

3954 ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT AMENDMENTS OF 1967

limited, and, as noted above, seasonal employment in agriculture is giving way to mechanization.

Tourism is insignificant, although the reservation is near the International Peace Garden Park on the Canadian border. Major traffic arteries do not pass near the reservation, and local attractions are limited and must, in any case, compete with other not too distant vacation areas of Canada and Minnesota. While great emphasis is placed, verbally, upon tourism development, it is clear that such developments will have only the most limited effect upon the economy.

The limitations of opportunity on the reservation are well known, and an estimated 50% of the enrolled membership of the Tribe is resident elsewhere. This exodus occurs because of opportunities elsewhere. Many do not want to leave, however, and will not do so under present circumstances.

The foregoing indicates the socio-economic circumstances in which the Turtle Mountain CAP was instituted. A Community Action Development Committee was established in 1964. After discussions which took into consideration the Tribal Council and the various public agencies related to the anti-poverty or developmental programs, a plan was submitted to OEO on 15 February 1965. Approval was granted effective April 1965, although the program did not become operational until June.

The Committee's proposals initially provided that the Program Director was to have a degree in social work. The Committee Director was, however, anxious to have the job and influenced the Tribal Committee to alter the proposal so that no educational requirement remained. The Director pointed out the need for a "grass roots" program and expressed the belief that he, with a ninth-grade education and background as a bricklayer, but with experience as Director of the Development Committee, ideally fitted the needs. Approval for the person nominated for the directorship was obtained from OEO in late May, and the administrative component began operation in early June.

In connection with the directorship, several informants stated that it was expected that the Director would be approved only on a temporary basis, and the Council and others were extremely shocked when his appointment was recognized as permanent.

The "legal governing body" of the CAP is the Tribal Council, which is democratically elected by reservation voters although there is question as to what percentage of the potential electorate is actually represented.

The Development Committee existed until the inauguration of the CAP. It was to be replaced by an advisory committee. A special requirement set by OEO was that the CAP Advisory Committee include representation of the white community of the county, which was also to be served by the CAP. Legally, the Advisory Committee is to include representation of the major agencies, institutions, or other groups involved in the anti-poverty program, as well as representatives of the poor. In fact, however, there is no evidence that an advisory committee is in existence. At the time of the field research, the CAP Director indicated that when he needed advice he went to certain friends who would be helpful on specific problems, and that he would tolerate no group or individual telling him "what to do."

While the Tribal Council was the legal governing body of the CAP, it knew nothing of the operations of the program. Council members, apparently unaware of their legal position of strength, complained that they were not consulted. The Tribal Chairman complained that the Director brought him papers to sign, but never told him the contents of the papers.

In actual practice, the Turtle Mountain CAP was an autonomous entity, the policies of which were established by the Director. Hiring and firing were done by the Director personally, without consultation with the Council or the non-existent Advisory Committee—a procedure that evoked an "aide's rebellion," which was, however, immediately suppressed.

The Director was assisted by a staff, including several assistant directors and an educational coordinator, whom he had chosen. With the exception of those for which professional requirements were mandatory, few had adequate background for the administrative work required or the qualifications for the salaries established. Of the professionals, minimal state requirements were met.

Figures on the number of sub-professionals, or aides, were not available, but these included a number of categories appropriate to the CAP components. Salaries began at the minimum of \$1.25 per hour (\$26000 per year), and were to be increased to \$3000 per year. It is interesting to compare these figures with the levels for North Dakota in general, and the local area specifically. Unskilled