The solution to the problem of having a larger number of landowners lies not in the subdivision of land now in production but in the development of new lands. The cost of development stems not from the unwillingness of the owners of the land, much of which is held by the Government themselves, to see it developed and brought into production, but rather from the fact that the necessary development itself requires the necessary willingness to endure the sacrifices always attendant upon the development of new lands, have not been applied to such areas. If the United States adopts a policy of supporting programs which have as their aim the development of such lands, then we should energetically and clearly point out to Latin America and to the world the constructive nature of the Communist concept of land reform and by contrast the constructive nature of our own policy, pointing out particularly that the Communist program inevitably leads to the loss of private land ownership by all landowners, large and small, while our policy offers a broad opportunity for land ownership by all who are willing to work the land.

The security of land tenure which is inherent in the policy suggested for the United States and the increase in the number of landowners which would result from such a policy would be the strongest bulwark we could build against communism in Latin America and would remove from the political scene there the pressures which have stemmed from the existence of substantial numbers of poorly informed people who, for the Communist can appeal by the proposal to subdivide the relatively limited areas of land now in production.

PERSONAL STATEMENT

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, on a few votes last week while I was necessarily absent, my position was unrecorded. I wish to announce my position on those votes as follows:

On August 16, the Russell motion to table the motion by Senator Clark to set aside until August 12 further consideration of the Defense Appropriations Act, H.R. 1594—No. 207: Aye.

On August 17, the Thurmond substitute for the Russell-Saltonstall amendment on call to active duty of members of the Ready Reserves, relative to the call of Ready Reserves by units only—No. 208: No.

On August 17, the adoption of the Russell-Saltonstall amendment on call to active duty for more than 24 months any member in the Ready Reserves who has not served on active duty other than training—No. 209: Aye.

On August 18, McGovern amendment to reduce various portions of the defense appropriations bill—No. 210: No.

On August 18, Hartke amendment to delete committee language on overseas teachers' salaries—No. 211: Aye.

On August 18, Clark amendment to reduce by $14 millions funds for procurement of equipment and missiles—No. 212: No.

On August 18, Hartke amendment to increase from $450 to $492 the average per pupil payment under the overseas education program for DOD dependents—No. 213: Aye.


The INDIAN AND THE GREAT SOCIETY

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, in our economy of plenty there is probably no more deprived or forgotten group than our Indians. Their plight, and some stimulating of hope for the future, is excellently portrayed in a series of articles which appeared last month in the Minneapolis Tribune.

These articles, entitled "The Indian and the Great Society," were written by Mr. Newlund, the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs, in a series of problems facing the Indian on the reservation and in the cities. As Mr. Newlund points out, 90 percent of reservation dwellings are substandard, reservation unemployment can reach as high as 90 percent, and infant death rates are 50 percent higher than they are for non-Indians.

Yet, there are hopeful signs arising from the war on poverty and other Great Society programs. The articles report "new ferment, new attitudes, and visible signs of change for the better." There is still a very long way to go, but with full use of our antipoverty weapons, we can and must make life both on and off the reservation decent and productive for the Indian. As Mr. Newlund reports: "It does not come any nearer between two unworkable approaches—either to allow the Indian to vegetate under a stifling paternalism, or to force him off the reservation and let him sink or swim."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this perceptive and comprehensive series of articles be placed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

There being no objection, the series of articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Minneapolis Tribune, July 6-20, 1966]

The INDIAN AND GREAT SOCIETY: FROM YESTERDAY'S FAILURES, UNITED STATES SEEKS "GREAT SOCIETY" FOR INDIANS

(By Sam Newlund)

The hot, dusty trail twisted through a snake-infested woods on South Dakota's Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. In a clearing sat an incredibly-rotted log cabin atop a parched, barren knoll.

Laughter came from a ragged, dirty Indian children—unattended. The youngest was an infant with a bottle propped on a dirty bed rag.

The children all had runny noses, filthy clothes and sores about their mouths. I asked one of the boys—he must have been about seven—what he had for breakfast that morning. He looked surprised and
said, "nothing," as though it were a silly question.

Outside the house and halfway down the slope was what passed for a privy. It had rotted down and was almost totally exposed to outside view. It had no roof.

