The original documents are located in Box 1, folder "Borgstrom Memorandum (OMB Policy on Indians)" of the Bradley H. Patterson Files at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

Copyright Notice

The copyright law of the United States (Title 17, United States Code) governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material. Gerald Ford donated to the United States of America his copyrights in all of his unpublished writings in National Archives collections. Works prepared by U.S. Government employees as part of their official duties are in the public domain. The copyrights to materials written by other individuals or organizations are presumed to remain with them. If you think any of the information displayed in the PDF is subject to a valid copyright claim, please contact the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE FRESIDENT

Confidental

OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET WASHINGTON, D.C. 2011

orgstrom

DATE: April 19, 1976

ATTNOF: NR/Interior Branch

SUBJECT: Organization for Indian Affairs

. Mr., Mitchell

We believe that the selection of an appropriate structure and composition for a focal point for the conduct of Federal Indian programs should follow rather than precede the selection of a strategy for Federal Indian policy. This paper will describe two alternative strategies and the elements of a focal point which appear most appropriate to each. These two strategies are (1) Long-Range Social Problem-Solving and (2) Incrementalism.

Long-Range Social Problem-Solving

This strategy involves the prescription of some future endstate or goal toward which Federal intervention is directed. Generally, it entails the definition of a "gap" between an extant set of conditions and a desired set of conditions, a gap which is presumed to be susceptible to permanent closure through the application of resources. Frequently, it is assumed that the agency addressing this gap <u>ought</u> to be "working itself out of a job."

In Indian affairs, this gap is described in terms of the current condition of many Indian people as (relatively) ill-housed, uneducated, unhealthy, and un-or-under-employed. It assumes that when these gaps are closed through Federal programming, the Federal Government can get out of special Indian programs. The perceived need is for the Federal Government to be more efficient in closing this gap, hence hastening the day when special Federal programs will no longer be "needed".

This approach or strategy, which is the most familiar (and comfortable) one for EXOP officials, has basically four problems:

Digitized from Box 1 of the Bradley H. Patterson Files at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library

- The gap is relative; the reference group typically used, the average American family, is constantly changing.
- (2) "Working the Federally Government out of the Indian business" is not consonent with the prevailing Indian view of a perpetual special Federal Indian relationship.
- (3) As such; this approach is not consonent with selfdetermination as is now being implemented. Selfdetermination (local goal-setting, resource allocation, program design, and program ...anagement) will only lead to the eventual cessation of special Federal Indian programs as a very <u>un</u>intended effect of the execution of the current policy.
- (4) Most social interventionist policies assume that, once properly prepared, clients will avail themselves fully of non-Federal opportunities created. If people are trained, they will take available jobs. If people are brought up to a health standard, and are taught hygeine, they will keep themselves healthy and avail themselves of other public and private health resources. It is simply not obvious that this is the case with the reservation Indian population.

Problem (1) above is not unique to Indian programs, but the other three problems warrant additional consideration. First, Indians do not view their degree of relative disadvantage as the basis for special Federal programs. Indian leaders, with the possible exception of Alaskan Natives, would disavow any connection with a Federal policy directed toward an eventual end-state which did not include all of the following features:

- <u>Perpetual</u> Federal (trusteeship) including non-taxability) for Indian resources.
- <u>Perpetual</u> Federal recognition of tribes as sovereign governments.

Perpetual entitlement to special Federal program benefits on the basis of treaty agreements. (Note: at a recent meeting on BIA scholarships, we were informed that one tribe interpreted the treaty provision in the 1800's concerning education to mean free Indian education to whatever level of education, including multiple Ph D.'s an Indian wanted to attain.)

3

Perpetual Federal buffering of tribes from States including special, direct Federal-tribal, set-asides in all Federal intergovernmental programs.

The result of all this is that Federal Indian programs are not needs-tested. Scholarships (over and above D/HEW programs) can go to children of GS-16's and people have been known to go back to reservations for health care. This is antithetical to the typical social-problem-solving approach taken to most Federal programs, but some Indians see themselves as receiving services because they are Indians and foresee no future set of conditions as supplying the rationale for a phasing out of these programs.

Secondly, the self-determination policy is by no means as 'ambiguous as it is frequently termed. That there is no clear Federal end-state goal being pursued is a function of the fact that this policy is process, not end-state in orientation. Its main components are

Maximizing local choice of programs consonent with the constraints of

Finite availability of funds

Federal accountability for the use of tax resources.

Federal accountability for the use and protection of Indian resources.



- Improving the abilities of tribal governments to select goals for themselves and apply resources in an efficient manner toward the attainment of those goals.
- Improving the administration of those programs which,
 by Federal or tribal choice, remain under the direct
 management of the Federal Government.
 - Removing the threat of eventual termination from the decisionmaking environment of tribes.

