather conditions), I'm pretty sure that it (the oil spill) would be pretty hard to clean up. I know the oil will float up to the surface, but there will (also) be a lot of pockets where you have to pump it out. . . . And you still have to compete with the currents, and the currents are strong. Before they (can) clean it out, it's going to carry that oil to some other place.

A: (These are) just some things you have to think about. I don't know exactly what their plans are.

Q: Some people have told me--I haven't talked with the oil companies myself--but some people have told me that they are saying, particularly with the one island there--the gravel island they're building at Seal Island--that this would serve as a test to show people that drilling on gravel islands is safe or fine. Do you think that if they develop decent technology for drilling on something like Seal Island, would this be proof that it's safe (to drill) further out? Or is something like Seal Island very different from drilling out on the Continental Shelf?

A: I was just there the other day, looking it over. They are still sandbagging it; they're not done with it yet. Seal Island is not too far (offshore). It's only about 3-3-1/2 miles offshore from one of the Barrier Islands. And it (has been) built in 39 feet of water. We still have to see how it fares before I can make a judgment on that island. After the winter sets in, I would like to go back and see it again, after the ice has formed and moved around. (I would like) to see what (the ice has) done to the sandbags of the island. But I'm still leery to say that . . . I know that it (can) be safe; they can do that (build it so that it will be safe), but that is kind of costly, too. I don't think I would want them to try and make another island (farther offshore) where it's deeper. This island they built, if it proves to be sturdy enough to drill (on) . . . I know they are just going to drill 5 wells here diagonally, and that's a pretty big project for just a few wells.

I know there are some leases further out. . . What they are planning to do is go down further . . . that lease sale you're talking about . . . I don't know if they are going to build another island, where it's deeper.

Q: In Kaktovik if there was drilling, do you think the oil development would be a good thing for Kaktovik as a village, or do you think it would be a bad thing for Kaktovik as a village?

What do you think? What kind of changes would you expect to occur in Kaktovik as a result of drilling if they did go ahead with continental shelf development in this area?

A: That's a good question. I know for a fact that the oil companies won't stop for anything, even (if) I shout my head off to try to stop them. I think the only thing people can do is try to make the best of everything, especially the corporation of our village. I recognize the potentials of a profit-making corporation like this. But the impact on the village itself, that's something else to see. I don't think I can make a judgment on that just by myself. There are a lot of things that can happen.

Q: What do you think might happen?

A: I'm pretty sure a lot of people will be wanting to come here and settle down. Right now, we're pretty much hurting for space. I just don't know. I know there is going to be an influx of population if something like this occurs.

Q: Do you think it would affect the life styles of the people here? Would it affect their hunting and reliance on subsistence?

A: I know for a fact that they're going to do the same thing they did at Prudhoe. There'll be no hunting; it'll be restricted. And that's what we don't want to see. If they build a pipeline from here to someplace, there'll be a lot of restrictions on the pipeline.

You won't be able to hunt; they'll work it out like they did over at Prudhoe. And that's something I don't want to see. Regardless . . . Of course, there might jobs up here, but subsistence is still pretty valuable. If you try to live on the store products, you go broke right away.

Q: Do you think that type of development and subsistence are compatible at all, even if they don't put in a lot of pipelines? And people--if they suddenly have the jobs and more people are going to work with the oil companies or are going to work with the Borough--is that going to mean a change of values and lifestyles of people so that they will no longer be interested in subsistence?

A: I don't know what other people might think, but I wouldn't want to sell my subsistence way of life for a job. No way!

Q: I think you would be very foolish if you did.

A: No job in the world is going to be good enough to trade in my subsistence lifestyle (for).

Q: What other changes might it bring for Kaktovik as a village? It would obviously get much bigger if more people moved in.

A: I don't know. I don't really know. Right now we can't afford to have more people come in. Space is getting pretty scarce in the village.

Q: Is that something that the City Council has addressed at all?

A: Oh, yeah.

Q: How about the village corporation? You mentioned earlier that being a profit-making corporation . . . that oil development . . . that there might be certain types of activities which the village corporation might become involved in for profit. What types of activities is the corporation involved in, or what types of activities--economic activities--do you think the corporation could or should become involved in?

A: Our corporation is part of the . . . corporation that we formed over at Prudhoe--Pingo Corporation. It specializes in small contracts like road maintenance. That's our business venture, really, so we belong to (that corporation). I don't think the

village itself over here is big enough to get into contracts like that. I would like to see Pingo Corporation keep getting contracts.

Q: Doesn't the village corporation have a part share in the--I think it's the contract with the Nana Corporation--on drilling rigs--that the village corporation has 5 percent, and the rest of . . . in one of the drilling rigs or some project with Nana and Tanacross, I believe it is?

A: Oh yeah . . . but the percentage is not that much. They're in a couple of rigs over there. I haven't been keeping track of that, so I can't say too much about that. Two-and-one-half percent per rig was mentioned, and I know there are 2 rigs over there. Our corporation has 5 percent interest.

Q: Does that make a real conflict for the corporation--that many of the people want to see oil development stopped, yet the corporation has contracts with Pingo and with Nana for increasing oil development? Or does that provide a means of sort of controlling it--that you can keep it far enough away so that it isn't going to affect the Kaktovik, the Barter Island area.

A: We actually didn't mean it like that. We have recognized that the oil industry will not fizzle out right away, so we just decided to form that corporation to be the business venture for the village corporation. We didn't mean for it to be a vehicle to keep the oil industry out of the villages. No, we didn't mean it like that.

Q: If there is going to be oil development, from what standpoint would you be willing to see oil development? Or what would you like to get from oil development? What areas would you definitely not like to see developed for oil? You talked about not wanting to see oil development outside of the 3-mile area, off the Outer Continental Shelf. Are there certain areas on land, too, where you would definitely like to see oil development excluded from certain areas? Like would it be the whole Arctic Wildlife Refuge, or would it be certain sections within the Arctic Wildlife Refuge?

A: I don't know. I wouldn't want to see oil development in the Beaufort too close to Kaktovik on account of our whaling activity. And I don't know about the land development.

Q: Are there certain areas on the coast, on the land, which are particularly important for the people from Kaktovik? Which river basins or which areas are the most important for hunting?

A: Canning River--we go to Canning River once in a while. Almost every summer some people go over (there). That's the only river we can navigate through for a little ways.

Q: How about the Hulahula River?

A: Hulahula River--you can't navigate through there. (It is) too shallow. But the fish will still go in through that river. We do some fishing in the wintertime up there, so we wouldn't want anything to distract the fish migrations through the river.

Q: Maybe a last series of questions would be how much some of the organizations outside the community have helped Kaktovik in terms of either development or in terms of controlling oil development. Like the North Slope Borough, do you feel that they are a group which has been helpful to you in terms of negotiating with the oil companies or trying to control what the oil companies do? Are they helpful to you as an organization? Are they somebody who can be counted upon . . .?

A: Yeah, that's probably one of the main supports we have in negotiating. And (another) organization that helped us out is Alaska Legal Services; (it helped in) negotiating.

Q: Michael Jeffries?

A: Yes, and we really appreciate his concern over here. And I think those are about the only ones that have supported us in negotiating with the oil companies.

Q: How about the North Slope Borough and the Planning Department of the North Slope Borough and the Coastal Zone Management?

A: (Affirmative)

Q: Have there been direct benefits to the village, to Kaktovik, from the North Slope Borough? Do you see the capital improvements program as a real benefit to Kaktovik? Some people we've talked to have seen it as a real benefit. Others have said that it creates a whole lot of problems by having a lot of really big projects which it may be very costly to maintain in the future. What are your thoughts toward the North Slope Borough and the CIP program.

A: Well, some are beneficial. And some . . . I have my doubts on, too. Like these houses are something . . . I know some people have voiced their concerns about these houses--the management of these--especially these houses.

Q: How do you mean management?

- A: The people handling the housing department . . . One of the big drawbacks they have is with the Reagan Administration cutting out the HUD program. You can't turn over these houses right away for what you call the home-ownership program. Right now, some of the people are just renting these houses from the North Slope Borough--like I'm doing right now.
- Q: And you don't get title to the house? Or you can't get ownership to the house? Why is that?
- A: Not until they get some funds from the Federal government through Housing and Urban Development.
- Q: I thought the Borough had money from the Federal government for the housing program? Until they get that, the houses have to be on a rental basis?
- A: Yeah, until they can be purchased by the HUD agency.
- Q: How about ASRC? Are there benefits of ASRC to the village?
- A: The only benefits I can see (from) ASRC (for) this village is the phone system. That's about the size of it. And, of course, they help out the corporations with fuel distribution--fuel purchase and stuff. And they're trying to help get all the islands turned over to the villages.
- Q: Getting the islands turned over to the villages?
- A: I think this whole Barter Island . . . They are still working on that. (It is) kind of a slow process.
- Q: Barter Island is not within the village allotment?
- A: No, not yet. We have the papers arranged now. We just need to get together and approve them.
- Q: Do you perceive problems in regards to ASRC from their position on oil development? Like I think ASRC has taken a pretty active stance also in favor of oil development. They have drilled the well at Cape Halkett. And I think that their position is one of being basically in favor of oil development as long it occurs within the 3-mile limit, within the Barrier Islands. Do you see their position on oil development as being beneficial or disadvantageous to the goals of Kaktovik?
- A: As a business, profit-making organization, I don't blame them for favoring oil development because they have to try to make money. I can't say they're doing bad or anything because that's their job.

I can't say they're against . . . I understand their situation. If I was over there trying to run that show, I would probably do the same thing.

Q: Are there other types of development activities you think they should be more involved in?

A: I don't know.

Q: Or is that really hard to say?

A: There are too many activities going on already as it is.

Q: I suppose a last question might be what you feel about employment in the oil industry for younger people around here. Do you think that the promise of jobs or the potential for jobs with the oil industry would be important for people in Kaktovik? or not important? Do you think that the people would be able to get jobs?

A: If there were training facilities some place close enough to the village, I'm pretty sure these young people would be willing to follow that training, (and they would) be able to get better jobs like . . . Our people are pretty (able) to learn anything. . . . They don't take a long time to learn something like operating equipment or (things) like this. If there was a skill center someplace, a training center that specialized in some trades that these young people like, I'm pretty sure it would be beneficial to young people; (it would help them) to get a job.

Q: For example, at the present time, I think that there are very few people from Kaktovik who are working for the oil companies. I think that Simon Tagliuk is the only one that I've heard of who works over at Prudhoe Bay. What are the reasons that you think are most important in that--that fewer people have gone to work for the oil companies? or that people who have gone to work for the oil companies haven't lasted very long on the job? Is that because they don't receive the training? Is that because the type of work that they have, they don't find very satisfying? Is it because there are other jobs available locally in Kaktovik?

Q: Everybody seems to have a different theory as to why that . . .

A: When there are jobs available in the village, they'd like to . . . stay in the village all the time. One of the factors would probably be the union, especially in construction.

Q: You mean getting into the union? getting the good jobs in the union?

A: I'm pretty sure they've been harassed by the union. And they can't see (a reason to stay with it) for very long. They figure they just pay this initiation fee, and then they (have to wait for) the job. They still have to pay these union dues and stuff like this. And the next time (a job opening) comes around, there are a lot more people in front of them, and they can't get a job for a long time.

Q: Do you think that the oil companies, in terms of their jobs--do they provide adequate opportunity for people from Kaktovik to maintain their subsistence--the time they can spend in hunting and fishing and whaling? Or, if you were head of one of the oil companies and wanted to allow people to maintain their subsistence lifestyles, are there ways they could change the jobs or their work schedules in order to enhance their ability to keep up with subsistence?

A: I'm pretty sure that's a factor, too--the schedule of the work. I'm pretty sure a lot of them would stick with a job if they had week-on/week-off, or two-weeks-on/two-weeks-off.

Q: Don't they have that now? Or have they started having to work longer?

A: I don't know; they especially tried to do that with the young people over here.

Q: Do they want to keep them working for longer periods of time?

A: Yeah, I guess so.

Q: I don't know; I think that is all of the questions that I had. I don't know if there are any other statements which you want to add before I turn the machine off.

A: No, I think I've said enough for a bit.

Q: There were several other final questions or comments asked and made by Herman prior to leaving his house. One of them referred to his opinion in the roll of the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission. And his answer to that was very general--just that they oppose drilling on the Outer Continental Shelf due to potential damage or danger to the bowhead whale, but he could not give specific examples of their support for this position or actual strategies or actions that they had taken.

Second point which he made concerned his son who, he said, was interested in whaling but had never whaled, never gone out whaling with him. He did say that this year he was possibly hoping that his son could go but that school would interfere

with this. I commented that when we talked with the principal yesterday, the principal had said that they definitely gave kids time off so that they could accompany elders or parents when whaling. And Herman had never heard of that but was interested in it and said that he would go and talk with the principal. His son (is) 14-to-15 years old.

INTERVIEW WITH EDWARD NUKAPIGAK

(Tape translation by Beverly Patkotak Grinage)

Statement: This is Bill Schneider, and I'm with Edward Nukapigak; and we're going to talk a little bit about OCS and his relationship to the land, and Maggie Kovolsky's going to help us with the translation. We are going to start with talking about your personal history--the things you were telling me about--as a young boy, your travels.

Q: (Edward) Is that it?

A: (Maggie) Yes.

Statement: (Edward) My name is Edward Nukapigak; Maniksaq is my Eskimo name. I didn't grow up in Barrow; I was born in Barrow in 1925; February 15 (is) my birthday. I don't remember when they took me away from Barrow by boat to the east. (When I lived) east of Barter Island, I started remembering things, (like) our father taking us traveling, being able to hunt well. Following the food was his means of survival at Pattaktuq. Thus, by sled he [his father] went to the mountains searching for food for us, and in the sea. Following the food, our father took us traveling because he was a good hunter; he was a good trapper. When I became able (to hunt) by myself . . . here, I will hurry. We were traveling from the east, spending each winter, along with this person's [Maggie's] parents out there in Pattaktuq and Siku. They would stay down there on an island named Siku. From back then, I knew my uncle Suluk. (I was) by his side, living with him. My parents (lived) with him (and were) his companions, (and they) hunted with him. He was my father's cousin. We stayed with them and spent the winter in a house together with her [Maggie's] parents.

And we came closer to here when we (were) trying to live. Going by sled, we left from Pattaktuq and traveled along, occasionally reaching the mountains, constantly following the food in the ocean. The ocean has many animals, and the land has many animals. The rivers (have) fish; (there are) many animals. (We followed) the food, trapping and getting closer to here. Traveling along, we came from the East.

And one of those years, we didn't have food during the winter. They were taking us to where there might be food. My younger siblings froze; they died while we

were looking again for food with our father, traveling by land (and traveling) by ocean. They froze while following the food while we were once again trying to travel. They had died--one of them had been dead 13 hours and the other for 12 hours; when our father found us, he let the dead come to life. They were dead; their hearts were frozen, their flesh frozen. By hitting their backs and massaging them, he let them breathe--the frozen ones. David and Jane were once dead; they had frozen. But my father along with prayer--my father had prayer--(he massaged) them; he let the frozen ones come back to life. He [David] lives right now.

Statement: (Maggie) My mother (was) always praying and, you know, they had great faith.

Statement: (Edward) And back east is the place where they once died--right now, where the oil developers are--just a little past there, in front of Savviugvik. That's (where) they got frozen because it really became windy for us. Both of them live in Barrow.

And we moved out there to Siklaqtig, and we also went to Cross Island for hunting. We also spent the winter at _____, following the food. There are a lot of animals. When we stayed at Cross Island, we never lacked food. When we ran out of food, they took us down there and saved us. There were also a lot of polar bears there.

We spent a number of winters at Siklaqtig. There's a house there. It's still erect--my father's house out there.

Q: (Maggie) Siklaqtitaq?

A: (Edward) Yes, you know, where they used to unload ships. Walton "Ipalook" had claimed it as his land and is making money off of it. He said that it was his father's, his parents' house. It is my father's house. It is still erect right now. It is the only house there right now. Walton "Ipalook," Walton Ahmaogak.

Q: (Maggie) Oh, was it Walton Ahmaogak who claimed it?

Q: (Bill) How old were you when you went west to Barrow?

A: (Edward) Fourteen years old--possibly fourteen years old.

Q: (Maggie) That's when you people went to Barrow?

- A: (Edward) Yes. Down there from Siklaqtuq in 1937, we went to Barrow.
- Q: (Bill) And why did they go to Barrow?
- A: (Edward) (They were) hoping that we would go to school. I only (went to) school for three months.
- Q: (Maggie) What did you do after going to school for a short time?
- A: (Edward) After going to school for a short time, I began hunting with my father because I was now able to hunt.
- Q: (Bill) So you had to hunt instead of going to school?
- A: (Edward) I had to hunt because there were no jobs at that time. And when I turned sixteen years old, I began to work here and there.
- Q: (Bill) What were some of those jobs?
- A: (Edward) I had my first job in the coal mine for 50 cents an hour with the people that used cattrains, in the coal mine in Barrow.
- Q: (Bill) To Meade River?
- A: (Edward) Yes, Meade River.
- A: (Edward) I barely made 50 cents an hour.
- Q: (Bill) Can you tell me about the jobs you had with oil? working on oil?
- Q: (Maggie) Have you had jobs working with the oil companies?
- A: (Edward) No.
- Q: (Bill) Cattraining?
- A: (Edward) I worked with the Arctic contractor--for the ones that worked with oil, the ones that were loading.
- Q: (Bill) Can you tell us about that?
- A: (Edward) I was operating, loading with the crane. I also operated a cattrain.
- Q: (Maggie) Operating a tractor?
- A: (Edward) Yes.

Q: (Bill) Did he do any cattraining?

A: (Edward) I didn't use the cattrain. I was just the loader. The cattrain just prepared everything. My boss wouldn't let me go at that time. Our boss liked having me as his operator.

Q: (Bill) Did you work at Prudhoe Bay at all?

A: (Edward) No, I was going to work at Prudhoe Bay, but I became very ill. I became very ill, and so I haven't worked since 1968.

Statement: (Edward) In my mind, the ocean is very important right now, in my opinion. The ocean has many animals and fish. I myself enjoy seal oil; it is important. Having so many animals, at this time, and the rivers . . . if they are going to drill, they must be careful. That's how I would like them to work. Just (like) when we got to Nuiqsut, being close to the oil companies, I am fighting for the ocean. I am also fighting for the rivers. I don't care if they drill on the land. I always say, whenever I attend the oil meetings here, not just once, "If you absolutely cannot find land to drill on, then you can begin on the ocean." I do not hold the land closer in my mind than the ocean. If they drill continuously on the land, I do not mind at all in my opinion. I am not much, but just a speaker.

Statement: (Maggie) Yes, it is important that you speak.

A: (Edward) I am part of the whalers and went to the _____ myself. (I am) able to catch a whale by myself. When I formed my own whaling crew, I caught four whales. My schooling was for animals and whales. When I became able, these were a part of my schooling [education]. I didn't have school like the white man, but I (did) have school like the Inupiaq.

And in 1937, we headed to Barrow from Siklaqtitaq, trying to catch my father's father while he was still alive. But just two weeks after we had arrived there, he died.

All the way from Pattaktuq, I will never forget. I remember it all although the people from Nuiqsut say that I don't know. I know that whole area better than the people from Nuiqsut, along with my Uncle Suluk.

Q: (Bill) I wanted to ask him about the whaling and oil.

A: (Edward) Yes.

Q: (Bill) How will whaling be affected by oil development?

A: (Edward) Through (drilling) down there [the ocean]; if the oil company has an accident, it will kill the whale. It will possibly kill the whale--the oil, if it leaks all over here--not just the whale but all of the animals. Even where there is no ice; we always watch on the television where the oil companies have accidents down there [Lower 48]. It kills everything, including the ducks.

Q: (Bill) At one time, I think Edward had said something about being with oil development--he'd be able to see whales but not hunt them. And I wondered what he meant?

A: (Edward) Yes, we can't hunt them near the oil companies, (not within) ten miles (of the operations).

Q: (Bill) Who had told you that?

A: (Edward) When the oil companies (representatives) came, we asked questions and we heard this.

A: (Maggie) Yes, I also know that. When the oil companies were here having meetings, they told us that they asked questions, and I can recall when they said that, too. At least ten miles away.

Q: (Bill) Was this offshore or onshore?

A: (Maggie) Both; that's how we understood it.

A: (Edward) That question, I've asked more than once. Because that is the limit, I will never fire my gun within 10 miles.

Q: (Bill) Let me repeat that to him. Onshore and offshore?

A: (Edward) On land--both of them.

Q: (Bill) At one point, you had said that promises had been made to your children for jobs?

A: (Edward) Yes, and they don't hire (us).

Q: (Bill) Who promised them jobs?

A: (Edward) The person who always comes to the meetings--several of the oil companies' boss. That person always answers with that statement.

Q: (Bill) An oil person?

A: (Maggie) Yeah, I mean the oil company's boss, right?

A: (Edward) Yes, their boss. The real boss for a number of the oil companies out at Prudhoe Bay.

Q: (Bill) How long ago was that?

A: (Edward) That person comes whenever the oil companies have meetings.

Q: (Bill) Was that when they first started up at Prudhoe Bay or afterwards?

A: (Edward) Well, I think the last meeting was last year. That's a question we ask, but he never hires people from around here.

Q: (Bill) About jobs?

A: (Edward) At one time during one of their meetings, after asking them questions, I left the meeting because I was angry with them. _____ know the question which we always ask.

Statement: (Maggie) Yes. I have seen it, but I have forgotten the name because I am so forgetful with names.

A: (Edward) Yes, I am that way, also.

Q: (Bill) How has traditional knowledge--how is that important in oil development? old knowledge, knowledge of old ways?

A: (Edward) We are always hunting. I haven't seen that much change at this time with our hunting, but if they put a hole in the ocean . . .

Statement: (Maggie) Also, they are getting closer.

A: (Edward) Yes, during the winter, we are now finding caribou that have gone crazy. We had never known of this in the past.

Q: (Bill) What role will elders play in working here in the village?

A: (Edward) The way of life for the young people.

Q: (Maggie) Yes. Are they going to do this, in your opinion? They are teaching us all the time.