"It's nothing," a black-and-white picture of an outsider trying to find rays of hope for Indian people in the War on Poverty and other Great Society programs. But some deeply deceived and shattered that its interior was almost totally exposed to outside view. It had no roof.

Why are these problems in detail? What are the new "great society" programs, along with some old schemes, doing to help solve them?

Why, for example, is the Indian often withdrawn, bitter, uncommunicative and a "fish out of water" in urban society?

Still, most Indian households never dream about an escape. In proportion to Indian numbers, few if any groups can match their joblessness, unfulfilled housing, poor health, lack of education and family breakdown.

Do Indians get a fair shake in school? Why is their dropout rate so high?

Still others may assimilate some day in the future. But Indian Bureau once actively discouraged the speaking of Indian languages in BIA boarding schools.

What has this to do with poverty?

But the credo of Community Action—the major anti-poverty vehicle on reservations—is the opposite of paternalism. It is self-help. Its distant goal may be Indian assimilation into "the mainstream." But there is no crash program to sprinkle the Indian into a "superior" way—thus lessening the hope that the Indian will adjust his own ways to the realities of modern life.

The Indian's problems, under this approach, first must be dealt with where he is found. This view recognizes that some Indians want—right now—to assimilate, if only someone will train them for jobs and hire them.

But others want to stay where they are, and always will. They should have that right.

Still others may assimilate some day in the future. They may, that is, if their attitudes, living conditions and job potential and work opportunities can be upgraded.

And if they don't assimilate, their children might. That, then, is the promise of the "Great Society." 

Up to now, said a young Indian mother in northern Minnesota, with a sigh, "all we've been doing is trying to teach them to talk.

Will "Great Society" programs lead, at long last, to the conquest of "the Indian problem," or to a new round of bitterness and frustration?

The answer remains to be seen.

INDIANS MUST BE UNDERSTOOD TO HELP THEM COMBAT POVERTY

(By Sam Newlund)

To understand the Indian's dull poverty in the midst of bright prosperity the non-Indian needs to know something of what makes the Indian tick.

He needs to know, for example, something about "Indian time."

Indian time, in the words of a Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce simply that "time doesn't mean anything."

"You go to a meeting called for 7 o'clock. We get there at about 9 o'clock. That's Indian time."

This isn't done for spite. It's just that time, as measured by clocks and wristwatches, isn't in the Indian's time frame. It's 100 years or so since an Indian warrior. That tradition has passed down to the present, to a lesser degree, perhaps.

Who needs a sweep second hand to live out his days in idleness on a northern Minnesota reservation?

Gerald Vizensen, a Minneapolis resident of Indian heritage, explains it further.

Time to an Indian, says Vizensen, is the "contrast" between day and night, sunshine and sunset. "It's an experience."

It simply is one swatch of the Indian fabric that has to be reckoned with if "great society" engineers are to understand with what people seem to be "out of it" when it comes to meeting the demands of urban living. (Like showing up on time for a job.)

Communicate with Indians in such manner as to avoid superimposing the white man's "superior" way—thus lessening the hope that the Indian will adjust his own ways to the realities of modern life.

From the Indian viewpoint, and hardly anybody argues with this, the white majorlty has been trying for 150 years to do things "for the Indian" or "to him."

It hasn't worked. And neither has the reservation Indian solved the problems of jobs, health, housing and education for himself. One obvious reason is that the means of support are set up since many reservations are isolated from sources of income.

"What kind of factories are you gonna get up here?" scoffed an Indian leader who drove to the wind-blown hills of North Dakota's Turtle Mountain Reservation. "Nothing! Freight costs are too high."

"You're not gonna get any factories up here."

But there's more to it than that. Why doesn't the Indian leave the reservation if there are so many jobs?

If he does go to the city, why can't he hold a job? Why don't Indian youngsters stay in school?

These questions, of course, apply to some Indians, but not all. Many do succeed.)
History has a lot to do with it. No other group of Americans has been so set apart from the rest of society, physically and psychologically, as have American Indians. There is no Bureau of Negro Affairs. The Indian way of life, closely knit communal groups, is secondary to acquiring private property, respect for elders, love of solitude, doesn't fit our modern private enterprise society. Paternalism, perhaps born of the necessity to protect early Indian tribes from unscrupulous whites, doomed the initiative. Over the years, they have been seen as exotic, as the artistic end of the Indian agent, but feared any move to be set free of his protection and services. Add to this the Indian's sour memories about the war on poverty, the glib old-fashioned reticence and reserve in initial contact with people.