It is this latter point which creates substantive as well as procedural barriers to the social problem-solving strategy alternative.

The point is that this "social engineering" strategy or model would require a reversal of at least the trend in which the current policy is leading if not actually a reversal of currently codified specific policy decisions. More, not less, Federal control over the uses of resources would be required, and serious consideration would have to be given to the following sub-strategies.

- (1) Identifying reservations where the resource base cannot support the projected population at an income level commensurate with U.S. non-Indian income.
- (2) Either investing funds to develop industries on those reservations or encouraging people to leave.
- (3) Providing job training and education to an individual according to the decision as to whether he or she is to stay or leave.
- (4) Develop a plan whereby special Federal programs will cease on certain future dates when reservation economies achieve certain levels of selfsufficiency.
- (5) Putting individual needs-tests on all Federal programs.
- (6) Encouraging States to take over basic community services which States supply to non-Indian communities, such as police, schools, public health, and the like.
- (7) Not recognizing (bring back into dependence) any more tribes.

- Encouraging tribes to divide up assets among indi-(8) viduals so that persons who are ready to enter the mainstream can cash in their assets and trade them for new assets (education, houses, etc.).
- (9) Redirecting on-reservation education systems to acculturation to mainstream norms.
- (10) Encouraging the arts through establishing museums · and the like, so persons do not feel that their culture is disappearing.

The fact is that these things have been tried and are perceived to have failed. Each one of these, except for encouragement of the arts, finds its converse in current Federal policy. It would be pointless to enlist the assistance of Indian leaders -- if they in fact ascribe to the views attributed to them on pages 2 and 3 above -- in the pursuit of this strategy. Furthermore, it would also be pointless to involve the Bureau of Indian Affairs and other "Indian" agency leadership in this effort. What would be required is the establishment of a permanent entity of 50-100 social science professionals, lawyers, and administrators to plan and impose these policies on the Indian community and its current supporters.

Incrementalist Strategy

17.24

The fundamental assumption of this strategy is that things will not go to hell in a handbasket even if no radical · policy shifts are made. In this instance, it would have the following components:

- (1)The recognition that the objects of social change policy are not inert. Call it participation, involvement, self-determination, or what have you, the perceptions and motives of the Indian people will be the major determinant of their futures.
- Perceptions and motives change and can be influenced (2)to change.

(3) We have not yet reached the point where the general Wort free. Inory Sjeethies Junory Sjeethies Junory Steethies Junory Steethies Junory Steethies Junory Steethies Junory Steethies Junory Steethies objectives of the Indian community in the management of Federal resources differ substantially from the objectives of federally-managed programs: improved health, educational, and economic status. The needs in these areas are still too great to cause tribes to divert substantial resources from these to other objectives.

(4) C Policies should not and need not be uncorrectable. In fact, correctability (evaluation) should be built into them.

IF enland it what takes eveloption is exection

(5) Self-Determination per se is not an inadequate policy framework unless it is too narrowly defined. If it means not only community (tribal) choice but also individual choice, there remains a major Federal role in altering socio-economic conditions at the local level.

(6) Precedents are useful but not obligatory.

Eluious

(7)

1: 25

Dichotomies (as opposed to continuums) are harmful. It is not useful to say

> A tribe is either sovereign or nonexistant.

A resource is in trust or not in trust.

A tribe is recognized or not recognized.

A program is tribally-controlled or federally controlled.

(8) Future policies should meet future needs, not simply institute actions in the future which should have been but were not, taken in the past. Self-Determination, taken this way, speaks to the future; it neither denies nor affirms the efficacy of past policies in the past.

Actions taken under this strategy are tentative, experimental, and correctable. Promises are modest, delivery is evaluated. The level of commitment is essentially rational and conditional, not emotional or moral. Issues of sovereignty and entitlement are viewed as reference points insofar as they are perceived to be valid concepts by some participants, but they are not viewed as "basic" or unconditional principles.



United States Department of the Interior

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY WASHINGTON, D.C. 20240

July 14, 1976

MEMORANDUM TO TED MARRS

Subject: President's Speech for July 18, 1976

21

Attached is an article that appeared in the Northwestern Indian newspaper containing a memorandum that evidently came from OMB setting forth a strategy for terminating Federal involvement in Indian affairs. In light of this article it may be important for the President and the Secretary to emphasize that notwithstanding the private views of a small minority of non-policy making persons, there is no intent or policy to terminate or negatively alter the special Federal relationship with Indian tribes.

