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ANCHORAGE, ALASKA

# ***IN THIS PLACE***

**A Guide for  
Those Who Would Work in**

**The Country of  
The Kaktovikmiut**

**An Unfinished and On-going Work  
Of the People of**

**Kaktovik, Alaska**

## **DEDICATION**

**We the people of Kaktovik who have worked on these papers present and dedicate them to our children, our living future here in this place which defines us as the Kaktovikmiut, the only people who are native to this place...Native people for whom there is no other place in this world or any other.**

**These papers are unfinished and will remain so forever, to be made better and more powerful with each new thought which goes into them, with each new generation that used them for their purpose, the survival of our people in this place.**

**As we thought and spoke and wrote and read and wrote again, we were aided by those who went before us, who looked over our shoulder and nudged us. If these words say more things than we could know, as some think they do, then it is because of those shadows from which we come and are now so much a part of this place.**

## **CREDITS**

This is a product of the Kaktovikmiut, compiled by them with the financial support of the North Slope Borough and the State of Alaska and with the technical assistance of Karl E. Francis & Associates, Ltd., of Eagle River, Alaska.

## **SPECIAL CREDITS**

We wish to thank the following people for their special contributions, guidance, support, and encouragement in this work, noting that none should be held accountable for its failings, which must be attributed to this compiler and writer, Dr. Karl E. Francis:

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These documents are products of the Kaktovik Impact Project. They are each a separate document, to be used singly or as sets for whatever purpose they may have for the Kaktovikmuit and those who have business in the country of the Kaktovikmuit. By the nature of the process, each set may be incomplete.

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**Kaktovik Impact Project**

**IN THIS PLACE**

**EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

These documents represent the thoughts and wishes of the Kaktovikmuit, the Inupiat "Eskimos" and those who live with us in this place, our sea and homeland, Inuuniagviat Kaktovikmuit, which extends from the continental divide in the Brooks Range to approximately 100 kilometers to sea and eastward and westward into the homelands of our fellow Inupiat. Our people have lived in this place for millennia. We intend to live here forever.

Our lands and waters have received much attention from those who want to search here for oil and those who want to make it into a wilderness. We see both of these outside interests to be potentially destructive. The most dangerous, in our view, to the things that matter to us, and surely the most insulting, is the notion that our homeland is empty or should be made so.

All this outside interest has exposed us to a massive wave of annoying and damaging interference into our affairs and a great burden for us in trying to respond to these intrusions. We have decided that we must find some means to deal with them in order to protect ourselves and the country by which we take our definition as Native people.

We take this responsibility very seriously and suggest in these documents the manner by which outside people-whatever their business here-should behave when they are in these homelands and waters of ours.

Our experience suggests we be far more concerned about the effects of arrogant government-especially the federal government-and about the lust for our lands and waters by those who advocate making this place a wilderness than we be concerned about the oil industry itself, which so far has been reasonably respectful of us and our interests.

That experience further suggests that we can work with these oil people and exercise acceptable control over their activities here, given certain tools and understanding that we propose. Without those tools, however, we would have to ask these outsiders to leave, and then insist that they go. We cannot allow uncontrolled activity here, nor can we hand over to anybody the full responsibility to protect us and these lands and waters, which are essential to our survival.

Toward that end we set forth a simple plan, which we believe will serve our needs and at the same time make it possible for industrial activity to proceed here. The major components of this plan are as follows:

1. The immediate creation of a Kaktovik Impact Office to be an office of the City of Kaktovik, reporting to the Mayor and the City Council. This office would deal with all outside interest and activity here. It should be funded by federal, state, and oil industry impact grants and be sufficient to meet our need to know about, understand, and fully participate in the control and the wise management of these externally generated impacts.
2. The immediate construction and designation of a central authority with the responsibility to assure that the interests of all responsible parties in these matters be protected in the process of planning for, permitting, and monitoring all industrial activity here. This authority should be centralized and responsive to these various interests, but it should be heavily weighted toward local control not only in the interest of justice but also because local control best assures that things are done wisely and correctly.
3. Our review and approval of all research and other ancillary activity deriving from outside interest in these lands and waters of ours to assure proper professional design and sensitivity of the proposed work.
4. Respect for the special place of the Kaktovikmuit in the larger scheme of things. This would entail a dramatic revision of a management philosophy and procedures of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, perhaps calling into question their very presence here. It would also call for revised status for our people whose homeland has been bisected by an international boundary.
5. The enhancement of the planning and game management functions of the North Slope Borough here so that we may benefit from their more enlightened, more sensitive, and more effective approaches.

In these documents we have spoken at least briefly to other points- tried to explain the sense of our positions-why we see things differently from outsiders and why we are so terribly concerned. The key points, however, are these five procedural requirements. They are also the key to this place. If you have business here, or think you do, then you should give these five points serious consideration.

We Inupiat are an innovative, positive, and constructive people. We have long been accepting of things coming into our country. We have had some losses, but mostly we have benefited from many of these interactions. We believe we can manage and benefit from this. But oil development is a large and potentially dangerous thing. We are not in the mood to risk our future here. And we have no other future. So we must be adamant.

## Executive Summary

If you want to come here, to work here, then these are the rules, these are the conditions, these are the things we believe we need in order to see that things are done as they should be in this place. We ask you to respect that, to see the good sense in it and to try to work with us.

It is not in our nature to be threatening, and this is not a threat. Indeed, you may well be able to ignore us, to dispose of us, even. But if you do, you will be the first. For three thousand years or so, none have displaced us, though some have tried. It is our intention that none ever will.

**Kaktovik Impact Project  
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**GENERAL STATEMENT**

We the Kaktovikmuit, the people of Kaktovik, are principally Inupiat "Eskimo", Native people of the Arctic Slope, the country that drains northward from the Brooks Range to the Arctic Ocean. We use and occupy this country, its associated waters, and the sea; and have claimed it since time immemorial by virtue both of aboriginal rights and our continued and undisplaced use and occupance. These land rights have never been alienated in any appropriate manner by any exogenous people or their agents.

We also proclaim ourselves to be citizens of the United States of America. We are proud of that heritage as well, and we intend to take full advantage of the rights and meet fully the responsibilities associated with this citizenship.

Over the years we have witnessed many intrusions into our country. Most have been benign and welcome. Some have been more threatening. Recently, we have noticed intrusions that we see as far more serious threats to our interest and well being. And so we have decided to speak about our concerns and to seek to remedy these problems.

A federal wildlife refuge, which for many years was not even known by us to exist in our country and for more years was not of any consequence to us, now appears quite threatening to us. Our rights to our continued wise and responsible use of our country and our resources within that federal claim are clearly at risk. Our very survival as Native people requires that we assert our rights and recover our unimpeded access to and responsibility for this country. We have never given over that responsibility to anyone, and we never intend to do so.

We are aware of the expanded interest by the nation and by the petroleum industry in potential oil and gas reserves within our country. This, too, we must address in order to protect our interests and to see that our lands and waters and the creatures therein, including ourselves, are treated with proper respect.

Not all of these intrusions reflect hostility toward us, our way of life, or our values. Indeed, only a few of them seem hostile or inherently dangerous. Nor do we see necessary conflict. We do, however, see much room for mischief, largely because of misunderstanding. We believe that most of our concerns can be addressed by our making clear to others just what our interests and perspectives are. We have



prepared this set of documents for that purpose. It is addressed to all parties with interest and purposes in our country. We ask that you carefully consider and respect the positions we put forward here.

First, we want to point out that we do not live, as some seem to think, just in a small town on a small island off the coast of a great wildlife refuge. The City of Kaktovik, which is really a small rural village of some 230 people, is our base now, although that was not always the case. It is the place our kids go to school and the place where many of us work for the cash income essential to a decent life here. We live, however, on a much grander scale, which is necessary to our whole system of values and essential to our survival as a Native people.

We have drawn for you a map of our home, Inuuniagviat Kaktovikmuit, the country of the Kaktovik Inupiat people, the country that defines us as a Native people, as the Kaktovikmuit. This map is clear in our minds, as it has always been clear to us; and now we have drawn it for others to see, so that others may understand better our place in the scheme of things.

None of this country is wilderness. It never has been. It has been continuously used and occupied by us and by our ancestors for millennia. Since wilderness is defined as a place without people, we are deeply insulted by those who proclaim any of this country wilderness, as if we were not considered to be real people. Indeed, that is what our name, Inupiat, means. The real people. Although we now recognize, some of us, that there are other "real people", we surely do not give up the notion that we are people nor that we are real!

Nor do we give up that thing that defines us, our country. Without that, indeed, we would lose much of our human reality. Such is in the very nature of Native people. And without us, our country would not be what it has always been. Empty of its people, it would be not wilderness but desolation. Imagine, if you can, Ireland without the Irish.

Many of those who come here do not understand this. We are treated with condescension by some, with curiosity by most, with disrespect by many. Some hardly see us at all. Very few outsiders see us as the richly landed country folk we really are.

Of all the people who have come into our country, we feel obliged to identify those in the petroleum industry as some of the most understanding and tolerant-indeed, some of the most tolerable. Many of them have been downright nice. Many of them are, like us, country folk, who perhaps see the world in a somewhat similar light. Of course, we also understand that they want us to favor them and their oil activities here, to approve their being here and doing what they do.

The point is, whatever their motives, by and large, they have been respectful of us, and for the most part, they have been good neighbors. They have surely brought us many benefits. Life here was once hard and sometimes miserable. Although we are not without need, we have come to lead a pretty good life, and for that we Inupiat, with other Alaskans, owe much to revenues from North Slope oil development.

We have had to work at it, both we and those other oil people-because now we, too, are oil people, and this is now oil country-but we have now reached the point where the industry people come to us to explain their work and to seek our help, our guidance and our approval. Few before have ever done that. Not the whalers, not the white trappers, not the reindeer people, and surely not the Air Force nor the Fish and Wildlife Service nor the hikers and hunters and others who come to exploit our land and bother us. We greatly appreciate the respect the oil industry has shown us, and we try to return that respect.

We hasten to add that this is not the result of oil company charity nor passive behavior by the Inupiat people. We fought hard to get that respect, and we often fought with the oil industry. The most important battle was for the creation of the North Slope Borough, which assured not only that we get a share of the oil revenue but also some say in how things are done here.

Outsiders constantly ask us if we are "for" or "against" oil development. These are outsider positions, commitments by outside interests, to be for or against whatever the industry does. Neither makes any sense to us, and we reject them both. How can anybody be for or against something that remains to be defined? Surely oil development is yet to be defined here, its impact on us yet unclear. Nobody else knows and neither do we. Instead, we choose a third path, our own, one that makes sense to us.

This third path, the one we choose, is to be responsible, as we have always been, for the well being of our people and the well being of this country to which we are attached. We expect to control what is done here and how it is done. We also expect to be accountable for our decisions. This is our country, and we cannot allow anyone to come here who would damage it. We shall not permit the country to be harmed nor will we permit our use of it or responsibility for it to be questioned or restricted. Our position is that there will be no damages to our country nor to us but instead that we will control and gain from whatever activity we permit here. We propose in other documents our plans for maintaining that control.

Others talk about the impact of oil development, as if it were a given, as if it might be anticipated and measured and somehow mitigated. Some say there will be no significant impact. Some say the impacts will be massive, overwhelming, and disastrous. We do not see the world, our country, or our

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responsibilities in such simplistic and polarized terms. Instead, we seek to find a politically, economically, and ecologically sensible balance in the mix of forces that bear on us, and to do that so we protect our people and the lands and waters that are essential to us.

We understand this country far better than other people can, what it can stand and what it cannot stand. Our nerves reach out into it. We can offer a special service to those others whose job it is to see that the country is not harmed. We want to participate in that process, to have both responsibility and authority over the way things proceed here, to be fully involved in the planning, the permitting, the monitoring, and the control of any industrial activity or any other activity here. We propose means to do that.

Our experience tells us we have less to fear from the industry itself than we do from those agencies of government that are supposed to serve and protect us.

Clearly, the responsiveness of government is a direct function of its proximity. Although we have our quarrels now and then with North Slope Borough, it is all in the family. We can handle that relationship; we expect them to be responsive to our concerns and needs, and they will be. The North Slope Borough plays a big part in our plans for protecting our country.

We are far less comfortable with State of Alaska agencies, especially those with regulatory responsibility here. We have little confidence at the moment that we can trust them to see that neither our country nor we will be harmed. The history of those agencies here has not been a good one. They are far more responsive to their urban Alaskan constituents and to collegiality than to our interests and concerns. We want that changed, and we are working to make those changes. We expect State agencies to work with and for us to see that neither our people nor our country is harmed.

These State agencies worry us far less than the Federal agencies, especially the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, whose behavior here has become truly frightening. Although there are a few people in that agency who try to be responsive and with whom we might be able to work, most of them seem to us out of control. There is a level of arrogance there we have seldom before seen here. We sense little interest in or commitment to working with us, in meeting the federal mandates with respect to our cultural pursuits and values, or in any intelligent and ethical resource management.

Indeed, we sense open hostility toward us and our way of life. We believe there are people in that agency committed in their hearts to removing us from this country, "cleansing" it of its people, so that it will meet their notion of wilderness. In no other way can we account for the intimidation and harassment to which we have been subjected. We have come to see them and that perspective as mortal enemies to us. It is with grave trepidation that we view our fate if that agency were to continue to behave as it has, especially if it were to have a primary role in planning and regulating industrial activity here, as some suggest it should.

These people are even more of a bother to our fellow creatures, who are helpless against their abuse. We find repulsive in the extreme the so-called research they seem driven to conduct here. We question the validity and the value of this work, which we believe to be far more destructive and certainly far more disrespectful than anything we can associate directly with the petroleum industry. Indeed, we find this research to be the most threatening aspect so far of outside interest in petroleum here, for that interest seems to drive the research.