A: (Edward) Yes, they are teaching us all the time. I can also teach the young people the Inupiaq way of life because I have been taught how to hunt whales.

Q: (Bill) What sort of things do the elderly people tell the . . .
[interrupted]

- A: (Maggie) The way of hunting--our hunting way of life.
- Q: (Bill) Ask him what's important for elderly people to tell young people today.
- Q: (Edward) In the Inupiaq way of life?
- A: (Maggie) Yes.
- A: (Edward) Well, the elders can tell us not to lose the Inupiaq way of life. Let me give an example. Junior [his son] hadn't been home for eight years--4 years in high school, 2 years in college, and then 2 years in the Army. When he first came back, he didn't know how to hunt the Inupiaq way. Today, he has learned because I have tried to teach him.
- I have another example. I have always taught my children the actions of the whale; and I tried to bring up a whale, but I was already too weak to bring a whale up. I showed him to go in the middle of the boat instead of the front. The youngest one of them [his son], when I cannot move or when I get sick, he helps me with hunting, and that is how Junior lives now. And after teaching him about whaling, he killed a whale with one shot. I was the one that taught him.
- Q: (Bill) Let's talk about some of the North Slope institutions. How is the North Slope Borough working for the people here?
- Q: (Edward) In this village here?
- A: (Maggie) Yes.
- A: (Edward) The North Slope Borough never denies us when we ask for something. ASRC [Arctic Slope Regional Corporation] just slips around on our words; they never hear us. But our only assistants are the North Slope Borough. When we seek help, they help us--the North Slope Borough.
- Q: (Bill) How have they helped you?
- A: (Edward) They help us; when we are short of heating oil, jobs, and whatever, we seek assistance and they always help us. And now we have a good mayor who always tries to help us. When the oil companies are trying to drill, they [the North Slope Borough] try to help us with our requests for assistance. At this time, the North Slope Borough has gathered Inupiaq elderly in order to help us, letting people listen to them. I am running out of things to say.
- Statement: (Bill) No, no, that's good, that's good; I'm asking you lots of questions.

- Q: (Bill) How about ASRC?
- A: (Edward) When you talk to ASRC, it's like talking to a large piece of wood or rock, at this time.
- Q: (Bill) The village corporation--how is the village corporation?
- A: (Edward) After getting their contract, they are really helping us right now. They are trying to push the corporation ahead, trying to let the people in Nuiqsut have jobs. They are helping us.
- Q: (Bill) When you moved back here in 1973, did you expect there to be as much development?
- Q: (Edward) Up there?
- A: (Maggie) Yes.
- Q: (Edward) The oil companies?
- A: (Maggie) Yes, getting really large?
- A: (Edward) I thought (the village would) get really large because (it is) close to oil. Yes, it's close. (The oil development is) getting nearer to us because we are close to the oil. It is getting larger every year.
- Q: (Bill) Did you think that land would be closed to hunting?
- A: (Edward) I did think that they would prohibit us from hunting, but this winter I found, when Fish and Game came here . . . they (came) to me down there when I complained about the two white men that I found hunting. And the Fish and Game told me that they have now made it possible for us to hunt near Prudhoe Bay, after fighting about it. Fish and Game came down there in April and told me that Nuiqsut people can now hunt.
- Q: (Bill) When you were growing up as a young man and your boys as they grew up, how did you do subsistence and jobs, too?
- A: (Edward) I have lived by hunting. But when the jobs closed, I lived only by trapping white foxes for \$10.00. I have raised my children by just trapping alone. Although my children are many, by trapping white foxes for \$10.00 each, I had enough for this winter.
- Q: (Bill) Hard work, huh?
- A: (Edward) Yeah, hard work when you're trapping. You can't be lazy. During this winter while trapping, when I try to (take) the day off, I start runing out of foxes by the next day.

When we arrived in Nuiqsut in 1973-74, there weren't very many jobs. When we first came here, I needed a new boat although I had a skin boat. So I trapped for two months and made \$2,000. So I got a new boat that cost \$2,000. I can teach anyone that wants to learn how to trap.

Q: (Bill) Is it possible for the community to take advantage of oil development and still do subsistence lifestyle?

A: (Edward) While we are working?

Q: (Maggie) Yes, after we are done with work.

A: (Edward) It is still possible after working hours to hunt.

Q: (Bill) Like you have in your lifetime?

A: (Maggie) Yes, I've seen it carry on like that.

A: (Edward) While I was working at Pow 3, I killed a caribou, while working at Pow 3 at the DEW Line. I was working in the airport and killed a caribou while I was working, and they fired me because I had gotten a caribou. I didn't go home from there, but my friend kept me on because I was a good employee. I wasn't confused with my work; I wasn't confused with the automobiles. He didn't want to lose me; I was an operator. Although my boss fired me, the others kept me on.

Q: (Maggie) You started working again, didn't you?

A: (Edward) Yes, I started working again. Although I hadn't been to school to be a mechanic, I knew how to be a mechanic and an operator.

Q: (Bill) I have one more question. What do you think are the most important cultural values that you can pass on to your kids?

A: (Edward) I feel that the kids that are just being taught the white man's way in school should be taught how to hunt the Inupiaq way, too. I have taught my own children since they were small how to hunt. They have learned how to hunt by themselves. My grandchildren are getting numerous.

Q: (Bill) When you look to the future, we wonder what life will be like here in Nuiqsut?

A: (Edward) Yeah, they should hire a school teacher or principal (who knows the Eskimo language, customs). I have nothing but my body right now. When you talk about my life--heart attack. [He is speaking in English in this paragraph.]

A: (Bill) Yeah, just never know when it's going to come.

A: (Edward) No.

Statement: (Bill) Thank you very much.

A: (Edward) Yeah, I have (many) daughters; (my dad was a) good hunter. [He is speaking in English.]

Q: (Bill) Is there anything else you want to say in Inupiaq for the record?

A: (Edward) Yeah, a little bit. I will add a little to the tape in Inupiaq. In my opinion, although I am nothing, down there in the ocean if we can hold them back (from offshore development), I think it will be good. I always speak to many people, to the oil companies, that if they can't find any (oil) in the land, then they can drill (offshore). I, myself, hav(e) survived off the land; I, being an Inupiaq, have learned from it in my lifetime; if we can keep from giving up to the oil companies, I think it will be good. To those that are listening to this, I love to eat Eskimo food because I cannot eat white man's food (very) much. Although I can order white man's food from our little store, I think . . . to the Inupiaq who are listening--that if we can keep from giving in right now, our ocean that we gain our survival from--the place where we (have been) getting our food from since the time when we were first conscious . . . As for us, our father raised us from the ocean and the land: fish, seals, polar bears, and caribou. If they work [drill] on the land, I myself don't mind, but if they have difficulty finding any [oil] on the land, (I want them) to be careful on the rivers. That is what I ask. I don't have a lot to say, so I am done. My name is Edward Nukapigak.

INTERVIEW WITH ELI NUKAPIGAK

August 9, 1982

This is Bill Schneider and George Sherrod. We're here with Eli Nukapigak. We're going to talk a little bit about OCS impact. We are going to try to get down some of your thoughts on it, Eli.

Q: So, I'd like to start by asking you a little bit about your personal history. Have you always lived here in Nuiqsut?

A: Since 1973 I've been living here in Nuiqsut, and now most of the time I try to represent the village of Nuiqsut because they elected me into various positions such as ICAS representative from the village of Nuiqsut. At the same time, I'm a commissioner of the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission and also with State Fish and Game Advisory Committee in the Eastern Arctic region. Right now I'm working for the City Council as City Clerk.

Q: Where were you born Eli?

A: I was born in Barrow.

Q: Where did you grow up?

A: I grew up in Barrow until the time to go to high school. At that time, I was forced to go to high school in other areas because of (the) lack of (an) educational building in Barrow at that time. From (the) ninth grade until I graduated, I went down to Chemawa, Oregon--Chemawa Boarding School, 6 miles north of Salem, Oregon, for my higher education. After that I went down to Tacoma, Washington, for vocational school training as a welder; then the year after that, I went down to Portland vocational school, training as a welder again; and I went home after (that).

Q: Do you feel that training was worth while?

A: It was worth while (but) the jobs are not here to satisfy the needs of our people; you have to start from the bottom up in employment (with) the oil companies in order to retain your occupation. So, even though I was a certified welder, when I went down to work at the oil companies, they let me work as a pipeline helper--welder's helper.

Q: Can you tell us a little bit about your work history--wage work, that is?

A: I really started working as a laborer. Mostly from seventh grade to ninth grade, I was working for NYC in Barrow. From then on, after I graduated, I went down in the fall of 1971 . . . my first time working for the oil companies was (with) Frontier Rockinson (?) as a laborer. (19)72-73, I was out in the vocational school; (19)74, I was unemployed year-round doing subsistence hunting; (19)75, I went to work for pipeline for Green (?) Construction as a welder's helper--(19)75 and 76; (19)77, I was working as a welder for North Slope Borough at Barrow; (19)78, 79, and 80, I worked for Arctic Slope Alaska General in Barrow as a laborer; (19)80, 81, and 82, (and) presently, I'm working here in Nuiqsut, working in various positions trying to work for the village of Nuiqsut.

Q: Have you ever worked over at Prudhoe?

A: Yes. Oh, yes, I forgot about Pingo Corporation; I worked for (them) off and on in 1979 and 1980, just working here and there.

Q: What are some of the working conditions that you found at Prudhoe Bay?

A: The working conditions at Prudhoe Bay . . . (they) pretend (that it is) to be training (for) minorities. It's really hard to work over there as a minority because of (the) lack of communication with the employer and also (because of) rules that have never been given to you except the (by the) roof(?) welder. But they never tell you; the (other) employees or the construction manager never tell you the rules of how (to follow) the rules. You have to learn this for yourself because of lack of communication with the minorities.

Q: How was it different when you were working for the North Slope Borough, or ASAG, I guess?

A: It's really different because the corporation helps you to understand more of what is involved and what not to (do), what the rules are, what are the safety procedures of working.

Q: How did you get the job over there at Prudhoe?

A: Through Pingo Corporation; that is a subsidiary of Kupik Corporation along with six other villages. I applied for a job here, and I started working over there. During the pipeline days, I had to go through the State Employment service in Barrow.

Q: But it was different when you started working for Pingo?

A: Yes.

- Q: And what was your job again working with Pingo?
- A: (At) Pingo, I was working as a roustabout.
- Q: But you weren't using your welding training?
- A: No, I applied as a welder, but they put me (on) as a roustabout.
- Q: I wonder why that was?
- A: (pause)
- Q: Well, let me ask you some questions relating to the testimony you've given before. Why do you think that Inupiat comments are ignored?
- A: In the past, we have (had) a lot of hearings pertaining to the development of Prudhoe Bay. The oil companies come. The state and federal people from BLM came here to give us (a) yes or no on various issues pertaining to our area of interest. Their area of interest is right in our area, in (the) Nuiqsut area. We make some (strong) comments pertaining to the involvement of the people of Nuiqsut. And yet, they write it down and put it on paper, and (it) seems like they just forget it--like they just let it sit around idle until you two came along to present more interviews pertaining to our past comments.
- Q: But I wonder why those comments are ignored?
- A: Well, I cannot really answer that, but (it) probably pertains to the oil companies' interest in their behalf.
- Q: Are there particular places where you think oil spills are likely to occur?
- A: Yeah, when the gravel islands are built down there in the Beaufort Sea: from that gravel island, the oil spill will probably occur, more than likely. Even though it (might be) a small oil spill, it will still involve our area of interest, our subsistence hunting.
- Q: Can you explain how it would affect subsistence?
- A: The toxic in the oil spill is not like any other (substance) because our region is more harsh and our ice down there moves with the current. If that oil spill occurs in one area and the current comes around and sweeps it, it will be (swept) down in the Arctic Ocean. Then they probably won't ever find that oil spill down in the Arctic Ocean.
- Q: Have you seen examples of this?

- A: I (have) seen a copy of the environmental impact statement pertaining to the Beaufort development. They stated that they could clean up that area in one spot; but what about . . . the bad weather? (It would) stop them from cleaning that area up and just sweep it down to the Arctic Ocean. What can they do with those kinds of problems (that) are going to be coming up?
- Q: Are there areas where oil spills are a lot more likely to occur than other areas?
- A: One. I'm afraid about the gravel islands that they're going to build as well as the ice roads that they (are) going to maintain to the gravel islands. I have seen the vehicles--big vehicles--that just sit there for about an hour. They are more likely to drip some oil to the ground or the ice.
- Q: Do you think the amount of oil dripping from a vehicle would have a bad effect on the . . .
- A: Well, if there's a hundred vehicles sitting out there dripping more than a gallon or two of oil, how many gallons would that be? over two hundred?
- Q: Do you think that the Inupiat should be involved in helping to . . .
- A: The stipulations and monitoring should be more in the way of the Council or the Corporation or North Slope Borough working together with the oil companies, and (they) should be more aware of what has to be done.
- Q: Do you see the institutions up here on the North Slope, some of the ones you've mentioned maybe, as effective in working in that direction?
- A: I don't follow what you say?
- Q: Do you see the institutions like the North Slope Borough or Inupiat communities of the Arctic Slope or the corporations, do you see them working towards trying to develop relationships with the oil industry to help make sure that the regulations are such that the land is protected?
- A: Right now, they are trying to. I believe right now they are trying to work out some kind of a way to communicate with each other to (better) understand (the) environmental danger. This AKOUNATC Community League that recently developed within the North Slope Borough--it's 8 village council members forming one unity to solve common problems and the major (issue) of (the development that) is coming up here to our region.

Q: What's the name of that organization again, please?

A: AKOUNATC Community League.

Q: And what are some of the things that they're doing.

A: Their main (purpose) is to know what problems are going to come up and (to) try to solve the problem before it gets worse.

Q: Are they working just on development, or are they working on other issues?

A: They're working on all the issues pertaining to this region: to NPRA and the village area is where they are mostly interested.

Q: How do they interact with the North Slope Borough?

A: It's different because we're a municipal government, and the municipal governments form one body to help the common problems here as well as the issues pertaining to the offshore developments and the lease sales that are coming up in the region. It's local councilmen from 8 villages (meeting together) that will help each other out.

Q: What are the initials of that again?

A: AKOUNATC--the first letter of each village. A for Anaktuvik, K for Kaktuvik, O or Olo'nik', U for Ukavik, N for Nuiqsut, and A for Ahkusuk, and T for Tikiuk (that's Point Hope), and C for Caliuk (that's Point Lay).

Q: Do you think the North Slope Borough has been effective?

A: As of now, to that question, I don't really recall because we don't know what the North Slope Borough is really doing right now. We don't know what their involvement with the oil companies is right now.

Q: How about ICAS?

A: The ICAS tribal government has been helping us a lot because their voice is now being heard through the law suit that they're bringing to the government and the state.

Q: Are those relating to oil?

A: Yes.

Q: Have you been involved in the development of the materials for the law suits?

- A: Yes, I've been involved with it. Since I'm representing the village of Nuiqsut, I've been involved with ICAS.
- Q: Are there other things we ought to say about ICAS and their directions at this point? for the record? Do you want to comment on what their purpose is and how your goals fit in with this?
- A: ICAS is the tribal government that is created under the public law of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934.
- Q: How long have you been involved with ICAS?
- A: Right now, about close to one year now.
- Q: What are some of the issues that you've been working on with ICAS?
- A: What do you mean, about what issues? There are a lot of issues pertaining to ICAS.
- Q: I was wondering if there are particular issues that you were working on that were important to you.
- A: (The) only issue that is really . . . the village itself needs some backing on behalf of this village. I am representing this village, and our voice should be heard, too, because we will be affected by the development in the future; I know that for sure.
- Q: What about ASRC? Are they working with the village? Are they working with you?
- A: No, right now we are just separate. We don't . . . The village corporation and ASRC are different. ASRC is an areawide corporation, and a village corporation like Kuspik is only for the village of Nuiqsut.
- Q: How about the Kuspik corporation? Are you involved in the work that they're doing?
- A: Yes, I'm a board (member) of . . . I've been recently elected to the board of directors for Kupik. I'm a director for Kupik Corporation right now.
- Q: What are the goals?
- A: Just like any other goals of any other village: try to maintain the village way of life as well as trying to protect the land that they already got from the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act.

Q: How does development fit in with the plans?

A: Pardon?

Q: How does development fit in with the plans of Kuspik Corporation?

A: What kind of development are you talking about?

Q: Oil development.

A: Right now we don't have anything with oil. We don't have any agreement or anything with oil companies right now because we are trying to take care of the village needs first before we get involved with the oil companies.

Q: Do you think there can be development and subsistence?

A: (pause)

Q: Let's go back to that hard question. Can there be development and subsistence?

A: If there is development in this area, there is going to be (a) lot of disturbance of our subsistence hunting because . . . the wildlife is really sensitive to pollution--noise pollution--as well as oil spills and everything. They are only here for a certain season; that is summer season. Yet, I don't know because I am mostly interested in my subsistence way of life. . . because who knows when this oil (will run) out, and we will still be here and doing our subsistence living after the development (is over) that is taken out from our subsurface. It is going to leave, and we are still going to be here doing our subsistence living.

Q: What are some of the effects of the noise?

A: In 1980 when they had seismic exploration down in the Barrier Islands, we were down there fall whaling. One night we saw about 20 whales. That night there was some seismic blasting in the Prudhoe Bay area. From then on, we never saw those whales again because of seismic blasting in that area. That's how sensitive the whales are; they're sensitive (to) it.

Q: In your own mind . . . you've spent a lot of time training for wage labor. How have you been able to maintain your ties with subsistence?

A: My subsistence with employment is . . . The education that has been coming to me (about the) ecosystem is . . . I was forced to grow up with the Western system (but) I had my own system of life. I'm going to put it that way.

- Q: Do you regret having the training in the Western system?
- A: It's helped me, but in some ways it's damaged my Eskimo culture way of life.
- Q: Can you give me some examples of that?
- A: Examples to . . . ?
- Q: Examples of how it's damaged your Eskimo way of life?
- A: It really changed my way of living. It made me depend more on cash economics because in order to get some field equipment that is here . . . all of this is now Western way of life. But, we have within ourselves (something) that is Eskimo, our Eskimo way of life is within us. It won't be taken away from us because we are proud to be Eskimo.
- Q: Does that change when you're welding or working as a roustabout?
- A: How can I make a living if it's not for the jobs that are here?
- Q: Are all the people who work for Pingo native, or are there some that are white?
- A: When I was working for Pingo, it was 60 percent caucasian and 40 percent native. I don't know about right now because I'm not working with them any more.
- Q: What role do you think the Inupiat elders have played in dealing with development? Have the elders had certain information that they've provided?
- A: They've really helped us a lot because the elders know this area more than I do. They really do help us a lot. They (tell) us that this area was once an area without any development. Now there's development of all kinds.
- Q: What do you think the future is going to be like?
- A: The future?
- Q: What are you working for now?
- A: Right now, I'm working towards being involved with the villages up here. I'm working towards the helping of my people here in the Arctic region. I know there will be development. We cannot stop this development because it has already been started, and . . . the only time development will stop is when the oil runs out in our region. And yet, we have to work together with oil

companies and the people in this region in order to survive. Our main goal is survival of our way of life.

Q: Will that include some development?

A: Yeah, there's going to be some development. We know there's going to be some development because we're the closest village (to the development) than any other region that is involved with the oil companies.

Q: We've heard people talk about the airstrip out here and the expansion of that. Do you know of any definite plans on that?

A: That airstrip? Right now I don't know when they're going to finish it.

Q: Will it be able to accommodate bigger planes.

A: Yes, there will be bigger planes landing after that airstrip is finished.

Q: And is that part of the plans of the village or other people's plans?

A: We know we need an airport for the village. We cannot be without an airport. Our only way of transportation is through aircraft.

Q: This is a hard question for me to phrase. Let me think a minute. Do you think that the village government, the people that are working here in the village government, can protect the people by working with the oil companies? Do you think it's possible to work with the oil companies, I think is what I'm asking.

A: If the oil companies are willing to rely more on our (knowledge/comments), we say to . . .

Q: Back on talking about working with the oil companies.

A: In the past, we have said that the major issues were unemployment in this village. Right now, I think we have only about 3 percent (of the people) from this village working (for) oil companies, and yet they promised us jobs in the past, and yet they never give us jobs. They only want the development in that area; they want us to say yes to the development, and they talked us out of it in the past. Now they are trying to listen to us because we will keep saying no until our voice is heard.

Q: Do you think they are listening more?

- A: I don't think so; I don't know. I don't even know what the oil companies are thinking right now.
- Q: You mentioned employment as one of the main points you're trying to get over to the oil companies. What are a couple other points you're trying to make to them.
- A: Stipulations and monitoring of the region we are involved with--the stipulations (regarding) protection of the resource. Our royalty is subsistence hunting, just like the oil companies' royalty is oil.
- Q: Right. Right. How could they work towards protecting subsistence? What should they do? What would be your recommendations to them?
- A: To the oil companies?
- Q: Yeah?
- A: Listen to the village more (pause) . . . In order for our corporation to survive, we need some contracts that have never been given to us in the past. We need contracts for the corporation.
- Q: Contracts like what?
- A: Various contracts like they give out to the other oil companies.
- Q: Do you think that the village is in a better position to work with the oil companies than the Borough or Pingo?
- A: Right now I think Pingo and the North Slope Borough have more involvement with oil companies than the village.
- Q: Do I understand you correctly? Do you think that the village should have more involvement with the oil companies?
- A: Yes.
- Q: So the oil companies ought to come to the village and talk to the people?
- A: They've talked to us in the past, and we (have) talked to them, too, in the past; and yet nothing has happened. They say all along that we are going to benefit from what they are saying, but our benefits were, more like, being passed on to the other oil companies. (For instance, in Kuparuk before its development), they came over and told us that we were going to benefit from it; that they (were) going to lower the cost of our fuel. Right now, our main problem is the high cost of fuel. In

the winter time, we have to go through a lot of fuel in order to survive.

Q: Did they make a promise of that?

A: They came here and told us themselves.