R. Dennis Ickes Under Secretary's Office

Enclosure







nis, the unresolved issue roll fishermen sailing off bothe Coan moved the ear high boil. es of Warm Springs, Umatilla, Yakima and Nez Perce, who under federal court order are entitled to 50 percent of the total Columbia catch. Oregon and Washington on June 14, however, filed a petition asking Belloni to "go back to the beginning" and decide again what actual Indian fishing

have sold whatever special commercial fishing rights they possensed. They also contend that Indians have rights to catch fish for "sub-istence" and "ceremonal non-movies" but all commercial Indian commercial fishery to provide the necessities of life." At the same time, said Lezak: "Our office expects the injunction of the federal court to be obeyed."

Ignoring the Beiloni order, commercial troll fishermen from Washington state were casting for salmon in coastal waters from June 17 and continued into early July. A show-cause hearing was set by Belloni for July 1. Belloni turned aside the argument by the Washington asst. attorney general that the state high court has declared the Washington Dept. of Fisheries has no legal authority to order the closure. Belloni said Indian treaties represent the "supreme law of the land" and a state cannot pass a law in conflict with a treaty. How states respond to that declaration weeks soon will tell.

White House

reservation?

11. What are the dates this year of the Pendleton Round-Up and Happy Canyon?

12. Where is the tribal Summer Youth Camp being held?

12. Indian Lake.

ANSWERS: I. Jan. I, 1881, 2. Linguist Bruce Rigsby. 3. Eighteen. 4. Umatilla, Ore. 5. Oregon Fish and Wildlife Commission. 6. December 1949, 7. Don Kaufman of Pendleton. 8. Isaac "Tater" Part. 9. William D. Bailey, William W. Lorentino and "Tater" Part. 9. William D. Bailey, William W. Lorentino and Harold Burton. 10. End of July or early August. 11. Sept. 15-18.

(Continued from Page 1)



READY MIX CONCRETE SAND & GRAVEL

PRE-CAST ITEMS: SEPTIC TANKS STEPPING STONES AND MUCH MORE

276-7151 CENTRAL CEMENT PRODUCTS INC. MISSION HY. MAILING ADDRESS: P.O. BOX 726 -A team of between 50 and 100 "social science professionals, lawyers and administrators" would have to be formed "to plan and impose these policies on the Indian community and its supporters";

-Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) personnel countrywide, some of whom support current wide policy objectives of Indians, would have to be kept outside the process of unveiling the steps of this plan because they might attempt to subvert its success;

-All Indian leaders and tribes would be expected to oppose the overt shape of the plan, with the possible exception of the 80,000 Alaska Natives in a state where there has not been the experience of reserved land areas.

The Borgstrom memo uses incendiary phrases such as "social engineering" and "social interventionism" to describe its projected methods with Indians on the stated rule that "perceptions and motives change and can be influenced to change."

The memo also states: "'Working the federal government out of the Indian business' is not consonent [sic] with the prevailing Indian view of a perpetual special federal Indian relationship."

The memo describes the most fundamental the Ford proposals, although the and widespread i gal anchors of tribes as House will be very unlikely to issue "perpetual federal trusteeship, including a declaration of a new public policy.

non-taxability, for Indian resources," "perpetual federal recognition of tribes as sovereign governments," "perpetual entitlement to special federal program benefits on the basis of treaty agreements," and finally "perpetual federal buffering of tribes from states."

The ultimate objective of the Ford White House planning is an "end-state" in which these fundamental presuppositions of Indians have disappeared through "social engineering."

Differingly slightly from the Republican Indian policies of the 1950s which resulted in the liquidation of 63 tribes as legal entities, the Ford policy does not use the discredited phrase "termination"; rather, it employs the phrase "end-state," and depicts all the conditions subtly by which Indians themselves can be persuaded to arrive at this state.

The response to the Borgstrom memorandum will doubtless constitute a significant portion of political actions by national Indian organizations in the coming weeks, as the memo itself was given modest circulation from the White House.

Regional Indian intertribal associations are also reported ready to respond strongly to the Ford proposals, although the White House will be very unlikely to issue them as a declaration of a new public policy.



....AND MUCH MORE



COMING IN SEPTEMBER—comprehensive listings of all aspects of reservation and urban Indian communlities in Oregon. \$10.00 pre-publication price, Write:

DIRECTORY Confederated Umatilia Journal P.O. Box 638 Pendleton, OR 97801 Or call: (503) 276-8221



The Borgstrom memo

'Problem solving' and 'incrementalism'

NEW EFFORTS under the Ford White House in its mood of fiscal conservativeness to lessen its involvement—and its expenditures—for Indian people in line with federal obligations are solidly behind this memorandum prepared within the White House Office of Management and Budget (OMB). The cost-reduction objectives and the legal changes of view necessary to meet the Ford objectives are spelled out below in basic strategies and sub-strategies. It's cumbersome but essential reading before November.

