

tive staff, and later the aides, for the CAP. It was also ultimately responsible for the operation of the program. It is not surprising, then, that the RBC views itself as the maker of final decisions, regarding which other groups and individuals can only provide advice.

Although the RBC and its predecessor organization had been in existence for more than a generation, it had few significant responsibilities and less authority. The tribal and reservation councils were "powerless politicians." While the RBC had no actual experience in the management of major problems, it was the constitutional entity to which responsibility had to be entrusted. It was a government of some kind, even though lacking the functions and authority of government. With the passage of the EOA, establishment of OEO, and the development of Indian CAPs, the RBC was given both functions and authority. It is hardly expected that the RBC would be able to operate a large-scale and complex program with the efficiency of an experienced body. As a Government official said, they are being given the opportunity to learn by their own mistakes.

Some reservation members and observers have commented upon the extent to which the RBC is concerned, almost obsessed, with the necessity of controlling the CAP. It has been noted that with reference to the CAPCom, the RBC repeatedly asserted that only the RBC had the power to make decisions; to the CAP Administrative staff it was made clear that the RBC made decisions and that the staff was responsible to it. Some residents and observers believed that the CAP professionals had lost all autonomy and were manipulated and directed by the RBC, particularly by the Chairman, and the staff would do nothing to antagonize the RBC or arouse its hostility. The power of peremptory dismissal without appeal was regarded as a potent weapon to ensure conformity.

Much of the criticism of the RBC may be based upon attitudes of suspicion, fear, and distrust noted earlier. Certainly prior to inception of the CAP, as well as later, present and past members of the RBC and TEC were aware of unremitting criticism and suspicion. While this background may to some degree account for the present situation, it is an insufficient explanation. The senior researcher at White Earth believes that while the RBC is genuinely concerned with the welfare of the reservation, it is caught in a conflict of values. The RBC Chairman, particularly, appears to be working honestly and conscientiously, but he is now responsible for a major program that provides him with great anxiety, which in turn prevents delegation of authority.

The conflict of values is exemplified in the problem of nepotism, the obligation to assist kinsmen as opposed to responsibility to the entire reservation population. Conflict of personal versus impersonal relationships is also present. It may be seen in the RBC suspicion of the professional staff, in the developing, impersonal bureaucracy of the CAP, and in the fear of the program "getting out of control."

A concern about outside interference in the reservation CAP is also clear. When OEO insisted that whites be represented on the governing body, the RBC appointed two individuals—one a white resident married to an Ojibwa woman, the other a county commissioner—who have yet to voice objections to anything proposed.

In summary, one may say that the RBC members think of the CAP as "their program," rather than the reservation's; that it is their responsibility to dispense the benefits of the program, especially jobs; that some, perhaps all, are anxious about continuation of the CAP, and fearful of someone, "upsetting the apple cart"; and that they are suspicious of someone attempting to assume control over "their program." The concepts of community organization and community action are not comprehended by them, nor are they interested in such developments—other than in the context of a possible fear that trouble-makers will be hired.

(4) *CAP as Seen by Local Whites.*—The White Earth CAP has responsibility for a substantial white population residing within the original limits of the reservation. The RBC, when acting as CAA, added two whites to represent the poor of the white resident population, as noted above, and the CAPCom had many whites as members, including a number to represent the poor whites. In fact, the white population potentially to be served by the CAP is probably larger than the Ojibwa population. While the rural whites are, relative to the Ojibwa, of higher economic and educational levels, the proportion of "poor" is high in comparison to national standards.

Little mention has been made of CAP vis-a-vis the whites—not because of oversight, but because they are rarely thought of by the Ojibwa. The CAP was established by the RBC for the Indian population, without essential thought of