Q: When we look at a map of this area, we see expansion of the oil to the west of Prudhoe Bay towards here. How has that affected villagers' subsistence?

A: When they start in that one area, we cannot go in it; we cannot go within a five-mile radius to hunt over there (any) more. (It) seems like when they develop that one area, we cannot use that area to do our subsistence hunting. They have to develop it first, and after they move out, then we can start using it. It seems like when they come (nearer to) our village, one part of the area--they say we cannot hunt in that area because maybe the firearms that we are using will hurt them or . . .

Q: How does that work then, as they move farther and farther . . . how does that affect your hunting? I mean, how do you hunt then? Do people have to move to other places to hunt?

A: Sometimes we go in there anyway to hunt. If the game (is) over there, we hunt over there. We follow the game where (it) go(es). And most of the game (is) in that area of development right now.

Q: As you're talking, (what) I'm hearing you say is that you'd like cheaper oil, and you'd like to take advantage of that oil development in Kuparuk; but at the same time, there (are) problems with hunting--that you'd also like to be able to put meat on the table.

A: Yes; how can we survive if there's no meat on the table?

Q: How are you going to work out that problem of oil in the stove and meat on the table?

A: How do the oil companies survive in order to keep the corporation going?

Q: Well, they seem to be able to continue to make money.

A: Yes.

Q: George, why don't we stop a moment before going on. Eli, there are areas closed in which people cannot hunt. Do you think there are good reasons maybe for closing, or are there reasons that they close that are not adequate?

- A: The oil companies only think of (the) safety of the development, and safety (means making) them stop hunting in that area even though we had seniority rights in that area for our subsistence hunting.
- Q: Would it be unsafe to let people hunt in those areas?
- A: That's a good question. I don't even know the answer.
- Q: Did you have any other--now that you've had a moment to think--any other comments that you'd like to add?
- A: We need more involvement from the other villages pertaining to the problems that are arising. Because we're the villages closest to the oil companies and the other villages don't know that . . . Maybe we don't want (it to happen to) them the way it happened here when they start working in their area.
- Q: How can the other villages learn from your experiences here?
- A: How can they learn? . . . with the experiences of what we already (have gone) through, with the hearings and everything. They probably will do the same thing in that area when they start to develop that area.
- Q: What would you tell, for instance, the people in Wainwright about your experiences? What advice would you give them?
- A: What advice would I give them? We would say "the oil companies have done this in the past to our village. We don't want this to happen to your village, and we would like to help you as much as we can pertaining to a better way of development."
- Q: And that better way would be . . . ?
- A: Better communications with each other, like they do. They communicate with them.

INTERVIEW WITH JOE NUKAPIGAK

August 9, 1982

Bill Schneider and George Sherrod are here with Joe Nukapigak in Nuiqsut, and we're going to talk a little bit about the OCS impacts. We want to start with some of your personal experiences and your history. This area isn't new to you; you've been here for a long time.

A: Yes, I've been here since 1973 when thirty families moved to Nuiqsut under the Alaska Land Claims Settlement Act, although my parents grew up here, in this region, back in the 1920s and '30s. And, you know, with the Alaska Land Claim Settlement Act, when it was enacted, our elders had a chance to move back to their homeland because of the settlement act. Although I grew up in Barrow myself, my parents wanted to go back home. Although all these years I have had a job (which keeps me) back in Barrow, I grew up here, and my parents talked about this place; and I'd like to know about it. I (had) just gotten out of the army back then in '72 and just (found out that the) settlement act was enacted, so I moved back here with my parents, and I didn't even know where Nuiqsut was then. Being a young man in those days, it was something that I had grown up with, this land; and as I grow older, I have learned . . . I have traveled with my parents; (they) tell me what the history of the land is. I have traveled with them, all the way to Prudhoe. They have taught me where the caribou are, where the fish and sea mammals live. And I have had a chance to travel with my parents out to the Arctic coast. Along with my dad, we do a lot of (seal hunting), and we fish. But one thing I have encountered while I was out there on the ice was ice movement, ice pack that comes to us all of a sudden, between here and _____ Simpson _____. When we were out there hunting seals and sea mammals, before we knew it, this ice pack came upon us. Of course, the current is very fast. My dad has taught me a lot about the sea current--how fast it is and whatnot. And it's something that I am afraid of because the drilling is going to come in the future, out here mostly (in the sea ice). Something that I fear most is this oil spill (because) I am aware that there is no technology up here in the State that has been proven by the oil industry, although they are still studying the sea ice on this. I have read (about it) in the newspapers and whatever information I can get pertaining to the oil drilling. We (do receive) benefits from the oil industry (through) taxation by the North Slope Borough. That's one thing I have been aware of. I, myself, know what the difference (is) between economies . . . local economies and the whole North Slope Borough having the right to tax the oil industry, being a municipal government. It greatly benefits us, like with road projects, housing projects, (and the various)

projects that the Borough has initiated. But my greatest fear right now with this OCS is that there is no proven technology of how they (can) control (offshore drilling). Compared to the lower 48 offshore (drilling) . . . I had the privilege last summer (to visit a town in _____) Louisiana. I've been down there. I have seen big differences between offshore where there's no ice and where there is ice, (although) the gravel islands are man-made right now in some cases, but still, I don't think they're . . . I have mixed feelings on these gravel islands. I don't have the latest information on how gravel islands will be beneficial although I know that it helps in some ways, especially in the shallow waters.

Q: When you were growing up, you were in Barrow?

A: Yes, I was

Q: Was your father working there?

A: He was working until (a health problem) came upon him. So I was the main provider for my family in Barrow.

Q: Did you go to school in Barrow?

A: I did go to school up to the 8th grade, and afterward I had to leave home (to get an education). So I went out. I left home in 1965 to go to the lower 48, (to) Salem, Oregon--Chemawa Indian School, a boarding school, of course, run by BIA. And it was a learning experience for me. I have seen what my culture is and (what) the Caucasian culture is. It has benefited me to understand the Caucasian culture compared to mine. I have come to realize that I have to live with the two cultures. That other culture--I have come to realize that it's greatly different from what I've been taught. My parents have taught me a lot, but since they don't speak in English, I have learned a lot by myself, of course, from these other students I went to school with . . .

Q: What are some of those differences that came to your mind at that time?

A: At that time? Oh, what I have seen compared to what, you know, back in those days, the way of our movements. And, you know, city life and whatnot is greatly different compared to what village life is (like). Most of my life, until I left for high school, I grew up with dogteams; that's a difference. From '65 on up, when I left home, there weren't any skis or anything. We were not taught that. The time when I came (home) for vacation, I was surprised to see a snow machine. In '65, that's when automation started coming right into our area. That is the big difference I have seen; it did bring an easier life for some of

our people. But a snow machine needs fuel, and with this (expensive) type of motor gas, in order to run a machine, that's something (a) man has to work (to buy) in order to provide fuel for that snow machine; whereas, the dogteam, the dogsled (is) something that you just feed from what you get, at least part of it. And that's the big difference I have seen.

Q: What other training did you get? You went to high school in Chemawa?

A: Yes, and after graduation, I went down to Tacoma Vocational School.

Q: Tacoma?

A: Tacoma Vocational School (which I attended to learn) technical skills. I took up welding, hoping that when I finished my training, when I got back to Alaska, that I would get a job there as a welder on the pipeline--on this trans-Alaska Pipeline. At that time, it was a massive project for Alaska. . . . I did work for a couple of months, but I was hoping that I. Of course, I had to join the Union to get into this pipeline project, which was a unionized project, only to find out that with my skills behind me . . . , only to find out that I would have to wait 5 years in order to become a welder. So they just took me on as a welder's helper.

Q: Why did you have to wait for 5 years?

A: That's the way it was in this union that I joined. So I thought, why should I waste my time training to be a welder, only to be welder's helper. That's . . .

Q: Pretty disappointing.

A: Yeah. I was really disappointed in that because I had something like \$1,300 behind me in training: pipefitter, pipefitting, acetylene torch, and whatnot . . . (I had learned) to be a welder. I was kind of disappointed in that, although the money was good. But you know, it disappointed me very greatly with my trade (skills). So I thought, what's the use if I have to wait five years; what's the use of staying in the union. Of course, when I was getting hired, I had to travel all the way from (_____ to Nuiqsut) although Prudhoe is closest, only 60 miles; I had to travel something like 400 miles just to go to that main job, which was at Prudhoe. I had to go to Barrow, from there to Fairbanks, and from Fairbanks to Prudhoe. And some units . . . it's good to have some at Prudhoe; that would greatly eliminate the travel time. That's one thing, too--I've spent, out of my own pocket, about \$500; whereas I could just jump from here to Prudhoe for about \$60.

- Q: You had to pay your way to Fairbanks?
- A: Yes, out of my own pocket, my own expense, never knowing if I was going to get hired. So that's where my employment was when I started on the pipeline.
- Q: And then what did you do?
- A: Well, that was during the pipeline days. My dad, at that time, was a whaling captain. So my brothers and I got our jobs in order to help our dad to get a whale. We saved (a lot of) money for us to get ready for whaling--spring whaling back in Barrow. It costs a lot of money to have a whaling crew. All 3 of my brothers--we each helped our dad to eliminate some of his expenses that he was going to spend out of his own pocket. . . Then we were lucky to get a whale; we got a pretty good sized whale, and that helps the community. You know, my parents, my dad taught us that whatever you get, you share because that has been our custom all these years . . . I remember the time when I got my first seal or my first caribou. The first time I ever got a caribou, I wanted to eat (it). (My parents) said, "No, you can't. You have to give it to your elders." So I did. Any first animal that you get--either caribou, seal, or whatever--when it is your first, you don't keep it for yourself. You have to share it with the people of the village. It is believed that you (will) have more luck by (sharing) that first animal. So that's one of (the things I respect) in carrying on this custom.
- Q: During the past year, have there been any young hunters here in Nuiqsut who have gotten their first kill?
- A: Oh, I imagine (there are some that have gotten their) first kill.
- Q: And they will share it?
- A: Oh, yes, it would be shared.
- Q: Did you have other wage work that you were involved in?
- A: Yes, I've done some carpentry for some labor after I got off the pipeline. And I have been the sole manager for our village corporation--field manager. And right now, I am the president of our corporation. By a majority vote, I got elected to this job, and it's very challenging. There's a lot of paperwork and whatnot in order to be a successful corporation. That's one thing, I have learned a lot by being sole manager of the village corporation. Of course, my corporation has 116,000 acres, and so far we've gotten 50,000 acres, and that's a lot of acres to take care of--a big responsibility.

Q: One of the things you talked about was employment opportunities. We were wondering why there weren't more employment opportunities with the oil industry.

A: That has been one of my policies, to have local hire. It's one of my policies, that I'd like to have some of our local people get hired by these oil (companies) at this current time. Well, it's improving a little bit but not as much as I expected. I have been privileged to work over there, working for Pingo Corporation. Pingo Corporation is owned by 6 village corporations, and my corporation is part-owner of that corporation. We try to maximize our local hiring on the North Slope here, providing there (are the) technical skills that are required. I worked for Pingo for about a year, and I guess that was the only way to get some local hire, by forming a corporation, and it helped. It has helped. It has helped get some local hire for these people, being a contractor or service company for the oil industry. I think that we (have) come a long way by forming this corporation because it provides employment opportunities not only for this village but (for) the other villages, too. . . But one thing that I have come to realize (is that our) villages are _____ traveling; they're so far away. It costs a lot. Transportation has been the biggest problem for these other villages; whereas this small village of Nuiqsut is the closest one to Prudhoe. Transportation is something that has to be solved in a way that transportation doesn't cost so much for us.

Q: You mean, somebody from Point Lay whom you might want . . .

A: That I might want to hire; it could cost about \$800 round trip just to get one person, whereas major airlines like Wien and Alaska . . . it's only what . . . _____ dollars round trip from Anchorage or Fairbanks. That's a big difference. Anchorage is farther away (than we are).

Q: Have unions been a problems with you? Have unions been a problem?

A: Well, no, not up to this time. But right now, unions are suffocating our employees, with Pingo being unionized. But we are still fighting. We're trying to avoid becoming unionized because one thing that I feel is that if people become unionized, then the purpose of forming this corporation . . . what's going to happen? That's one thing I'm here for; if Pingo becomes unionized, they're just going to hire somebody else from out of Fairbanks or Anchorage.

Q: Okay, we're talking about employment, hiring, and some of the problems about the union. If Pingo were to go union, they might be hiring other people.

- A: Yes, that's my greatest fear. Whereas I have worked so hard to get some local hiring from North Slope villages, one thing that I fear most is (that) when other people become a union, our policy of hiring local people might go right down the drain.
- Q: You mentioned in one of your testimonies the need for more studies before development. What should those studies be?
- A: Sea ice movement is one thing, especially, of course, with these OCS lease sales. One thing that might be happening very soon is that . . . they should be studying sea mammals and whatnot that are right in front of us. That's one thing that I would stress: that they should (study the hazards) instead of duplicating all these from the past--past environmental impact studies. I think they should produce studies like . . .
- Q: One of the things you were talking about was involvement of Inupiat in the studies. How might they be involved?
- A: Well, the elderly . . . they are considered experts compared to a scientist who has more education (on the) college level. Our elders, they know what the sea ice movement is and where the sea mammals are or where the caribou grounds are or (where) spawning areas are. The elderly (could) help the scientists or whoever is doing the study, you know; the natives could help the scientific communities identify this type of potential hazard that might happen with the oil spills. That's one thing that I mentioned in the last public hearing. . .
- Q: Have there been opportunities for Pingo to use Inupiat knowledge in their projects?
- A: Well, right now we are in the process of coordinating the environmental services, providing them in some cases.
- Q: Did you testify before 1982?
- A: Yes, I (did) in previous areas.
- Q: How effective do you think the North Slope institutions have been? such as the North Slope Borough? Let's maybe run through a couple of them. Has the North Slope Borough been effective in meeting the needs of the people of Nuiqsut?
- A: Our borough government has been very effective through CIP projects. They have been able to help us (to) get some more housing, roads, and they _____ transportation, of course. The airport is pretty near completion, and we're in the process of getting fire stations pretty nearly completed; and health benefits is one that is on its way. Pretty vital projects here in this circle of our communities are now being

seen in our communities; whereas before we didn't have these. They (the North Slope Borough) have been helpful (to) us; whereas the city alone couldn't get those projects.

Q: Do you think those CIP programs are going to be able to continue?

A: Yes, and it brings employment, of course, to our local people.

Q: How about ASRC?

A: Well, ASRC is a different entity . . . We have a working relationship with the sister corporations. They have helped us in some projects . . .

Q: Like, which projects have you been working on with them?

A: Oh, on these first 30 houses that we put up. We have been able to finance (them); that has helped us.

Q: How about ICAS?

A: ICAS is, well, it has helped our local people by assisting in energy by subsidizing some of the energy for low-income people, like carrying the burden for some of the high cost of fuel for our low-income people.

Q: Have these institutions been involved in cultural protection? Protection of cultural . . .

A: Yes, North Slope Borough has been involved in this, of course. That's one thing that the borough has been . . . they were in the process of getting this into (an) ordinance, like protection in certain areas like wetland districts or conservation districts. And while the borough was trying to get this into an ordinance, . . . the Interior Department of the United States government (is) moving too fast. It seems like the United States government is moving too fast; whereas we're trying to please our . . . moving too fast on this OCS lease sale; whereas the borough needs time to set up these ordinances. _____ The borough needs time to implement some (of) these . . . identify where the oil industry can drill or whatnot. And, of course, we all know that Interior Secretary James Watt is moving too fast, and now there are lots of things coming up. So that's one thing that I don't feel . . .

Q: Boy, that's really a very important thing, this rate of development.

A: Yes, you know, with the village being next door to (the) oil industry, it only shows you how much change (will occur). It's really going to be surrounded by . . . on the state's side, they

are trying to lease some lands right next to us. And on the NPR side, the federal government is trying to lease so many millions of acres, and I know that my village is going to be seriously impacted by these upcoming lease sales. Whereas what I have seen coming, that I have read briefly in these environmental impact statements, that North Slope villages would . . .

Q: Have you noticed impact already?

A: I have noticed impact already.

Q: What are some of the impacts that the people are talking about?

A: Well, we are beginning to see oil on the (drilling areas), and caribou used to be plentiful in our area. Right now you hardly see any caribou. You might have to travel 20-to-30 miles out in order to get caribou. And fishing--last season, last summer, fishing was pretty poor because of seismic activities that have been done right around here, in the cove area.

Q: (Do) you think that the fishing is affected by the seismic (activities)?

A: Yes, I think it is affected by it. People in our villages who subsist on fishing are not getting as many (fish) as they used to in previous years. These are things I have seen being affected by seismic activities or oil exploration programs.

Q: Have you seen the way of life change because of oil development?

A: Yes, the villages are depending more; they are more dependent on . . . I have, from '65 on up to this date, I have seen more people spending money on snow machines; whereas in previous years, we used to depend on dogteams. And I (know) that as soon as the airport is complete, the oil industry will utilize our airport.

Q: You know that for sure? What's your basis for that?

A: Well, if the OCS lease sales right in Harrison Bay ever come, that (the airport) is the closest one to Harrison Bay area; they could land (here) and make a cat trail or whatever and transfer it down to Harrison. I don't . . . well, my village would turn _____ . Maybe in employment (benefits), but _____ was for . . . The Interior Secretary stipulates that the village corporation would get some contracts from this. That would greatly help us because right now my village corporation is just strictly doing CIP projects. I mean, well, my village corporation is not benefiting at all although we would like to get some contracts on this oil lease exchange.

Q: How about the other aspects of life? How would village life change if that airport was used for that?

A: It would change somewhat. It would change . . . One thing that I fear is that (if) there's a big oil field right in the path, there would be more people migrating to our village, and that could cause some housing problems and some of the _____. I would sort of like to see my village corporation get involved with this employment--(get) some contracts for our people--if we are going to work together.

Q: Do you think that subsistence and development can go together?

A: Well, I think they could work together, providing that the oil industry respects our culture and respects our way of life. I think it can be done. But one thing that I'm afraid of is that if this OCS lease sale ever comes through, then the oil industry would stop us from going to our hunting areas. Like at Prudhoe, that's what's happened. When the oil industry (leases) a certain part of land where there used to be a hunting ground before oil use, that means (it is) off limits to hunting. That would be more (of an) impact for local hunters.

Q: Have you seen that happen?

A: Yes, that has happened in lease sales with the oil industry. We can't even go into our hunting areas where before we used to . . . because its off limits to . . . local hunters. I am afraid that's going to happen if there's a lease sale in the Fish Creek area or the Harrison Bay area. That's where most of our local people do their hunting and fishing. It stipulates in (the) lease sale (that) we cannot hunt within 10 miles of that lease area. That's my understanding. And if these lease sales come about, that means we are being limited in our rights to this hunting area. I know for sure it's going to happen.

Q: What are you doing to help protect against that happening, and what are other people doing?

A: One of the things that we have suggested in that public hearing, I think it was, (is) that there should be a 30-mile radius--I believe it was 30 or 40 miles . . . that within 30 miles of our vicinity, there should not be a lease sale--something like that. That's one thing that we have (suggested); but right now, I'm assuming that if they lease in Fish Creek where we do all our hunting, then I don't know what's going to happen.

Q: You testified saying this?

- A: Somebody has made the suggestion that there be a 30-or-40-mile radius where there wouldn't be a lease sale . . . Yes, it would be called a buffer zone. That's one of the suggestions that has been made by one of our local villagers.
- Q: Have you been working with other organizations to try to make that happen?
- A: Well, at that time, it was just an idea, a suggestion.
- Q: Are there plans to follow up on that with the North Slope Borough?
- A: I hope so.
- Q: Do you think that that would be enough of a buffer zone?
- A: I think that's reasonable mileage for a buffer zone.
- Q: Why do you think that area is closed to hunting? Why do you think the area where (there is) development is closed off? Why do they not permit people to go in and hunt?
- A: I feel that's one of the stipulations that the State of Alaska or federal government stipulates.
- Q: Is it dangerous, do you think?
- A: Yes, that's part of the reason, that it's dangerous for oil workers--that they might get hit (shot) or something. I think that's one of the reasons why they have that stipulation.
- Q: What will life be like in Nuiqsut after oil development, twenty years from now?
- A: Twenty years from now, it's going to be, I think, really different than (it is now). I feel that there will be less subsistence because of the oil development; otherwise, it seems the benefits would be employment (in) our village.
- Q: How will your children practice Inupiat values?
- A: Well, myself, I have three small kids. I teach them in Eskimo all the time although our younger people are speaking in English more and more, and I feel that's one of the reasons why (our school district should) initiate a bilingual program and whatnot.
- Q: If there's less subsistence, does that mean there'll be less sharing, do you think?

A: Well, I don't know; you know, twenty years from now, these young people will have to realize that they have to carry the customs of our people, our culture; that's one thing, I think . . . our elders . . . we have really had to educate our young people. My mother, my parents, they have. I was really fortunate that they taught me this inheritance and whatnot--that I have inherited it from my parents and from my elders; and now it's my turn to pass that on to my children. That would be a very deciding factor for the young people right now, when they come to the villages twenty years from now. But as a whole, I think our young people . . .

Q: Are there some additional things that you would like to add to this record? questions we haven't asked but that you'd like to make public?

A: Not that I know of.

INTERVIEW WITH RUTH NUKAPIGAK

August 12, 1982

William Schneider and George Sherrod
Maggie Kowalski (translating)
Cathy Demientieff (written translation)

Bill: This is Bill Schneider with George Sherrod, and we're here with Ruth Nukapigak, and Maggie Kowalski's going to help with the translation. It's August 12, and we're going to talk about some of the testimony you've given before, and we want to follow up on some of that information and try to better understand what you see as . . . things that are going to happen in the future.

Maggie: He says that he would like to ask you questions about your testimonies, about the questions (that they asked). He says that he's going to ask you more questions for better understanding.

Bill: Can we start by your telling us a little bit about your history?

Maggie: Where were you born, and where were you raised?