THE WHITE HOUSE Executive Office of the President Office of Management and Budget Washington, D.C.

DATE: April 19, 1976 TO: Mr. Mitchell FROM: Harold Borgstrom CONFIDENTIAL SUBJECT: Organization for Indian Affairs

We believe that the selection of an appropriate structure and composition for a focal point for the conduct of federal Indian programs should follow rather than precede the selection of a strategy for federal Indian policy. This paper will describe two alternative strategies and the elements of a focal point which appear most appropriate to each. These two strategies are (1) Long-Range Social Problem Solving and (2) Incrementalism.

Long-Range Social Problem Solving

This strategy involves the prescription of some future and state or goal toward which federal intervention is directed. Generally, it entails the definition of a "gap" between an extent [sic] set of conditions and a desired set of conditions, a gap which is presumed to be susceptible to permanent closure through the application of resources. Frequently it is assumed that the agency addressing this gap ought to be working itself out of a bob.

In Indian affairs, this gap is described in terms of the current condition of many Indian people as (relatively) in-bound, uneducated, unhealthy, and un-or-under employed. It assumes that when these gaps are closed through it deral programming, the federal government can get out of special Indian programs. The perceived ment is for the federal government to be more efficient.

-Perpetual federal buffering of tribes from states including special, direct federal-tribal, set-asides in all federal intergovernmental programs.

The result of all this is that federal Indian programs are not needs-tested. Scholarships (over and above D/HEW programs) can go to children of GS-16's and people have been known to go back to reservations for health care. This is antithetical to the typical social-problemsolving approach taken to most federal programs, but some Ind'uns see themselves as receiving services because they are Indians and foresee no future set of conditions as supplying the rationale for a phasing out of these programs.

Secondly, the self-determination policy is by no means as ambiguous as it is frequently termed. That there is no clear federal end-state goal being pursued is a function of the fact that this policy is progress, not end-state in orientation. Its main components are:

-Maximizing local choice of programs consonent [sic] with the constraints of: finite availability of funds; federal accountability for the use of tax resources; federal accountability for the use and protection of Indian resources;

-Improving the abilities of tribal governments to select goals for themselves and apply resources in an efficient manner toward the attainment of those goals;

--Improving the administration of those programs which, by federal or tribal choice, remain under the direct management of the federal government;

-Removing the threat of eventual termination from the decision-making environment of tribes.

Furthermore, it would also be pointless to involve the Bureau of Indian Affairs and other "Indian" agency leadership in this effort. What would be required is the establishment of a perment entity of 50-100 social science professionals, lawyers, and administrators to plan and impose these policies on the Indian community and its current supporters.

Incrementalist Strategy

The fundamental assumption of this strategy is that things will not go to hell in a handbasket even if no radical policy shirts are made. In this instance, it would have the following components:

(1) The recognition that the objects of social change are not inert. Call it participation, involvement, selfdetermination, or what have you, the perceptions and motives of the Indian people will be the major determinant of their futures;

(2) Perceptions and motives change and can be influenced to change;

(3) We have not yet reached the point where the general objectives of the Indian community in the management of federal resources differ substantially from the objectives of federally-managed programs: improved health, educational, and economic status. The needs in these areas are still too great to cause tribes to divert substantial resources from these to other objectives:

(4) Policies should not and need not be uncorrectable. In fact, correctability (evaluation) should be built into them;

(5) Self-determination per se is not an inadequate policy framework unless it is too narrowly defined. If it means not only community (tribal) choice but also individual choice, there remains a major federal role in altering socio-economic conditions at the local level;

(6) Precedents are useful but not obligatory;

(7) Dichotomies (as opposed to continuums) are harmful. It is not useful to say: A tribe is either sovereign or non-existant [sic]; A resource is in trust or not in trust; A tribe is recognized or not recognized; A program is tribally controlled or federally controlled:

(8) Future policies should meet future needs, not simply institute actions in the future which should have been, but were not, taken in the past. Self-determination, taken this way, speaks to the future; it neither denies nor affirms the efficacy of past policies in the past. current condition of many Indian people as (relativity) ill-pound, uneducated, unhealthy, and un-or-under emple, ed. It assumes that when these gaps are closed through federal programming, the federal government can get out of special Indian programs. The perceived need is for the federal government to be more efficient in closing this gap, hence hastening the day when special federal programs will no longer be "needed."

This approach or strategy, which is the most familiar (and comfortable) one for [Executive Office of the President] officials has basically four problems.

(1) The gap is relative: the reference group typically used, the average American family, is constantly changing.

(2) "Working the federally [sic] government out of the Indian business" is not consonent [sic] with the prevailing Indian view of a perpetual special federal Indian relationship.

