

Within the last few years, the Tribe attempted to join the United Nations as a sovereign government, claiming that it was legally independent. At another time it attempted to enter into an agreement with the Soviet Union. While these attempts were less than successful, they are indicative of the frustrations of life on this reservation and the tenor of tribal responses thereto.

The spirit of tribal independence has sometimes worked against the group. The BIA tends to be regarded as an enemy, and close contact with it is not maintained. This led to the loss of funds available for construction of a new tribal office several years ago, when the Council failed to act to obtain BIA funds then available for that purpose. The BIA established a committee, consisting of BIA, PHS, tribal, and county and other interested parties, to consider the development of reservation resources, but little interest came from the reservation.

Within the reservation population, it is said that there is a weak system of factionalism, tending to revolve around personalities and largely based upon emotional appeal. It seems clear that the factions are based upon kin support of relatives, and support of "friends." The number of factions varies, depending upon personalities and issues rather than upon principles. Only a small percentage of the population is said to vote in tribal elections, making it possible for politicians to be elected with the backing of limited numbers who actually vote. The replacement rate of Council members is said to be high as a consequence (and symptom) of dissatisfaction with the general state of affairs, and the failure of new Council members to create new conditions. In the most recent election, one candidate for Chairman was said to have campaigned solely on the basis of complaints about the incumbent Council members.

The political situation obviously reflects the frustrations of reservation life: lack of jobs, inferior housing, and absence of development. It must be acknowledged, however, the Turtle Mountain has extraordinarily limited developmental resources, and that the tribal government altogether lacks the capacity to deal with these constant problems.

While Indians constitute the majority of Rolette County's population, the white minority effectively controls the politics of the county, and Indian representation in county offices is extremely limited. The "Indians" of Turtle Mountain, while quite thoroughly mixed with whites genetically, constitute a separate and distinct social system from the adjacent or even overlapping white population. The latter is entirely concerned with agriculture or supporting services. Of north European extraction, particularly Scandinavian and German, it is largely Protestant and unsympathetic to the French Catholicism of the Turtle Mountain Band. Relationships between the two groups are scarcely cordial. Charges of police brutality and discrimination are common, although it is not known to what extent the charges reflect reality or symbolize the fears and frustration of the Turtle Mountain community.

3. Impact of the Community Action Program

The Turtle Mountain CAP was established through the offices of the reservation, but it has responsibility for a program that is supposed to cover the entire population of the county, including its significant non-Indian minority.

The estimated population of the county (Rolette) was 10,641 in 1960, of which well over half were Indians. Estimates of the Indian population vary from 5,352 to 7,131, largely with different definitions of Indian status. Poverty, as measured by white urban standards, was characteristic of the Indian population, but also widespread among the whites. Of 2,150 families on the reservation or adjoining lands, only 864 had incomes in excess of \$3,000. Although seasonal labor accounts for variations in the number of persons employed, it is estimated generally that at least 1,000 of the employables are unemployed, and that about 5,000 individuals are in whole or in part dependent upon public support.

Employment opportunities on the reservation are limited. Aside from the CAP, which is in process of becoming the largest employer, the major employment opportunities exist with the BIA Agency. The Bulova Company plant in Rolla, at the edge of the reservation, employs 112 Indians, 70% of its working force. The tribally-owned Chippewa Authentics (manufactures non-authentic Indian artifacts) employs twelve. Some very limited employment is available in the private businesses of Rolla and Dunseith, which cater to the rural agricultural population. The entire State is predominantly agricultural, and the largest cities are commercial rather than industrial, offering only the most limited opportunities for either whites or Indians. The Dakotas are states that export population, and their population growth is extremely low. Building and road construction is