If the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service is to have any role at all here, at least with respect to our interest, there must be dramatic changes in that agency. We suggest some, and we would be glad to suggest more.

We are also deeply concerned about the interest of urban recreationists in our country. Most of these people, those we have seen here, show no understanding of nor respect for our country or us. Their irrational fixation on this as empty wilderness offends us, as does much of the behavior when they are in our country. That they might persuade the Congress to extend that wilderness designation to even more of our country is very threatening to us. We are already being pushed out by the capricious and ridiculous rules that come with this onerous designation, as we greatly fear and abhor it.

We want to make it very clear that our intense feeling about our land is a far cry from the odd lust of these urban wilderness buffs. We have very little in common. Whatever it is they are looking for here, we do not see it as compatible with our normal use and occupancy. Indeed, we see these people as dangerously naïve, with a strange, almost religious fanaticism that is both dangerous and frightening.

In addition to making as clear as we can our interests, our perspectives, our ideas, and our concerns about the activity of other people in our country, we offer in separate documents special guidance for those with special responsibility and interest in this country. We want to be sure everyone understands what we expect of them, how we want them to conduct their business here, and how we want them to respond to our concerns.

There is much that worries us. Although our attachment to our country is primary, central to our very being, we have other concerns as well. We have many social problems, most of which come from outside. The impacts of interest in oil and gas here are already upon us, not necessarily from the industry itself. Still, like the mouse who slept with the elephant, no matter how gentle the elephant, the mouse is at some risk.

We have a great burden from people coming here to persuade us of the merits of their particular views. We suffer from spurious interest in us and our country, from people with agendas and scripts already written, trying to fit us into their notions of us. We are a people under tremendous stress, and that stress has taken its toll.

While we struggle to protect our country, we are struggling also to protect our social well-being. But we do not separate these. What we are and how we survive as human beings is all a part of the larger scheme, and central to that is this country of ours. While we find extremely curious, if not ridiculous, the notion of a "core calving ground" for the Porcupine caribou herd, we might point out that the core of our being is this country, and, denied it, driven from it, we are doomed.

We note and respect the interest urban people seem to have in protecting endangered species of animals and plants. The Inupiat are not a species. We are just another kind of human being. And yet we have qualities that no other human beings have, unique qualities we believe to be a most important attribute of humankind-things we believe would be a great loss to our species. We look into their hearts and wonder if that could matter to these others, as it surely matters to us.

We approach all of this with the belief that much of what concerns us comes from misunderstanding. We have the good faith that, if we can explain how we feel to those others who influence the way things happen here, then most will care and most will try to work with us to make things happen as they should. We proceed with that good faith and trust.

However, this is a matter of survival, of our country and of our people, which is one and the same. For three thousand years or so, we Inupiat have managed to survive here. We do not intend to be the last generation of that proud tradition. If it comes to it, we shall fight, as any people-indeed, any creature-will fight to survive. That is the real issue here-our survival. This is a serious responsibility, a responsibility to the vast body of the spirits of our ancestors who reside here with us; to ourselves, the living; and to the next three thousand years of Inupiat life here. We fully intend to survive... here in this place of ours.

That is the impact we expect. That is the impact we shall have.

**Kaktovik Impact Project  
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**MIND OF THE KAKTOVIKMUIT**

We, the Kaktovikmuit, have done a curious thing. We have asked someone else to speak for us, to put into a language some of us are not entirely comfortable with the thoughts we have on the matter of oil development and things we associate with that activity here in our homeland.

While these are not our words, but the words of Dr. Karl Francis, to whom we have given this assignment, we are comfortable with this process and with these words. We have spoken at length and over the years with Dr. Francis, who seems to understand us better than some, and we have checked to see that he has gotten it right. For the most part, he has.

We have done it this way because there is more to communicating than just saying things, even when you say what you mean. You must also say it so that others will understand you. That is why we asked for this help from someone we believe is not only able to hear us but also to restate what we have to say so that all the many different people we want to understand us may do so.

We want our thoughts understood. We think it is high time we said what we think about these things, high time we put our views on the record. Too often in the past, others have presumed to know what we want, how we feel, or worse, how we should feel. We suspect these words may come as a surprise to some, to discover we are not what you may have thought, that we do not see things as you may have wished. We have spent much time with Dr. Francis, trying to explain things to him, and we know he had trouble with it, was often surprised, at times confused, and perhaps even disappointed.

Still, we have checked these words carefully, talked with ourselves about them, with those of us who use English well and those of us who speak more comfortably in Inupiaq, our own language, the language of our homeland. We find these words are now just about right, just about what we want them to be. We ask you to respect them as such and respect our purposes in doing this.

There has always been confusion among outsiders about us, not only about how we think and about our country, but about just who we are. We live by an ocean, and like most people who live by oceans, we have been affected and infected by people from many places. We call ourselves Inupiat, the "real people" of this place, the Native people of this place, but we make no pretense to isolation or purity.

We are rich from the import of ideas, energy, tools, and the blood of other people. For most of this we are grateful. For the most part we took what we wanted.

That is the way we continue to look at things. We observed with horror the way our kin in Greenland were isolated and "protected" by the Danish government, as though they were some rare, pureblood stock animal. We were delighted when they shook off that paternalism and moved out into the real world with the rest of us.

We are confident in ourselves and in the relationship we have with our country; both this, our homeland, and with our nationhood as Americans. We do not need to be protected from anything. What we need is respect, understanding, and some support as we grapple with the surge of events here. We can deal with it. This is, perhaps, the most exciting and promising time in all of our vast history, maybe even the most dangerous, although we have seen very dangerous times before. We wouldn't miss it for anything. We want to be right here, right where we are, right in the middle of it. In any event, that is where we are, where we shall stay.

For a while we have been puzzled over what we might find interesting enough to keep our young people here with us, at least some of them, to keep them excited about living here. We think we may now have it, in this growing interest in petroleum. Life here can be exciting, and now, with all the opportunities we see in working with these oil people, we know we can make it even more fun, more challenging, and more rewarding than ever.

We are not thinking so much about oil field work, which is fine for some; but about larger things, like working with the oil industry to develop better tools for finding oil and better means for protecting the environment from damages. We want to talk with all the different parties to see what kinds of things we can find for our people, young and older, to do here-new and better things.

We are especially interested in finding ways to get our people directly involved in policy matters, working in the board rooms and on the inter-agency task forces where the key decisions are made that will affect the way things are done here. We want our people to have the contacts and the respect we have had in the past, to be at the heart of things and not on the outer fringes.

But no matter what we do, the core of it, the thing that matters to us the most, is this country. We live here not only because it is our home, our home in a way with much greater meaning and depth than the idea of home to people who are not Native, not so attached to any land as we are, but also because we find this to be the best place in the world to live.

Some years ago, we had a group of people come work with us, to help us figure out how to live with a major natural gas pipeline that was to be built across our country. They were from San Francisco, and we found them to be rather sensible people. But they were confused on one major issue. They

could not understand why we lived here. They thought it was cold and dreary here and that we lived here because we didn't know any better, that we would all leave if we had the chance.

We visited with them, some of us even going down to their offices and homes in San Francisco, to talk with them about gas lines and other things. Eventually, we explained to them that we knew a lot about other places, could live in other places, had lived in other places, many of us, and still we preferred to live here.

And we told them why. We told them we liked to hunt whales, the great black whales, the bowhead. We liked to go out into the sea in our little boats and find the whales and catch them and bring them in and share them and eat them. We told these San Francisco people we liked to go to the mountains to find and catch the white Dall sheep, and bring them back and share them and eat them.

We told these city people we liked the mountains and we liked the sea. We liked to spend as much time in these places as we could—the frozen sea, the snowy mountains, the summer sea—this gorgeous, ever changing, breath-taking country that is our homeland.

Nowhere else is all of this possible: a sea full of great whales and seals and fish; and polar bear and foxes and birds of every kind from nearly every land; with mountains just nearby full of white sheep and wolves and wolverine; and with great plains in between the mountains and the sea with muskoxen and caribou and river and lake fish and many more birds and a thousand other things, all intermingled with the spirits and memories and stories and legends and graves and old houses of our people. We are no doubt spoiled by all of this, so that other places are not quite good enough for us.

This is the perfect place, the perfect place for us, which is why God probably put us here, these few of us, and made us tough enough to stay.

Those folks from San Francisco finally got the point; one of them we almost had to run off, send him back to his family, once he saw it the way he do. And then they worked with us to help us figure out a plan, how to stay here and keep the place fit. That was the beginning of our planning work. And we have been planning ever since. It seemed a good idea, to look ahead and figure out how to make things come out the way we want. Although we came by it rather late, we have become pretty good planners.

We have a lot of planning to do, and we seem to be the only ones who can do it, the only ones with the knowledge and the insight to do it. Others come here and see emptiness, vast stretches of country without our human presence. We see country that is completely full of people, with as many people as it can hold. And then we see other people trying to crowd into it. Some fit less well than others, and none fit as well as they might.



We see biologists, wave after wave of them, all doing the same things that others did, that others have done for years and years and apparently lost the results or hid them from the rest. Each wave seems to be more cruel, less sensitive than the last, as though their main purpose were to torment, to study the animals to death.

We see social scientists who see themselves, their ghosts, in us and write silly stuff that makes no sense to us, and, if we think on it much, makes us angry and sad that any would see us as they do.

We see hikers who come to walk their last walk before the country--our country--is gone, as they seem to think it will be. Most are rude and dirty. Many pitch their funny little tents in our yards, in the drainage of our water lagoon and urinate there, in our drinking water. Some break into our buildings and leave their dirt and filth everywhere. Few have any respect for us or our country, and yet they seem to worship it in their own strange way and resent us even being here.

We see ten thousand government agencies with fifty thousand agendas, none of which are ours, and they want to know what we think of them, and we are too polite to say.

We see television crews who arrive without notice, with their scripts and stories written, what their message will be, already known and always wrong, into which they try to fit us, mixing our words and making us say what we do not mean, as if by magic, as if they were witches.

We see Senators and Representatives, representatives of other people, who come to figure out how to vote, to find a path that will allow them to say it both ways, neither of which makes any sense to us. And Secretaries of Interior and Legislators and their fawning entourages, who always take the same helicopter ride to scare the animals and hook the fish and throw them back...to die. And leave their trash in our sacred places. We go out and pick it up and bow our heads and try to explain why we allowed such people as these to come into our country and do such things.

We see more and more the agents of those who lust for this homeland of ours, who come to drive us off with rules and regulations and badges and helicopters and handcuffs and lines on maps we have never seen before, rules which make it impossible for us to live here as we have forever without harm. They drive us back and back, across this line and that, put fear in our hearts so that we sit now, some of us, in our little houses and wonder what we can do without breaking somebody's new law and being taken away and put in their jails.

Oh, yes, we surely have some planning to do. And our first planning goal has to be to put an end to all this, to regain control of things here in this place of ours, to figure out how to manage it and not be buried by these people who do not even seem to see us here.

In that light, perhaps you can understand why we do not see the oil industry as others seem to; as hostile, as lethal to us and to our country? We know that someday they will be gone. Unlike the rest, they do not want our country by just the stuff beneath it, and when that is all drawn, they will pack up and go someplace else to look. The others seem to have come to stay and drive us back, to put us down, to dispose of us.

If, as others say, they are devils, these oil people, then maybe they are the very ones with whom we have to deal. One thing we know for sure, if any deal with them, it should be us. It will be us. We trust no one else to do it for us. We trust no one else to fight for us, for our country and our place in it. We give that over to no one.