"Our modern pattern," he said, "is the Indians have gone from the horses, the hearty handshakes, the glad slap on the back and the instant sense of first names. We enact a comedy of personal friendship on sight, one result of which often is that we respect the other person but never his friendship.

Indians, LaFarge said, withdraw from this approach, and "if there is an element of confusion about themselves, the reservation Indian, as Vizenor points out, is set apart even more than his city relative. "He's set apart not only because he is Indian but because he is rural. And he's rural, not even a part of the white community in a rural area."

Vizenor, whose avocation is writing fiction and poetry with Indian themes, speaks reverently of Indian life before the white man's coming. "I hate to use the word animal," he said, "but in the finest sense they were a beautiful animal. Their whole ecology was in the purity of it. Not part of it."

"They'd have died if you moved them out of the plains, without some transition. They've worked hard. They fit here."

Most Indians, Chippewas at least, are pictured as disapproving the kinds of demonstrations the Negro uses to help achieve social change. "Americans just don't have the same sense of isolation," said William Stava, CAP director for Minnesota's Leech Lake Reservation.

"There's no problem finding poor people on Indian reservations. Most recently compiled national figures indicate that among 80,000 reservation Indians, unemployment is seven or eight times the national figure, average family income is half the $3,000 poverty level, 90 per cent of Indian housing is unfit, most Indians, Chippewas at least, are picketing their own welfare agencies, encouraging youths to sign up for the Job Corps and helping men line up vocational training.

CAP is the hub of the War on Poverty. It means meeting these Indians, encouraging and wielding their own anti-poverty weapons. The old method was to gift wrap aid programs and leave them on the poor's doorstep. The new one didn't work.

To qualify for Federal funds, a CAP organization must be heavily staffed with poor people, both policymakers and workers. "We're taking our business of involving the poor seriously," said William Stava, CAP director for Minnesota's Leech Lake Reservation.

"And the April issue of Twin Cities Indian News objected to newspaper publication of "simple-minded cliches" like "happy hunting ground," and "on the warpath" in essentially serious articles. It also denounced an editorial cartoon depicting President Johnson and the Indian figure. The President was saying "Me wannum back" to John Q. Public, who was holding money representing escape tax cuts

And then there is the perpetuation of stereotypes, the publication said. "Indians just don't have to put up with it."

"Something of value," according to Mitchell includes the Indian tendency to give, rather than acquire. "The more the Indian gave away, the more powerful he was," Mitchell explained.

"But here it's just the opposite. The more you acquire, the less powerful you are.

"In Mitchell's lifetime, this meant a hunter on a Minnesota reservation might have spent a day of work getting what he needed on his deer and given it freely to a destitute widow encountered on the way home. "He felt a lot better," he said. "I think it was just who he was."

A white man tells it a different way. "You and I are competitive," said Frank Brady, education specialist in the Minneapolis BIA office. "But the Indian is cooperative.

"In other words, if you and I saw a parking spot at the same time, we'd be racing to get it, and the Indian would let the other guy have it."

The Indian also is reputed to be noncommunicative by white men's standards.

Mathew Stark, adviser to a University of Minnesota project in which students lived several weeks with reservation Indians, reported later:

"The most common thing to do was to teach the university kids how to talk to an Indian. It was hard to get these highly verbal kids to say, 'How are you today?' and then shut up."

LaFarge said, "A normal approach of the non-Indian to the reservation Indian is to be set up.

Paternalism, perhaps born of the necessity to protect early Indian tribes from unscrupulous whites, doomed the initiative. Over the years, they have been seen as exotic, as the artistic end of the Indian agent, but feared any move to be set free of his protection and services. Add to this the Indian's sour memories about the war on poverty, the glib old-fashioned reticence and reserve in initial contact with people.

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"Community Action Program helps Indians help themselves" (By Sam Newlund)

For Mrs. Jennie Ellis, a 60-year-old Chip­pewa grandmother, the "great society" means electric lights in her home instead of kero­sene. It means that the four grandchildren who live with her wear better clothes and eat better food.

