

wanted by the communities were to be restricted to a set of approved components considered by Washington as "good for the Indians."

Increasing organization of office work was demanded if payrolls and reports were to be completed on time and if an expanded program were to be developed. This efficient organization of the CAP office occurred, but little time was left for the administrative staff to develop contacts necessary in the community for an effective current program. Increasingly, the administrative staff has become administration-minded. People are ceasing to be people, and instead they are becoming "personnel." The people are considered less as individuals or groups with which CAP works, and more as a population aggregate to which CAP provides services that CAP has available for them. The process of dealing impersonally with a highly personal society has gone a long way, and without conscious recognition.

The transformation of people into personnel was a consequence not only of the necessity for developing routines for accomplishment of official requirements, but also of changes in the context of the CAP aside from limitations imposed by Washington. Primarily this had to do with developing predominance of the RBC and the declining significance of the CAPCom. Another factor may have been a natural decline in the "revolutionary fervor" that often is present in a new situation, but disappears as activities become routine.

The sub-professional staff of the CAP tended, almost invariably, to think of themselves as paid employees rather than participants. A few aides became interested and articulate, but were regarded as "uppity" by the poor and at least one member of the RBC—the latter of sufficient power to develop a deep sense of job insecurity in the aides in question. On the whole, the sub-professionals view themselves as employees, fortunate to have steady employment but scarcely believing the program will continue indefinitely, fearful of offending the powers of the reservation, and insecure because of the poorly defined roles associated with many of their jobs. The involvement that was once emphasized became a source of anxiety.

Interestingly, too, first the RBC, and later OEO, indicated that political activity was not to be countenanced. Some of the aides represented potential leadership and force for change, in a community where both are lacking. Yet they were discouraged and even prohibited from playing the part that is (or was) the goal of the Economic Opportunity Act.

(2) *CAP as Seen by the CAP Advisory Committee.*—During the summer of 1965 the CAPCom met regularly and attendance and interest were high. Membership included representation of the major agencies and institutions locally concerned with the anti-poverty program, businessmen, farmers, and officials who could provide valuable advice, and representation of the poor—Indian and white. This desirable condition continued well into the winter of 1965–66, limited primarily by the exigencies of one of the coldest winters in White Earth history. Interest in the CAPCom was indicated by efforts to provide mileage payments to those, especially the poor, who had to travel substantial distances at their own expense. In the spring, the CAP Director had supplied all members with the *CAP Guide* and other documents valuable for understanding the program and helpful in stimulating advice and maintaining interest. During this period, a major complaint was that the poorest members of the CAPCom were least interested, as indicated by poor attendance at meetings.

The CAPCom was informed at its periodic meetings of the progress of CAP and reports were given of monthly operation of the components. When job vacancies existed, the CAPCom acted as a screening committee, making recommendations to the RBC. The latter group made it clear that as the legal governing board, it had sole responsibility for making decisions, however, and that the CAPCom was purely advisory. In mid-winter a decision was made to have a special screening board make hiring recommendations, removing this responsibility from the CAPCom. It was not recognized, until too late, that a major function had been removed, and the removal led to a rapid decline in concern on the part of the CAPCom members. Attendance at meetings began to decline, and it is understood that all meetings ceased by the summer of 1966.

(3) *CAP as Seen by the RBC.*—The initial proposals for the CAP were developed by the RBC in cooperation with a representative of the Minnesota Agency of the BIA, and it was the RBC that was accepted as the legal Community Action Agency (CAA). It was constitutionally the responsibility of the RBC to work for the welfare of the reservation, and constitutionally it was responsible for reservation-wide programs. The RBC was responsible for hiring the administra-