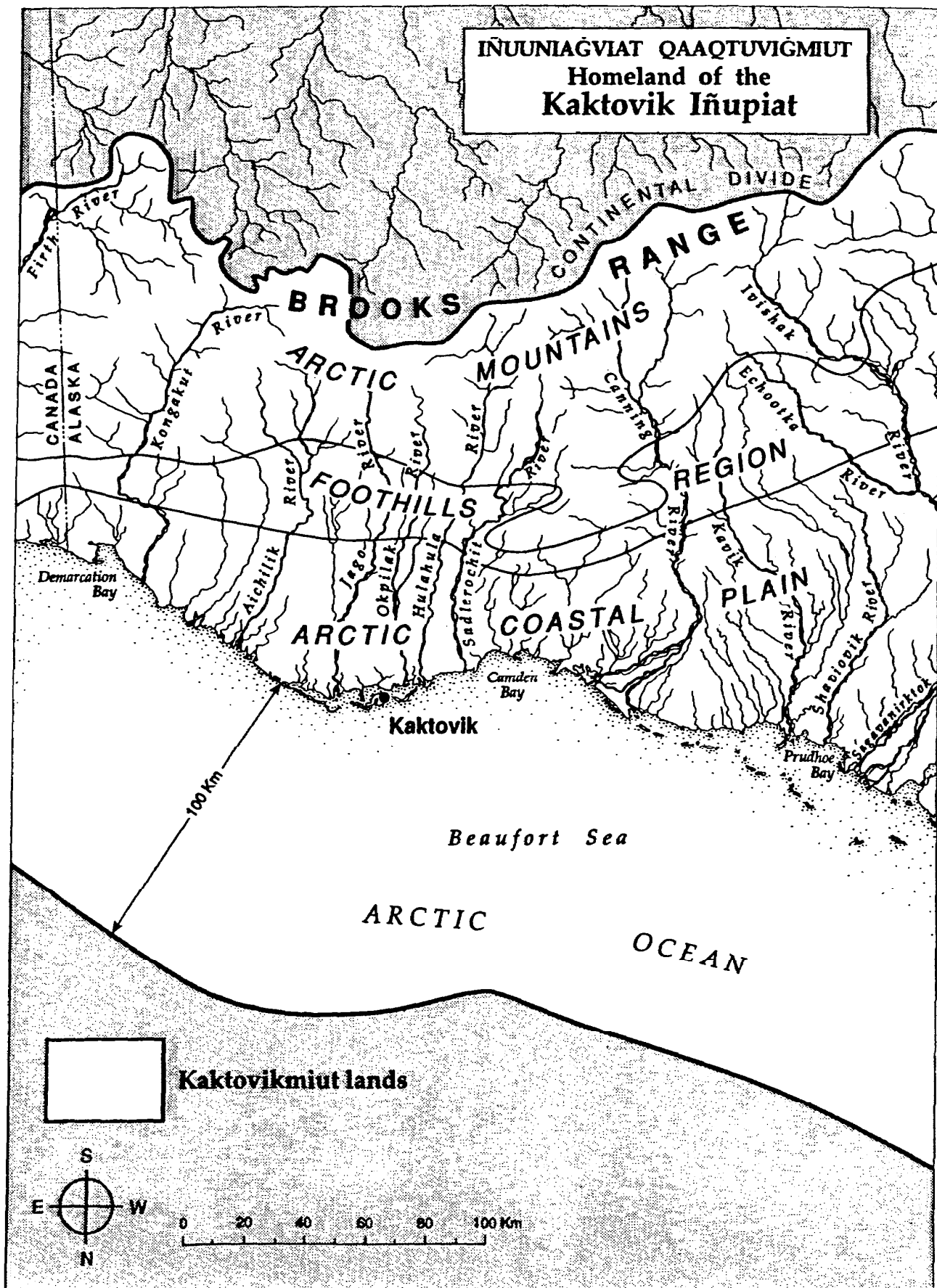
Still, we are exhausted from this, these people coming in and crowding us, and so we ask for help, not for anyone to figure out what is best for us but help in doing what we say needs to be done. We have laid out some of that, guidance for all of you who enter here and all of you to whom we turn, whose job it is, who are being paid to see that things go the way they should here in this place of ours.

We have the greatest confidence that you will see the good sense in this, and help us and respect what we have to say, talk with us about it if you have questions. We think this will work, for you and for us, for all of us.

We hope so. Our fallback position is not a good one, not one we really like or want. But it is there, if it should come to it, if we fail to make our point. We would just have to ask you all to go home...and then see that you do it, which we believe we have the means to do, if it comes to it.

We have been tolerant, but we have a responsibility, one we take very seriously, to this place of ours, to the spirits of our people here and to our next thousand years.

INUUNIAGVIAT QAAQTUVIGMIUT  
Homeland of the  
Kaktovik Inupiat



**Kaktovik Impact Project  
IN THIS PLACE**

**INUUNIAGVIAT KAKTOVIKMUIT**

For reasons not entirely apparent to us, it has been difficult for others to understand North American Native people-who we are and where we are and what that means. We who live along the Arctic Coastal Plain, the people others call "Eskimo" but who call ourselves Inupiat in Alaska, Inuit farther east, we are especially confusing to outsiders, or so it would appear, since seldom are we seen for what we are or where we are in the scheme of things.

Some twenty years ago, in order to help sort out this confusion in Canada, Inuit Tapirisat of Canada contracted Dr. Francis, then Professor of Climatology and Northern Affairs at the University of Toronto, to work with Professor Peter Cummings of Osgoode Hall Law School to develop research methods by which the actual lands and waters effectively used and occupied by the Canadian Inuit could be drawn into legally meaningful definition.

*This was done, and the actual research was carried out under contract to the Government of Canada by Milton Freeman and Associates. Similar work was undertaken for the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories.*

Although those who knew the North and these northern people were not surprised, many in government were startled by the results, which were nicely summarized by the title of the report by Carol Brice-Bennett for the Labrador Inuit Association: "Our Footprints are Everywhere".

Indeed, that was the case throughout the Canadian arctic.

Moreover, the research produced time and space data of such clarity and precision that the matter was settled. There was no empty land in all of northern Canada, nothing up for grabs, nothing left over for the Queen, no crown land, as Canadians like to call everything that does not belong to somebody else. There was no wilderness. The Inuit were everywhere; hunting, fishing, trapping, gathering, picnicking, visiting, exploring, having a grand old time out in their country.

This only makes sense when you think about it. Mankind's curiosity permits nothing less. Nature abhors a vacuum, and there was none in the North, no empty country. White and Black explorers

were simply coming into our country and failing sometimes to see us...failing always to see our full occupance of the country.

Although this matter has been settled, many still do not understand it. Some still think that if they do not see a farm or factory or a street or a skyscraper, then the country is empty. If they do not see the shadow or the track of the hunter, then he or she is not there. Some felt that it may have been that way many years ago but not today, that the land had been abandoned. It was not. And it is not. Nowhere have the Inuit abandoned their country.

And here in Alaska it is the same. Nowhere have we Inupiat abandoned our country. Although we have never had the resources here in Alaska to conduct the kind of work done in Canada, the anecdotal data are the same here as they were there. Talk to people, sit on a snow drift and watch, sit by the shore and watch, sit on a mountain and watch, and you will see that the Inupiat are everywhere. Here, too, nature abhors a vacuum.

Even without those maps of a billion tracks, we can still draw maps, but we must draw them with other instruments and without that crisp precision permitted the mapmakers of Canada. We have to ask our people what the limits of our country are, then think about the sense of it and draw our lines. It comes out the same.

We have drawn such a map, the map of the homeland of the people Kaktovik , Inuuniagviat Kaktovikmuit.

The bounds are complex. To the south, where the waters flow to the Yukon River, is generally thought to be "Indian Country". We Kaktovikmuit go into it. Some traveled in the old days to Fort Yukon to trade. Today, people go a little ways down the southern drainage, but not far. We recognize we are in the country of somebody else, the Gwitchin, and we respect that.

In the old days, of course, people were killed for making that mistake, young and foolish people, mostly. There are people alive today throughout the Canadian arctic who knew people who were killed for making that mistake. In Alaska it was known as well.

And so we feel comfortable in drawing the southern boundary of Kaktovik country at the continental divide.

To the north there is no one to bump up against. The Arctic Ocean is broad and, in its central portions, desolate. But it is also rich in resources. In a sense, it is the heartland of the Inupiat, the great

provider, and a much-used highway from Siberia to Greenland, used because it always provides. There is always food there for those who know how to find it.

While there is no precise boundary to the North, the oceanic waters of Kaktovik country clearly extend at least a hundred kilometers seaward. We know people have been at least that far, that they go that far, even as recently as last summer. We know from the time it took for them to return in a fast boat. We know from the fact that the mountains are no longer visible on a clear day, that they have sunk below the horizon. We Inupiat are maritime people, adventurous mariners, and we use our ocean for as far as we can safely get into it, and sometimes even farther. The bones of our people rest on the seafloor very far out into the sea.

Kaktovik is a base, a base from which to go into the sea and onto the land. It is not a new base. It has been used for various purposes by various people since long before anyone can remember, even before those times of which the legends speak. The way it is used, however, is new. It is a kind of city now, a place where people have congregated so that we may have school for our kids, hold jobs, and have good houses and a clinic and other amenities. For many of us, the church is important too.

But it is a base; not a municipality in the sense that southern people think of cities, as their home, their entire home. It is more like a room in a home, a small room in a very big home.

It is also both an open home and a closed home. Among us Inupiat it is an open home. People come and go from as far away as Point Hope and Inuvik in Canada and even farther. They come into our country, into our city and into our houses. But it is not open to everyone. Although we Inupiat are hospitable people, as outsiders have long observed, we do not care much for those who just drop in from other places, people who are not family. We used to find them more interesting, but more and more, they have become a bother.

In order to understand this, to understand the nature of the bounds of our homeland to the east and west, one has to see the world as we Inupiat see it. Movement within Inuuniagviat, the homeland of the Inupiat, to other Inupiat, is not much restricted. And yet there are rules and ways to behave. But these are internal matters—family matters—and we choose not to disclose everything about that. Still, we offer these examples to help explain something of the way it is among us.

When he was young, an Inuk from Nome, David Bernhard, whose father was Polish, moved eastward. David was a great explorer and traveler and saw most of the central Canadian arctic before he finally settled, on the outskirts of Coppermine, in the Northwest Territories. He outlived several wives, from farther east, and he had many children, one of whom served on the Territorial Council in Yellowknife. While David was welcome there in Coppermine, and while his children are considered, by virtue of their mothers, rightful heirs to the land thereabouts, David remained both an Inuk and an

outsider. In Coppermine he was always considered Alaskan, Inupiat. His Polish father, by the way, did not count in any of this.

In western Canada, in the Northwest Territories, there lives a very skillful Inuk drummer and dancer, whose name we shall not use in respect to his privacy. This Inuk lives a very traditional life, has never learned any other language than his native Inuktatuk, and is a much respected elder. Although he has rather classic Inuit body form, his skin and eye color are disconcerting to some. Indeed, he hasn't a drop of Inuit blood. His parents, who were killed when he was an infant, were white trappers from Germany. He, of course, has full rights and respect among his Inuit people.

The Kongakut River country was the special stomping ground of Tommy O. Gordon and his family. Since Tommy O. died, this area has had less use by the Kaktovikmuit, just a few hunting parties a year. In the summer, urban recreationists use it quite a lot, and the Fish and Wildlife Service proclaims it pretty much abandoned by the Inupiat. It is not. It is fully occupied at the moment with the mighty spirit of Tommy O. Gordon. Others of us shall move back in due course, to the limit it will hold.

It is important to point out that the Canadian border is not the eastern limit of Kaktovik country. We have family who live in Canada, and we frequently visit back and forth. Some of us were born in Canada, and some of our Canadian family were born in Alaska. Those of us who live on this side of that border generally think of ourselves as American, and those on the other side generally think of themselves as Canadian. However, none of us is entirely happy with the line or the restrictions that come with it. We tolerate it and try to respect it, and we ask for understanding of the fact that it does not separate us as a landed people.

We want to remind others that this line came along fairly recently, its actual presence and effect even more recently, and we are trying as best we can to accommodate to it. But we want it redefined to respect our historic presence here, our proper place on both sides of it. We want bi-national status for all of our people who were divided by this line.

For present purposes, since this document serves mostly to inform outsiders of the way things are here in Kaktovik country, the details of inter-Inupiat land equity are not considered important here. And so, for these purposes, the map bounds on the east and west of Kaktovik country are not precisely defined. They just bleed into the country of more interest and more equity by other Inupiat people. They may or may not be definite lines. We are not saying.

We do, however, want to say this. There is no empty country, no place without Inupiat equity and presence, not north of the divide, not south of at least 100 kilometers to sea. There is nothing open for grabs, and there never was, not since our ancestors came here thousands of years ago, and not for all the years yet to come.

**Kaktovik Impact Project**

**IN THIS PLACE**

**NEW LINES**

Maps of Alaska are mostly drawn by people far removed from life along the Arctic Coast, by people with very limited grasp of the nature of the place. Geography, the governing discipline in which is embedded the art and science of cartography or mapmaking, has long considered the impact of this lack of realistic perception on the skills and behavior of people as they try to depict and relate to distant places.

Geographic research has demonstrated in many ways in many circumstances that people respond to a place not on the basis of the reality of that place but according to their perceptions, even when those perceptions are not only wrong but extremely dangerous. Only in this way can one understand the seemingly odd behavior of people living in the recurrent paths of hurricanes, floods, avalanches, earthquakes, and other natural hazards. Only in this way can one understand many historic events, where otherwise intelligent people have taken outrageous actions because the place they thought they were operating in existed only in their mind.

The farther removed from their experience a place is, the harder it is for people to make a proper assessment of the place, to connect their perceptions and the reality of that place. People who come to the North have long suffered from this disconnection. So too has the North, and so too have its people.

Maps of the North, since they are representations of these perceptions, are likely to be curiously disconnected from any reality. These maps often show things that do not exist and miss massively important things. Even northern rivers, as anyone who has tried to follow one with a map has perhaps discovered, are not always as they appear. Many years ago, somebody reversed the Echooka and Ivashak Rivers, and they have so remained on all maps to this day.

Far worse than this, however, are fundamental conceptual problems, incomprehension, and misinterpretation of northern landforms and landform processes; mapmakers mired in mid-latitude thinking, as their ancestors were in sea monsters and the edge of the world, showing things that are not there and not showing things that are.

And so when one picks up a map of the North, one should be cautious and not presume that it represents that world as it is, or at least as people who live here see it to be. Even mountains and rivers,



even the ocean-which most of the time you can walk on-may not be quite what they appear to be. Maps purporting to show social and political features should be held even more suspect.

For a moment, we would like you to consider with us the way the world looks from here, from Kaktovik country, and the way it has evolved, as we see it.

First of all, we look south, not north, for that is the direction from which all sorts of odd things come, the direction we have to watch.

We are Americans, but we got that way in a very strange manner. We didn't arrive in boats nor were we born in country anybody ever thinks of as the core of our national character. We seldom show up on maps of the "United States". We are often forgotten, misplaced, left out. This may partly account for our indulging ourselves, like other Alaskans do, by speaking of the contiguous states as the South 48, Outside, the Small States of America, as something peculiar, exotic, perhaps to remind other Americans that they look a little odd from here.

We became American by absorption, a slow and peculiar process. It crept up on us, from that south, when we were not looking, arriving without our knowing it.

We never saw any Russians here. The Russians never made it this far. They were discouraged by our rather fierce brothers and sisters to the west and south and by the weather. And so we were never a part of Russia. We were never conquered, treated, or in any other way, legal or otherwise, incorporated into any Russian order of government. We were not possessed in any manner whatsoever.