"We never did have enough meat, eggs and vegetables," she said.

Mrs. Ellis, a social work aide in the war on poverty, lives with her husband and grand­children, the only family living in a newly built house on a grassy driveway at Ponsford, Minn., on the White Earth Reservation.

She is one of hundreds of Upper Midwest Indians who are taking part in the Community Action Program (CAP). The exact number is elusive, since new projects are being funded con­tinuously, but by conservative estimate well over 100,000 Indians in the area are working in CAP jobs.

CAP is one of dozens of federally-sponsored programs that make up the Comprehensive Community Action Pro­gram (CAP). It is the exact number is elusive, since projects are being funded con­tinuously, but by conservative estimate well over 100,000 Indians in the area are working in CAP jobs.

Whatever a welfare recipient visited by Mrs. Ellis breaks out of squarol as a direct result of her work may be hard to ascertain.

Neither do most CAP projects do anything to bring Indians closer to the world outside. Ultimately, must be brought if a long-term solution is to be found.

But, according to believers in the CAP ap­proach, even if General Motors were to build a $10 million plant on a reservation, this wouldn't end poverty for all its Indian resi­dents.

Many aren't ready, the argument goes. Poor education, poor health, inability to meet
the demands of a time clock, family problems, lethargy and just plain inability to communicate. They were not getting in on the proper projects.

Factors such as these are cited to explain why CAP projects may include activities that seemingly have no direct connection with poverty problems.

Like music and drama, which Stava relates to the ability to communicate—a modern world necessity—"The lack of verbal skills is terrible," he said. Many Indians, according to Stava, need "a whole broadening of cultural outlook.""

"Anything that the white man calls self expression (such as music) is so severely lacking that it is a real employment handicap.

Music instruction is included in the $210,000 to be spent this year by the Leech Lake CAP under a component called "social achievements, industrial accomplishments and recreation" (SIR).

Music is needed, according to the Leech Lake application for a federal grant, "to fill a cultural need that has been left unattended. Teachers, there is no music instruction, there is no opportunity to learn musical expression organized in a manner that is socially acceptable.""

The entire SIR project is needed, according to the application, "to provide children and adults with some of the advantages enjoyed by middle-income people in metropolitan areas."

Leech Lake's recreation program in the first year of CAP, officials said, has "proven to be an excellent way of helping the drunks and rowdies and destructive behavior that is the end of a scale, beginning with a lack of hope, a lack of skills, a lack of healthy outlets."

The notion of using the poor as "social workers" is not unique to Indian CAP programs. But, with the Indian's distrust of white outsiders, it may be more appropriate to retrain them in their own community."

"The best social work," says Stava, "can be done sometimes by the neighbor who lives down the road."

For the first time, Leech Lake CAP people told officials, "the poor reservation residents have their own social workers—people not dealing with financial problems, budgets and grocery orders, and not tied down by red tape.""

Some observers claim CAP already has browned poor tribesmen's hair."

On Minnesota's Mille Lacs Reservation, the county sheriff credited CAP recreation with reducing juvenile delinquency. The local probation officer said, "The children who were a significant problem in the number of Indian children referred to our court."

The school principal at Vineland, on the Mille Lacs Reservation, linked CAP recreation with a reduction in break-ins at the school.

Indians are "busier now," added Father Justine Weger, pastor at the Little Flower Mission at Mille Lacs. "They're running around, visiting each other, and they're more interested in what's going on now."

But, Father Weger continued, Indians considered themselves "just puppets," but now "there is real discussion of vital decisions."

Community Action Programs Ad Upper Midwest's Indians

By Sam Newlund (Minneapolis News) Free surplus food would be dumped on the garbage heap because Indian women didn't know how to prepare it. Or it would be fed to the dogs. Or be burned. In some cases, they'd find their way into youngsters' bean shooters, but not their stomachs.

All this was before the Community Action Program (CAP)—including a component called "home management"—came to the tiny village of Bena, Minn., on the Leech Lake reservation.

Nobody claims that CAP has eliminated such waste completely.