Ruth: I am once again going to speak. Right now . . . whenever they want me to speak. I myself do. I am now going to talk, having been born in Kuukpik, and became aware of my surroundings there and have lived there since I was born, until I was 23 years old. I am always willing to speak because I would like for things to be right, having caught the lifestyle of the Inupiat around here. I became aware of my surroundings when people were making a living like Inupiat. An then . . . after I was born in Uuliktug. (I was born in [Oliktok] Uuliktug (lit. quivers and shakes).

Maggie: Let me translate a little, okay? Okay . . . she was born in 1925 around this area, near the Colville River. She was born at Pow II, Uuligtug. (And did you live around here?)

Ruth: Yes, and also down there, I grew up down there . . .

Maggie: Mostly around Uuliktug and at Itqiliq Paa. She has known the way the Eskimo way of life, hunting and living (you lived by hunting, correct? You didn't have jobs . . .).

Ruth: Yes.

Maggie: Hunting and fishing. She's going to continue. Go ahead.

Ruth: I grew up here, with the Inupiaq who were experiencing hardship. Our land did not have anything in terms of the White people's ways.

Maggie: While she was growing up she had a hard way of life because nothing was simple. She had no jobs, no kind of electricity. She had a hard way of life.

Ruth: And I myself grew up with my grandmother, my aana, my mother's mother, up there at Itqiliq Paaq. I stayed with my grandmother, staying with her while she was alive, and when she died I returned to my parents.

Maggie: She lived with her grandmother as she was growing up over there at Itqiliq Paaq and when she . . . her grandmother died, she moved back to her parents.

Ruth: And we lived all year round, summer and winter, all the time, down at Uuliktug, with my parents. Six of my siblings were born at Uuliktug. There was six of us at Uuliktug.

Maggie: She had been brought up down there at Uuliktug and six had six . . . there is six in the family and that's where they were brought up.

Ruth: And when we lived at Uuliktug we had found this out: we noticed the difference when the wind blew from the west that rounded fuel would be washed ashore, different from coal that we used for fuel.

Maggie: She said when spring comes they used to drift ashore like coal they used for the stove, but this was little different. Different from coal, that's what they used to use to burn in their stoves.

Bill: Like aluaqpak?

Ruth: No, they were rounded . . .

Maggie: Black ones?

Ruth: No, kind of brown . . .

Maggie: She said they were round, they always been in round shape and they were different colors like brown instead of black like coal, but that's what used to drift ashore, and that's what the people used to burn.

Bill: Just a second.

Ruth: And also, it had rocks which were under the water, nice rocks, all kinds, with patterns, large rocks, to its southeasterly side, on the point, there are also two big rocks further down in the deep part which appear when the water recedes. They are right alongside each other. These big rocks are on its southeasterly side, all kinds.

Maggie: And also right there in the point.

Ruth: And also . . . we know of the aamaqqut which gets washed ashore. When those dark ones are washed up, its southwesterly side is full of these amaquitit, this area, all the way down. And also there are many light colored ones.

Maggie: And also right there in the point she noticed all kinds of rocks, beautiful rocks, and especially these great big rocks that when the ocean gets shallow every now and then, when the tide goes down you can see the big rocks, so different and so colorful.

Ruth: No, things which are not rocks, light objects which elicit dark smoke when burned. They are kind of yellow.

Maggie: Well they find these different things that can burn real easy, they are kind of yellow, and they pick along the shore and they call them auma. I don't know the English name for it.

Ruth: They are ignitable. We always look for them along in there.

Maggie: They look for them because they pick them for their fire stove.

Ruth: And Uuliktuq, is such that it is an excellent area to make a living, where many people including ourselves lived for a long time. They used Amauliktuq, Mitqutailaq, Sanninaruaq, and Pijum Isua as camps for spring or summer hunts.

Maggie: A lot of Eskimos that were around that area, they always go onto the ocean to get food off the sea mammals, and that's their way of life.

Ruth: And after gathering food from the ocean, they always used Uuliktuq as a port, traveling upriver in July after staying down there.

Maggie: To here?

Ruth: Yes, they would come here in large numbers. Each spring around April they would go down to those islands to hunt seals, gathering fat and oil for their survival.

Maggie: Around April they would go down to the ocean to get their food, you know how they have to balance their meals, that what they have to go get and then they come up here, up into the land for summer. Then you must have come here?

Ruth: Yes. Some of the people would go up into the hills to spend the summer after living down there.

Maggie: For the summer they would go all around up the river by them big hills to live, to have a different change.

Ruth: And the one who stayed down there, who did not travel upriver (you know that the old squaws molt in large numbers).

Maggie: Yes.

Ruth: They would make this place dark, very dark as far as you could see, when the old squaws molted. The Inupiat would once again hunt, this time for the old squaws. Above Uuliktug is a hill which is visible to this direction, which has a creek going inland named Unuragvik (lit. place where game is chased to awaiting hunters). They would round them up with rowboats down there, and make them go into the creek, rounding them. After chasing them in, when they reached shallow water, they dispersed them, and when they came to land, they would club them in large numbers. We would club them in great numbers, clubbing them, not shooting them with shotguns.

Maggie: These ducks called _____, they nest right around that area, and there are thousands and thousands of them, so what they used to do was before they had learned to fly real good, they got their boats and then they let the birds go into this river, and up into this river near a hill and then right there they would block them and then they would get a stick and knock them out for the food, that's what they used to do.

Ruth: At the most, they would gather them for two days. After they were finally done with them, after they had finally killed them all, the women plucked many ducks and made much food, while the men were tying them together.

Maggie: So what they do is sometime they hunt these for two days, they get as many as they could for their winter supply, and then while the men are tying them together, the women strip the hair off and make a big dinner.

Ruth: And in this way, Uuliktuq is a hunting area.

Maggie: That is where it is a good place to go hunting.

Ruth: And now, since I have made a living all this time, I have realized this to my fullest understanding. In one of those years, for a period of years, we were short of food here. We experienced a shortage in game animals.

Maggie: Up to two years?

Ruth: No, this went on for several years, where this area did not contain any animals.

Maggie: She noticed that one time, one winter, not winter but one year both summer and winter the animals just moved away, they just couldn't find any animals.

Ruth: We did not have anything to catch, down there, and this area here. People were very close to starvation.

Maggie: Starvation came, people were starving. They could not find any food in the ocean and up here, so people were starving.

Ruth: I have never understood this (phenomenon), how this was the way it happened all the way down to Barrow and elsewhere.

Maggie:

Ruth: Far into the east, to the east.

Maggie: But she always wondered why.

Ruth: And there was a family who lost one of their family members in this way in the east. That person died of starvation, one person, whom we had just seen recently.

Maggie: She knows this family that starved to death and died.

Ruth: When Gustialuuraq had a store, during the time when the ship used to come, the people did not have such a difficult time. That ship came each year with supplies for the store in Beechey Point. You see, Gustialuuraq and his wife lived there until they had five children.

Maggie: She knew of a guy named Gustialuuraq and he had a trading center there at Beechey Point and she remembers people getting supplies from him.

Ruth: They had a store there as I was growing up. They already had a store there as I was becoming aware of my surroundings.

Maggie: That's where they were located, there at Beechey Point.

Bill: What year was that starvation?

Ruth: I don't know. It was right before my brother Edward was born, who was the third child. I was not fully aware of everything, but I do clearly remember when Iituk became ill and when they started taking him to Barrow. I remember seeing them. I was a little girl, sort of grownup, but still afraid of things.

Maggie: She don't remember how old she was, but she was a little girl but she could recall Edwardsen getting really ill [Charlie Edwardsen's father]. They were taking him to Barrow.

Ruth: And I also remember when their stepmother died down there, when this came to pass upon them. They buried her down there when she died.

Maggie: When Edwardsen's stepmother died?

Ruth: Iituk [Edwardsen] was unable to move, possibly when he had a stroke, and that's why they were going to take him to Barrow.

Maggie: That's when Edwardsen had a stroke, they were on their way to _____.

Ruth: And Gustialuuraq took over his store at Beechey Point. The one that I talked about, yes. A large store.

Maggie: He was married to an Eskimo, different dialect from us.

Bill: How long did you stay there?

Ruth: I made a living here . . . I became aware of my surroundings around here.

Maggie: Yes, this is where she was brought up. When she could remember she lived down along that area.

Ruth: Until I was able to hunt on my own. I hunted and traveled the area, making a living.

Bill: But did you move to Barrow?

Maggie: And you moved to Barrow?

Ruth: And then . . . you see, people moved, and that left a few of us remaining here.

Maggie: I wonder why.

Ruth: People crossed over to Aklagvik (in Canada, lit. place where brown bears are caught). The Inupiat. And while they were at Narvaqpak (large lake), these people from Anaqtuuvak (Anaktuvuk) the people from here traveled up river to Narvaqpak and left this place sparsely populated. People who were originally from here went inland.

Maggie: The people slowly start moving out from this area, the people that are to go to Anaktuvuk and up that way. A lot of the people move up to Aklagvik and then there were just a few families left here and some moved to Barrow.

Ruth: They just about left us alone here. There was the Tugli (Tukle) family, and Abraham Stines . . . the mother and daughter, who were living together after her husband died.

Maggie: There was just Abraham Stine and Tukle.

Ruth: And my family and I were living together on the (real or original) Kuukpik when they left us by ourselves, almost by ourselves. And the people who had been living further east came here, Kisik and his family. They arrived around 1945.

Maggie: Some of the family that lived a little bit further from them in Kuukpik moved over here to Uuliktuq. Kisik moved over here to where they were. Few families left here.

Ruth: They arrived in the year that we were to go west, in 1946. We did not go west intentionally, but my mother became ill, and the doctor told us to go there. This is why we went there, to take her there.

Maggie: 1946 their mother got ill so they had to go to Barrow.

Ruth: We would have still lived around here if the doctor had not ordered her to go there.

Maggie: She has a feeling that this is probably where she would still be if they were not taking their mother to the hospital to see a doctor.

Ruth: While we were still living here, they made their initial drilling. While we were up at Itqiliq Paq. That was the first time that they ever drilled for oil, around here.

Maggie: I wonder what year that was.

Ruth: It was two years after it happened we went west.

Maggie: A fire burned around there.

Ruth: And somewhere around here is where a drill rig burned. Around here.

Bill: In 1946?

Maggie: She can't recall exactly.

Ruth: Before. Right before it was 1946.

Maggie: She thinks it was right before 1946. She can't really remember the years.

Ruth: Possibly in '44, around there. And while we were still here, before we went east, after two years had elapsed. The cat train began when they started to build Umiat. They always came to our house.

Maggie: The cat train started moving and that's when Umiak became Umiak, when the cat train was moving.

Ruth: Just as they were to make us work. We were here. And . . . they had made a movie of us, a man named Nick. They used to go up in pairs. They told us this. "If the White people strike oil or gas when they drill, you will be the first beneficiaries; you will be the first claimants." (Translator's Note: I have translated from the root word, Kani, which means source; root; innermost of a group, and because Ruth reiterates this point, they told us this, and they made a movie of us.)

Maggie: She was told by . . . (White people)

Ruth: Yes. Those people took pictures of us, making a movie of us. They had our father come out, and we all went outside of our house.

Maggie: Some White men took their picture and told them he made a movie of them. They come out of their homes, their sod house.

Ruth: Yes, sod house, up there.

Bill: Itqiliq Paq?

Ruth: Yes.

Maggie: They were coming out of their home and a man made a movie of them. He told them if they found oil

Ruth: They told us this. "You will be the first claimants or beneficiaries if they strike oil around here. You folks." This man's name was Nick.

Maggie: She can recall this guy's name was Nick, and he told them if they do find oil that they would benefit from it.

Bill: What did he mean by that?

Maggie: What do you think he said when he said this?

Ruth: Well, we know that they had already found oil prior to this. One of the drills burst into flames, the one that they drilled down there. It is over to this way, close to Iqalliqpiug.

Maggie: There was a rig they put up over there by Iqalliqpiug, and it burned, so she thought maybe they found oil, when that was caught on fire.

Bill: But how did you think you would benefit from it?

Maggie: He wants to know, that when you think, did you think that you were going to be given something?

Ruth: No, they traveled inland with Ned Nusunginya and Herbert Leavitt as guides. Those two were on the first weasle, acting as guides for the men. With those two as interpreters, the White men talked with my father.

Maggie: How?

Ruth: Well, this is what they told us. "If they find oil here, you will be the first claimants to the oil, being the initial occupants of the land. To the Inupiat." This is what they told us. Because, you see, many Inupiat had left the area, but . . .

Maggie: I do not understand when you say Kajiuniag . . .

Ruth: To the Inupiat. They say that we would stake claim for the Inupiat, that we would gain something for them, around here, if they found oil.

Maggie: Oh. Okay. This is what she said. That if they found oil, the Eskimos that were living there like they were living there, they would benefit from the oil.

Ruth: And then after that place was run by Jack; this Jack was the store keeper for just a few years. Jack had taken over after Kastialuurug [Costello].

Maggie: Lucy's first husband?

Ruth: Yes. He came from the east, after living all that time in Barter Island, in the east. He had a store back there all that time. He was not at Beechey Point.

Maggie: He had just come to Beechey Point.

Ruth: He just recently moved there only after Kastialuk and his family were gone.

Maggie: She heard of him living around Barter Island.

Bill: Jack Smith?

Maggie: Yes. Lucy Ahvakana's first husband.

Ruth: They had been living in the east.

Maggie: She heard of him living around Barter Island.

Ruth: He didn't stay very many winters. He died of a heart attack when they were inland getting coal.

Maggie: They were going to get some coal, and he died of a heart attack.

Ruth: And I myself, I had learned the Eskimo way of life, experiencing it myself, living with suffering, looking for but having anything to eat. We all know about oil from the seal. It would be more difficult to catch anything from the ocean whenever animals were scarce on land in the winter. And then in the spring, we would escape from hunger to the willow ptarmigan, to this land here.

Maggie: She being an Eskimo, it was hard times for her, you know her way of hunting, being dependent on animals, and when they are about to be starving, they have hard days, and when they could not find a seal from the ocean, then it was kind of hard in the winter, so they come up to try to get ptarmigans for food.

Ruth: And when we found safety from starvation to the willow ptarmigan, we would survive on them. When the ground squirrels came out, our hunger would subside. More ptarmigan would come up from inland.

Maggie: So they live here in the winter, they depend on the ptarmigan and the squirrel. Then they feel like they have been eating good.

Ruth: And during one of those times as we were coming up from down there, in the spring, we would go up almost before April. My mother was trying to feed us seal blubber after cutting them into small, narrow strips. We did not have any other food.

Maggie: They was running out of food, so their mother would slit the seal blubber and let it age and try to let them eat that. This was to keep them going.

Ruth: We would not want to eat, not really caring to eat those, but we didn't have anything else to eat. We would try to eat in this way when we didn't have any food.

Maggie: They were starving, they had no food, so that's what they had to keep them going, so even if they did not want to eat it, they had to eat them.

Ruth: After making our living this way, we would become rich when we went down to the coast, when the seals came up onto the islands. You may recall when I talked about this, how I said we used to go down to the islands.

Maggie: When they go down to the ocean, when the seal start coming up, she always felt like a rich lady with all the food.

Ruth: Yes. This was the way of life, and then the fish would come in. We would consider ourselves rich, we were rich, when summer came.

Maggie: In the summer time, when the fish start coming and the food, they always feel like a rich person cause there is plenty of food.

Ruth: You can really fish at Uuliktug, for small and large white fish and (blackfish).

Maggie: At Uuliktug they have all kinds of fish, you know, the small white fish and those big ones, and also those black fish.

Ruth: I have lived extensively like the Inupiat of long ago, and even up to this day, I make this kind of living.

Maggie: Well, she lived the hard way, her Eskimo way of life, and to this day she still goes to hunt. She still lives that way.

Ruth: I enjoy fishing in the summer, and when it freezes up, I fish up to this day.

Maggie: She just loves fishing, she goes ice fishing in the winter and summer time she still catches the fish as much as she could. She was brought up with that.

Ruth: We never looked at White people around here. Jack Smith and the rest of them, who were further east of us, were the only White people that I heard about. Jack Smith, Henry, and also Tom Gordon.

Maggie: There was no White man at the time they were being raised here. But she had heard of Jack Smith, Mr. Gordon, and Henry. These are the only three White men she knew of, but there were always just Eskimos living around here.

Ruth: And at Beechey Point were Kastialuk and the one they called John Henry, their employee, an older man, also a White man.

Maggie: And at Beechey Point there was Costello and John Peter, another employee there. That was the only White man she knows around there at that time.

Ruth: These were the only White people that lived among us long ago.

Maggie: There was no planes, and they never hear of what people are doing in Barrow.

Ruth: We did not have planes either, and did not hear from the people of Barrow.

Maggie: They never get their mail or anything there from Barrow, no planes, that's why.

Ruth: They did not provide any services from Barrow, not even mail.

Ruth: And then, while we were at Uuliktug again in the summer, just us, we saw for the first time a plane coming from the east.

Maggie: While Uuliktug there a long time ago, they finally seen an airplane.

Ruth: Just one.

Maggie: A large one or a small one?

Ruth: Maybe they were, or who is the one that they say few around? Wiley Post, maybe.

Maggie: But there was just that one plane they seen.

Ruth: In those days, we did not receive help from the White people.

Maggie: They have never

Bill: . . . where you raised your children?

Maggie: He wants to know where you raised your children.

Ruth: I did not have a husband while we were living here.

Maggie: She did not have a husband when she was living here.

Ruth: I finally got married around 1947 when we went to Barrow.

Maggie: When she went to Barrow, in maybe 1947 or 1948, she met a man in Barrow, that's when she married.

Ruth: All of my children were born in Barrow. When we went there, we intended to return. When my father wanted to return, we were going back after wintering just one year. Just before we got started, my father became ill and died.

Maggie: When they were on their way to Barrow, they got there and they were going to stay one year and come back here, but her father got ill and died.

Ruth: This is why we never did return, because of my father's death.

Maggie: That is why when their father died over there at Barrow they never did come back.

Ruth: And my children, these ones. I had thirteen children in Barrow.

Maggie: And while she was living there at Barrow, she got married and she borne thirteen children.

Ruth: We tried once again to return, because I prefer to live on this land.

Maggie: Then she tried to come back here again, because this is where she was raised and she loved this country, this land.

Ruth: Then my husband became very sick, unable to do anything.

Maggie: Then her husband got real sick.

Ruth: Then when the oldest ones started high school, we wanted them to go to school because there was no school here.

Maggie: Then other things started to hold them up from coming back here again. Their children had to go to school, so that was the only place they had school was at Barrow. They had no school around this area, so that is what prevented them from coming back here.

Ruth: Before they made Nuiqsut, we were coming back here. You recall that I talked of how sick my husband got. This was when my oldest children were old enough to go to high school. At this time, we planned on returning to my home, wanting to live here. Not very long before we came, Prudhoe Bay opened up. Before that, we had come here to put up posts for the land.

Maggie: Well, they never made it for that reason, you know, her children had to go to school. She still wanted to come here and her older children can live for themselves and go to school by themselves, then they were going to come back here before the village was formed. Then her husband got sick and that's when they heard, she come to this land again to put some post on the ground, you know, her Native allotment, to claim the land she was brought up and went to live a lot. That's when they heard of Prudhoe Bay.

Ruth: And then, while we were still living there, Maggie's father (Neil Allen) and my husband (Edward) were like informers about moving to this land.

Maggie: My father Neil and her husband Edward decided to bring some people back to our land.

Ruth: This is the way we did it. Neil Allen, my husband, and I went to people's houses, talking to them, asking them if they wanted to leave.

Maggie: She and her husband and my father, they called people to see if they interested to come back to Nuiqsut, to live here.

Ruth: The people of Barrow did not know that (they) would be moving here. We did not know how we were going to be helped, only that when we asked them if they wanted to go, they would say that they did, even though they didn't know where they were going.

Maggie: They didn't know that they were going to get any kind of help, but they thought they wanted to come here to live. They'll give it another try. So they ask people they run into, they ask if they were interested in coming here to live.

Bill: How did you know who to ask to come?

Maggie: How did you know who would want to come here?

Ruth: When I heard that they were going to be giving back land in allotments (we had another house down there made of wood). I was worried that it had been destroyed by Bud Helmericks. It had been destroyed. I wanted to understand this. I am talking about those two that had come through here while the Inupiat were living around here.

Maggie: She had an old house they had built over in Nuiqsapiaq. And she heard of it falling down and she know of this White man down here, she thought maybe he was taking it apart, that's what her concern was.

Ruth: I called my brother up out of concern for our house. I told him that if they had torn it down, they should return it to its original condition. This is when I heard that they had built a house down there.

Maggie: They's when she heard Bud Helmricks was making a house down there. She thought maybe if they had destroyed their old house, she thought they would help repair it.

Ruth: And then we began to find out--"It is heard that the people at the regional corporation are starting to get very active." When they were starting to get active, we began to find out that they were saying if people wanted to move, they were urging people to move to the east, to Kuukpik. We heard that they were urging people to move, if people were willing, they would also pay them. This is what we heard after we had gathered together the people who wanted to move.

Maggie: She heard rumors that regional corporation was going to be helping people that wanted to come back to live here where they know they have lived for years back. She started to hear that way, so she went to see the regional corporation and see what they could do.

Bill: What did they say?

Maggie: What did the regional corporation say?

Ruth: We had already gathered together some people. Lloyd Ahvakanna had tried to get people together before, hiding what they were doing, but had managed to gather together about thirty people. We did not know about them. We had gathered people together, not knowing about what was going on. This was your father, Edward, and I.

Maggie: They and the two other families, when they got the names of people that wanted to live here, they were getting these names of people. Another group was doing that, what is his name, Lloyd Ahvakanna, had thirty names of people interested in coming back to live in this area.

Bill: How did you come up with those names?

Maggie: How did you gather people together?

Ruth: How did we gather them together?

Maggie: Yes, why did people want to come here?

Ruth: This is how we did it. Your father, Edward, and I, led by some unknown factor, went from house to house, or telephoning, people who we thought might want to move. We would ask them if they wanted to move east, to Nuiqsut. At this time, we did not even know where we were going to get houses. We just told them that there would be some way to get housing. Even though we didn't know of all these things that were to happen. We didn't know.