And so we clearly were not sold by the Russians to the United States. As far as this country is concerned, the United States bought a Brooklyn Bridge, something the Russians may have claimed but didn't own, indeed, had never even seen.

Still, somehow, with that purchase, a line was drawn, which kept the British out; and so we are not part of Canada either. But we did not see that line. In fact, you can't see it, even today. It looks bold enough on your maps, but it is not there, not out there on the land. We know about it, even remember to change our attitudes when we cross it, have come to consider ourselves American, at least when we are on this side of it, but we are American more by default than due process.

That line cuts through our country, cuts through our families, some of whom are Canadian, consider themselves Canadian. But to be technically correct, we are both. We are a North American aboriginal people whose homeland was cut by that subsequent international line, and, like other Native people so bisected, we have rights on both sides of it, a case we have never bothered with for the simple reason that, so far, nobody has given us much trouble, hindered us as we go about our business, more or less ignoring that line.

That is an important point, that we have not been hindered by that line in our use of our lands and waters. Please keep it in mind. Keep in mind why that line is not as significant to us as it would appear to be on your maps. We don't see it. We don't bump into it.

On many maps today, one of the most prominent features in this part of Alaska is something called the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, which, to our dismay, seems to cover a good part of our country.

Now this line turns out to be a nasty bucket of eels. Not only did somebody forget to tell us we were Russian and then America, which we have been able to ignore or to deal with, but now, they have made us into a wildlife refuge, which we cannot ignore.

Moreover, they then decided, without telling us, that most of that refuge was something called wilderness, meaning, as we read the dictionary, that nobody lives there. And since we do, we were apparently declared nonexistent.

To complicate matters further, the Congress of the United States, embarrassed, we suppose, for failing to deal legally with the aboriginal, the "real" people of Alaska, tried to cover up this mess with something called the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. Again, nobody came to talk with us about it, which would seem the only decent thing to do when negotiating with a sovereign nation, as we would seem to have remained, if only because nobody noticed us.

To make matters worse, that bill presumed to declare void all aboriginal rights in Alaska. Now, in legal fact, you can't do that, not the Congress of the United States, not anybody. Nobody can unilaterally declare aboriginal rights void. Such matters inherently involve two nations. The naiveté of Washington lawyers, especially in matters of international law-and we have to presume lawyers were involved in drawing up this thing-never ceases to amaze.

Moreover, you can't declare a wildlife refuge to exist on lands already possessed by somebody else, especially when they are in aboriginal possession. Imagine, if you can, the outrage and humiliation were Congress to declare Navajo lands, or Switzerland, or New York City, a wildlife refuge...then declare it wilderness...and try to push the people out.

Now we would not be too worried by nor even interested in this astonishing legal mess if it had not been suddenly thrust into our lives, into our consciousness, by people beginning to threaten us as we go about our business.

*This so-called wildlife refuge came into being, we have discovered, years ago, before there was any thought given to a land claims settlement, apparently at the urging of a Fairbanks ladies' gardening club. For years it was called the Arctic National Wildlife Range, and it was just some lines on a map someplace. We had no knowledge of it, no idea it was or might ever become threatening to us. There was minimal federal presence here. Game regulation, such as it was, was the responsibility of the State of Alaska, and they mostly left us alone.*

That has changed and changed dramatically. Suddenly we are bumping up against lines we had not known to exist, against interests we can hardly comprehend, and behavior we find abominable. Our people, including our elders, whom we hold in a very high regard, are being harassed, intimidated, abused, and denied their use of this homeland, the country we have held justly, used wisely, and occupied forever, or nearabouts.

Nearly as bad, the other creatures of the land are also being harassed and abused without mercy or good judgment. We are appalled by this behavior in our country, and we want it stopped.

We are also offended by the coming onto our lands of people who seem to have no respect or understanding of it, people with very strange ways of looking at the country and at us. They come from big cities mostly, and they seem to view our country with a kind of religious fervor, as if it were some lost sacred ground of theirs, something missing in their souls. They are offended that we feed ourselves and our children from the land, that the creatures of the land and waters give themselves to us that we may live.

These unbelievably presumptuous people do not want us out there in our country. Our very presence offends them. These are people with whom we seem to share no common ground and no common understanding.

However, we are not leaving. They are. In some way we shall get them out of here. They have no permanence here. We do.

Finally, we must speak about the lines that have come onto your maps of our country by those who search for oil and gas. We know these people pretty well. We have worked with them in these matters. Unlike those others who have come to take our land, to make it theirs, to control it as they want it controlled, to drive us out, these oil people only want the oil, and, after we had a few words with them about it, they have tried to work with us, to respect our interest in the country.

They are rough, some of these oil people, but so are we, and we think we can deal with them. We and they both know and understand that someday they will be gone. They have no interest in staying

here, in getting and holding our lands and waters. The lines they draw on the maps are not territorial lines, but temporary ones, and we feel we can live with them.

The thing that concerns us the most about this oil activity is that we are told the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, the federal agency we find most possessive, most insensitive, most destructive and most obnoxious, will be the one agency assigned to protect the country from harm should oil development proceed here. That would clearly be tragic, for us, for our lands and waters, and for the other creatures who share our country. We have no confidence in these people to care, to understand, to respect, or to protect anything here.

Already, work they have authorized, seismic work, was so poorly managed, so poorly contracted, and so poorly permitted, that it produced the first scars this side of the Canning River, the first scars, that is, since the Air Force came...and left all their trash...which we now find to be full of toxic waste.

The lines these federal agencies have drawn on our land, the scars they have left, these we do not approve. We want them erased, so that our country may heal. We want these people who so miserably represent our nation here to leave and to take their poisons with them so we may forget they were ever here in this place of ours.

We are proud and loyal Americans, which makes us ashamed of these people. Surely we and this good nation of ours deserve better.

**Kaktovik Impact Project  
IN THIS PLACE**

**NEEDS**

In contrast to other documents in this set, which deal with larger issues—the lands and waters of the Kaktovikmuit, the world as it appears from here, ways to deal with massive industrial activity, how to get out ahead of events and not trail behind them—in contrast to these strategic matters, this section attempts to deal with somewhat smaller issues, things perhaps more in line with the normal business of city government, at least city government as it is in those places where the word “city” fits a little better than it does here.

The premises from which this project was apparently drawn was that we would suffer great negative impacts from oil development activity here. It seems further presumed that we could predict what these impacts might be and then treat them in some manner both before and after the fact.

As we have stated elsewhere, this seems illogical to us. We also note that we have already in place many devices for treating normal municipal needs and functions, as well as powerful devices for precluding and/or dealing with industrial impacts, the North Slope Borough being the main one. We shall use these devices, expand and improve them and make them work for us.

Thanks largely to the good offices of the North Slope Borough, most of our usual municipal services and functions are now rather well attended, remarkably so considering the physical circumstances here. Things like housing, schooling, health care and water, streets, lights, waste treatment, even public transportation are adequate and certainly far better than they were a few years ago, when life here was spartan, to say the least.

Moreover, there are job opportunities here—not excess opportunity but adequate—many of them in the direct employ of the North Slope Borough, others indirectly.

This is not to say that there are not problems, the most obvious being a shallow economy and its collateral concentration of power. Without the revenues from oil and the services of the North Slope Borough, which derive from those revenues, we would be in dire straits indeed.

And so one very critical need is to expand the economic base here. However, to see that need is far easier than to treat it. Frankly, there is not a great deal of incentive to treat it, since it does not bite us everyday, as do other things, nor is there any real urgency to treat it.

Indeed, we only mention it here, saying that we must deal with it someday and probably fairly soon. For the moment we would just try to keep an eye on any passing opportunity as we attack more urgent matters. In particular, we hope that our work with the oil industry leads to an expanded economic base, especially one that could serve us after the oil reserves are gone. Our Native village corporation, Kaktovik Inupiat Corporation, may be one good vehicle for doing that.

In talking about needs, we want to keep the issue always in a dynamic context, looking toward industrial development not only as yet ill-defined risk to us but also as yet ill-formed opportunities.

For example, we have a problem that our young people often do not have sufficiently challenging work. The jobs they have are often boring and keep them from spending the time older people here had to learn to enjoy and live from the country. We do the best we can to get our people out on the land and the sea, into those activities that make life here so rich, which challenge us and define us as Native people, but the jobs we have to take to provide decent living here often make that difficult.

And so we need to think of how to expand the way people can earn a living here. We would encourage the oil industry to work with us on this problem, to see if there might be some way for us—especially our young people—to participate more in the oil industry, in jobs that are both flexible in time and especially suited to our skills.

The oil industry has been very good so far in trying to help us find and keep employment at Prudhoe Bay. Unfortunately, the results have been disappointing, both for us and for the industry. We suggest the effort now, which has been considerable, should be toward innovation, toward finding ways that not only meet industry needs but also the temper and outlook of our people. We are good and skillful workers, as everyone who has ever worked with us knows. As we go forward with whatever happens here, we want to work with the oil industry to find more challenging and appropriate roles to play in that activity.

One thought that has been suggested is to see if the oil industry might be interested in an apprentice program, a chance for some of our young people to work closely for a period with senior oil industry managers, in order to get a sense of how things really work on the cutting edge of that industry. We think that might do us all some good. Indeed, we would be glad to make it an exchange, showing their youngsters what fun life can be here. One function of the Kaktovik Impact Office we have proposed might be to coordinate and supervise such an exchange.

Along that line, we would also like to consider some seminars here in town on oil and gas. We all need to know more about how these things work.

We are quite interested in the logistical aspects of any oil activity in this area. We have our own problems with logistics, and we think we might all benefit from cooperation in the design of future logistical systems.

For example, the airstrip we use, which actually belongs now to the U.S. Air Force...or so they say...is poorly located and often fog-bound. We would not only be pleased to work with anyone who would like to have the benefit of our wisdom on better places to build airports. We would like to see that any such facilities might, in appropriate time and circumstances, also serve us.

The same goes for port facilities. There are better and worse places to have a port, and nobody anywhere knows more about this than we do. We are maritime people, and we know this coast. We think it would be a great help to everyone if we were involved in determining how and where such facilities are places, not to mention how ship and barge traffic should be planned and directed.

Some years ago we were approached by a large industrial consortium, the Arctic Gas Companies, which planned to build a massive gas line across our country. They came to tell us of their plans, and they stayed to listen to us apprise them of some of the mistakes we found in those plans. In response to our advice, they moved their alignment some thirty miles and changed their entire compressor station configuration. We like to participate in this way. We all profit from this kind of participation. That is an important need we have, to be more fully involved in those things that happen here.

You will observe that we always try to shift our thinking toward positive approaches. Rather than complain about needing jobs, we offer ideas on how to make better use of our people. Rather than claim damages, we propose means for not having damages. Rather than deny people access to our country, we offer means by which they can work with us here. That is our way. One should not conclude from that, however, that we do not have negative thoughts or worries. We worry quite a lot about what is going to happen here.

We want to make it very clear that there are certain things we are totally against, things we do not want to happen under any circumstances, things we shall fight with great fury. We want our lands and waters protected; we want no damages done to them. We want no restriction on our use of our lands and waters. We think the best way to see to these things is to participate in whatever happens here. That is our greatest need, and we repeat it, our need to participate and to be certain that things will happen as they should happen here.

Some have suggested to us that the oil industry will hit us like a great tidal wave, sweeping us before it, destroying our town, ruining our lands and waters, washing our people into oblivion. They have told us to prepare for these terrible impacts, to list them, to mitigate them, to file for damages, to prepare our list of needs, to prepare for the awful onslaught, to prepare for savagery. Indeed, they have told us some frightening things.

But, you see, we do not think that way. We are not used to being victims. We are not accustomed to telling others of our needs, as if we were children. Indeed, even our children are not like that. We are accustomed to being in charge of our destiny. We have long survived here in this place where others would die in mere moments. We have survived here on our own, without anyone to look after us, and we have done that for longer than anyone can even imagine.

It is not our needs so much that we want to share with anyone; but our goals, our objectives, the tools we will require to see that things go as they should. We would like you to understand what it is we expect to happen here and what we expect not to happen. We hope you will want to work with us to see that things go as we expect.

We do not want the general complexion of our community changed. We are a small community of mostly Inupiat people and a few others respectful and committed to our way of life. We do not want to be transformed suddenly or slowly into something else. We think the best way to assure this doesn't happen is to forbid any industrial use of our municipality and its immediate environs and to assure that all industrial activity in this region be carefully planned so that it works for that purpose and not against it.

It is the unfortunate practice that agencies of government focus on and treat symptoms of problems rather than the problems themselves. While we are not quite ready to question their motives, we do note that the treatment of the symptoms of social ill by government assures that there will always be more government work.

We do not want to contribute to that process. We do not want to present to government our symptomatic needs. However, we can identify one overbearing need in this community, one we do not fully understand, one that is very dangerous to us and with which we surely need help, if only in the form of prayer.

It is alcohol addiction, which is far and away the most dreadful sickness we have.

Indeed, if that sickness is not treated and destroyed, it may well destroy all of us, leaving the rest of our concerns and ambitions entirely academic. Still, it is symptomatic. That is surely a need, the most serious we have, the proper treatment of alcoholism, and we have no remedy here that we can see.



We do not know what it is, let alone what we have to do to treat it. We suspect, however, that it has to do somehow with dignity. We note that it strikes not the weakest of us but often the strongest, those we all look up to and respect. We think it may have to do with the loss of power over the course of events, of being assigned in our conscience the responsibility for our families and our people and being unable, due to external circumstances, to control the events that bear down on those who trust us to care for them.