"I'm sure it's helped," says Daniel Benda, a CAP social worker employed from the ranks of Bena's poor Indians, believes it has helped. "CAP is one of the best things that ever happened to me."

If surplus commodities are wasted at Bena now, it is partly because CAP hired a home economist, plus a nonprofessional aid for each of the six tribal councils, to teach women to use the commodities, among other things.

They also taught them things like sewing, budgeting and nutrition classes."

Something like $3 million has been earmarked for CAP projects on Minnesota's seven reservations alone. Most reservations now are entering the second year of CAP activities. About 9 of each $10 comes from the federal Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO).

This is in addition to other War on Poverty programs affecting Indians. Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps and VISTA or domestic peace corps are some of the major ones.

CAP's effectiveness varies with the reservation, but the ever-present controversy swirling around it varies only by degree.

The tiny village of Inger on the Leech Lake reservation is cited as an example of CAP's beneficial seepage into a primitive, isolated community."

Inger is a sleepy village with log cabins nestled among pine trees and junked autos. Six months ago, according to an OEO official, meetings of Inger residents to discuss community matters were about as rare as air conditioning and dishwashers.

Now, this official said, Inger folks are "sitting down and discussing problems for the first time."

I spent an hour in Inger during the spring thaw and found that CAP, along with a local association of Indian tribes, had electrified the nearly impassable mud roads:

The CAP activity I observed was a class in dressmaking for half a dozen Indian women. As the need became apparent, the nearest thing the village has to a town hall—a log house.

The diversity of CAP projects is evident on North Dakota's Turtle Mountain reservation, where one cluster of young Indian girls sitting on a hillside cheering the reservation baseball team in a contest with a green-shirted team from the nearby town of Turtle Lake.

This, too, was part of a CAP program—recreation.

(Most of the Job Corps boys who occasionally visit White Earth for ball games and dances are Negroes. At a recent dance, for which a Job Corps band was playing an Indian boy whose sister danced with a Negro youth.)

(CAP officials decided not to invite the band back for a scheduled dance this year, "so things could cool down," according to a recreation specialist. The dance was cancelled.)

Many Indian CAP activities claim CAP favors women over men and children and youth over adults. They say CAP spends too much money on programs obscurely connected with poverty—like recreation—and not enough on jobs.

It is generally true that other Great Society programs—like Manpower Development and Training and Rural Development and Economic Development Act (EDA)—are more exclusively concerned with creating immediate job opportunities.

Some CAP programs are so concerned, and some are not.

Reservations differ. But, as could be expected, at the usual CAP starting rate of $12.5 an hour—there is bickering over who gets the jobs. There are charges of nepotism and favoritism.

At Turtle Mountain, OEO held up CAP funds for a time because a candidate for a CAP job had been found to be using a job obtained through favoritism to influence CAP director, charging that he had failed to secure much in the way of federal funds. The director replied that only the CAP council, not the tribal council, could hire him.

Port Totten's CAP council was made up of the six tribal council members plus one other person. In Minnesota the picture is somewhat different. Typically, the job of hiring and fires the professionals, is made up of the Reservation Business Committee plus one nonreservation person.

When CAP organizations were first being developed about 18 months ago, said John Buckanaga, director of the Minnesota Commission on Indian Affairs, Indians were "hesitant, reluctant and skeptical."

There was "continuous in-fighting," and much conflict between CAP organizations and tribal authorities.

But in a conference in Bemidji, Minn., this April, members of CAP governing bodies from the seven Minnesota reservations appeared with a high level of enthusiasm. They had gathered to study the details of business matters like personnel practices, delegation of responsibility and finance.

Led by Robert Treuer, then a leadership training specialist for the BIA—the old Indian affairs bureaucracy—the Indian leaders and common cause against a new one—OEO.

They wired OEO in Washington, demanding that the tribe be included in the policy under which federal CAP Funds are distributed to reservations. In particular, they objected to an OEO ruling against hiring tribal organizations and Indian leaders as CAP council members for CAP jobs.

Although grumblings about nepotism are common on reservations, the Bemidji conference removed the hardship on Indians who need jobs the most.

OEO officials had explained that the rule was written for all CAP programs, not just this Minnesota council. Indian leaders, "should be the test of how well a program is run on an Indian reservation, not a cut and dried rule, made in Washington for tribes who have never been on a reservation."