(3) As such, this approach is not consonent [sie] with self-determination as is now being implemented. Selfdetermination (local goal-setting, resource allocation, program design, and program management) will only lead to the eventual cessation of special federal Indian programs as a very unintended effect of the execution of the current policy.

(4) Most social interventionist policies assume that, once properly prepared, clients will avail themselves fully of non-federal opportunities created. If people are trained, they will take available jobs. If people are grought up to a health standard and are taught hygiene, they will keep themselves healthy and avail themselves of other public and private health resources. It is simply not obvious that this is the case with the reservation population.

Problem (1) above is not unique to Indian programs, but the other three problems warrant additional consideration. First, Indians do not view their degree of relative disadvantage as the basis for special federal programs. Indian leaders, with the possible exception of Alaskan Natives, would disavow any connection with a federal policy directed toward an eventual end-state which did not include the following features:

-Perpetual federal trusteeship (including non-taxability) for Indian resources;

-Perpetual federal recognition of tribes as sovereign governments;

-Perpetual entitlement to special federal program benefits on the basis of treaty agreements. (Note: at a recent meeting on BIA scholarships, we were informed that one tribe interpreted the treaty provision in the 1800's concerning education to mean free Indian education to whatever level of education, including multiple PhD's an Indian wanted to attain);

by federal or tribal choice, remain under the circumanagement of the federal government;

-Removing the threat of eventual termination from the decision-making environment of tribes.

It is this latter point which creates substantive as well as procedural barriers to the social problem-solving strategy alternative.

The point is that this "social engineering" strategy or model would require a reversal of at least the trend in which the current policy is leading, if not actually a reversal of currently codified specific policy decisions. More, not less, federal control over the uses of resources would be required, and serious consideration would have to be given to the following sub-strategies:

(1) Identifying reservation where the resource base cannot support the projected population at an income level commensurate with U.S. non-Indian income;

(2) Either investing funds to develop industries on those reservations or encouraging people to leave;

(3) Providing job training and education to an individual according to the decision as to whether he or she is to stay or leave;

(4) Develop a plan whereby special federal programs will cease on certain future dates when reservation economies achieve certain levels of self-sufficiency;

(5) Putting individual needs-tests on all federal programs;

(6) Encouraging states to take over basic community services which states supply to non-Indian communities such as police, schools, public health, and the like;

(7) Not recognizing (bring back into dependence) any more tribes;

(8) Encouraging tribes to divide up assets among individuals so that persons who are ready to enter the mainst.pam can cash in their assets and trade them for new assets (education, houses, etc.);

(9) Redirecting on-reservation education systems to acculturation to mainstream norms;

(10) Encouraging the arts through establishing museums and the like, so persons do not feel that their culture is disappearing.

The fact is that these things have been tried and are perceived to have failed. Each one of these, except for encouragement of the arts, finds its converse in current federal policy. It would be pointless to enlist the assistance of Indian leaders—if they in fact ascribe to the views attributed to them...above—in the pursuit of this strategy.

simply institute actions in the future which should have been, but were not, taken in the past. Self determination, taken this way, speaks to the future; it mather denics nor affirms the efficacy of past policies in the past.

Actions taken under this strategy are tentative, eccerimental, and correctable. Promises are modest, delivery is evaluated. The level of commitment is essentially rational and conditional, not emotional or moral. Issues of sovereignty and entitlement are viewed as reference points insofar as they are perceived to be valid concepts by some participants, but they are not viewed as "basie" or unconditional principles.

Reburial

(Continued from Page 2)

Dr. Rice told both Pond and this newspaper in a subsequent interview that "there is no rush" in reburying the ancestral remains. An early July date, he said, was set only for storage reasons, and that he would like to see the reburial occur "some time in the fall" when most people will have more time.

Rice said he felt the project is "something too important to rush into." Rice reinterated that a burial monument was already available and only needed an inscription engraved upon it. (The General Council decided to leave the wording of the inscription up to the Washut Drummers who will participate in the reburial ceremonies.)

The day that all this will take place has already been declared a Tribal Memorial Day by the General Council. After the reburial ceremonies will follow a memorial dinner—the same as when any tribal member passes away.

-What should become of the catalogs, photographs and research papers done during the excavation of the old Umatilla townsite where the 1,500-year-old graves were unearthed alongside the Columbia River?

The General Council asked Pond if he would request a copy of "any and all materials and information acquired" and that the tribe have a copyright to all information received.