It may also have some organic cause.

Whatever it is, we have to treat it. We ask for help in that, from any who might know how to help. And in the meantime we shall do the only thing we know to do, try to preserve our dignity, try to control our own destiny...and pray.

We would be grateful for your prayers, as well.

**Kaktovik Impact Project  
IN THIS PLACE**

**INSTRUMENTS**

We may seem to outsiders very small in number, but we Kaktovikmuit are about as many as we can be, as many people as this homeland of ours can comfortably hold. We are also at the focal point of much outside interest and activity, which tends to enlarge us. There are few places in the world more likely to be visited by reporters, network camera crews, celebrities, Congressional leaders, Commissioners, Cabinet members, and other dignitaries and their many attendants and followers than our small village.

In addition, we are required by the press of interest in these lands and waters of ours to travel and to participate in a host of meetings, hearings, and forums; in all manner of civil, administrative, legal, legislative, and industrial activities. And so it would be a mistake to think of us as remote or unsophisticated.

Indeed, quite the opposite is true. We are pressed into a remarkably complex set of circumstances. We have learned from all of this that we need complex tools with which to work, instruments by which we can protect ourselves and our homelands. We have a pretty good idea about these things, about what tools we need and how to use them.

We have, in fact, quite an array of instruments. We would like to speak about these instruments, what they are, and how we want them to work. Some of them are instruments of government, agencies with certain responsibilities here. We want those whose job it is to help us, who are being paid to work with us and for us, to understand what we are doing, what we expect of them, and how and why we expect them to work with us.

There is some awkwardness in all of the instruments of government here. They are foreign instruments, designed and perhaps more functional in other circumstances. They have been dragged in, kicking and screaming, as has so much else, and put in place with little thought to their suitability here. This is not, however, something that worries us terribly. We have become very crafty over the years in taking things from other places and making them fit here and work for us.

This "study" is a case in point. It was given to us by people with good intentions but no deep knowledge of our needs and little respect for our view of things. Had we proceeded with it in the manner envisioned by its designers, the result would have been very odd indeed, useless to us, if not dangerous.

It would likely have joined the many conceptually invalid studies to be filed in that vast graveyard of silly arctic research. So, instead, we decided to make it into something useful here. And we have done that.

Part of the problem lay in its being based on another strange concept, the City of Kaktovik, a second-class Alaskan city by statute, statutes that are quaint here, to say the least. We are hardly a city, not as most people think of cities, and the statutes that define us and by which we operate are hardly suitable or sensible here. We do not function as most cities do, and any attempt to treat us as an ordinary city, to treat impacts here as if this were a town someplace in the Corn Belt, will not work.

Still, with our usual patience and good humor, we have grasped these things, both the "city" and the "study", and made them work, just as we try to make mid-latitude houses and trucks and streets and schools work here.

In fact, both have turned out pretty well. This project has provided us the chance and the resources to think about some of these issues, to develop ideas on how to cope with the rush of events, to try to get ahead of them for a change, so that we have more options than to be surprised and to react. And so it has done precisely what it was intended to do, at least in the abstract, to help us cope with the impacts of oil development. In the detail, we have had to do some redesign work, but the thrust remains as it was intended. We are pleased with the results.

Whereas cities in other places are presumed, perhaps incorrectly, to have little control over regional growth, required by their nature to react to it, we think we have an advantage. We expect to control the impacts here because we are not a municipality disconnected from the surrounding country but a kind of base, a central point in this larger place...and the only people here. In one sense we are like an ancient city-state. In another sense, a kind of European agricultural village. What we are not is a Mid-west or New England town.

This is a city with a hinterland, a hinterland tightly connected and crucial to this place and its people. We have focused on that hinterland, the centerpiece of this work. To ignore that hinterland and its connection to the organic qualities of this place, and its people would make no sense. This is an organic city, with roots that go into the country and define it. And so this is a far more complex community than most city planners or city managers are called on to understand or to treat.

And yet, the City of Kaktovik, odd as it is, unsuited as its charter is to the job we have for it, remains the instrument with which we have to work, and we have made it work pretty well. It is a vehicle

close and very responsive to the wishes and direction of the Kaktovikmuit, so much so that we seldom need to separate city government function from tribal or other human concerns here.

The City is a good and effective voice for our people and a means by which we can serve the needs of all of our people. Since Kaktovik is us, more or less, we have no particular direction to give it here. We would simply say to those who would deal with us or who want to work in this country of ours that the City of Kaktovik is a good and legitimate means for doing that.

However, we must add quickly that we are very short of resources by which to respond to your needs. We appreciate that many people, many agencies of government and others, are coming to us, to the City, to talk with us about things they want us to know about and respond to. We try to do that, but we are overwhelmed by all this demand.

Yet we do not think that we need more city government. We have considered that and worried about it and concluded that more government is not the answer. For the very limited real and normal functions of city government, for this little city, we few people, we do not think we need more or better government.

Our problem is not internal but external, dealing with all the externalities. And so we have proposed that there be set up for whatever period this impact of externalities is to continue an office to deal with those things, all the people who need our ear, all the things we need to do to protect ourselves from this onrush of externally generated events. We have laid out for you the rationale and thrust of this office in a separate document, "Kaktovik Impact Office". We ask that you give it thoughtful consideration. We think it a marvelous idea and a very useful instrument, both for you with business here and for us.

The North Slope Borough is the next level of government that serves us, and it has served us quite well. Frankly, we do not have a great deal more to ask of it. In another document in this set we speak about our needs. Many of these needs are and will continue to be addressed by the Borough.

One of the important functions of borough government is planning and zoning. We believe this function within the North Slope Borough is crucial to our ability to protect our lands and waters and resources from harm. We address this matter of planning in another document in this set.

Also in a separate document, we address the management of our biotic resources, in which the North Slope Borough, through its Department of Wildlife Management, is an important instrument for us.

At the next level of government, the State of Alaska, we have much work yet to do to make these state agencies more responsive to our needs, to help them work more effectively here. These are very

critical agencies, and we need to work with them far better than we have in the past. We feel that the problems we have had may lie on our doorstep as much as on theirs.

The people working in these agencies are not northern people-at least very few of them are. Indeed, many of them are new to Alaska, and few have any knowledge of the Arctic and its people. Many are working under strong misconceptions about us and about our country. In the past, they have often infuriated us with their ignorance and their presumptions.

It is our plan to try to work with these people, to try as hard as we can to have them understand the way it really is here in this very important part of Alaska. We believe there is opportunity for us now in the interest of the State, of urban Alaskans, in the oil potential here. An opportunity for us to get the proper attention of state government and to make it responsive and sensitive. We shall try to do that.

To that end, we expect this set of documents will help, will explain something of our outlook and concerns. We want to participate more fully in the function of those state agencies, especially as they operate and affect matters here. We expect to be at the table when the issues that affect us are discussed, to be a party to the decisions that affect us. Through the Kaktovik Impact Office, we shall speak to all of the parties with interest in working here. We shall try to persuade these various parties of the wisdom of working closely with us.

At the next level of government, the federal level, we have very grave concerns. This is one of the strongest instruments we have, but it is also the least responsive. Moreover, it is at the core of many of the issues here. This is perhaps our greatest and our most pressing challenge, one we fully expect to meet and to conquer.

It is in dealing with this problem that we must express our deep satisfaction at living on this side of the border, for being American citizens. We know and deplore the overbearing power of many other systems of centralized government. Here we are protected, even these few of us, our interests and our rights, by an unusual Constitution, one that works today perhaps even better than it ever has before, on the naïve yet powerful premise that the well-being of everyone depends on the respect given each one.

In other places it would be expedient and possible, even acceptable, to harm a few if it might benefit the many. That is not true here. Here, this most peculiar Constitution, to the great benefit of us all, diffuses power rather than concentrating it and protects the weak from the strong, the few from the many. Although we do not consider ourselves weak, we surely are few, and we take comfort that we are so protected.

## Instruments

Of course, you have to understand this, to know how to make it work. Some do not, and they suffer because of that. We believe we do understand it, and we shall see to it that here, in this place, on this outer corner of this great nation, it will work as it was intended.

That is surely our strongest instrument, our Constitution and the way it works. With it in hand we shall speak quietly to those others who understand it, perhaps even those don't, and point out to them *how things should be done, must be done here.*

Finally, we have the massive power of capitalism in our corner, and we shall use that instrument as well. We will talk, as we have been talking, with those industry people who have seen the wisdom of working with us, the folly of working against us.

We believe we have or have access to all the tools we need, and we intend to use them to see that we survive and prosper...here in our country, in this place which we shall inhabit forever.

**Kaktovik Impact Project  
IN THIS PLACE**

**MANAGEMENT**

The management of industrial activity within our homeland is of grave concern to us. We want oversight of that management; to be sure it is properly done. We believe our understanding of this country and our commitment to it is crucial to proper resource allocation and protection here.

For many years we have watched outsiders sent into our country and given management responsibilities. And we have seen them make horrible mistakes. These mistakes are often the result of ignorance, of people who do not understand how things work here and do not care to find out. But they are made worse by the lack of responsiveness of the systems in which these managers work. Not only do the managers not understand, but the people they work for, who are supposed to provide oversight, also do not understand, indeed, are often remote, unaware and uncaring of the whole matter.

For years this has been a place where incompetents were sent...and forgotten. And we and our country have suffered dearly at their hands. This, of course, is one of the many classic flaws in imperialism, which we have seen here and suffered far too much, that the best people often stay home.

In that matter, how things really work out here on this particular outer edge of our American empire, we have become quite sophisticated. And we offer a simple, singular means to correct it, local oversight, our being a working part of the oversight team.

We believe design is the key to good management. And so we want to be involved in the design of whatever oversight system is put into place here. In fact, we have some suggestions even now.

The first, of course, is that we have the above oversight, that a means is developed for us to see that these matters are treated responsibly and intelligently.

The second is that there be a central responsibility, one "Tzar" for the oversight. At the moment that responsibility, such as it is, is wildly distributed, with the awful effect that nobody is in charge. We would urge that this assignment be defined and one person found soon with the understanding and skills to handle it. That person would be responsible for protecting the public interest in whatever industrial activity takes place here, to see that it is done properly within the law and within logical terms of good stewardship of our lands and waters.

The urgency for putting somebody in charge even now seems obvious to us. This thing is chaotic. There is no central planning, no place for anyone to turn even to find out what is going on. Independently, all sorts of parties are going all sorts of directions with all sorts of schemes. It looks to us to be a mess. We suspect that is one reason it has dragged out so long. The representations before the Congress, just by those favoring the opening of the Coastal Plain to oil exploration, are neither coherent nor half as persuasive as they ought to be.

We believe there should be some order put to this matter immediately. And we believe the first step is to put somebody in charge, even now, even before any decision is made, if only so that whatever decision is made is made in a rational framework, that some control be exercised over all the things which are already happening here, which have been going on here now for several years.

This control should not be in the form of a committee. We Inupiat love committees. We are a very egalitarian people and we like to have everyone heard, to work by *consensus*, but in this matter, we urge tighter organization, centralized authority and responsibility. For this grave matter, we would like to see somebody in charge, a place where the buck stops, somebody we can turn to and ask what the heck is going on here and what are we supposed to do now.

Of course, we want that person to work for us, as would just about everyone else. We recognize that, that others have an interest in how things happen here, and we are glad for that. Even we make mistakes on rare occasion, and it would be a comfort to share that oversight, the responsibility for seeing that things work out here as they should.

And so we propose that the person we select to run this thing report to all of us with an interest here. That means the person would report to a board, a board made up of those parties with an interest and responsibilities here. We propose a seven-member board: with a federal member appointed by the President of the United States, a state member appointed by the Governor of Alaska, a Borough member appointed by the North Slope Borough Assembly, two members appointed by the Kaktovik City Council, and two at-large members representing other legitimate interest, or, even better, some *special wisdom* in these matters.

We further propose that the chair be held by the member appointed by the North Slope Borough.

Since the people who actually live here and have to live through all of this are not only most at risk from any damages here but also are more likely to know what makes sense and what doesn't, we believe the board should have a strong local component. We have no interest in protecting bureaucratic constituencies, only human constituencies and this country of ours. Indeed, we urge that this board, or



whatever oversight forum should emerge, not be designed, as are so many, to protect agencies of government, and so we urge that no member of it be a career government agent.

Indeed, we are not entirely comfortable with the "Tzar" being a career government agent. We question whether that kind of experience is the best for this, whether such a person would be able to discharge the responsibilities of the office with all the baggage such a career carries with it. We want somebody who knows this country and the oil industry, who will not start out making silly mistakes, learning at our expense. We can think of few government people like that. There are some...Lew Pamplin and Al Ott come to mind...but there are not many, and those few may not be available.

Our view of administration is that you appoint somebody to a job, perhaps on the basis of their ideas about how it should be done, and then let them do it, figure out the best way to get it done. And report back. And so, although we all have lots of ideas about the small stuff, we do not think it appropriate to lay out here in any detail what the "Tzar" should do. We know the Devil does lie in the details, and we would like to approve those details, but we want somebody else to develop them, somebody who is very clever at this sort of thing.

We do urge, however, that the first consideration in setting up this special agency, this office of public oversight, be to get as many old hands as possible, people who have some sense of this place. We do not need to suffer another cadre of old army officers who may or may not have done something right in Vietnam or Saudi Arabia, who need a job but haven't a clue what permafrost is or how ours is different from that in Fairbanks and why that makes our roads different. Nor do we need any more industry and government cast-offs. We need people with whom we can work, who know this country, people we can respect, people who can get things done here.

We shall do all that we can to help them, but they must be the kind of people who will listen, who can hear what we tell them. If they are, we can save them a great deal of grief.