Herbert Bechtold, who reviews Indian CAP applications for the OEO, was at the Bemidji conference to hear the Indian complaints.
Ridge—all toward providing adequate major medical problem," although occasional nods of the head, tinged with concern, were a couple of old car wheels.

"They'll come down with diarrhea," said a public health nurse. "She tries to get Indians to boil their water or sterilize it chemically, but she doubts how often this is done.

These are some of the facts of reservation life. These are some of the reasons Indian health is still about a generation behind the nation’s as a whole. Diseases that have been nearly wiped out elsewhere—like tuberculosis—still are major health problems for Indians. True, improvements have been made. But poor environmental sanitation still is one of the main causes of Indian sickness, and recent actions to improve these conditions have been a drop in the bucket.

Too many Indians still drink polluted water, use germ-ridden outdoor privies and practice poor personal hygiene. It is too difficult for many of them to bathe. There are too few bathtubs.

And, as Dr. George Browning puts it, the Indian’s living conditions and health problems are four times the national rate because Indian children in substandard houses are more apt to "suck dirty fingers, roll on the floor and pick up dirty things and put them in their mouths."

Browning is area director of Indian health for PHS, with headquarters in Aberdeen, S.D. His territory includes seven states, including the Upper Midwest. PHS operates hospitals and clinics, contracts with local doctors for health care in some areas, supplies water and sewage systems on reservations.

Browning says Indian health "very definitely is improving," but he leaves the impression that he can only meet a fraction of the need—mostly because Congress doesn’t appropriate enough money, and partly because few medical people want to live on reservations.

For water and sewers, it takes at least two years from the time a request is made until it is approved by Congress and work can begin. Too many needed projects are dropped off the bottom of priority lists, according to Browning.

He and others emphasize waste disposal, water and sewage because they believe that if these problems are solved Indian health problems would improve dramatically.

Nationally, the average reservation Indian dies at age 43, compared with 63 for the population as a whole. This indicates something is wrong, and so do these recent random samples in the seven States of the Aberdeen area:

The birth rate is twice the national rate for all races, and the gap is getting bigger. Infant death rates are 50 percent above the national, but has dropped 37 percent in the last seven years.

TB death rate is nearly five times the national rate, declining 39 percent from five years earlier.

Nearly one Indian in 10 has otitis media, an ear infection associated with poor sanitation. Nationally, this is the leading "reportable" disease among Indians.

Although Congress authorized the Health Service to bring sewers and water to reservations in 1959, Browning estimates that seven homes in 10 in his area still are lacking suitable water and waste disposal units.

As of July 5, she was yet to have her first prenatal medical examination for this pregnancy.

Carl and Edna Plenty Arrows get their drinking water from a creek that runs in a gully behind their house. Some of their children were playing along the creek bank when I was there. Resting in the shallow water were a couple of old car wheels.

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And, as Dr. George Browning puts it, the Indian’s living conditions and health problems are four times the national rate because Indian children in substandard houses are more apt to "suck dirty fingers, roll on the floor and pick up dirty things and put them in their mouths."

Browning is area director of Indian health for PHS, with headquarters in Aberdeen, S.D. His territory includes seven states, including the Upper Midwest. PHS operates hospitals and clinics, contracts with local doctors for health care in some areas, supplies water and sewage systems on reservations.

Browning says Indian health "very definitely is improving," but he leaves the impression that he can only meet a fraction of the need—mostly because Congress doesn’t appropriate enough money, and partly because few medical people want to live on reservations.

For water and sewers, it takes at least two years from the time a request is made until it is approved by Congress and work can begin. Too many needed projects are dropped off the bottom of priority lists, according to Browning.

He and others emphasize waste disposal, water and sewage because they believe that if these problems are solved Indian health problems would improve dramatically.

Nationally, the average reservation Indian dies at age 43, compared with 63 for the...
Inside, I remarked to tribal antipoverty officials that the housing efforts apparently had borne fruit.

"Oh, you don't think those are Indian homes, do you?" one of my hosts replied sarcastically. "As far as I can tell, they're homes," occupied by BIA employees working on the reservation.