Maggie: They just went to the families and asked them if they would like to come over to live here at Nuiqsut. Around this area, they did not know it was going to be Nuiqsut, they did not know if they were going to have a home or anything like that. They just wanted to come back here to live here. Were these the people who lived here long ago?

Ruth: Even the ones who had not lived here.

Maggie: Yes, people that never even lived here before, they just put their names down, and they wanted to come here to Nuiqsut.

Ruth: And so we had done this, and there were quite a few of us. We would go and see Sam Taalak, because he knew about the laws. We would go and see him, and he would write things down on paper, because he was familiar with the laws. And then, after we had gathered up the people who wanted to move, your father and Edward went down to the regional corporation, carrying those papers with them, the list of the people who wanted to move.

Maggie: Well they continued to get the names, then they had a guy who knew how to write, Sam Taalak, to write down people's names, and then they brought all the names to the regional corporation and presented them.

Ruth: When they went down there, Jack Adams told them, "There should be a meeting of all the people who want to move."

Maggie: Then they brought it over to Jacob Adams at regional corporation and then he told them, "Okay, we'll have a big meeting of these people that are interested in going to Nuiqsut."

Ruth: Then we started having meetings. But we certainly were not all of one mind, we were not the same. Araa (expression of dismay), we were not in agreement. It reminded me of the Jews when they tried to lead the people. This was how it was for us back then.

Maggie: They had big problems, nobody got along. It reminded her of the Bible times when the Jews were trying to.

Ruth: When everything became ready, they chose an open corporation, choosing Atuajavuaq, Edward Nukapigak, Samuel Kunaknana. These are the people they chose to be the open corporation.

Maggie: What is an open corporation?

Ruth: They were an open corporation when they started to take people here. To change them over, those ones that went to the bank and put their signatures down. People did not know how they were moving here.

Maggie: Did they give them money?

Ruth: No. They called them an open corporation. They chose them to turn over the people's many papers. They then went to the bank to make it possible for them to move here.

Maggie: There was making transaction of moving. They got the people to the bank and copied corporation, which I don't understand, with the names of people that signed.

Ruth: We were not in agreement at all. After the open corporation members were finished with the papers, they told us to move, and even put a date on the calendar about when we were supposed to move.

Maggie: Did you leave on the snowmachines?

Ruth: Our family moved via two weasels. Joash Tukle, Johnny Atujavuaq, Sammy Kunaknanna were chosen to come here and pick out the land where we were to move to.

Maggie: When they finally got settled with the people who wanted to come back here to live, they picked three names.

Ruth: They chose this land, along with Lucy Ahvakanna and Abraham Kippi, even though they were not chosen to be part of the group. They said that they traveled around the land and could not decide where to settle, so they prayed. After their prayer, they chose this place.

Maggie: They pick three people to go on the plane and find the location for these people that were anxious to come here to live. Some people came by the tractor, their family come by two weasels. There was these three guys and Lucy Ahvakanna with them, they looked and looked to see where the location should be, that would suit the people, they could not find anything, finally they sat down and prayed, and this is what they found.

Ruth: Then the people began to move. Edward and I were part of the first group to arrive. Many people came, even by plane. It was like we were brought here by a large plane and began to live like people of the past.

Maggie: The people started moving in when they picked the land here. They started coming in by plane, by snowmachine, and tractors, just a lot of people coming in. They were living in tents in the winter.

Ruth: Yes. We lived in many tents. Although we didn't know where we were going to get housing, we found out that the open corporation intended to work on these things.

Maggie: Well they didn't have any homes, they were living in tents, they did not know what kind of homes they were going to have. But regional corporation lined up these homes.

Ruth: After we were settled, White people began to come to see us, the oil people or others who wanted to drill.

Maggie: They when they finally settled in, the White man started coming in, these people from the oil fields, they wanted to drill, so they start coming in to see the people.

Ruth: Well, you see, when the oil workers began to get active, Prudhoe Bay was filled with seemingly crazy people. They truly became insane and obsessed.

Maggie: They were going kind of crazy, they start coming in for wanting to drill.

Bill: Where?

Ruth: Prudhoe Bay. Just when they were starting it. Nowadays they are fighting us, really fighting us in our way of life, our hunting, here in Nuiqsut.

Maggie: They are fighting the oil companies, wanting to drill in our areas, our ocean, our land where we do our hunting, where we depend on our animals.

Ruth: They come here for meetings, those people. And us, having used this land and lived here before anyone, always try not to let them have it.

Maggie: This is how they were brought up, living, depending on the land for food, the ocean for the food, that is how they live from ancestors to ancestors, it was Eskimos, they have always lived around this area. Hunting and fishing and eating.

Ruth: With all our might, we do not want them to have the land, especially the beautiful areas. Many of us know these areas.

Maggie: The land here is so precious to her, to anyone. She don't want to see it destroyed.

Ruth: Areas that should never be torn up.

Ruth: The areas that are most pleasing to my eyes, the most beautiful, are places like Amauliksuq, those ones in front of POW II, the islands. These are the ones that I do not want to be disturbed.

Maggie: She can remember as she was being brought up living in this area down there, near POW II, the islands, where the birds nested, that's what she can remember always going down there for food supply. She sure hates to see them drilling around that area.

Ruth: I also do not want to see Uuliktug, a source of our survival, to be taken by the White people.

Maggie: That's where she was brought up around Uuliktug, and she would hate to see the White man oil industry get into it.

Bill: When you moved back here to Nuiqsut, did you expect there to be as much oil development?

Maggie: Did you think, when you moved here, that the oil workers would come in many numbers?

Ruth: Yes, exactly. I can say this, having witnessed the many people who made a living at Nugiqsagruaq, at Pagruaq. I knew them back then, when there was nothing but people here, no modern appliances or anything. I know that he (Bud Helmericks) tried to stay with some people when he first came.

Maggie: She heard of them already getting started.

Bill: Was that important consideration in your coming back?

Maggie: I answered that question early this time. The reason she wanted to get back was because she was raised here, and then she remembered how she lived here, you know--this was her home land.

Ruth: It was around 1953 that he finally went down there (Bud Helmericks).

Maggie: He wants to ask you this question. When he asks other people this question of why they moved here, they say it was because of the oil, that they knew they would be drilling. He wants to ask you why you wanted to move here.

Ruth: Because I had made a living from this land before and loved it. When we lived in Barrow I kept thinking of this land and wanted desperately to come home, wanting to return.

Maggie: She was brought up here, raised here, this land she loved, she can remember it when she was growing up, how it was, and that is why she wanted to move back here.

Bill: Did you think there would be jobs?

Maggie: Did you think that there would be jobs?

Ruth: I never did think about those things?

Maggie: She has never thought about there being any jobs available.

Ruth: I did not even know that they would be settling here in Nuiqsut, at that time when I was very homesick and wanted to go home.

Maggie: She said when she wanted to come home, back to her land here, she never thought of houses like this or things like that.

Ruth: Yes. And when these oil workers began to come, I would quarrel with them. I always quarrel with them with all my might.

Maggie: When these oil companies come, she lets them know her feelings of how precious her land is and how ready she was to fight it.

Ruth: Although I haven't gone to school, I feel somewhat unfavorably toward the actions of the ones who have gone to school in the area of jobs, because I've always wanted things to be right. I want people to be on the right track.

Maggie: Well, she hasn't gotten that much schooling. The highest I have gone is the third grade, but she always tries to understand, doing the right things as she was brought up, being treating people the right way. Making life easy for people, amongst each other.

Ruth: I realized long ago about the nature of meetings. When we were in Barrow, I always attended meetings when they were going to meet. In a way, I helped get things started, being vocal.

Maggie: She always gave her thoughts to any meeting she goes to, she always likes to go and understand what they are talking about, or what they are doing, and she likes to get up and tell them what her feelings are.

Ruth: I can match my brain with people who are talking as if they know better sometimes. I am able to stay on equal footing when I talk sometimes.

Maggie: She likes to talk and let them know her brain is working.

Ruth: Because, you see, I realize that one knows and understands more when one became aware of his or her surroundings, like the Inupiat of long ago. When one has become aware of their surroundings like the Inupiat before.

Maggie: She always goes to meetings like that, she always wishes she had gone to school so she could understand everything.

Ruth: Sometimes I wish I had gone to school. Even though I never had much education, my willingness to help in these matters is big.

Maggie: She learned the Eskimo way of life and she knows what to do.

Bill: What would you like to see in the future for your children?

Maggie: How would you like to see your children when they grow up?

Ruth: I always tell my children in our language to learn the lifestyle of the Inupiat.

Maggie: She always tells her children, grandchildren, the way of Eskimo of living. How she was brought up, trying to do the right things in life.

Bill: What skills will children need in the future?

Maggie: What do you want your children to learn?

Ruth: Me?

Maggie: Yes.

Ruth: I want them to learn more of the ways of the Inupiat rather than the White people's ways.

Maggie: Our language, hunting, those things?

Ruth: Yes. I do not want the ways of the Inupiat to be lost around here.

Maggie: She always wish that her children or grandchildren never lost the Eskimo way of life, hunting and talking the Inupiat language.

Bill: Yes. How would you describe the Inupiat way of life?

Maggie: How would you tell him about your lifestyle?

Ruth: I do not want our lifestyle as Inupiat people to be played with by the White people. I want it to continue as it has in the Inupiat tradition. The way of life.

Maggie: She would like to see the continuation of the Inupiat way of life, the hunting, fishing, the language, she wouldn't want to see the White man brainwash us like only know how to speak the language of English.

Ruth: I don't have too much more time to talk.

Maggie: She don't have too much to say.

Ruth: I have lots to say, other words to say, but I would like to say that when we moved here, we became more content--our mind was at ease.

Maggie: She has lots to say, she can sit here and tell you all day long.

Bill: Thank you.

Ruth: Yes.

INTERVIEW WITH HERMAN REXFORD

August 18, 1982

First, this is Joe Gross and George Sherrod, and we are talking to Herman Rexford at Kaktovik. Today is August the 18th, and we are talking about oil impacts.

Perhaps you could just start off by giving us a kind of a personal history--you know, where you were born, where you've lived, and when you came to the Kaktovik area

A. I'm originally from Point Barrow. I was (born and) raised in Point Barrow. I moved here in 1941--to Kaktovik from Barrow. I traveled by dog team all the way here. I spent a year in the Prudhoe Bay area and finally got here in 1941.

Q. Were there any people living here when you came?

A. Oh yeah, there were very many people living here when I first came here. Quite a few of them are now scattered; (they have gone) to Barrow and then to other Alaskan and Canadian areas. There were lots of people moving to both sides (of the border).

Q. Both sides?

A. Yeah.

Q. And when did other people settle here more permanently?

A. Well, around 1938 - '37, maybe--around there. There were people scattered around (the area) on both sides (of the U.S.-Canadian border before then), so I've stayed here ever since 1941. Kaktovik is my home, (but I) go visit my folks once in a while at Barrow. Mostly (I go to Barrow when there are meetings). I'm on the Board of Directors of ASRCs at Barrow. That's Arctic Slope Regional Corporation, and also I'm on the Board of Arctic Slope Telephone in Anchorage; that's Arctic Slope Telephone.

Q. Are you also a a member of the council here at Kaktovik?

A. Yes. I'm one of the Board members, too, of Kaktovik Inupiat Corporation. (I'll be on it) another year or so.

Q. Okay. I know that the DEW Line was started here; when?

- A. Yes. The DEW Line started here in 1948. The Air Force (was here first), and then at (a) later time, the DEW Line started. We worked in '48--that was my first job, when I worked for the Air Force.
- Q. Was that your first cash income?
- A. Yes. That was my first job.
- Q. How long did you work for them?
- A. From '48 to '49, I worked for the Air Force and then finally (retired from) my work in 1969. That was my last year (of work).
- Q. So you retired then from the DEW Line in 1969?
- A. (Yeah).
- Q. And how, in general, was that a good job that you had? Did you like it?
- A. Oh, when I got my job, I worked as an operator--a fork lift operator--unloading the planes. We worked for Arctic Contractors from Point Barrow. You know, Arctic Contractors in Anchorage, that was my first job. And then later on, (I worked in the) Civil Service for the Air Force; then Western Electric. It's a different outfit; you know, Western Electric? And (then) that DEW Line site . . . right now (it) is ITTO--whatever.
- Q. ITT?
- A. Yes. Right. Now (it) is ITT. They've been changing the company . . . different companies--Western Electric and . . .
- Q. RCA?
- A. Yes, RCA. And right now, it's ITT, I think.
- Q. I don't know exactly . . . Where was the original village? It was not located right here.
- A. At first, it was down there at the beach. We had our village down there. Before the Air Force, when I first came here, we (had) our house down by the runway, and then by the hangar. Her [Herman's wife] parents, Andrew Akootchook, who is my wife's dad . . . he is a preacher; he had his house down by the hangar; and our house was right on the runway, so when they came--these big companies--we moved up here, right here, to get out of the way when they started to build the runway.

- Q. That was in 1947 then?
- A. 1948, '49; we moved in '49.
- Q. And then you moved to your present site?
- A. We lived way down there and finally moved up here then, around 1964.
- Q. You made mention in one of your testimonies that the first whaling trip was in 1964 or something like that?
- A. First whale? It was somewhere (around then), I guess, in 1965 . . . we first got a whale.
- Q. That was the first real whaling trip that you went on?
- A. Of course, before that, they saw a dead whale . . . they found a dead whale up in the Pookak area . . . east . . . and they brought it over there. And they cut it up, and we used it for dog meat.
- A. I used to be a crew member . . .
- Q. . . . a whaling captain . . . in 1964?
- A. Yes.
- Q. You began whaling as a captain (in 1964)?
- A. Yes.
- Q. And you said prior to then there were not enough young men. Weren't there very many people around to participate?
- A. There were a few of them. Now we are gaining in population.
- Q. Yes, well, it's grown quite a bit.
- A. There were not many people around here then. Some of them came in from Canada, like these other (outfits?), and when we first came here, there (were few people). They moved back to (Canada). There (are) quite a few more left up at Inuvik and Aklavak. There are a lot of people up there yet, like Gordon's family.
- Q. [Do] you mean in Canada?
- A. In Canada; yes.
- Q. Around Demarcation Point?

- A. They came here, to Barter Island.
- Q. And then they moved over there?
- A. It's still a big family--the Gordons. Tom Gordon (has many) children.
- Q. Yes, they always seem to grow. Okay, coming back now to some of your testimony: one of the things that we noted was that you spent a year in Prudhoe Bay.
- A. That was the time when I came traveling from Barrow; we spent a year right by the unloading dock. You (can) still see that old house, Pausanna's house. That's where we stayed.
- Q. For a year?
- A. Yeah.
- Q. And you hunted and fished and such in that area?
- A. Yeah.
- Q. And since that time, of course, there have been a lot of changes in that Prudhoe Bay area.
- A. Oh, Boy! Yeah. I wish I had moved over there so that I could have that (land now). (We went) with my wife's parents, Andrew Akootchook, and we stayed over there and Perry, my brother-in-law, my wife's brother (Isaac) . . . when they were young folks, and I was younger, too, at that time . . . we (went) hunting and trapping, and we went all the way up to the mountains with the dog team, hunting. We had a hard time in the winter. (It was) not easy in those days. We got along all right.
- Q. You made mention that in terms of hunting and things like that, that somehow since development or since Prudhoe Bay and the development of the trans-Alaska pipeline, there seems to be less--are there less caribou, or are they harder to find . . . animals are harder to find?
- A. On this island?
- Q. Yes, or just in general around.
- A. Ever since that (oil development) started . . . before, we used to have caribou. In the wintertime, they are pretty scarce now; it's pretty hard to find them. Sometimes they go on the other side of the mountains. They go through Kongakut or Hulahula.

- Q. So they don't come out into the . . .
- A. In the springtime only. When (it is) fawning time, they (come) (and) in this time of the year--July--when the mosquitoes come around. That's the only time they show up now.
- Q. Do you feel that that's partially due to all the new development and things like that?
- A. That's what I was thinking; you know, I was thinking, in the Barrow area--or the western area--they have caribou all year round. But now we, up here in this island, in this part of the islands, there's not many caribou any more. I don't know why, but in the fawning time and this time of the year, that's the only time we can . . . Now (they are) all gone again. I heard yesterday there were some up at the Peters Lake (area), up at the mountains now--right now.
- Q. You had a few come in here this spring, I guess, on to the island?
- A. Yes, in the springtime. We see them around when they are fawning. That is when they fawn--every spring.
- Q. Do you still hunt caribou? Do you go to the mountains in the fall to hunt the caribou?
- A. Yes, I used to go up there every fall, but now I'm getting too old, I guess. But my youngsters, the hunters, they always go up to the mountains for hunting caribou or for some fish from the river--Hulahula (River)--what you call the arctic char, and some sheep. Up in the mountains, the sheep never go anyplace now. They are always there.
- Q. (It is) just hard to get them. Okay. Well, let me get you in on some of this earlier testimony; we have some questions on it. In 1978, you felt that the noise and the odor from drilling as well as the noise from aircraft and ships and so forth . . .
- A. It was disturbing the whales.
- Q. . . . were disturbing the fish and the whales and the seals and so forth. Do you still think that the noise problem is as great as it was then? Do you think it's still problematic now? Do you have any, you know, examples of situations?
- A. Well, after I visited with you initially, (I went) to Prudhoe Bay for a tour. They (give tours) from the airplane. We went over there (to Prudhoe Bay), and I checked all the drilling (rigs) and the like. We had a tour (to) see what they are

doing. Sohio or Arco--one of those oil companies--came to pick up 10 or 12 people and invited us to take a tour to see how they work. After I saw these things--the noise and things like that--I was thinking and I mentioned about that.

Q. Did you mention it to some of the people there?

A. Yeah.

Q. And what kind of reception . . . what did they say? Did they make any comments? Did they do anything?

A. I haven't heard (from them) since I made comments (about) the noise and the whales. They can hear even under the water; they can hear (a long way). Surface (drilling) is not so bad, but underwater . . . Even when we went out (in boats), it used to disturb them, just with the paddling and the noise from the bank or something on the boat.

Q. They would just dive?

A. Dive. You can't even get close to them. They go full speed ahead; they go like anything when (they are disturbed).

Q. Does that affect fish, also, and the migration of fish or seal?

A. Seal . . . yeah.

Q. How about caribou? How about on land? Does it affect any of the animals on land?

A. The caribou and fish . . . caribou migrate from (the) east, you know, from Canada to Ikpikpukr, and then in the summertime, they are around here for a while and then go back on the other side of the mountains.

A. I don't know that place.

A. And then fish . . . right now is (a) pretty good time (for) fishing--this time of the year, August. But later on, they will be gone again. I don't know where they go. They might go to Canning River or they might go to what you call Colville. Those white fish spend all year in the deep river.

Q. Down in the bottom there?

A. Yes, in the summer; later on, we won't get fish anymore.

- Q. And do you think that the noise and machines sort of keep the fish away from certain areas?
- A. Most (of) the fish are all right, but the whales . . . You know fish; they never go away even if you (have) been fishing on the beach . . . (making noise). I think that the noise doesn't bother the fish (very much), I guess, but the whales, and . . .
- Q. How about the seal?
- A. (Yes), the seal--seal and Ugruk. No walrus (come) up here.
- Q. No more?
- A. No, but once in a while, one or two (come up). We can see them in the summertime, but not like Point Barrow, Wainwright, (or) Point Hope.
- Q. They have a lot of them?
- A. They always have walrus (in) the summertime, but up here . . .
- Q. Not very much?
- A. No. No, they might have been driven all the way out (away from Kaktovik).
- Q. Has that always been the case here?
- A. Yeah.
- Q. That there is very little walrus?
- A. Yeah, one year we got one, two--not every year. That year it might have been a stray or something; I don't know.
- Q. Coming up here to investigate or something like that?
- A. Yeah, something like that.
- Q. Oh, there is one interesting thing that you made mention of as I was reading, and I didn't know exactly the total significance of it; but you were making mention that the river . . . how did they pronounce that name?
- A. Sagavanirktok?
- Q. Yeah, Sagavanirktok . . .how it starts flooding in the springtime? And it floods over the ice at three to four feet?

- A. Right on top of the ice floe.
- Q. Right; which is higher than the Barrier Islands.
- A. That river is pretty swift; it swept all over, all the way. One time, we were spending the spring in (the) Barrow area, and we had to go to Beachy Point where we could find some food or whatever from a store, and we traveled from Barrow to Beachy Point. We had to go way out, (because at the) time (that) we went, there was water all over.
- Q. Really flooding?
- A. Yes, and we (had) to go way out, and it was windy at that time; luckily we had a sail. (We) put our dogs in the sled, and we sailed all the way (from) Flaxman Island to Beachy Point with our dogs in the sled.
- Q. So it's really swift and anything in the . . .
- A. Yeah, it's pretty dangerous.
- Q. Does that flood that way every spring?
- A. Every spring.
- Q. So any development in that area would have to take that into consideration. If there were anything, it would be very dangerous?
- A. But later on--two, three, four days--later on, it went down the seal holes. Where there are seal hole cracks, the water disappears right under the ice. That's right.
- Q. Where does it go? Is it just free water under there then?
- A. (Yeah), swirling through . . .
- Q. Oh, it's swirling through, just sucking up everything.
- A. (Yeah), just like a sink, you know.
- Q. Yeah, a whirlpool.
- A. That's the way the water disappears. That's amazing when that happens. (Water) will be spread all over the ice, way from here to Flaxman Island, all the way to Beachy Point by Kuparuk--black just like the ocean. On top of the ice, that's where the water goes when the rivers flood, you know.