**Kaktovik Impact Project  
IN THIS PLACE**

**DAMAGES**

We have directed this project, or perhaps redirected it, to treat causes and not symptoms, to discover means by which to control events here and not suffer them. And so we have not focused on all the possible damages from oil development or the mitigation of these damages but on procedures by which we can avoid damages and benefit from whatever we allow to take place here.

Nonetheless, the issue of damages lurks out there in the darkness ahead, a serious possibility if we fail to make these more constructive approaches work. If only as an incentive to make them work, we shall speak now briefly to the issue of damages.

First, let's put the matter in perspective. The worst risks from oil development are not the worst risks we face. Whatever damages we do finding and developing whatever oil reserves there are here, no matter how poorly managed, how irresponsibly done, no matter what is spilled and killed and polluted, this country would likely survive, eventually recover and so might we.

The reason for this is simple. Oil development is a temporary thing. We have heard of the old oil fields of Pennsylvania, which were horribly exploited and abandoned and how they are now wild and lush, despite the skeletal remains of a largely dead industry. Wild turkey and deer and bear roam among the rusted pipes and rotten, vine-covered shacks, which add almost an element of romance, of mystery to those still beautiful hills and valleys.

We do not want this to happen here, and we see no reason that it should, and yet, if these oil people come and go, as they must, and if we survive, the land will recover, in time, and so shall we.

It is the loss to us of our land which puts us most at risk, that and the dangers to our people, that we shall perish from this place, be driven from it, destroyed in all the insidious ways that Native people like us have been destroyed in so many other places. This oil business is but a minor worry to us. The oil people we know, and we know they do not intend genocide. We are not so sure about the rest.

We are not naïve. We understand the people who come here far better than they understand us. We suspect we may understand them better than they understand themselves.

## Damages

We see them, we understand them, and we fear them, not just that they may wish to harm us...we think few do...but that they will do things which are harmful, perhaps thinking that what they do may help. These are some few of the things we fear, the things we are determined shall not happen here.

We see plans already, maps with lines about how they will build ports and roads. We don't know where these maps were made or by whom. We do know they are wrong. We fear that such lines and plans as these will be made and be given further substance and finally be built without our ever having a chance to say why they are wrong, why they will not work, why they will cause such great harm.

We know that oil development requires the transportation of vast amounts of equipment here, and we have some idea how things are transported here. In the old days we received much of our trade good from the east, from the Hudson Bay Company posts in what is now Canada. Logistically, because of the Mackenzie River and the favorable ice conditions in the eastern Beaufort Sea, we are near to the heart of Canada, to the oil fields of Alberta, to the Canadian oil industry, far nearer to that industrial center than to our own.

It therefore seems likely to us that much of the material used here will come from that direction. And that worries us a great deal. That barge traffic would cross one of the most critical whale grazing areas in the world at the very time when it is being used by those great whales which mean so much to us. Therein lies the potential for massive damages, and we see nobody even mentioning it, either the logistical plan or the conflict, the damages it might cause.

The maps we have seen of the roads planned to service the oil facilities on the Arctic Coastal Plain cut directly across both our access routes to the inner portions of our country and the path of caribou in their post-calving aggregations. Free north-south movement across this country is essential to all of us. While roads could be built here, if it is essential that they be so built, they must be built to very particular specifications and with particular control of traffic during critical periods. We see no indication that anyone is even aware of these matters, that there is any real reason for these roads or that whoever drew them was aware of any of this. That concerns us.

We are worried about where oil operation bases will be placed, and we have no idea yet what anyone has in mind to do about them, where they will be and how they will be configured. These are matters which are of crucial importance to us. Even we do not know yet how this should be done. It requires a great deal of thought and careful planning, and we want to be a part of that planning. We are very much afraid that it will happen too quickly, be given too little thought. To others this may not seem important; to us it is critical.

We see people talking about oil exploration without factoring in oil development in the likely event there will be significant discoveries here. It is not the exploration which troubles us so much as the intense infrastructure of a fully developed field, such as Prudhoe Bay or the Kuparuk. The exploration and how it is planned sets in motion a whole string of events, which soon are generating their own momentum. We don't like this process, which is so characteristic of the oil industry, to go one step at a time without looking at the place it will someday lead us.

We are fearful of this lack of vision, and we intend to do all we can to see that there are long-term plans made for any oil industry activity in this country of ours, some larger view about where all this may take us.

We have children here, young people who are especially vulnerable to the dangers inherent in the rough lives of the rough people who search for oil. These oil people, if they have children, leave them at home, where they are safe. Our children are here at the edge or even the center of this sometimes mean, often dangerous crowd. We want our children protected. This is our home. We want it to remain a safe place for all of our people and especially our children. We are fearful that this will not be done, that our children, our weaker people will be exposed to danger and harmed.

Our lands may recover from whatever harm comes to it. Our people, tough as we are, may not be so resilient.

There were once people to the east known to us as the Kugmalik. They are gone now, victims we think of alien diseases. There are many diseases associated with the oil fields, with the people who work them. Perhaps the worst is alcoholism. We fear this disease worse than any other. It has taken a dreadful toll on our people. It has nearly killed us. We are afraid that oil development may make this horrible problem even worse, that we shall not be protected from it.

We are fearful of the regulators who will come, that they may be like the ones already here, that they will manage things in ways which are harmful to us, which do not protect our interests or our country, but the interests of others...or maybe just their own. Damages here from mismanagement are already massive, the impact on our lives criminal. We fear and despise these regulators worst of all.

We do not like the studies people do here. We do not like to be studied; we do not like those who study the country and the other creatures. It is not the idea of studying we dislike. We study things ourselves. It is the way people who come here study things. They are disrespectful and often stupid. We believe, for one thing, that people should read before they study, see what others have done, build on that and not just do the same things over and over again. Here nobody seems to do that. Wave after wave come here and do the same thing. And they do a great deal of damage to us, to our country and to our fellow creatures.

We have enough stories about this to fill many books, of the damages done by people who come here to study things, such as the fellow with Fish and Wildlife Service who killed more polar bears figuring out how to radio-collar them than have ever been killed by all the industrial activity in the entire arctic since the beginning of time. His excuse was he had to figure out about polar bears before they were all killed by the oil industry.

The fish we catch we can no longer eat for they have been damaged by the cruel devices stuck into their flesh around which the meat is rotten, the fish sickened by these hideous plastic flags by which biologists track them.

We see caribou calves killed by radio collars, abandoned to die in desolation and agony. We see the tom and putrid flesh of adults staggered by this hellish burden, literally rotting to death, carrying it with them, trapped in it, their nostrils assaulted by the stench of their own dying. And we see them running, screaming, the awful screams of caribou, from these things they can never escape.

This is a harsh land. Nature is harsh. Pain and death are not strangers here. Indeed, they help define what life is in this part of the real world. But there is something about the savagery of these biologists which is far more sickening to us than anything nature can do on her own, this alien barbarism, a thundering disrespect for the creatures, seeing them not for what they are but as objects to be used to advance careers.

There are peripheral damages and insults, as well, such as the Fish and Game biologist and game warden, who, after harassing grizzlies all summer, then used his helicopter to slaughter his personal winter supply of moose and haul it to his home.

Helicopters are surely the worst things ever to come into the North. By allowing government agents to locate otherwise hidden schools of river fish so they can set up camp where the fishing is good, helicopters have taken a terrible toll on these all-too-vulnerable fisheries. Of course, before helicopters, there was little radio collaring, little buzzing of just about everything that walks or swims or crawls or flies here. In this country, in this place of ours, helicopters are a ghastly abomination.

Unfortunately, much of this harm by these swarms of immature biologists is driven by the possibility of oil development here. They talk of base-line data, monitoring and assessment of damages, knowing that they will find work here by checking and rechecking everything ten times over until oil is but a distant memory...not to mention the pristine quality of our country. We see no way for the oil industry alone to approach the damages these biologists do.

Unlike the oil industry which focuses on oil, these biologists focus on the animals, and they do massive harm and insult at the very heart of life here.

The problem, in part, is that we are too far removed from the eyes of the world. This kind of abuse, this kind of incompetence, these excesses would surely not be tolerated if they were more visible. Fortunately, we are here, we Inupiat; we see what is happening, and we shall no longer be silent.

Indeed, that is our purpose here, with these documents, to speak out, to let in some light, to alert the world to the nature of things here. We are fearful of the damages that may come to us from oil development, but we have to say that much of the damage is already upon us, upon our land. And much of it comes in the guise of protection.

We are determined to stop it. The oil industry we think we can control. We have had far less effect protecting our country and our people from those sent here as protectors. But we shall find the means to do that.

**Kaktovik Impact Project  
IN THIS PLACE**

**RULES**

It is not in our nature to worry too much about rules. Rules are more important to urban people, the hydraulic civilizations, as they have been called, than to people like us who depend more on our wits, our good humor and our understanding of nature than on confining social organization. We have been not so threatened as they are by the behavior of others, by the need to control what other people do. Indeed, we are still inclined to think what others do is none of our business. We enjoy our freedom and respect the freedom of others.

That is one reason, perhaps, why these urban constructions, such as second-class cities, wilderness and game laws fit awkwardly at best here, are uncomfortable and always look a little silly to us.

But things are changing here, whether we like it or not. We are being invaded by what seems to us hordes of urban people, urban perspectives and urban ways of doing things. Urban people, it seems, need rules, even out here, because they do not seem to recall how to behave without them.

People come here without invitation, as if our town, our country, were open to them, not the private places they really are, as we see it, like a room in our house, and do quite nasty, offensive things. They walk around and stare at us, peer into our windows, ask insulting questions, take pictures of our children, pitch their tents on our land, leave their trash everywhere, grin at us, urinate everywhere, even in our domestic water lagoon, indeed, offend us in just about every way they can. And so it appears we must make up some rules for them. They are rules people, and maybe this will help them figure out how to behave here.

First of all, there is no public land anywhere around the City of Kaktovik. We do not see any need for it, and we don't have it. All the land belongs to somebody. Nobody should come here with the intention of just camping on the land. There is no such land. We do not offer that service.

It might be possible to arrange for a place to camp with someone who does own land and who would perhaps allow visitors to camp on it. It would be their responsibility to provide for the proper hygienic needs of their guest and the disposal of their waste. We strongly urge anyone coming here to

make such arrangements privately well in advance. The City of Kaktovik does not have the resources to do that for anyone.

There are commercial accommodations in the City, and again arrangements should be made privately well in advance.

We should perhaps point out that the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge is not on the outskirts of town. There is considerable private land between the City and the refuge, mostly held by the Kaktovik Inupiat Corporation, a private company, for which trespass has become a serious problem, both in real and legal terms. Anyone who wishes to use or cross these private lands should get permission to do so from the Corporation, preferably in advance.

We have great numbers of people who descend on us, often unannounced, demanding to know this or that, to have us gather and speak to them about things they want to know. We are not able to do that as things are now, and although we have tried to be polite, to accommodate people, even inconsiderate people, this sort of intrusion has become a massive burden on us.

Anyone with business with the people of Kaktovik, should make arrangements well in advance and be prepared to pay reasonably for the time of our people who agree to set their work aside, to give up their few private hours to accommodate those requests. For matters which have no direct interest to the City or the people of Kaktovik, the City charges a fee for services or may simply forbid them.

Nobody should presume to come to Kaktovik on any kind of public or commercial business without the prior notice and approval of the City.

We note in passing that the proposed Kaktovik Impact Office could help greatly in these matters, both in protecting our people from the damaging impact of intruders and in helping those with legitimate business here to get their work done and done properly. At the moment, the City is simply unable to deal with that impact, which has been draining and terribly destructive.

There are some obvious questions about our equity in those parts of our homeland which have become part of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. However, we believe anyone with any understanding of such matters will see that we have some equity there, that this is not simply a federal reserve. In any event, we have never withdrawn our interest nor our claim to this country. And so we want to say a few things about how it should be treated.

This is country which has always been used in a very unintrusive way, certainly used very delicately by us, so much so, it appears, that many do not even perceive our use of it.



We are concerned now that others are using it in a very different way and having far more impact. There is a good deal of traffic now along some of the major rivers, and we see this traffic to be harmful.

We note that industrial activity within the refuge has long been required by the terms of their permits to remove all their waste, including their feces and urine. We think this is a good idea.

And so we propose this rule: that all outsiders, whether they be recreationist, government agents, or industry people, remove all that they bring into our country, be required, as industry has been, to remove, take with them when they go, all of their waste. In this way, we feel we may be assured that the country will not suffer the damages done to such places as Denali, where the waste of recreationists has so profaned this great mountain.

As we have noted elsewhere, we are greatly concerned about the impacts of helicopters on our fellow creatures. We are aware of research showing the serious damage from helicopter overflights of muskoxen, especially in the late winter. We are greatly concerned about the use of helicopters for photography and sightseeing, which seems to us so frivolous and unnecessary. It saddens us to see responsible people, such as legislators, governors, and secretaries of interior, indulge in such childish and reprehensible behavior.

We have noted also how hateful we find the unbridled use of helicopters for radio collaring, which we believe to be totally unwarranted cruelty and disrespect to these animals.

We have seen the impact on fisheries from the use of helicopters for sport fishing, largely the prerogative of government agents, since few others have the time and helicopters to indulge in it. That this is at taxpayer expense is particularly galling.

By nearly any standard, helicopters are offensive here, incongruent with the peaceful nature of our country. These machines are not only obnoxious but also expensive and inherently dangerous. To use them for unnecessary and destructive purposes seems to us to lack not only good sense but also good ethical judgment.