-What other actions are being taken on other ancestral reburials here in the Northwest? The Yakimas recently chose to bury all fragmented artifacts at a recent West Richland reburial, according to Pond's conversation with Dr. Rice and decided to keep all the displayable artifacts for their soon-to-be-built dultural heritage complex.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

DATE: April 19, 1976

REPLY TO

OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

ATTNOF: NR/Interior Branch

SUBJECT: Organization for Indian Affairs

Mr. Mitchell

We believe that the selection of an appropriate structure and composition for a focal point for the conduct of Federal Indian programs should follow rather than precede the selection of a strategy for Federal Indian policy. This paper will describe two alternative strategies and the elements of a focal point which appear most appropriate to each. These two strategies are (1) Long-Range Social Problem-Solving and (2) Incrementalism.

Long-Range Social Problem-Solving

This strategy involves the prescription of some future endstate or goal toward which Federal intervention is directed. Generally, it entails the definition of a "gap" between an extant set of conditions and a desired set of conditions, a gap which is presumed to be susceptible to permanent closure through the application of resources. Frequently, it is assumed that the agency addressing this gap <u>ought</u> to be "working itself out of a job."

In Indian affairs, this gap is described in terms of the current condition of many Indian people as (relatively) ill-housed, uneducated, unhealthy, and un-or-under-employed. It assumes that when these gaps are closed through Federal programming, the Federal Government can get out of special Indian programs. The perceived need is for the Federal Government to be more efficient in closing this gap, hence hastening the day when special Federal programs will no longer be "needed".

This approach or strategy, which is the most familiar (and comfortable) one for EXOP officials, has basically four problems:



- The gap is relative; the reference group typically used, the average American family, is constantly changing.
- (2) "Working the Federally Government out of the Indian business" is not consonent with the prevailing Indian view of a perpetual special Federal Indian relationship.
- (3) As such, this approach is not consonent with selfdetermination as is now being implemented. Selfdetermination (<u>local</u> goal-setting, resource allocation, program design, and program management) will only lead to the eventual cessation of special Federal Indian programs as a very <u>un</u>intended effect of the execution of the current policy.
- (4) Most social interventionist policies assume that, once properly prepared, clients will avail themselves fully of non-Federal opportunities created. If people are trained, they will take available jobs. If people are brought up to a health standard and are taught hygeine, they will keep themselves healthy and avail themselves of other public and private health resources. It is simply not obvious that this is the case with the reservation Indian population.

Problem (1) above is not unique to Indian programs, but the other three problems warrant additional consideration. First, Indians do not view their degree of relative disadvantage as the basis for special Federal programs. Indian leaders, with the possible exception of Alaskan Natives, would disavow any connection with a Federal policy directed toward an eventual end-state which did not include all of the following features:

- Perpetual Federal trusteeship (including non-taxability) for Indian resources.
- Perpetual Federal recognition of tribes as sovereign governments.

- Perpetual entitlement to special Federal program benefits on the basis of treaty agreements. (Note: at a recent meeting on BIA scholarships, we were informed that one tribe interpreted the treaty provision in the 1800's concerning education to mean free Indian education to whatever level of education, including multiple Ph D.'s an Indian wanted to attain.)
- Perpetual Federal buffering of tribes from States including special, direct Federal-tribal, set-asides in all Federal intergovernmental programs.

The result of all this is that Federal Indian programs are not needs-tested. Scholarships (over and above D/HEW programs) can go to children of GS-16's and people have been known to go back to reservations for health care. This is antithetical to the typical social-problem-solving approach taken to most Federal programs, but some Indians see themselves as receiving services because they are Indians and foresee no future set of conditions as supplying the rationale for a phasing out of these programs.

Secondly, the self-determination policy is by no means as ambiguous as it is frequently termed. That there is no clear Federal end-state goal being pursued is a function of the fact that this policy is process, not end-state in orientation. Its main components are

- Maximizing local choice of programs consonent with the constraints of
 - . Finite availability of funds
 - Federal accountability for the use of tax resources.
 - Federal accountability for the use and protection of Indian resources.



- Improving the abilities of tribal governments to select goals for themselves and apply resources in an efficient manner toward the attainment of those goals.
- Improving the administration of those programs which, by Federal or tribal choice, remain under the direct management of the Federal Government.
- Removing the threat of eventual termination from the decisionmaking environment of tribes.

It is this latter point which creates substantive as well as procedural barriers to the social problem-solving strategy alternative.

The point is that this "social engineering" strategy or model would require a reversal of at least the trend in which the current policy is leading if not actually a reversal of currently codified specific policy decisions. More, not less, Federal control over the uses of resources would be required, and serious consideration would have to be given to the following sub-strategies.