- Q. So anything that happens up river is going to wind up out on the . . .
- A. Yeah, that's what I mentioned before. When the river goes out, water spreads all over.
- Q. Yeah, and so if there are any spills inland, like along say Fish Creek or some place like that, it will wind up . . .
- A. Even the seal (get) lost, you know, when they get on top of the ice. They lose their holes . . . and they get caught, you know. They (have) to swim.
- Q. So they get swept right away?
- A. They swim in the water, and they can't find their holes anymore. And when the water goes down, they just walk along . . .
- Q. Trying to find a place to go down?
- A. Yeah, at the point where the Colville River and Sag meet--where they meet each other . . .
- Q. Yeah, that must be a powerful confluence.
- A. You know, I don't want to be (very) close when the water starts (to flood).
- Q. Yeah. Kind of a general question is how would you say that oil development has affected you and the village here? How would you characterize it? I don't know how to express that very well.
- A. What does affected mean?
- Q. Well, affected means has it done anything for you--good, bad . . . For example, has it provided you with opportunities you wouldn't have had before, like a job, or has it helped in any way? Or has it been bad in any way. In other words, what has oil development done?
- A. Well, it's helped (by) providing jobs for our youngsters. That's one of the (ways) it has helped--providing jobs. (It is good) in some ways. The only thing (is that it) bothers our subsistence (way of) life . . . (the animals, like seal . . . mostly when they are doing seismic testing. Those things they were doing over (in the) Barrow area. One time we (saw) seismic testing when they first (tested at) Barrow. We noticed the water (blow up).

- Q. How long ago was this? Was this a long time ago?
- A. When we first started whaling, you know, at that time.
- Q. Oh, maybe they were using dynamite or something?
- A. Dynamite or something, you know. At that time we noticed it.
- Q. Like a big gusher of water?
- A. We watched the boat . . .
- Q. Just like a bomb.
- A. Yeah, that's what is disturbing our animals; that's the only thing, is that . . .
- Q. Could you think of a place where, if you were going to say, "well, there's a good place to explore for oil," is there any good place that you could think of for exploring (for) oil out here, like onshore, offshore, near the mountains, where, if you were going to pinpoint some area that might be okay for development; is there anyplace in particular that would be less harmful than any other?
- A. We are opposed to offshore drilling. Everybody on this island (is) opposed to that offshore drilling. They had a meeting at Cheehilik Island or Clark Island--all of those. We had a meeting, and they were all opposed (to) this offshore drilling . . . (because it) disturbs our whaling. Last year, our whaling crews (had to go) way out.
- Q. Where did they have to go? They had to go way out?
- A. Way out. They (whales) used to come around, right close by the islands.
- Q. (Now) they've gone further and further out?
- A. Yes, on account of (the) ice or whatnot; there wasn't much ice though, but you could hardly see those two antennas . . . can't see the land . . . but those two antennas (are) 20-30 miles out, 35 miles out . . . you could spot whales out there last year. I don't know how we (will) do this year, again.
- Q. So, in general, then, you are saying that people are really opposed to development . . . offshore?

- A. Yeah, offshore. Really, (the Natives are opposed to it). (We were going to have a meeting) today or tomorrow (with) Chevron, you know, but I don't know whether they (are) going to have it or not, in Fairbanks or in Anchorage; and they were going to have a meeting tomorrow, I guess, but we still oppose that (offshore drilling). Each village corporation has their lawyers and things like that.
- Q. Who represents Kaktovik? Who is the lawyer for Kaktovik? Is it Jeffries?
- A. No, we hired a school district lawyer. He used to be (our lawyer), but I don't know; he's not the lawyer anymore for the school district at Barrow, for the North Slope. I forgot his name. Each village corporation had their own hired lawyers to meet with them. Tomorrow may be the last, final meeting.
- Q. So, generally, they are trying to develop some kind of strategy to oppose this--any kind of development off the coast here--right? And what other kinds of efforts, you know, both in the past and particularly recently, have been made by Kaktovik or certain North Slope boroughs, wherever, to slow down development or prevent development from taking place--oil development from happening here? Can you think of any kinds of efforts, like suits or anything like that, or hearings?
- A. That's one of the things (that) they were (trying to get them to do)--slow down, maybe. (We are trying to get) more information or gather up some more information from these villages or from North Slope Eskimos.
- Q. Has the North Slope Borough been pretty helpful in the villages?
- A. Yeah, they help us . . . they know what we are doing, you know. They help us a lot . . .
- Q. Do they provide, like, lawyers or expertise on how to combat development?
- A. They help us (with) our . . . plans, but (in) some cases, we (prefer to make our own decisions); we don't like, you know . . . These villages have to make their own decisions . . . (decide) what is right, and sometimes (the borough) goes (a) little too far, and you can't get along with them sometimes. It seems to me (that) every village has got (to make) its own . . . they know (what) their (needs are), you know.
- Q. Their particular needs?

A. Yeah,, their own needs. But (with) housing, (the village) couldn't (afford to provide housing) . . . it costs lots of money!

Q. It must be expensive to own your own house now?

A. Yeah.

Q. How many houses have they built here, about 20 houses?

A. Twenty houses. They have some more coming later; I don't know who is going to have those houses.

Q. I know they built the fire station this year.

A. I have a good house already. (Since) I own this house, my ancestors will have it, you know. But I'm still paying for it. But I have a good house over there--two stories. (It was) not built by the North Slope, though; I built it myself--my wife and I. But this one here is North Slope housing. It's comfortable.

Q. (Do) you like it better than your old one?

A. Yeah.

Q. Is it more comfortable?

A. Yeah, more comfortable, and it has running water. (It's) a little big . . .

Q. Is it more roomy? It seems nice, compared to the old days when you first came here, though--you didn't have any electricity; you didn't have any (water); you had to melt snow . . . and things like that or go to the river or the lake for water?

A. After you are sixty years old, your electricity is taken care of by the North Slope.

Q. You like that?

A. Yes, I like that part of it. Fuel is pretty (expensive) now. It's lower than (in) some other villages, though. We're lucky; we have the lowest fuel prices, I guess, compared to the other villages. Some places, it is (very expensive), like Nuiqsut, Anaktuvuk. But I don't know whether we're going to have Sea Lift or not this year. Maybe. I hope (we do).

Q. Oh, you mean the barges.

A. Yes, barges (have) always been . . .

- Q. I know there were a lot of barges at Prudhoe.
- A. Yeah.
- Q. But I don't know if any of them are coming here.
- A. But these other companies now, like DEW Line barges, (they) always have some extra loads for the village, like tankers.
- Q. I was just going to ask, with all these new houses and house payments and electrical payments and telephone payments, are there enough jobs in the village for people to make those payments?
- A. Well, mostly this village (has box type) housing here. [Discussion about young people working on construction projects such as houses and the high school building.]
- Q. High school building? Fire station?
- A. Yes, fire station.
- Q. So there's work for them now?
- A. After they (have) finished these things, I don't know what they (are) going to do.
- Q. I was going to ask at the beginning . . .
- A. Yeah, I don't know what type of other jobs there might be. Some people might have permanent jobs (such as) taking care of (the buildings).
- Q. Maintenance?
- A. Maintenance. But one of the things that I'd like is (to work at) Prudhoe Bay.
- Q. Get jobs out of Prudhoe Bay?
- A. One week off, one week on--that is what my son is working now.
- Q. He's working at Prudhoe Bay?
- A. Not very many (from our village work at Prudhoe Bay), though. Yeah, like Pingo Corporation--(Some people are) working for Pingo and for Sohio . . .
- Q. Is that pretty steady work for him? Does he like it?

- A. I hope he likes it. I wish I was . . . if I was a young one (now) I'd like to work, too . . . There were not many jobs in those days when I was a youngster, just hunting, you know. Being a hunter, that's all I know. No electricity, nothing like that. I was raised in Barrow; that's where I'm from.
- Q. Yeah, there wasn't much--no electricity or running water?
- A. No running water; nothing. No airplanes.
- Q. What did you use for heat? oil? Did you use just oil?
- A. Yeah, that's one thing I'd like; I'd like to see our people in this village get jobs in the Prudhoe Bay area. After they finish this housing (construction), what other jobs (will there be)? I can't see . . . I can't think of any other jobs (that will be available). That runway is owned by DEW Line. It is a restricted runway; you have to report before you come in; they can't let you land without permission. You have to call Colorado or wherever they have headquarters, you know, if someone wants to come in. Some airlines have permission, like Cape Smythe and Air North. (It is a) good thing we have one pilot here, for emergencies mostly. He flies people out when somebody gets hurt, sick, or something like (that)--he flies them out. That helps this village.
- Q. But there are very few permanent jobs now, here. I was just wondering, do you feel that it's important that the oil companies, if they do development, provide jobs? Do you think they will provide jobs?
- A. They will provide (jobs). Yes, I hope they provide (jobs for) our young people, to work over there. But (the) only thing, (it's) complicated, too, you know.
- Q. Okay. Well, what's the future going to be like for Kaktovik, with all the development, for the young people; what's the future in regards to subsistence and Inupiat food?
- A. Well, everything is different now. They have high schools, now; they have better homes, but everything is going up (in price)--food, groceries.
- Q. It's getting really expensive.
- A. Well, the way I was thinking is prices will go up because the people are working. They get a lot of money, too. They get higher and higher (wages) . . . And (wages) follow up the grocery (prices), getting higher and higher and higher, trying to match up the peoples' earnings--fifteen, eighteen, dollars an

hour. Oh, Boy! That's a lot of money! In the days when I was working, when I was young, I used to work for fifty cents an hour. But in those days, groceries and things like that were really low (priced), too. Flour--50(?) pounds--cost a little over three dollars and some cents. Nowadays, I don't know.

Q. Very expensive.

A. Very expensive. Everything (is expensive).

Q. I guess the question that one has to ask is can subsistence and, you know, going out and hunting animals and bringing them in and using that as food, and also oil development--can they go together? Can you have both of them? You know, in other words, can you have a traditional life style and oil development at the same time? Is that possible? Do you understand what I'm asking?

A. Yeah, nowadays (the) subsistence life of hunting for food is kind of tough. People have to go farther out to look for caribou, you know--way up in the mountains. It's kind of hard for them to find caribou in this area. In this area, they can hardly find animals close (by). But seal and ugruk, if you go out right now in a boat, you can see them all right. Some years you can hardly see them on account of other animals that bother them, like walrus or things like that, . . . If you spot the walrus, you know the seal (are being) killed. That's their food, you know; walrus eat seal. They try to get away from them.

Q. Yes, sort of run them out.

A. We hope to get a whale this year, this fall. (You) never can tell on account of ice conditions; too much ice, that's one thing, too, (that) bothers the whaling. (When) we try to catch them, they (get) lost; you can't spot them. They go between the ice, and it's pretty hard (to spot them) when there's too much ice.

Q. They can hide more easily?

A. Yeah.

Q. So, are you saying in a sense that it's harder to get subsistence food?

A. Yeah.

Q. It takes more time?

A. (Yeah).

Q. Do you think you have to go further out and there are fewer of them?

A. Yeah . . . Nowadays, they don't use dog teams like we used to; they use (snow) machines. It's not the same as if you get stuck--you get stuck. In the wintertime, when it's cold, dog teams never gave you trouble, as long as they had food; but nowadays they use machines. That's not safe though.

Q. Does it scare the animals, too?

A. It scares them alright, too; (snow machines) are noisy. You know, you can hear people coming (from) far away--people going out caribou hunting. Musk ox--(there are) lots of them over there; they're never scared.

Q. Musk ox?

A. Musk ox, yes. I don't know why.

Q. Did you hunt them very often?

A. The musk ox--that's (another) thing, too; people were claiming--I heard the people claim that (since) they brought these musk ox over here, now there (are) not many caribou; maybe that's part of it, too. Musk ox and caribou--they don't . . .

Q. . . . don't share the same area?

A. They don't stay in the same area. They brought them in by Air Force from Nunivak Island--many musk ox. People (are) talking about (that), too. When they brought (in) these musk ox--no more caribou.

Q. How long ago did they bring the musk ox out here from Nunivak?

A. (They brought them in) 1968 or 1969--somewhere around there. They brought them over to Barter Island, you know.

A. Why do they (bring them) up here?

Q. I don't know.

A. (Is it because there are) too many of them down there?

Q. I don't know.

A. (Why do) they bring them up to live in this cold, windy area? I don't know. That is one of the things I (have) heard quite a few people talking (about)--the musk ox they brought here. (And now there are no more) caribou.

Q. Does anybody hunt the musk ox here for food?

A. No. If you (kill) one, you (are) fined. They fine you.

Q. Oh, they fine you for hunting anything like that?

A. Yes, (someday) maybe they will be open (for hunting--allow musk ox hunting), I guess. I hope (they do).

Q. Yeah, I don't know.

A. One (musk ox) for each man--one for each village family. Are they good to eat?

Q. I've never eaten one.

A. It (is) like calf, eh?

VOICE: It's supposed to be real good.

A. I (have) never eaten one either. When they first brought them in, some of them were injured, you know; (they) died. When they skinned them, it looked (like there was) good meat (on them)--fat. When they brought them in, they spent so long in the cage--the box--(that) some of them died. I don't know how . . .

Q. Well, do you see a good possibility for the future for the children here with oil (development), (for them) still to do subsistence (living), or do you think they'll have to give up one for the other? In other words, say, for your grandchildren, even, do you think that they'll still be able to hunt the seal and the walrus and ugruk and work for the oil company, or do you think they'll have to just work for the oil company? I mean, how do you see it, in the future?

A. Well, if they open up this area for a wildlife reserve, it might disturb our subsistence life(style). In this village, we are opposed mostly to offshore drilling. Of course, we don't want the (oil companies/development) to disturb our whaling . . . And (the) seals (and) fish. That's the main thing we don't (want) to see.

Q. (Do) you see offshore (drilling as) being particularly dangerous?

A. (Yeah). That's mostly (because) when they start drilling, (there could be an) oil spill or something like that.

Q. Some accident.

A. That's why I mentioned about the running water; when the two rivers (flood) and (water) covers all of this area--(during) ice conditions, you know, (the current is) pretty strong. It can even move the pilings in back of the hangar down there. When the ice starts moving, it can push the big pilings out in the wintertime.

Q. It goes right across the island there?

A. Yes, we had big pilings behind the hangars down there. The ice (comes) in from (the) west. Ice is pretty strong, and (when) it starts moving, you can't stop it.

[Rexford talks about the water rising and covering the ice and flooding the area.]

Q. It goes underwater?

A. Yes, that's (the) way it is.

Q. Yeah . . . And now, onshore (development) though, you would see less damage, or are you less fearful of damage on shore? It's more controllable, or what?

A. More than offshore?

Q. Yeah, in other words, onshore is less dangerous than offshore?

A. This is what you call onshore?

Q. This is onshore. So this is less dangerous than offshore?

A. In my opinion, yeah.

Q. Why is that?

A. (They can reach the river) if something happens, (like an) oil spill. But over here, in the offshore, if something happens like an oil spill, I don't know how they are going to stop it from spreading (offshore).

Q. So, in essence, then, onshore is dangerous, too, because it can get in the rivers, which will take the spill down to the sea.

A. Yes, down (to the sea).

Q. Yes, and . . .

[Apparently, they are looking at a map.]

A. These waters here (are) pretty swift. These rivers up here are not so swift because they're too far from (the) mountains.

Q. Right. This is quite close to the mountains.

A. Over here, even in the wintertime, that place is swift; water is running all the time.

Q. So it runs year-round up there?

A. Yes, because it's closer to the range, you know, (the) mountains.

Q. Right. So, in general, it's equally as dangerous in the reserve area because of the rapid water . . . and if any (oil) spills there, it's going to rapidly go down to the sea?

A. (Yeah).

Q. So then, that's a lot different than in an area, say further east, where the mountains are further away and the water isn't as rapid.

A. Over here [paper sounds as though looking at a map], (the water is) pretty strong, too, in this big area. These are the strongest rivers we have. They flow all over that (area) . . . Canning River?

Q. No, this is the Sagavanirktok.

A. Sagavanirktok. And also Canning River.

Q. Canning River is very strong.

A. Yes, and this is the Colville.

Q. The Colville--right. So any development, essentially, in these areas is pretty dangerous. Okay.

Q. Can you think of any questions?

VOICE: No.

- Q. We really appreciate this. What this (interview) does is just generally shapes out your testimony that you've given before. And so we can go on to the report. And then it'll also be attached to the report.
- A. Yeah, I can't remember some of (the things I said in my testimony), you know.
- Q. (Regarding testimony given about) the lease sale '71 and '82, you were . . .
- A. At the time, we had (meetings) with OCS (people).
- Q. Right.
- A. You were there at that time?
- Q. No. (I wasn't) there.
- A. The OCS group came in from Prudhoe Bay.
- Q. Do you feel that the oil companies keep their promise when they say something, or do you think that they don't?
- A. They come (here) once in awhile, you know. That's what we would like, if they have something new, or if something comes up, they should come here to make a deal with us or (tell us) what we should know or (inform us) before they do something. That's what I'd like to see, both the oil companies or OCS or whoever . . . I'd like hearings so (that) we could have more information or (give) testimony about what these things are about. (They should) let us know what they plan.
- Q. (They should tell you) what their future plans are and (give you) ample time to get people together for hearings and so forth?
- A. (Yes).
- Q. How about with the oil companies in general, do you find them responsive in the sense (that) they tell you accurately what's going on? . . . For example, I noticed one time that you made mention of a situation where they had promised, you know, to get rigs off in April, and they didn't do something like that . . . Do you find them, in general . . . I know some people have also felt . . . there are cases where they say, "Well, you're going to be able to hunt in these areas after we develop it, but now it looks like maybe you're not going to be able to hunt in these areas," or something like that, you know?

- A. That's a main (concern) at (the) Prudhoe Bay area; (it's) restricted for hunting animals. You can't hunt (there).
- Q. You can't hunt there now?
- A. We can't hunt there now. No. It's their policy. There are big signs, you know. The caribou [here he talks about restrictions on hunting caribou and other animals near the Prudhoe drilling area], but we can't hunt by the Prudhoe Bay area. NO WAY!
- Q. That must be a general concern, though, about development, that they will prevent you from hunting in certain areas, and fishing?
- A. If (they) start (to) open up this area for oil companies . . . I don't (want) to see that happen . . .
- Q. Because they might stop hunting and fishing?
- A. Yes, (Hunting and fishing are important) because we live on Eskimo food.
- Q. So, in a sense, you're saying that development like that, where they cut off areas, then reduces your opportunities for Eskimo food and that WILL take away your subsistence (lifestyle), and then if there are no jobs, you have a real problem?
- A. (Yes, if there are) no jobs.
- Q. Do you have anything else you'd just like to say, in general?
- A. Well, I don't have much more (to say). There's one thing I'd like to mention--(what) I (talked) about a little while ago anyway--is (that if) oil companies want (to do) something, let them come over to the village and see what the village . . .

INTERVIEW WITH NOLAN SOLOMAN

September 2, 1982

This is Michael Baring-Gould, and I'm talking with Nolan Soloman in Kaktovik, and the date is September 2, 1982.

Q: Okay, Nolan, could you start off by telling us a little bit about yourself: how long you've lived in Kaktovik, where you were born, where you come from . . .

A: I'm originally from Wainwright, Alaska. I've lived in Alaska all my life. The first time I came here was in 1961. At that time, I was . . . then I worked for the DEW Line in Barrow. When I got married, I lived in Anchorage for five years . . . came back here to the village . . . (muffled-- several seconds of tape).

Q: How old are you?

A: I was born way back in '32, so I guess that makes me 50.

Q: You beat me by five years. Do you still work for the DEW Line site?

A: No, I'm not working for DEW Line; in fact, I'm not working right now . . .

Q: You're a whaling captain, right?

A: Right, I've been involved with whaling since I came back here. Then when the whaling really started . . . the first whale I got was in '77 or '78 . . . Each year seems really different . . . the whales . . . That's the thing I really like, all my life . . . I hunted whales in Barrow as a crew (member) for about ten years.

Q: How old were you when you first started whaling.

Q: Was that in Wainwright?

A: Yes.

A: Well, it was right around '52, '53; I really got involved on a crew. Then I came here to work for DEW Line.

Q: Could you go whaling when you were working for the DEW Line, or wouldn't they give you time off to do that?

A: Well, you could on a day off. In fact, I think it was the first year I got a whale--no, the second year it was--we took time off one day; we had time off, and we happened to catch a whale that day.

Q: What did you do on the DEW Line? What kind of work?

A: Well, I was doing labor. We did a lot of traveling to DEW sites.

Q: When was the last time you worked for them? how many years ago?

A: I don't know; I quit to go to work here . . . worked as a carpenter ever since.

Q: Have you been working on building the new houses here?

A: Yes, in fact, I built my house here . . . Since the oil impact over there, there hasn't hardly been any work up here. In fact, I've done quite a bit of traveling myself.

Q: What did you work on in Anchorage--when you lived in Anchorage?

A: I worked at the Alaska Native Village Hospital. I worked five years there. There wasn't any money over there, and my two boys were born, and there wasn't anything to support my family. My boys were growing, and we decided, "well, it's too big for our family here."

Q: Did you ever work in Prudhoe Bay as a carpenter?

A: (No)

Q: How come?

A: They won't hire me up there; they only hired a few people from up here, I understand.

Q: If they had hired people, would you have liked to have worked at Prudhoe, or would you rather have stayed here?

A: Well, at that time, it was the first _____ . . . we were training people there, at least _____ 100 because I was one of the leaders. They had people come in from all over the place to the DEW Line to work. Some of them would learn how to . . . I guess that was when some of them would learn a skill--we were training them how to back up trucks or how to start a cat or something like that. At first, they'd make 100 _____ and (then) take off and that was mainly when I decided that . . . it was just regular people . . . how to drive or how to start equipment. And that's the time when the union said you have to have _____.

Q: And you came back here.

A: I came back and went to work for the village. Otherwise, my card was an "A" card all the time, but I have to go to town to apply for (jobs). I can't (apply) from here.

Q: One other general question: I understood from George that you were on the Subsistence Advisory Group?

A: George?

Q: George Sherrod. He was in Barrow the other day at the seismic meeting.

A: I'm with the State Advisory Committee.

Q: Advisory Committee on Subsistence?

A: No, on Fish and Game, not on Subsistence. They have subsistence people that come up here.

Q: How long have you been on that board?

A: This is my third year.

Q: Okay, let me ask you a couple of questions on testimony from what we found from reading over the testimony. You testified at two (different) times. The first was--or one was--in 1981, last year, when you testified on the hearing for the Alaska Native Wildlife Range. You mentioned several specific things; one was the effect of vehicles and seismic activities on streams and the potential damage to fish. I wasn't sure whether that meant vehicles running over--running through--the shallow streams or what you meant by that? Do you remember giving that testimony?