We therefore propose the following rules with respect to helicopter use in our homeland:

- 1) that any use of helicopters here for biological research meet strict protocol in terms of research design, need for the research and control of damages to the dignity and well-being of all creatures and further that we be a party to the approval of such research protocols,
- 2) that the use of helicopters for casual observing and photographing of wildlife be prohibited and further that the principal of avoidance on sight be applied and enforced for all aircraft

## Rules

activity with respect to wildlife, except by special permit meeting the above prescribed protocols,

- 3) that the use of helicopters for the purpose of spotting river fish for sport fishing be strictly prohibited, and
- 4) that the use of helicopters or other government or industrial aircraft normally used in the conduct of business here, including the visiting of government officials, not be used at the same time for sport hunting or fishing.

Finally, we have one other simple request, a rule, if you will, which is perhaps already a law, or should be. It is that nobody take pictures of our children without the permission of their parents.

**Kaktovik Impact Project  
IN THIS PLACE**

**GOVERNMENT**

It is not in our nature to speak badly of others. For that reason we are uncomfortable with much of what has been said in these documents. They are true and they reflect rather well our concerns and our feelings, but we are not comfortable that they have had to be said. This is especially true here. Indeed, there is a certain irony in this, in the fact that this work was sponsored by government, funded with government money, and now we have to say what we think about that. And it is not altogether good.

On the other hand, there is not really any such thing as government money; it is public money, and those agencies which make it available act merely as instruments of the public trust, to assure that these monies are used as they should be used, to good and useful purposes. While we are quite comfortable with the product from this project, with its value and suitability, at least after we banged it around a little, that is not always the case.

One problem we see with government here, and there is a great deal of government here, is that it generally arrives with programs already in hand, things it says are good for people here or which are supposed to be good for people in general, for the State, for the Nation or for the world. In some cases this may be true. Often it is not. More often it is good only for government, for the agents of government, for their careers, for their job security.

We have little to say about it. All we can do is try to see if there is not some way to make whatever the program is work to some useful purpose here, to bend the thing to fit, as we did this one. Sometimes we can and sometimes we can not. Often the main good in a program is whatever revenue there may be in it, the jobs it creates here, the peripheral benefits. We take all sorts of programs here, even silly ones, just for the jobs in them, which is not something we feel awfully good about, but then neither do we feel terribly bad about it either. It is not a system of our design. We just try to make the best of the often bad things that show up on our doorstep.

Still, it is troubling. Even more troubling are the programs we see here which are costly and useless in all regards. At this end of the American empire, removed as we are from much oversight, we see incredibly wasteful, foolish, and often destructive government programs.

We also see massively incompetent government, people whom we suspect would not last long if others saw what it is they do. We often suspect they get here because someone did notice and wanted

them out of sight. For too long we have served as a wasteland, a dump for things people wanted out of sight.

We are very grateful for the monies which were made available to us for this work, and we think we have a way to repay it, many times over. We are out here where all of this takes place, where, if it is permitted, there will be a great rush to find oil and a great rush of government to do whatever it is that government assigns itself to do with respect to this activity.

We would be glad to keep an eye on things, to watch and to report all the many things which are likely not to be as they should be. We just need somebody to report to and the assignment to watch.

Given that assignment we could provide a useful service and also do what we need to do for ourselves, see that things here which concern us are attended as they should be. We are confident we could save us all a million dollars every day, and perhaps save this country of ours from ruin.

If that seems odd or out of line, just think how much money, not to mention lives, we shall have saved already if we manage to persuade people not to use helicopters for useless and destructive purposes and not to do useless and destructive research.

We would like to put in for that job, to monitor the work of government here. We would be glad to do it through an expanded Kaktovik Impact Office and the capabilities of the Kaktovik Inupiat Corporation.

**Kaktovik Impact Project  
IN THIS PLACE**

**WILDLIFE**

The appropriate care and respect of all of the living things in our country is a matter of grave concern to us. And yet any discussion of wildlife throws us immediately into a huge semantic problem, one we have to address before we can even begin to talk about the issues. Indeed, this semantic problem is at the root of the conflict.

Our capture and use of biotic resources is not seen as a game by the Inupiat, and the term "game" is very much resented here. Nor do we see it our task to "manage" the affairs of our fellow creatures. These terms and their implications rest at the heart of much of the trouble in so-called "game management" throughout Alaska.

Indeed, we have searched the American English language and find no adequate words to describe the complex relations between us and the other creatures with which we live and with which we have a mutually sustaining system of life. We suspect that there were once such words in English, but they have been forgotten, or perhaps they did not survive the trip across the ocean.

Although some use it, "subsistence" is certainly not an adequate or meaningful word here either, at least not as it is normally defined and used outside the context of aboriginal resource use. In fact, the more we look at it, think about it, the more insult we feel by its application to our lives. We are not peasants. We do not subsist; we thrive here, live our lives with great relish.

The point of this argument is simply that we do not accept or feel comfortable even with the language others use to describe the matters of biotic resource utilization and care in our country. We have far greater distress with actual processes which go forward under these names.

We see these to be serious, fundamental issues, not small matters which we can sit down together and quickly resolve. Still, we have to address them, to strive for some mutual understanding and common purposes.

At the heart of our concern is something we can only describe as respect. We are deeply distressed by what we see as lack of respect for this country and its creatures by those whose job it is, who are being paid and paid quite well to protect the biotic community in which we live.

We are especially disturbed by the treatment of creatures subjected to what is called "research" but what we see as something else, not something driven by the need to understand but by idle curiosity, by sloth and ignorance, by hideous insensitivity and by the drive to advance careers.

We are distressed by the ignorance of the people who come here to assume these responsibilities, their inability to grasp the critical biotic dimensions of this place, who see it in alien terms, see things here which do not exist and yet fail to see things which do exist and are terribly important.

As a simple case in point, we note that many of the mammalian experts who come here think of our ungulates in terms far more appropriate to elk and deer, if not cattle, creatures from areas where they have been raised and where they have studied. We suspect that is one reason the organic qualities of caribou have escaped them, one reason they find things which are not here, such as a "core calving ground" and fail to see things which are, such as the flow of caribou between "herds", something else we do not have here. Herds require a herder. We once had reindeer herds here; some of us were herders. There are no herds of caribou. We have found caribou very difficult to herd.

We believe that at the center of much of their problem is just this issue, of herding, of managing. These people who come here are of the mind to manage other creatures; they think that way, of being in charge. They even try, on occasion, to manage us. That is not the way it works here, as we have tried so many times to point out to them. We don't manage things here; we live as a part of it.

The intellectual flaws in that other kind of thinking are manifest, as are the dreadful results. One can not look at caribou as a property to be managed and optimized. It has been said by these "game managers" that the caribou must be protected from predators, from the wolf and grizzly bear, that we have to be careful in what we do here that these predators do not harm them as they are calving. We trust we can leave that logic to drown on its own, without further comment.

And yet we do see some value in some of the ways these people think. We are quite taken by analytical and scholarly thinking, when it is properly done. What puzzles us is the distance between the theory and the practice, at least as we see it here. We can only guess that we suffer once again in having the dregs sent to us, the cast-offs, the poor thinkers, not the best of them, those who could not quite make it in the real competition of their own country.

In this we Inupiat may have some advantage, being all of us, both the best and the worst of our people, and all those in between. Consequently, we believe we may be in a good position to help.

As we go forward with the planning and preparation for industrial activity in our country we, the Kaktovikmuit, ask, indeed insist, that our interest, our values, our way of seeing things here be given proper consideration. We want to have an overview position in all of this, especially in the care and respect given our fellow creatures. We think that will be useful not only to us but to the larger goals of our larger society in seeing, understanding and protecting the things here of real value.

We note that our efforts to do this, to participate in a substantive way in the control of research and "game management" activities have seldom been met with great enthusiasm. We think this is because we do see things differently from those others, indeed, do pose a threat to them in their own goals, which may have less to do with why they are sent there than with their personal ambition and their personal failings.

We think we can add much to that mix, greatly improve the brew. In order to do that, in the face of all the risks we may pose to incompetents and colluding and self-serving bureaucrats, we should move into these positions with some real authority, some real power to survive there and affect the quality of research and care of our country.

One way to see that this is accomplished would be for us to be well represented on a panel reviewing and passing on the protocols for all biological research in this country of ours. In that way not only might we prevent much of the destructive work which has gone on here, but we may be able to see that the good, cost-effective and meaningful work needed here does, in fact, get done.

We offer that service and, with the greatest urgency, request that it be accepted.

In line with this proposal we want to make special note of the North Slope Borough Wildlife Department, which we see as a glimmer of light in all of this. It is a small outfit, but it has a good sense of how things really work here. We do not approve of everything they do. They are involved with radio collaring, which annoys us, but still, they are working with a great deal more respect and good judgment than the people we see around here.

Our main problem is that we do not see enough of them here. Like us, they do not have nearly enough resources to do what needs to be done, to be all the places they need to be. We urge that anybody coming up here with biology on their mind, talk with our Borough Wildlife Department, work with them and respect what they say. We also urge increased external funding for the Department, in line with the impact on them of all this activity and increased outside demand.

Finally we want to point out once again that our homeland does not abruptly stop at the Canadian border nor our interest end at the continental divide. Whatever happens on the other side of these lines affects things here. We have long been concerned about what appears to us to be shabby drilling

procedures in Canadian waters. We look with some concern at the way that government works, especially at the concentration of power there, where one agency, indeed one minister, the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, is responsible not only for mineral activity but also for

everything associated with it, and then for the well-being of our people there. They do not have checks and balances as we do, especially in the Territories, and that worries us.

On the other hand, we are impressed with the high level professionalism we see there, which often puts us to shame. Their's is a very different way of doing things. We respect that, but we also ask that they be careful what they do there. We are downstream and just a little nervous about some of the things they do and fail to do.

We would also like to comment on a certain degree of hypocrisy we witness from time to time. The Dempster Highway in the Yukon is surely the greatest single threat to the future well being of the Porcupine Caribou. It was built a few years ago without any hearings or thought with respect to that impact. We would be comforted if the Canadian Wildlife Service and the Yukon Game Branch were a bit more assertive in matters on their side of things and a bit more respectful of us.

South of us we also hear occasional strange noises. We were not aware of the dependency of the Gwitchin on our caribou. Indeed, we thought the caribou were unreliable in those parts, rather spooky and unpredictable, not nearly as sure as they are to be here to calve. We were under the impression that the Gwitchin had to depend on other things, especially fish, as we depend more on the sea than the land.

As we fly over that country and notice the seismic lines cut through their forests, as we notice those same seismic lines cut all through the forest of northern Canada, we wonder where all the religion came from so suddenly. Could it have anything to do, we wonder, with their not finding oil? They have surely looked hard enough.

And so we are inclined to say, "Look, you folks take care of things in your country, and we shall look after ours". So far we have done a pretty good job, and we intend to keep right on doing that. Indeed, we are happy to compare our country, our homeland, with that of anyone, anywhere. Proud? Sure. You bet we are.



**Kaktovik Impact Project  
IN THIS PLACE**

**PLANNING**

To be honest, we Inupiat do not have a long or rich tradition in planning. Circumstances here did not require it, and it did not profit us much. Traditionally, seeing and moving quickly to respond to an opportunity or danger was far more beneficial to us.

But lately we have embraced planning. It became obvious to us that there was much power in planning, that planners can control the course of events, not only events in their own life but in the lives of others. Planning is a vehicle to power, often an insidious one.

For example, with zoning ordinances you can determine what your neighbor is allowed to do, how he can behave on his property. That is something we had never been able to do before, and we find it a fascinating idea.

We first observed how it was used against us, how people in places well beyond our reach and knowledge could make rules about how we used our lands and waters and then send people here to arrest us when we did whatever it was they thought we should not do. That seemed to us very clever, and we quickly decided we should get into that game.

And so we have become serious planners. The first big step we took was to establish the North Slope Borough, which has local planning and zoning authority for all of our country within the United States. Using this tool we can not only determine what and where things happen here, we can also benefit, through property taxes, from these activities, even when they are on lands technically belonging to somebody else. We believe this is a marvelous idea, and we intend to use it to its full advantage.

So far, however, out here on the eastern end of the Borough we have not yet put in place the kind of planning and zoning instruments we need to do the things we want. This is something we must do just as soon as we can, get some serious planning going on out here, enact the new ordinances we need to control what others do here and how they do it.

One trick in power planning is to have as much local control as possible, to keep outsiders from having much say in what goes on here. Towards that end we have even given some thought to setting

up a new Borough. But, on reflection, we don't think that would be either necessary or wise. We have a good instrument already in the North Slope Borough, and we believe we can use the planning tools there

to work for us. Besides, we may not have that much time. The rush is upon us, and we have many other things to do.

And so we turn to our own member of the North Slope Planning Commission, Mr. Isaac Akootchook, and to the other good people who sit on that Commission and ask that they help us put this matter in proper form, help us set up the planning tools we need to control industrial and other activity here.

We presume that would include a new zoning district and a local advisory group from Kaktovik to speak to all the issues we face out here on this eastern end of things.

This seems to us a matter of some urgency, and we ask that it be addressed directly by all parties in the North Slope Borough who can help. We especially ask for the help of the Director of Planning, Mr. Thomas Leavitt, who has already given us support in this impact analysis, and our Mayor, Mr. Jeslie Kaleak.

Gentlemen, what do we do next?

**Kaktovik Impact Project  
IN THIS PLACE**

**SCHOOLING**

Schools are often at the heart of things. That is true here in Kaktovik. Our school is at the heart of our ability to deal with the impacts of industrial activity, at the heart of our ability to survive here. And so we must pay special attention to schooling as we look at means to deal with the impact of oil development.