On the opposite side of Hwy. 5, the roads were unmarked and rutted deep in mud. Log cabins surrounded by the remains of evergreen trees were visible along the back roads. The rusted hulks of abandoned cars littered the landscape. How soon, if ever, such scenes will disappear as a result of the new public housing is a matter of conjecture. (At Turtle Mountain, one Indian who had traded a standard dwelling for a house nearly as good as the "BIA houses" is Hank O'Rourke, who, despite his Irish name, is more than half Sioux.

O'Rourke, 54, now lives with his wife, a son and six grandchildren in a yellow frame, three-bedroom house at the village of Kyle amid Pine Ridge's rolling ranch land.

The house has a gray shingle roof, red chimney, television antenna and shrubbery. On one corner of the front yard is a red fire hydrant surrounded by high weeds at the end of a driveway. The other side brims turned up, is an unemployment ranch hand. His wife works in a fishhook factory.

They pay $60 a month rent to the Ogala Sioux Housing Authority at Pine Ridge.

O'Rourke showed me his old house. It's a fading yellow frame structure now surrounded by high weeds at the end of a dirt road. But it has no electricity and O'Rourke had to carry water either from a nearly dried-up spring nearby.

Last January, O'Rourke said, he slipped and broke his leg while carrying water. He allowed that the new house was "all right, but it is quieter."

"My kid can't even see the other side of the older place. 'I'm not a town man,'" he explained.

Pine Ridge was one of the first reservations to get public housing. It has 150 units, and 50 more units were approved two weeks ago.

But tribal leaders incurred the wrath of commercial contractors in Rapid City and elsewhere who proposed to build their own contractor and hired Indian labor for the first 150 units.

The private contractors claim that besides denying them the dollars to do business, the self-contracting method takes longer, costs more and results in inferior work. Neither, they say, can the tribal authority provide competent carpentry training to the Indian workers.

But the authority denies all this and claims private contractors would leave most Indians out in the cold, giving them only the jobs that whites didn't want.

Mrs. Yvonne Wilson, housing authority director, wrote to President Johnson and several congressmen in early April that 10 percent of any Indian youngster who falls to show up in class.

In many projects, efforts are made to train Indian workers in construction skills. Funds from the Office of Economic Opportunity frequently are involved.

In Minneapolis, the public housing breakdown is similar. Indian housing efforts from four reservations agreed with contractors on means of keeping construction costs to a level which FHA could approve.

Lake-White Earth, Red Lake and Fond du Lac Reservations—will total 272 units, at a cost of $3.3 million.

BIA officials give Sen. Walter F. Mondale, D-Minn., much credit for "camping on the doorstep" of the FHA until the red tape could be cut. "He found he meant business," one official said.

SEGREGATED SCHOOLING CALLED BLOCK TO INDIAN PROSPERITY

By Sam Newsom

Segregated schools—called "educational islands"—surrounding the South. In the South, Indian leaders usually are the major objection to consolidation with adjacent white schools.

Indians who make up school boards in villages like Ponsford generally resist consolidation out of fear that it would be yet another Indian surrender of local control to the white man.

Reuben Rock, an Indian member of the Ponsford School Board, flares when I suggested that if Ponsford children went to an integrated school from the first grade on, they would lose their identity and be better able to stand on their feet.

"Shaking a finger, Rock declared that the white man is to blame for dropouts, because it is white law that lets teen-agers quit school at 16.

"Whatever the cause, school attendance of Ponsford Indians drops when they begin taking the 20-mile bus ride to Park Rapids. In 1961-62, 92.6 per cent. The same year Indians at Park Rapids had an 84 per cent record.

Ponsford has grades one through seven. In the last five years, graduation out of grade, but five years later only two Indians graduated from Park Rapids High School.

To combat this situation, funds from one "giant Indian enrollment" BIA scholarship are available only for Indians living "on or near" reservations who want to go to public institutions.
State scholarships usually are for public institutions. At private institutions, they may include living expenses and books, but not tuition.

Nationally, the BIA spends more money on education than any other activity. About a third of all reservation children attend bilingual schools, the rest public and parochial schools.

In Minnesota, the remaining islands of de facto segregation may disappear until a new state law is passed. This legislation, defeated in the past three sessions of the State Legislature, will require all school districts to have bilingual schools.