A: Yes, I remember. They were telling us that they were going to use vehicles to move this stuff, and at that time we were concerned about the river. In the wintertime, the river is a real problem. (The) fish . . . In the really shallow (parts of) the river, there (are) pools. And I think that was what we were concerned about--the (effects) of seismic (activity) too close to the river, the (fish) disappear.

Q: From the vehicles riding over these places, or just seismic activity?

A: No. just seismic activity.

Q: I guess that isn't something we know any more about, do we, since they aren't doing seismic activity right now.

A: Well, they're probably doing something else. Those are . . . Up here it's real _____ because everything that comes up here is subsistence--fish come up to the rivers, ducks come around, and caribou come up here. In the wintertime, they go back up, out of here, back to _____. This is (potential for) a lot of damage if they start doing seismic (testing) like that.

Q: Do you do a lot of hunting and fishing over on the mainland?

A: Yeah, I do some hunting there, but not very much. There's nothing in the Arctic, except sheep. Sometimes, I go up there and I fish a little bit.

Q: Where are the main places that you fish? in what rivers? in the Hulahula?

A: Well, mainly, (we go) right up to the Hulahula to fish. And one spring, I fished in _____; I was surprised to see that there were a lot of tagged fish.

Q: A lot of tagged fish? Where did they come from?

A: I don't know, (from) whoever tags fish. Grayling.

Q: They were grayling? Archy was telling us that he had caught quite a few tagged fish from . . . I think they were whitefish, but they were tagged right down in Prudhoe Bay and west of Prudhoe Bay and that he had caught them in the Hulahula.

A: Yeah, this year my brother caught one that was tagged. It was a whitefish. But I don't remember where I sent it.

Q: Another point that you made at that hearing was that the counts of the fish in the Hulahula and the Sadlerochit may not have been very accurate because they missed a lot of the holes in the river.

A: Yeah, at that time they claim they were running down into the (name of river). They weren't in (just) one stream. In a lot of places, they are not right in the river. (Where) there's a turn, there is a deep pool underneath the turn. That's where a lot of (fish) are. That's how they winter--in those turns. I'm sure, if I was a fish, I (would) not stick around in a shallow place where somebody can paddle by and see me; so that's one thing I brought up because there are a lot of pools like that in these rivers, in the turns. When the river goes out and makes a turn, (it) eats the bottom out. And in a river like this, they'd be in here where the turn is, underneath. That's where they stay; that's their protection. I'm sure a lot of those fish are there because . . . we seem to find them there (when

the) water (is) up (just) 3 or 4 inches; in the summer when there is little water running, you can catch fish in these pools. . . . That's one of the things I said that seismic activity would do: damage these areas and kill off (the fish).

Q: The other time you testified was actually before that--at the first Beaufort Sea Sale. There were a number of points you made in that, that I'd like to go over quickly. One of them referred to the fact that subsistence hunting was becoming harder as the oil companies are polluting the land and leaving a lot of waste and dumping a lot of waste. Do you think that's still a problem?

A: I'm sure everything they do today . . . they are polluting the air, the _____ fire's still over there. Soot, or whatever, is still coming from somewhere.

Q: Where do you mean "over there"?

A: Prudhoe Bay.

A: I was just there not very long ago, a couple of days ago, and they are still burning there; like I said, (in the) winter, you don't see the white fox anymore . . . you can see them from miles away. That's (because) of all those _____ going on over there.

Q: Does that scare away the animals--the soot?

A: Well, if you were a white fox and tried to hunt with black fur, you (wouldn't) catch anything.

Q: Do you think that affects the migration of caribou--the air pollution in Prudhoe Bay?

A: Today it's even worse than . . . the migration of the caribou . . . don't get them any more in that area. Like last year, we'd just run right up to the islands here, I understand, I heard. Then, something bothers them over there.

Q: Do you know what it is that actually bothers them?

A: It's all that noise from the (activity) up here . . . all the noise of the oil companies, and whatever, (the) pipeline over there, (the) highway over there. I'm sure it's everything.

Q: That's another point that you made: that the air traffic disturbs the caribou, the planes flying low over the coast.

. . . .

A: It's the same today. I have people tell me right now (that when) they go camping (the) planes are flying low; (the) helicopters fly really low; planes fly too low. Some people up here already (have) the evidence with their camera. People go (out) with their cameras to take pictures some days; they (get) evidence (in pictures).

Q: What happens when the airplanes fly low? Does it break up the caribou from the calves, or does it change their migration? does it scare them back into the mountains?

A: Well, in a group, they're real easy to move--to herd. When you take 3 or 4 of them--take one caribou or five caribou in a bunch--they _____. When you come to a herd, it's a different story; once they start moving, they move. (That's what is) happening all the time--just when the caribou start coming, they start flying low or whatever--(fly) back and forth . . . You can go over to Prudhoe Bay right now; just take a helicopter and you can fly 200 feet (above the ground). Caribou (will) just look at you. If (the caribou) takes off alone, where is he going to go? who will go with him? When they bunch up, that's when you should leave them alone, because that's when they are calving up here. The young ones, or yearlings, are the ones that (the noise) really bothers because they're wild; they've just come to this world. I'm sure when the plane comes around, they wonder what the heck (it) is.

Q: Archie and Herman and Loren Ailers . . . I guess they all mentioned that this year the caribou migration is very strange. A whole lot of caribou came down to the coast this past year--more caribou than they'd ever seen before. Quite a few caribou came over to the island here. There were 200 or 300 caribou on Barter Island. Do you think that might have been due to airplanes, or . . . traffic, or anything like that? What caused that, do you think?

A: Well, this year was an unusual year. It's been a late migration this year. Before they even got here, they were dropping their calves. . . . What happened is, I guess, they didn't get anywhere--just up here. They were migrating that way. But for some reason, they would just take off . . . too much noise up here--too many helicopters flying around . . .

Q: They took off really quickly?

A: Yes, just overnight, they were gone; they were here. I was here myself when they first came. In fact, they were up this way already . . . that was in the last part of June, and they kept coming back while I was up there.

Q: What do you mean, up there?

A: Right above here. When I say "up," I mean _____. They stayed around; more came in. I understand they came right to the island--some of them. They came in from this area and pushed right on up _____, Canada.

Q: Another point you made at the Beaufort hearing was the power of the ice. You mentioned something I wasn't really clear about it--about having seen an iceberg when you were out hunting maybe 8 or 9 years ago . . .

A: Just listen to that (testimony) and (you can) get (my) point of view. What did you want to (know) about that?

Q: Your point in that was that the currents are very strong?

A: There are all kinds of currents, (and they) are strong up here. Sometimes (when) I go out on an iceberg, I can feel it moving under me.

Q: The reason why I was asking you about the icebergs when we stopped is that I would like to find out where you think the currents are worse and where you think the drilling for oil would be most dangerous.

A: Everywhere. I'm almost against any type of drilling out in the sea, anywhere. There's no safe place out in the sea on account of (the possibility of an) oil spill. Our game (would) be gone. That's what we're (experiencing) right now; caribou--there are none (out there). You can't see any.

Q: Do you think it's safe to drill inside the isands or . . .?

A: No, it's not safe anywhere. We get our fish and everything up here. There is just a certain time of year to (gather food and hunt), and if the (animals and fish) are gone, what are we going to do? That's my (greatest) fear: if this happens, not only this year but years from now, if there are no fish, what are our kids going to do when all this is all gone? Right now, it _____. There's hardly anything going on. (Development is) expanding--coming this way--and that's bad.

Q: How about drilling for oil on shore? Do you think that's alright?

A: No, I fear it, especially at this time. We live on (the) land up here _____; we only have 60 miles between the range up here, and that's all we have for hunting in this area. What scares me most is that if they come up here, this place will all be restricted. Their corridors are getting wider and

wider every year--restricted. That's what happened to Canada when they built that highway; (there was) a 5-mile corridor restriction on it. That's 10 miles that you can't hunt (in) on both sides of the road. That's what will happen here.

And over there, you can still see caribou right there, but the oil company says, "you can't go in there and hunt." It's all restricted from any firearms.

Q: What do you think is the greatest danger from the drilling? Is it the possibility of oil spill? Is it the noise that would come from the drilling? the noise that would come from the seismic work?

A: I can't answer that question. What is happening is that they (are) coming this way, to the east; and Canada is coming west. We're in a bind. When that happens, I don't know what we're going to do. I know I'm going to live another 10 years or so, but what's my family going to do? My boys are growing now. What are their families going to do in the year 2000. They say up here the land is pretty fragile. Once it's run over, it won't recover for many years. If they (continue) polluting it, the caribou (will) go elsewhere, and we won't be able to get anything up here. We get a lot of spring water up here. We fish. Our water source is pretty scarce; it just comes from one lake. So we really have to save our lakes up here.

Q: If the worst happened and they did drill for oil, what rules would you like to see placed on the oil companies that might restrict the negative things that could happen?

A: I can't say really. The councilman, the representative, was up here. I can't say for myself. I don't think there is any safe place to drill up here in this part of the country.

Q: You're a wise person, though, and if they were to develop for oil, what rules would you like to suggest that would control the type of development that they do? Do you think it would be important to . . .

A: I don't think you can control the oil industry. They just start and go. You'll never stop them. That's what people say up here. (Once they) get something started here, all they do is just go. (We might have) one little thing to say and then that's it. I can't say anything about it; once they start, that's it. It is just a big wall (in front of) everybody. Roads would be built; everything will be built.

INTERVIEW WITH SAM TAALAK

August 10, 1982

This is Bill Schneider and George Sherrod. We're here talking with Sam Taalak. Sam is the Mayor of Nuiqsut; is that correct? We're going to talk a little bit about his history--personal history--and then talk about some of the activities in the town and what you see for the future.

Q: So, maybe you could start by telling us a little bit about your personal history: where you were born, where you grew up, and your travels?

A: I was born at Oliktok about 30 miles back in the Oliktok area.

Q: That would be northeast of here?

A: Northeast, yes. Around 1930 we had to go to Barrow, just like everyone else, because of a ruling by the United States that we attend school. That's when we moved back to Barrow for school. I've been around Barrow most all the time until we went to Fairbanks for three years. Then we came here. We're relatively newcomers here. My wife was born at Cape Thompson, about 30 or 40 miles from here.

Q: In the other direction?

A: In the opposite direction from where I was born. We just came back; it was just a homing instinct. It's human nature to go where you were born. It's more or less what we want. What Barrow is now is a little bit too much. All our property we had to leave down at Barrow. All our kids are grown up, except for the youngest--the adopted one; she's going to the University of Alaska.

Q: What's your youngest's name?

A: Nora.

Q: Nora Taalak?

A: Yes, she almost didn't make it for the reason that we left her major open. She wanted the option to look around to see what she wanted to major in. But she's quite an artist; she's quite an artist for somebody with no training at all. She may go for that, then she may go into nursing. Actually, she doesn't know what she wants to do, 'till a little bit later on, probably.

Q: So she'll be in Fairbanks?

A: Yeah, she'll be in College. She's got everything fixed up so all she's doing is working, seven days a week now, trying to get that money.

Q: Well, I'll keep an eye out for her and try to remember her name.

A: She's in Barrow now. She'll go back tomorrow.

Q: What are some of the jobs--wage jobs--you've held dealing in oil?

A: Well, my trade has always been sheetmetal and welding. I've been mayor about 3 times for Barrow. That was before the population explosion. But I organized the land claims ASNA (Arctic Slope Native Association). There's three people in (the original law)suit. They didn't know how to go about organizing associations, so I wrote it. I worked on incorporating Barrow--that was right around 1952 or '53. You heard about the duck hunting controversy we had; about 138 of us got arrested. I was the mayor of Barrow then when it happened.

Q: Talking about the land claims book by Arnold?

A: That's the run-down on what happened when we first started.

Q: I was interested in the history of the Arctic Slope Native Association. Could you give us a brief summary of that?

A: There are three people that sued for the land claims. They made the suit, but they didn't have money or anything (and they did not know) how to go about organizing an association, so they came to me. I was general manager of Barrow Utilities then. I was with Barrow Utilities for 7 years. At that time I also organized the Barrow Utilities Cooperative. I was involved in all this gratis work! The Arctic Slope Native Association was started in 1963, but what we did . . . we got dues; we were collecting dues then. You see there is a little shack over there right at Prudhoe. He just made a settlement. Last time he was there was 1930, just like the rest of us. He had to go to Barrow for regular education. He left the houses right smack in the middle of Prudhoe activities. He settled for \$800,000. That was about 2 weeks ago.

Q: Who was that?

A: Walton.

Q: Walton Ahmaogak?

A: Some of this is original . . . the first offices of Arctic Slope Native Association. We more or less operated with no money at all. I had a little bit of savings then. . . I plunked that down for my trips to Juneau, Anchorage, Washington, D.C. There went our savings. I tried to get it back, but I could not.

Q: What was the purpose of the Native Association?

A: To pursue the land claims fight. That was its main purpose. It originated from the three suers: Guy Okakok, Samuel Simmons, and Charlie Edwardson. After the suit, they didn't know what to do. So I started putting up the Association to where it got pretty big. Almost all of our grant money started pouring in about 5 years after we started the fight. That's when I went into building the Barrow Utilities . . . See, what happened was we couldn't get any natural gas, and we had to build, organize a co-op in order to buy gas from the Navy, and it was something that I enjoyed doing. We worked with the BIA. You know how the BIA works. They don't want to talk to us novices or anybody except themselves. We got quite a loan out of them.

Q: To start Barrow Utilities?

A: Yes, to start the Barrow Utilities; that's a pretty big outfit now. I had the number one membership in that, and then I had the number one membership of Arctic Slope Native Association, also. What it got was a pile of debts. They're fighting some of those debts now.

Q: How do you feel that the Native Association (Arctic Slope Native Association) . . . has it been successful?

A: Yes. Well, I don't think any (Native) organization in the State of Alaska would have gone the way . . . gone up so fast if it hadn't been for us. We were sort of all the aces. The team we had . . . well, they were pretty good. They were hard fighters like Eben Hopson, Joe Upicksoun, everybody else. If we hadn't pushed so hard, I don't think the land claims would (be settled; we'd) probably still be fighting it now, right now. We had some good, hard bargaining power which was all the usurping of the area that we lived on, which is good for the whole of Alaska. The only bad part that we were not successful in right now is we have to pay out most of our money from here to the other 12 corporations--about 70 percent. Each corporation . . . from the profits they give, about 70 percent out of the . . . There are some outfits down in Southeast that, well, they have no way of making any money. What actually has happened is that we're giving all the money from North Slope Regional Corporation.

Q: What happened to the Arctic Slope Native Association? What did it become?

A: It's the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation now. All the money that the Arctic Slope won was taken over by the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation. That's where the regional corporation is at now.

Q: How is ICAS related to Arctic Slope Native Association?

A: It came about in a lot of the internal disputes; and it was one of the branches that came from the internal troubles we had which I would rather not say anything on. I know it is past.

Q: So you've been working for Native organizations for a long time?

A: Yes I have. I've been working . . . well, I got into public office one year after I got married. I was 23 years old then. I've been in local government ever since.

Q: What year was that when you got married?

A: 1950. Yesterday was our 32nd anniversary. All in all, I think the organization has done a lot of good. There's still a lot of ragged ends on everything yet. Where the old cultures meet the new cultures is our main big problem. Everywhere you go in the State of Alaska, Native governments have got the same trouble that we've got: the old culture against the new culture. That's quite a jump.

Q: Would you explain what you mean by old culture meeting the new culture? Give some examples.

A: I came up to a problem here; I'll use that for an example. In all our local governments, the Natives . . . we didn't need a lot to govern our land, our townsites. Wherever we squatted and built was where we had the right, but now with this new type of government we are now facing, we have to go by the state and federal laws now in acquiring lots and homesites; but people up here cannot understand why they need a permit to move a building, a permit to dig a cellar, a permit to go to the bathroom and everything . . . that never happened before. That's what I mean by the old culture and the new culture; where in the new culture, everything needs a permit. The people, the old people especially . . . their way of ironing out the difficulties around the local town was the council. They present (their difficulties) to the village council, and they expect the council to iron it out; but that's not the case anymore. Now there are courts. For myself, I'm still lost. Being (educated) through elementary school, just up to the 8th grade, and trying to sort out all this stuff is a big bite

Q: I'd like to ask you a little bit about the settlement of the land claims--when the State got their land and oil development occurred. Did you imagine at that time that things would happen the way they have?

A: Not quite as broad as it turned out. Of course, you take the North Slope settlement; we got what we wanted, almost. There has to be a compromise someplace; and as it turned out, we got just about what we wanted in land. But still, the State has picked out almost all of our claims. I don't know how to say it, but the organization is strong enough so that we can just about dictate what we want in the way of laws to protect the land; that's more or less what we wanted.

Q: Which organization is that?

A: Arctic Slope Native Association, ASRC, different regional corporations. That's now only townsite lands; the conveyed lands to the corporations, I think we made a fair deal on. It could be better, but then I haven't seen anyone in history that got everything they fought for.

Q: What sort of job do you think ASRC is doing?

A: For the moment, ASRC, I would say, the same people have (had) the same offices for so long, the power of proxy vote being at fault; they need to be replaced to get more action on the . . . money that we aren't getting. The same crew that's been in office since the money came in and that power of proxy, we are fighting to reach out and proxy vote some way; but until we do, we're helpless. We have the same problems. There is almost nothing we can do on the matter of votes, and that's bad for any corporation--when just certain people get all the power. Every year we've had the same bitter fight. But every fight we've had, we've been beaten by the proxy votes. The officers, the directors, so forth--they hold the proxy votes. We are trying to change the state of proxies and proxy holders in the corporation now, and until we do, I don't think I can comment any more . . . nor can anybody comment. The directors we have now have been on there so long that they have lost sight of what the people actually want.

Q: Can you give me an example of that?

A: Well, on construction, for example, all that construction pay up at the North Slope is governed by the proxy holder family, or the top echelon . . . and unless you are a member of the more or less elite class, it's pretty hard to break into.

Q: Do you think that the corporation has made wise decisions about oil?

A: Not for Nuiqsut, they haven't. In the winter time, I'm paying around \$900 for electricity and oil a month. I live only 40 miles from the oil field. That's something I don't think the corporations are working hard enough on--to get some of that oil to our village.

Q: What should they do?

A: Well, the ASRC more or less would have the final say, so they can team up better for results with the North Slope Borough. They could bring the gas here. That's not a big project--bringing natural gas here to take the place of oil. That would probably cut us down to about . . . hard to say . . . about a thirty-year projection; we're talking about real cheap fuel. And for a town this size, I don't think they would go higher than a 12-inch pipe. That Hains, you know the old Hains pipeline from Hains to Fairbanks or Fort Wainwright, that's a 16-inch pipe.

Q: I've seen it, but I can't quite recall . . .

A: It carries liquid. Now this natural gas--the pipe should be smaller. It shouldn't make any difference.

Q: So you think ASRC ought to be more involved in . . .

A: Oil procurement. Yes.

Q: Could they make a profit on that?

A: I'd say on a thirty-year projection, they sure couldn't stand but to make money on that; and let's face it: the ASRC was organized for the benefit of the people in the first place. Actually, what it turned out to be is, take Barrow for example, it is getting to be a refuge for bureaucrats.

Q: More questions about what you thought back at the time of the land claims and the development of this area here. Can you tell me a little bit more about what you thought about in terms of oil development?

A: It was 1963 when the Navy was exploring (for) oil up here. The hunting was not banned in those days. The Navy was (here) hunting and fishing; it was not banned. Before the big cleanup which is still going on in certain parts of the North Slope, they left debris all over the country--I mean all over the country. It looked more like a battlefield all over, all the way up to Umiat (?) and all around here. What we wanted to do when the oil development first came out was to try and stop the repetition of the Navy explorations. That was more or less what our chief concern was at the time: protect the land. The monetary problem came later. Our true concern was the land.

Right now, we have the offshore (drilling) as our current problem. We've been fighting that since, well, we are fighting a lost cause right now actually. We fought for exploration to end around April, for the whale migrations, but now they have extended to 1 May. When they extended that to 10 months out of the year, there was something going wrong some place. I don't know what it is. Sure, the people come up and have a meeting with us, ask us why we're dead set against drilling in the summer months. But this is more or less as a courtesy, for appearances anyway. All the oil industries, they're going to do it any how. Employment is two-faced; a lot of employment will make a new way of life. By the same token, I don't see that it will last forever. One day we'll wake up to (find) that (it is) the end of (the oil). Whether (or not) we revert back to the old style of life is questionable.

Q: Do you think people could?

A: I don't know. No civilization that has grown up has ever gone back to the old style. I don't think they will do it now.

Q: It would be hard to give up the village life here in terms of electricity and modern houses and schools?

A: Well, there has to be a lot of compromise between the cultures now that the natives can't go back to bows and arrows, and they've got the guns. I don't know, give us about 10, 20 years from now and take another look to see what's happened. And that will be the time to see what's going on.

Q: I'd like to go back to what you said earlier, though, about the oil companies not listening to you about the scheduling on offshore drilling.

A: We've been very opposed to offshore drilling because we know what's going to happen if such things . . . to illustrate, the oil companies don't have the foolproof way of stopping a leak. Take a look at Santa Barbara; take a look at any place where a small ship lost the oil. There was nothing they could do; look at all the wildlife they lost there. That's pitiful. Now, this place is one of the biggest oil fields in the world; Kuparuk could blow a hole; they could have an accident. You can't even comprehend what would happen. All the plankton and everything would be destroyed; the chain of sea life, the whole chain from the bottom up, poof! it wouldn't take much.

Q: How do people handle that frustration of not being heard?

A: I don't know. Go back to Appalachian country--there are real people there. We probably feel the same frustrations they do down there, where they talk and they can't get through to them. When the President, the Secretary of Interior, and all those

people say, "okay, let's fight," there's not much we can do. Open that area wide; get all the oil up. I think every one of us has read the incident at Wounded Knee. It's the same repetition all over again.

Q: Do you think that there's a way that subsistence and development can continue at the same time?