- (1) Identifying reservations where the resource base cannot support the projected population at an income level commensurate with U.S. non-Indian income.
- (2) Either investing funds to develop industries on those reservations or encouraging people to leave.
- (3) Providing job training and education to an individual according to the decision as to whether he or she is to stay or leave.
- (4) Develop a plan whereby special Federal programs will cease on certain future dates when reservation economies achieve certain levels of selfsufficiency.
- (5) Putting individual needs-tests on all Federal programs.
- (6) Encouraging States to take over basic community services which States supply to non-Indian communities, such as police, schools, public health, and the like.
- (7) Not recognizing (bring back into dependence) any more tribes.

- (8) Encouraging tribes to divide up assets among individuals so that persons who are ready to enter the mainstream can cash in their assets and trade them for new assets (education, houses, etc.).
- (9) Redirecting on-reservation education systems to acculturation to mainstream norms.
- (10) Encouraging the arts through establishing museums and the like, so persons do not feel that their culture is disappearing.

The fact is that these things have been tried and are perceived to have failed. Each one of these, except for encouragement of the arts, finds its converse in current Federal policy. It would be pointless to enlist the assistance of Indian leaders -- if they in fact ascribe to the views attributed to them on pages 2 and 3 above -- in the pursuit of this strategy. Furthermore, it would also be pointless to involve the Bureau of Indian Affairs and other "Indian" agency leadership in this effort. What would be required is the establishment of a permanent entity of 50-100 social science professionals, lawyers, and administrators to plan and impose these policies on the Indian community and its current supporters.

Incrementalist Strategy

The fundamental assumption of this strategy is that things will not go to hell in a handbasket even if no radical policy shifts are made. In this instance, it would have the following components:

- (1) The recognition that the objects of social change policy are not inert. Call it participation, involvement, self-determination, or what have you, the perceptions and motives of the Indian people will be the major determinant of their futures.
- (2) Perceptions and motives change and can be influenced to change.
- (3) We have not yet reached the point where the general objectives of the Indian community in the management of Federal resources differ substantially from the objectives of federally-managed programs: improved health, educational, and economic status. The needs in these areas are still too great to cause tribes to divert substantial resources from these to other objectives.

- (4) Policies should not and need not be uncorrectable. In fact, correctability (evaluation) should be built into them.
- (5) Self-Determination per se is not an inadequate policy framework unless it is too narrowly defined. If it means not only community (tribal) choice but also individual choice, there remains a major Federal role in altering socio-economic conditions at the local level.
- (6) Precedents are useful but not obligatory.
- (7) Dichotomies (as opposed to continuums) are harmful. It is not useful to say
 - . A tribe is either sovereign or nonexistant.
 - . A resource is in trust or not in trust.
 - A tribe is recognized or not recognized.
 - A program is tribally-controlled or federally controlled.
- (8) Future policies should meet future needs, not simply institute actions in the future which should have been but were not, taken in the past. Self-Determination, taken this way, speaks to the future; it neither denies nor affirms the efficacy of past policies in the past.

Actions taken under this strategy are tentative, experimental, and correctable. Promises are modest, delivery is evaluated. The level of commitment is essentially rational and conditional, not emotional or moral. Issues of sovereignty and entitlement are viewed as reference points insofar as they are perceived to be valid concepts by some participants, but they are not viewed as "basic" or unconditional principles.

13



O'NEILL, Paul Suspense

August 3, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

PAUL O'NEILL

FROM:

MILT MITLER

Paul, can someone in OMB prepare an answer to the attached from Jake L. Whitecrow which references an OMB Memorandum concerning "Organization for Indian Affairs".

Thanks for your help.

MEM/cj

2cc: Sandy Drake

FOR

Attachment (Letter from Jake L. Whitecrow)

JÄMES ABOUREZK, D-S. DAK., CHAIRMAN LLOY MEEDS, D-WASH., VICE CHAIRMAN LEE RETCAY, D-MONT. MARK O. NÄTFIELD, R-OREG. SIDNET VITAES, D-ILL. SAM STEIGER, R-ARIZ.

INDIAN MEMBERS:

ADA DEER, MENOMINEE, WIS. JAKE WHITECROW, QUAPAW, SENECA-CAYUGA, OKLA. JOHN BORBRIDGE, JR., TLINGIT, ALASKA LOUIS R. BRUCE, MOHAWK-SIOUX, NEW YORK ADOLPH DIAL, LUMBEE, N.C.

ERNEST L. STEVENS, ONEIDA, WIS., DIRECTOR KIRKE KICKINGBIRD, KIOWA, OKLA., GENERAL COUNSEL MAX I. RICHTMAN, PROFESSIONAL STAFF MEMBER AMERICAN INDIAN POLICY REVIEW COMMISSION

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING ANNEX NO. 2 2D AND D STREETS, SW. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515 PHONE: 202-225-1284

July 22, 1976

President Gerald R. Ford United States of America The White House Washington, D.C.