Besides Ponsford, Larson lists five "Indian" grade schools which send their graduates to "white" high schools, some of which are outside the District. They are: White Bear (White Bear High School), Naytawauh (Mahnomen), Vineyard (Onamia), Nett Lake (Orr) and Bishop Whipple (Morton).

At community meetings where voluntary consolidation was discussed, according to Bettek, some white parents would get up and ask: "Does this mean that my kids would have to go to school with the Indians at Ponsford?"

Whereupon, at one meeting, an Indian leader informed white listeners that Indians didn't want consolidation any more than they did.

RESERVATIONS PROVIDE LITTLE REGULAR WORK
(By Sam Newlund)

Hank Smith, 54, can take you into the woods north of Ponsford, Minn., and show you mixed acres of birch, aspen and "popple," and demonstrate how he and other Indians can pick up a little loose change by power-sawing pulpwood.

Before going in profit, he has to figure items such as "stumpage fees"—the charges paid for the cutting privilege—and the cost of hauling the pulp to a sawmill. He also must pay the cutters who work for him.

Pulp-cutting, which in Indian country usually is synonymous with "working in the woods," is common on wooded reservations, like Minnesota's.

But it's seasonal work, and it's had meager effect on the stubborn problem of jobs for reservation Indians.

So has just about everything so far—including some of the newer "great society" programs, a goal of which is economic development and job-making.

Smith wanted to cash in on one of these programs by getting a low-interest small business loan from the Area Redevelopment Administration (ARA), establishment of which is one of the great achievements of the Great Society (antipoverty) Act and open a gasoline station in nearby Park Rapids, Minn.

The Small Business Administration (SBA) approved the loan—$6,000 repayable in 15 years at 4 percent interest—but now Smith has second thoughts about whether he can make it work.

If he decides to try, he will pay the Mobil Oil Co. $150 a month rent. "I've got to sell a lot of gas to pay that," he said.

Smith is one of the many Indian minority act go a step further than the SBA loans that have been available for some time. Their terms are even more liberal.

Most aim is to enable low-income persons who have potential for running a business, but neither cash nor credit.

But the program has not been heavily financed. At the time the SBA Act was approved, seven loans totaling $74,000 have been approved, all on the White Earth Reservation. Smith's is one of three since then.

Moreover, in Indian country, outlying communities where reservation areas are so small, the BIA says that 14 reservations which applied for loans until late this summer have been told there will be no SBA loans.
One unhappy form of the problem is a land problem, in which the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training (BIA) is involved.

The BIA's job training program is part of the Economic Opportunity (Antipoverty) Act (EOA) offers remedial education, on-the-job "work experience," and counseling for jobless household heads in welfare families.

Job Corps—Under the EOA, this provides away-from-home basic education and job training for youths. Larger urban centers offer on-the-job training. Indian urban centers concentrate on remedial education and "work experience," like brush clearance in national forests.

Migrant Youth Corps—Also for youths, it allows them to stay home, earn some money, maybe go back to school or stay in, maybe learn how to hold a job, maybe learn a skill. Projects can be anything "public."

The BIA's adult vocational training program, like most bureau services, is for Indians who live "on or near" reservations. It is tied in with the bureau's relocation program, under which the bureau helps migrating Indians settle in areas outside Minnesota, at least, nearly all trainees leave the reservations to get it.

According to the bureau's Minneapolis area office, there are 132 Minnesota Indians in BIA-sponsored trade school training, 44 in the Twin Cities and 81 in other cities from Ohio to California.

Indians sometimes grumble that this training is fine—if you want to go where you can get it (the number of cities where training is offered is rapidly expanding). Some Twin Cities Indians grumble that it is fine—if you want to apply for it while you're still living "on or near" the reservations.

The degree that MDTA trade school training has helped Indians is hard to pin down, since records up to now didn't include the racial background of enrollees.

The result can be seen at "reservations" like Sisseton. This pie-shaped area, mostly in northeastern South Dakota (the pie crust crosses the North Dakota border) is a crazy quilt of Indian-allotted lands and white men's holdings.

CCP, Congress on Poverty, August 1966
Mr. KENNEDY of Massachusetts. Mr. President, a newspaper editorial on the