A: Yes, if they had more regard for the wishes of the people. Like the State, where they are going ahead and opening up the offshore drilling anyway, what can we say? We can compromise, but then how much can we do to keep our land safe? Take 20 or 30 years from now; they are going to run out of oil eventually. The resources that we are dependent on will probably be past history if they go ahead the way they are now.

Q: What sort of training are you giving your kids for the future?

A: We're trying to keep the native culture alive, but there's a lot of territory we have to cover yet before we can say that we have been prepared for eventual shutdown of all this development up here. We can't for the moment 'till we get this . . . well, I'm one generation from the new generation that we have now--going to high school, going to college. In my day--I'm not too old yet--in my day, we couldn't get (higher education). Of course, I was BIA taught. There was only one Eskimo they had to teach.

Q: What do you think that the City Council can do, or will do with respect to the oil development? What sort of actions are open to you?

A: I came here to find peace and rest. That was one of my big dreams, just to go off and get a little bit of work, most of it in hunting. But that's not the case any more because I'm getting involved again. Right now the new council is being formed under the State code. We hope to take on the feasibility study of the pipeline here; and the sooner, the better because for the moment every one of these houses will be paying between \$700 and \$900/month utility bills in the winter time. We burn up \$130 worth of oil in 5 days, 4 to 5 days. I want a substitute. The corporation which my wife is a member of . . . I'm a member of U.I.C.; Amy is a member of Kupkik Corporation. What the Kupkik Corporation hopes to do, or what they're doing, would be . . . trying to get the oil exploration in close to where they strike gas. One of the agreements that they will make is, if they strike gas, (then) they pipe it down here.

Q: If who strikes gas?

A: Last winter we had a drilling exploration about 5 miles from here.

Q: On Kukpik land?

A: On Kukpik land. That was downriver from here. The agreement was that if they struck gas, they would pipe it in. Now, I haven't heard too much on what actually happened in the exploration. That probably won't be available for about 2 years, before an actual publication of what they propose to do with one site (is ready). Kukpik Corporation is involved in partnership groups and drill rigs here, and something may come in the future before we can get the cheaper fuel; but for the moment, I don't know how we can do it until they build a road. I have heard nothing on the road. That was one of the proposals made down in Barrow--that they should build a road because the road to Fairbanks is 30 miles from here.

Q: How do you feel about that?

A: The road? There are not many wrinkles in it right now. If they someday open up the road to the public, it would be bad for us here. The public would be from Fairbanks, the State. If people would start pouring in here for the hunting grounds, it would be bad for us. But someday (with) the cost now for everything we get up here, we'll have to do with less or we'll have to do something. We can't fly it up forever.

Q: I've noticed that the runway has expanded there, too, though.

A: Yeah, everything is off to a flying start as far as buildings and fairways are concerned. Take another look ten years from now. (It's) pretty hard to tell what will happen in the 1990s. We hope everybody keeps hold of their stock and still keep it under native control, but then, it's pretty hard to tell.

Q: I guess it was last winter that Kukpik got involved in oil drilling operations.

A: The branch company that Kukpik broke off from, Pingo, consists of 6 villages. They have small shares in Pingo. The main purpose originally was to keep the people employed in the oil fields. There's not too much of a subsidiary (?). You can't call it a subsidiary as far as Pingo is concerned because their rates--weight rates--are so low that . . . (Why) they wanted the oil rig itself is something that I don't know anything about. You can speak to other people on that.

Q: It was a surprise to many of us in Fairbanks and Anchorage who were familiar with the subsistence issues up here, and I think a lot of people asked whether people are still concerned about the system and whether the two could go together. It's hard to answer that from down there.

A: I don't know exactly what will happen. In theory . . . but such a new thing for the United States, that native people are going to the caucus. No one knows what will happen. (It is) a totally new thing for everybody. Until we see what happens . . . That will be the day that they will have happened. Then in the case of us, ten years from now, most of this generation, the next generation from mine, will have been educated in both the native style and the new culture. So they probably won't come into many hardships. It will be up to them. One of the main concerns for us is to try and protect what we've got for the moment and see what they do with it later on.

Q: You mentioned land as a . . .

A: Right; land, land protection, wildlife protection . . .

INTERVIEW WITH PHILIP TIKLUK, SR.

August 19, 1982

Today is August the 19th. This is George Sherrod and Joe Gross, and we are talking with Philip Tikluk in Kaktovik, Alaska. We are going to talk about oil development and what it means, and maybe to start out, Philip could tell us a little bit about his personal history, where he grew up, when he was born, and so on.

A: I was born about 15 miles west of here on the mainland, forty-five years ago. My parents moved down to Barrow when I was just a little baby. They said that they moved there (then). And then by the time I was six years old, they both passed away, and I was raised by my grandparents. We lived here and there along the coast, and we moved up to Canada for about seven years and came back here in 1950. Ever since 1950, I've been living here.

Q: Here in Kaktovik?

A: Yeah.

Q: Were your grandparents in Barrow?

A: No, they were here. I mean, they were (living) along the coast here; they never stayed (in) one place.

Q: Maybe, Philip, you could tell us a little about your cash employment history--the type of work you've done for cash.

A: Well, ever since I was old enough to go to work I've been working. Like in 1957, I went to basic training, and then I came back and started working on the DEW Line up there. I worked twelve years on the DEW Line.

Q: What kind of work were you doing for them?

A: Well, I started out as a laborer, and I worked maybe about 7 years as a laborer. Then I got raised, promoted to vehicle operator up there--heavy equipment and things like that--and they let me join the teamsters. After I quit the DEW Line, I worked on the North Slope here and there, you know, (as) a carpenter, vehicle operator. I mean I do things like operating equipment like a front-end loader and things like that.

Q: Have you ever worked for the oil companies?

A: Yeah, six months.

Q: Oh, could you tell us a little bit about that--when it was?

A: Well, I worked at Prudhoe for awhile, for about six months with ARCO, but I didn't like what they put me on. It wasn't my kind of work. I tried to tell them, "this is not my kind of work," so . . . I tried for six months, and after six months I resigned.

Q: What kind of work was it?

A: Well, they called it general maintenance. Like if the valve on some kind of pipeline started leaking, you had to change it here and there. I didn't like it.

Q: What kind of jobs were there that you would have liked to have had?

A: Well, I wanted to go on with . . . what I know best is carpentry and equipment operation, you know, like front-end loaders. I know how to do that really (well); carpentry, you know, I can do that (type of work). Other than that--I (can do) anything else besides that, you know.

Q: But that's what you wanted to do?

A: Yeah.

Q: But they didn't have jobs like that?

A: Well, if I had kept my job over there, maybe I could have made it to operating the equipment. But I didn't want to wait that long. See, they raise you from Tech start, (to) Technician 1, Technician 2, and up to Technician 7. In three months time, I went up to Tech 3--Technician 3--and maybe (after) another year-and-a-half or so, I could maybe (have made) it up to Tech 7; I don't know. It was an easy job all right, but I didn't really want to do it.

Q: How did you get the job?

A: Well, I filled out their application, and the next thing I knew, they sent for me; they interviewed me over there; and in a couple of weeks or so, they told me to go to work.

Q: Where did you find the application?

A: They always bring some here.

Q: City hall?

A: Yes, someplace.

Q: Would you ever think about going back there, if there was a good job?

A: If the kind of work I like (was available), yes, I would.

Q: What about the the other parts of the job? Was it hard living there?

A: No, it was really nice over there. They had good living quarters and everything--good food--the whole works. On top of that, I was gaining weight over there--getting too fat. Other than that, I didn't like flying. Every other week, I had to fly over.

Q: Did the plane come here to pick you up, or did you have to go to Fairbanks?

A: No, they always came and picked us up here every other week. One week I'd be over there; I'd go home and stay home one week; the next week, I'd go back to work.

Q: Was that hard?

A: I didn't really like it, you know--going back and forth. In certain ways, I liked (it), you know, like when I got home, I could do anything I wanted to do in one week. Like maybe I (could) take a quick trip to the mountains in the wintertime with the snow machine.

Q: To hunt or fish or something like that?

A: Yes, go hunting. But I really didn't care for (flying) back and forth.

Q: You don't like to fly?

A: No, I like to fly; I really do. . . . The main reason I quit was (that) I didn't really like what they (had me doing)--general maintenance. You fix this one, you fix that and that and that. Heck with this.

Q: How did you get this job building the fire station? How did you find out about that work?

A: Well, I found out about it; they knew about it. It was in the news or something like that, and I went to the Corporation down there, KIC, and I filled out an application. I was the first one they hired.

Q: Maybe that's because they heard you're a good worker?

A: Maybe I have a good (reputation).

Q: What do you think will happen . . . is there going to be more work after the fire station is complete?

A: I think maybe there will be, yes; they are going to build a clinic over there, just on the other side of that fire station. And there's supposed to be a community hall (built) someplace; that's supposed to be put up. There are supposed to be some more houses put up someplace; I don't know where. Blackstock is supposed to come in. I don't really know; it may be just a rumor.

Q: But you think there will be work then, building those?

A: There will be work here and there. I hope.

Q: When you're working these jobs, where you have to be there during the day and stuff, does that interfere with your hunting and fishing?

A: No, I don't know about this one; I haven't asked for any (time off) yet. Before this job, when we were working with Blackstock building these houses; if you wanted to take a day off to go hunting, they let you. They wouldn't hold you. Like if there were caribou around and you wanted to take a day off and go catch caribou, they didn't hold you. But they didn't pay you for it.

Q: This is a little different. What do you think of the benefits, or what kind of good things do you think the North Slope Borough does for the villages?

A: Oh, they've been improving the village here, you know.

Q: Can you give me some examples?

A: Like a gym--they've got a gym there, and they've been adding some high school houses--things like that. And they've been improving these roads here; they built these roads here and there. On top of that, they put in the new fire station. Other than that, they've got (a) power house, and they've got a water haul (system). Like if I want some water in my tank, I just call them up (and say), "Hey I need some water." You don't have to try to get your own water nowadays. All you have to do is call them up. They just put the hose in and fill your tank up--things like that.

Q: Have there been any problems? Have maybe some of the things (that) the North Slope Borough has done caused problems?

A: Let me see--no, not really. I don't think so, not that I know of. No, I don't think so.

Q: Has the North Slope Borough done anything to try to protect the land and the sea from maybe oil development?

A: Yes, they have . . . the North Slope Borough mayor has been fighting it, against it.

Q: Which mayor?

A: Eugene Brower. We're all against this oil development--OCS development, you know. We're against it.

Q: Then you think maybe the mayor works to help the people?

A: Yeah, he's trying his best to help us.

Q: This is a long way from Barrow. How does the information about such things and about what the North Slope does--how does that come to you? How do you hear about them?

A: Well, we're connected with the North Slope Borough. There (are) supposed to be seven villages in the North Slope Borough district, right? So we are one of them--all the way to Point Hope. We're one of them right here.

Q: But, I mean, how do you know? how do you hear that what . . .

A: Telephone.

Q: The telephone?

A: Or (through) KBRW. They (have a) radio station in Barrow.

Q: And they let you know what the Borough's doing?

A: Yeah or they send you a letter (about) Arctic policy or whatever.

Q: We were talking about the North Slope Borough. Philip, do you think the North Slope Borough and the things that it has done have changed since it was first formed and maybe will change to do different things in the future?

A: Oh, it will have to. Ever since it became a borough there have been a lot of changes--quite a few. Like our school used to belong to the BIA; now it belongs to the North Slope Borough . . . See, I went to (the) BIA school when I was going to school, but the North Slope Borough has it now. That is one change that I know of. And then before that, we used to buy our fuel from the DEW Line, but when the North Slope developed, we started getting our own fuel.

- Q: What types of things do you think the Borough will do in the future? What kinds of things will happen?
- A: Oh well, thats a good question. Let me see. I wouldn't know exactly; I cannot tell that; I cannot tell the future.
- Q: What kinds of things might you like to see--might you want the Borough to do then? Maybe that would be a better question.
- A: Oh, okay. What I'd like to see is (that) we would have our own terminal building down there.
- Q: At the airport?
- A: Yes, and another thing I'd like--maybe they could build a dock out there where you could just dock there on the dock and just jump in your boat and go, instead of having to pull your boat up.
- Q: Yeah, it would be better . . . Maybe you can tell us a little bit about your feelings about the oil and gas development.
- A: They aren't supposed to be here. These oil people here--they're not supposed to be here in the first place. This is Arctic Wildlife Range, right? From . . . what's that river over there?
- Q: McKenzie?
- A: From Canning River to Canada, it's supposed to be an Arctic Wildlife Range, right? There is not even supposed to be any oil exploration here, but they're doing it anyway. We try to keep them away, (but) they still keep coming. They're not supposed to be here. See, right now this whole village right here hunts on the Arctic Wildlife Range, right here. Fish and Wildlife permits us to hunt here.
- Q: Do you think that oil will somehow harm or affect your hunting?
- A: Yes, very (much). It would really (affect hunting). I don't think it would affect it on the land, but on the ocean it would really (affect it), because . . . it really would, especially the sea mammals.
- Q: What would it do to the sea mammals?
- A: Well, for one thing, if they start drilling for oil there on the OCS, they (will) make noise. You could hear them for miles and miles. That would keep the seals, bearded seals, . . . sea animals away, (and) that really would hurt us. Maybe even fish (would be driven away by the noise). See, in (the) summertime these people, right here--they do quite a bit of gill netting out on the sand spit. That's how we've been catching fish for

the last few days--last two weeks anyway. And I think oil development out here in our Arctic ocean is going to affect our seal hunting, fishing, things like that.

Q: We talked a little bit about oil development here and what it meant. What has oil development at Prudhoe Bay meant? How has that affected your lives?

A: For this village, (there are) quite a few jobs over there opening up to begin with. I had one for six months over there, and I don't know, they don't really affect this village hardly (at all) unless somebody (who) works there (is) making more money than we do or whatever. But it hardly affects the village here. There are so many thousands of barrels (of oil) going (through) that pipeline, you (can) make some money. One thing I know is that we got that one thousand dollar dividend check. I received mine; I was one of the first to get (one). That's one thing that came from Prudhoe Bay; I know that. That's about all I know. It doesn't really have an effect on this place.

Q: Do you think that if there were to be, say, more development at Prudhoe or maybe in the ocean near Prudhoe, that that would affect Kaktovik?

A: Well, I've been presented with a job application from Kuparuk. That's about 40 miles west of Prudhoe Bay. They are going to build a big 275-man housing (project) over there--the whole works.

Q: Is that with Pingo and the Borough?

A: All those, yes; but they let me fill out the application, and I haven't heard anything from them, not one word. Maybe they rejected me or something.

Q: Did someone from Pingo or someone (else) come here to get people to fill out forms?

A: Yeah, the secretary--a lady came over here and let me fill out the application, and I haven't heard anything from her.

Q: If people got jobs, do you think that would be good then?

A: Yeah, it really would (be good).

Q: What if they drilled offshore near there, in the ocean?

A: Well, we used to say that if they drill inside the Barrier Islands . . . we call those (the) Barrier Islands, the islands along the Arctic Ocean over there; there are (many) islands.

Alaska Island, or what we call Flaxman Island, if they (wanted to) drill inside these, it (would be) okay. But then they wanted to go on the other side of (the islands) to work so many miles (offshore). That would really affect the whales and sea mammals and things like that. I wouldn't go for it.

Q: Do you think that, like on land, say around the Kuparuk in Prudhoe Bay--do you think that you can have on-land development and people can still practice subsistence? that the two can happen at the same time?

A: On land, yeah, it could be, because (drilling) on land over there, I don't think, (would) hardly hurt any subsistence hunting. I don't think (it would hurt subsistence hunting) because when I was there for six months, I (saw) caribou right by the buildings in the summertime and in the fall. In the month of October, there'd still be some caribou around. I don't think it'd hurt them--(drilling) on land, that is.

Q: Suppose that if there was oil development offshore and if it bothered the animals somehow or in somehow upset the animals, how do you think the animals' being upset would affect the people of Kaktovik?

A: Well, for one thing, oil development in the ocean would affect the sea mammals. They (would) stay quite a ways out. You (would) have to go way out there in order to catch a seal or bearded seal or especially the whales. Sometimes we have to go quite a ways out to see whales nowadays--way out there. The longest we have gone away was ten hours. It took us ten hours from way down there That's how far we'd (have to go to) catch them.

Q: Would people still go out even though it meant going a long way out? Would people still go after the animals?

A: You know we have to; yeah, we have to.

Q: Can you tell me a little more (about) why you have to?

A: When you catch a whale, you know, it (provides) lots of meat and muktuk. (When you catch a whale, you have to cut it up before it gets bloated. You have to go and) butcher it; otherwise, when it gets bloated, the meat stinks, you know. The meat is no good when it (gets) bloated. But then, if the oil developers start drilling around this place, then whales and seals will be farther out; (we will) have to go way out (in the ocean) in order to go hunting.

Q: That must mean that whales and seals, if people would go that far out, must be really important to the people. In what way are they important? Could you maybe tell, for the record, in what way they're important.

A: Well, to tell the truth, we're Eskimos, (and) we're used to Eskimo food. Like right now, I have some seal blubber/muktuk in my freezer out there. Sometimes when I eat white man's food, like a steak--a couple of hours later, I feel hungry. I'm used to eating Eskimo food. That's the way I was raised. I'm used to eating frozen food like fish, frozen caribou, or boiled caribou and seal, seal oil and bearded seal oil--things like that, you know. A lot of older people say (that) they (have to) have Eskimo food. Like myself, even when I eat a T-Bone steak, maybe a couple of hours later I feel hungry (again), you know. It's just not my kind of food. (I'll) put it this way: you have to have (both) white man's food and Eskimo food. With me, (it's) both ways--(have both Eskimo and white man's food).

Q: Do you think that if people couldn't get sea mammals--couldn't get whales and ugruk and seal--that it would affect the way people share things?

A: Yeah, in a way. We share Eskimo food like caribou, fish, and any other kind of game we get. Like, if I catch many snipes, right now, (and) somebody needs them, I give them to them. Or if I hunt Ptarmigan and I get many of them, (I ask) "You want some Ptarmigan, here?", you know. We share Eskimo food, but not white man's food. But sometimes you have to (share white man's food)--even that, you know.

Q: You mean you have to share white man's food?

A: Here and there sometimes, sometimes.

Q: What would be a case, an example?

A: Oh, if you ran short on the weekend or something like that. If my next-door neighbor wants rice soup (and) they don't have enough rice to make rice soup, (then) they come and they borrow rice.

Q: This is sort of a really difficult question, and maybe (we should) think just a minute; but do you have any idea of what Kaktovik might be like ten years from now?

A: Ten years from now? I don't know; it might grow; it might grow to be a good-sized village. They are still going to build some more houses. They are still going to build a community hall, and they are still going to build a clinic, a new clinic. We're

putting up a fire station here. Maybe ten years from now, we might have a restaurant, like at Barrow. They're doing it at Barrow you know. We might have a restaurant--things like that.

Q: Your children live here and will be growing up then. What would you like to see for them ten years from now?

A: Ten years from now, I would like both my kids to graduate from college, both of them. That's what I'd wish. I didn't have a chance (to attend and graduate from college), you know?

Q: And that's important?

A: It is really important up here.

Q: What would they do after they graduated from college? If they graduated, what would you like to see them do?

A: Well, learn a trade. I'd like my boy in Point Samble to become a pilot or something like that, you know. (I'd like) my daughter to be a professional secretary or something like that, you know.

Q: Would you like them, then, to come back here and work, or do you think they would have to go some place else.

A: No. Well, that depends on their intention--of what they want to do, you know. Like if my boy wants to be a mechanic or something like that . . . when they come of age, I won't stop them from whatever they want to do. If they want to move, if they get a job at Fairbanks, they could move there, (or to) Anchorage or anyplace else, as long as they keep in contact with me.

Q: But since we're just wishing, would you maybe say that you would sooner have them here, near you?

A: I would rather keep them here, you know.

Q: You've worked at a lot of jobs--as you say, Jack of All Trades. When you were working, did you ever find it hard to live a subsistence life, to practice hunting and fishing?

A: No, not really. When I was working at the DEW Line, the only time I'd get off was on Sundays, for six months at a time sometimes. After I got married, I had to work six month before I got off work for maybe 30 days; then, the only time I (would) get to go hunting was on Sundays. And it didn't really affect me, you know.

Q: You still got enough Eskimo food, hunting Sundays, to make you happy?

A: Oh, yes.

Q: We talked a little bit about the North Slope Borough. What things has ASRC done that you can see in the village? What things have they done for the village?

A: Arctic Slope Regional Corporation, that's what it stands for. They got us a phone here, for one thing. They improved all the roads; they gave us new equipment--snow removal equipment--and they supply us (with) fuel--not really give us fuel--we have to buy it. They built us (a) gym (where we can) work out, things like that, and a water tank over there that's supposed to last a year--you know, that big water tank over there.

Q: That's about all the questions I have; maybe Joe has a question he would like to ask.

Q: I would just say that, in general is there anything that you would like to emphasize concerning oil development, anything that you want to emphasize, you know, for the people in Washington . . . ?

A: Well, for one thing, I don't have any objections (to) oil development here (as long as it doesn't) hurt our way of living, like hunting, fishing, and whatever . . . subsistence hunting, you know, (as long as it doesn't) hurt that, they could do it. But they're not supposed to do it here on the Arctic Wildlife Range. (But) Secretary of State Watt opened it all up, and he shouldn't have. In this Arctic Wildlife Range, right here, in the summertime, we are not even supposed to take track vehicles up that way. We're not supposed to.

Q: Has the Wildlife Range made problems for the people of the village?

A: No, they have (not had problems). But they wouldn't let (big track vehicles) drive up through the mainland.

Q: Did that cause a problem?

A: No, they don't want big track vehicles (to be used in the area). They leave a permanent track up there, (you) see. They (made permanent tracks) back when they used to go back and forth (across) the mainland (in the) summertime with the old BTVs, they called them--big track vehicles--that could swim across the lagoon and come ashore and go on the tundra. You can (still) see both tracks there from (back in the) early 1950s. You can still see those tracks. That's what they don't want us to do again.