The future of the Kaktovikmiut and the country from which we take our identity both rest with our children. Our responsibility in passing on to them this country and the sense of its value is a very heavy one. Although we have always been few at any one time, over the millennia we are many indeed. It is dreadful to think what horror those others may feel if this place were ever abandoned by us the living.

Part of our long tenure here clearly rests with the continuity provided each generation to the next, the skills we have needed to live here, the sense, the meaning of this place, so that each new generation can pick up that torch and pass it on to the next.

With the coming of schools, despite the benefits they have brought, there has clearly been some damage to that connection, the connection between generations, between this next generation and the land. Part of that loss must be attributed to some failure of design within our schools, to the fact that our values and perspectives are not nearly so strong there as they should be. There is much about schooling which is alien and destructive, and we have to fix that.

We must go into our school, as all parents must, and see that it provides the skills our children need to live productive lives in these times and for all times. We must assure that those who come here to teach understand that we have very important values peculiar to this place which must be at the heart of the curriculum.

It is important that our children know who they are and what that really means, that our values and our people and our country are all shown the respect we deserve. Our children must grow into that respect, grow to respect themselves as they see themselves in all of it, as the special people of this special country of ours.

Given that, they may then each go in confidence and pride to wherever fate takes them. Without it they will surely blow away, whether they remain here or not.

We want to begin special provision in the curriculum for the fact that we live in the midst of massive oil fields. We are oil people, as well as whalers and hunters and such. We think that reality should also be reflected in the program of studies for our children and in the direction they are given in careers and images of themselves.

As we look at the curriculum, as we talk with our children about what they do at school, it often seems very ordinary to us, a bit vague and uncentered. If ever there were a people of heroic proportions, we must be such a people. Surely the land from which we arise would suggest it. The past from which we come, the looks of amazement we see from others when we speak of what we do and where we have been and what it is we intend to do, all of this suggests that there is something very special about us.

It seems to us that our school might better reflect that quality, reflect that it is a school for the children of the Inupiat, the only people to have the skill and the spirit to live in this very special place and to make it their home. It seems to us that there should be great pride in those given the privilege to work with such children as these, some understanding of what that all means.

Frankly, we do not see it in their eyes nor do we feel it in the way they work with our children.

There is something wrong, and we would like to have it fixed. We have made a major commitment of our resources to the schooling of our children. We would like to see a better product.

Schooling is important, critical to preparing our people to cope with a complex world. School is not just for children, nor is school the only place we learn. We all learn every day of our lives. We learn in different places and by different means. Our children learn and need to learn outside of school as well as in. The rest of us still have much to learn, and the school should help us do that, just as we learn from the things we do.

We realize the complexity of school administration, the way schools, like all institutions, become structured and lose their flexibility. Still, perhaps especially for that reason, we want to make our school work for us in all these matters which concern us, providing more respect for the people it serves, expanding the curriculum with respect to this country and our relationship to it, working more closely with us on the issues and opportunities associated with oil and gas development, and offering a broader range of educational opportunities to the entire community.

## Schooling

**This is an assignment not just to the school administration but to all of us. We note that we have come a very long way, that we have much better schooling than we had in the past. Still, we have much work to do, and this may well be the most important work of all.**

**Kaktovik Impact Project  
IN THIS PLACE**

**IMPACT OFFICE**

Nature has been a harsh determiner of the number of people our land can sustain. This is true not only for people but for other creatures as well. The Barren Ground grizzly bear, far smaller than its southern cousins, still requires an order of magnitude greater range here than these larger relatives in their less rigorous climes.

Even today, with our more integrated economy, the good life here is limited to a few. The country simply will not allow greater sustained use of this sparse resource base. And so we are a proper number of people for this land.

However, we are not many in the face of the massive invasion of people associated in one way or another with development: the politicians, their staffers, journalists, television crews, government agents, researchers, hikers and canoeists, environmentalists, the simply curious, and, of course, the oil people, who, like us, are often lost in the crowd.

While we are unsure what the impact will be of further oil development, when and if it ever comes, we are already impacted and impacted quite seriously by its anticipation. Indeed, we have long been impacted, and that impact has taken its toll. This impact we do know, understand and would like to be able to deal with more effectively.

Part of our problem is just that we are so few. There are not enough of us to go around, to answer even the good questions, not to mention the many more silly ones that people come here to ask over and over again. We are driven to quit answering, to quit responding, to quit wanting people to tell us what they are up to, to leave us alone, to go away. And yet we know that is not good, either for us or for them.

And so we propose the creation of the Kaktovik Impact Office, to provide us the means to treat the impacts we already have, to answer the questions, redirect inquiries, to prepare us for those impacts yet to come just as soon as they can be identified. We want this office to help us make the impacts what we want them to be, to help us obtain and hold some initiative in this great rush of events.

Now, the problem in setting this up, the eternal problem with agencies and offices which are supposed to serve some good purpose, is that they often and soon start serving themselves, the people

in them, and not the people they are supposed to serve, the people they are supposed to hear and represent.

And so we want to be very careful that this office does not become a part of the impact itself, a filter that keeps out the good and lets in the bad. It must be very sensitive and very responsive to the people of Kaktovik, all the people all the time. And it must do this without becoming just one more nuisance.

To be honest, we do not know exactly how to do this. It may be difficult, to be keen and sensitive and responsive and responsible and yet not be a great bother to everyone. Still, it needs to be done, and we have to get on with it, set it up, rejigger it as needed, so that it can start and start soon to meet the impacts already upon us.

The key to making it work, we believe, lies in its staffing. We shall give that a great deal of thought, about the kind of people we want to run it and to work for us. We think staffing is far more important than operational design. In fact, we think the right staff can work out the right design. Staff should come first and then design, at least any detail in design. There will have to be some trial and error, things that work and things discarded, but with the right staff, we are confident it can be made to work.

At the heart of it we shall need wisdom. For that we want to retain some of our own wise people, with which we are well blessed, and add one or two others, senior advisors, people we can turn to who will tell us how things work and what we need to do. These advisors would contribute to policy, but mostly they would contribute to good judgment. They will not have overall responsibility, as a management board would. Instead they offer their wisdom and advice.

The problem with management boards, management by committee, is they are awkward, too diffuse. The job of this office requires that it be efficient and quickly responsive. And so we will use a simple, linear administrative structure, a clear line of responsibility and command. The Impact Office will have a manager who is responsible to the Mayor and, in turn, to the City Council. Thus the Kaktovik Impact Office will be an office of the City of Kaktovik.

The rest of the staff would be the responsibility of the manager. It is seldom wise to pick a good manager and then tell him or her how to manage, what and whom they have to manage. It is best to show such people the job and just ask them to get to work. One of the first jobs of the manager would be to build a proper staff, one adequate to the job but lean and tough.

In the abstract their job is this. The Impact Office has to manage the current impacts and prepare for future impacts, hopefully by controlling them, by getting out ahead of them, by keeping them off

people's back, by making things work in ways that best suit and profit the community. In doing that the office will provide a meaningful and correct interface between the community and outsiders with work here.

The cost of running the Impact Office would include the need to provide for space, equipment, personnel and operations. Space is office space in Kaktovik with arrangements for workspace as required from time to time in Barrow, Anchorage, Juneau, and Washington, D.C. Equipment is a simple computer system with a couple of terminals, laser printer, telephones, fax (possibly computer integrated), copier, and modest furniture and files. Personnel is a manager and one or two technical assistants as required, contract services as required and compensation for the advisors. Operations is airfare and expenses for staff and others who have to go places from time to time on behalf of Kaktovik.

In Kaktovik this would cost about \$400,000 per year, perhaps twice what it would cost elsewhere.

Such an office would not be difficult to support if we were talking about impacting Philadelphia by the same magnitude. Neither should it be that hard to do in Kaktovik. It is a modest cost considering the savings it would be to those external agencies having business here. It would be a great economy in the larger scheme of things, a blessing not just to Kaktovik but to all those outsiders with work here, a place to serve their needs as well as those of the people of Kaktovik, a point of contact with the capacity to respond rapidly and effectively.

People trying to work in Kaktovik know this should have been done long ago, that it would have saved a great deal of trouble, lost time and error. For those who want to look for oil here, we believe this office might have allowed it to happen some time ago...if the case had merit. For those opposed to oil development, if the case did not have merit, then this office would have exposed that as well.

The argument is a pragmatic one, that this office serves not just the community of Kaktovik but also the interest of those who want to work here, and is a real and measurable up-front economy for them. We do not even see the need to make the case on its obvious merit in subsequent social costs, what it will cost if not done.

Although the Kaktovik Impact Office would work closely with agencies of the North Slope Borough, it does not seem logical to us that support be provided by the Borough or even through the Borough. The Borough will have enough trouble and costs dealing with its own tasks related to this impact. The funds should come from the outside beneficiaries, from the State and Federal government and the oil industry, not from others who are impacted.



As to timing, the sooner the better. The summer of 1991 will be chaotic for Kaktovik, even more so than the seasons before. This office should be up and running now. The longer it takes to start, the more damages, the more losses there will be to remedy, the harder it will be for everyone to do the job they all come to Kaktovik to do.

It is time to stop talking about impacts and start dealing with them. It is time to get to work.

**Kaktovik Impact Project  
IN THIS PLACE**

**PROJECT CONTEXT AND HISTORY**

This project has an erratic history. Its beginnings are obscure. In 1987, work was begun in Kaktovik by Dr. Karl Francis through a State of Alaska Legislative grant, sponsored by Representative Al Adams. The work was under the direction of Representative Adams, and Dr. Francis reported to then Mayor of Kaktovik, Loren Ahlers. The project purposes were deliberately vague, to fit the needs of the community, but the general intent was to help Kaktovik prepare for the advent of oil development on the nearby Arctic Coastal Plain.

Dr. Francis explored the political context of oil and gas activity in the area and made recommendations to the Mayor and to the City Council on means by for coping with the development. Outside agencies responded favorably to the thrust of these recommendations, but the report was not acted on. Copies were circulated to outside parties, including the Office of the Governor of Alaska and other State of Alaska offices. Mayor Ahlers, however, appears to have proceeded on other advice.

*This earlier work may or may not have contributed to a new block grant proposal prepared by Dr. April Crosby on behalf of the City of Kaktovik and followed up by Ms. June Weinstock. The grant was approved and stood in abeyance for an extended time. Indeed, it was several times nearly voided for lack of action. To make the State grant operative, a matching grant from the North Slope Borough had to be arranged.*

In November 1990, Kaktovik's Mayor, Herman Aishanna, contacted Dr. Francis and requested help with the execution of the grants. It was discovered then that a competitive bid process was required, and the City put out an RFP, to which there were several competent responding proposals.

The City Council chose the proposal of Karl E. Francis & Associates, Ltd., an Alaskan corporation. The telling merits of this proposal were the strength of Dr. Francis' experience working with the people of Kaktovik, his intimate knowledge of the oil industry and the politics of oil, and his aggressive sense of direction for the project, which was consistent with the mood of the community.

The major reason Kaktovik moved slowly with this project was that many people here were not comfortable with certain color of grant language, implied positions that seemed at odds with our sense of things. It was seen as a passive, defensive study, based on alien views and values. It seemed too

focused on urban things, too negative in its outlook and not broad enough in its identification of risk. Worst of all, it would necessarily be divisive, both within Kaktovik and within the larger Inupiat community.

The Mayor and Vice-Mayor, the rest of the City Council, and others made it clear that Kaktovik did not want a study of hypothetical impacts nor did we want to limit our concerns to urban issues nor to view the oil industry as a singular, presumptive culprit. Kaktovik wanted the tools to see that things came out to the best advantage of all the people of Kaktovik, that events here be under reasonable local control. The first thing needed—the first tool—would have to be the consensus we always try to find in such matters as these.

It seemed to lie well within the broad terms of the language of both grants to make this slight shift in color, to seek and build on a consensus, if such could be found, and Dr. Francis agreed to proceed within those broader grant terms and the wishes of the Kaktovik people, working under a simpler contract for services. In effect, he agreed to work at the pleasure of the Mayor and City Council to assist the people of Kaktovik in finding the essential consensus and in building from it the other tools needed to deal with the oil industry and related matters.

The work was divided into four phases:

Phase One, to acquire suitable services and activate the grants by February 19;

Phase Two, to determine the general direction of the project, to find the consensus and have it approved by April 1;

Phase Three, to construct the body of the project product, a set of documents built on the consensus, and return drafts for public review by May 15; and

Phase Four, to correct and finalize the documents by about the end of June.

Some leeway was built in for the usual Arctic contingencies. Since the work on the State grant had to be firm and final by the end of June, the State funds were used first and that work reported, allowing for such time extensions as might be required through the Borough grant. Indeed, it was decided, because of the rush of events and other demands on everyone's time in May and early June, that the date to complete the draft documents for approval be reset to June 1, with those drafts reviewed and approved by about mid-June. All phases were completed, approved, and finalized on this revised schedule.

These documents were to serve two main purposes:

- 1) To discover, accurately state, and consolidate the views of the Kaktovikmuit with respect to oil and gas development within the homelands; and
  
- 2) To provide guidance and instruction to those with business in the country of the Kaktovikmuit on the appropriate manner for conducting such business here.

These documents do not attempt to do the work of those agencies with responsibility to serve the Kaktovikmuit or protect the country of the Kaktovikmuit. It is not their purpose to plan for oil development, to provide demographic or other planning data, to anticipate change, or to prepare for such change. Those are normal government functions, and there are agencies of government with the means and mandates to meet those responsibilities.

These documents intend only to give general direction to these agencies of government, to express the will of the Kaktovikmuit, and to serve notice on those who come into this country that there are certain appropriate terms and conditions. In the final review and approval, the City Council decided that these documents would remain the property of the City of Kaktovik and be so distributed.