RU

Dear Mr. President:

I am enclosing a copy of what is called the "Borgstrom Memorandum" which was initiated in the Office of Management and Budget.

This memorandum disturbs me inasmuch as I am currently serving on the American Indian Policy Review Commission. This Congressional Commission, as you know, is reviewing and investigating the past and present relationships that the Federal Government has had with the various Indian Tribes in these United States. We shall be completing our work in a few months and will be making our reports to the Congress, hopefully in January 1977.

We are not sure, at this time, what our recommendations will be. However, when I hear you make those excellent and well accepted statements such as you made to those of us in attendance at the White House on Friday, July 16, 1976, and then view a memorandum from one of your offices such as the one attached, it does make me apprehensive about where we are going in the field of Indian affairs.

I have been involved actively in Indian affairs since 1953 and have viewed the many policies and their results. I must say that right now I feel the constant change of strategies is still with us. I am certain that you do not condone either of the two strategies as exemplified in the attached memorandum. I would, however, appreciate your response in order that I may assist in bringing the truth to our Indian citizens.

President Gerald R. Ford Page 2 July 22, 1976

I have disseminated this memo in our locality of Eastern Oklahoma. Therefore, I feel certain that you will be receiving numerous letters regarding it.

Thanking you for your attention to this matter, I remain

Respectfully,

rucion Jake L. Whitecrow

Commissioner American Indian Policy Review Commission P.O. Box 1308 Miami, OK 74354

JLW/ca

cc: Senator James Abourezk Senator Mark Hatfield Senator Lee Metcalf Congressman Lloyd Meeds Congressman Sam R. Steiger Congressman Sidney Yates Commissioner John Borbridge, Jr. Commissioner Ada Deere Commissioner Louis Bruce Commissioner Louis Bruce Commissioner Adolph Dial Mr. Ernie Stevens, Director, AIPRC Mr. Kirk Kickingbird, General Counsel, AIPRC The New Special Assistant to the President for Indian Affairs



HBorgstrom

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE FRESIDENT

April 19, 1976

OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND DUDG WASHINGTON, D.C. 2:

THE NR/Interior Branch

...... Organization for Indian Affairs

. Mr. Mitchell

We believe that the selection of an appropriate structure and composition for a focal point for the conduct of Federal Indian programs should follow rather than precede the selection of a strategy for Federal Indian policy. This paper will describe two alternative strategies and the elements of a focal point which appear most appropriate to each. These two strategies are (1) Long-Range Social Problem-Solving and (2) Incrementalism.

Long-Range Social Problem-Solving

This strategy involves the prescription of some future endstate or goal toward which Federal intervention is directed. Generally, it entails the definition of a "gap" between an extant set of conditions and a desired set of conditions, a gap which is presumed to be susceptible to permanent closure through the application of resources. Frequently, it is assumed that the agency addressing this gap <u>oucht</u> to be "working itself out of a job."

In Indian affairs, this gap is described in terms of the current condition of many Indian people as (relatively) ill-housed, uneducated, unhealthy, and un-or-under-employed. It assumes that when these gaps are closed through Federal programming, the Federal Government can get out of special Indian programs. The perceived need is for the Federal Government to be more efficient in closing this gap, hence hastening the day when special Federal programs will no longer be "needed".

This approach or strategy, which is the most familiar (and comfortable) one for EXOP officials, has basically four problems:

- (1) The gar is relative; the reference group typically used, the average American family, is constantly changing.
- (2) "Working the Federally Government out of the Indian business" is not consonent with the prevailing Indian view of a perpetual special Federal Indian relationship.
- (3) As such; this approach is not consonent with self-determination as is now being implemented. Self-determination (local goalsetting, resource allocation, program design, and program management) will only lead to the eventual cessation of special Federal Indian programs as a very unintended effect of the execution of the current policy.
- (4) Most social interventionist policies assume that, once properly prepared, clients will avail themselves fully of non-Federal opportunities created. If people are trained, they will take available jobs. If people are brought up to a health standard and are taught hygeine, they will keep themselves healthy and avail themselves of other public and private health resources. It is simply not obvious that this is the case with the reservati Indian population.

Problem (1) above is not unique to Indian programs, but the other three problems warrant additional consideration. First, Indians do not view their degree of relative disadvantage as the basis for special Federal programs. Indian leaders, with the possible exception of Alaskan Natives, would disavow any connection with a Federal policy directed toward an eventual end-sate which did not include all of the following features.

- Ferpetual Federal trusteeship (including non-taxability) for Indian resources.
- Perpetual Federal recognition of tribes as sovereign governments.

- Perpetual entitlement to special Federal program benefits on the basis of treaty agreements. (Note: at a recent meeting on BIA scholarships, we were informed that one tribe interpreted the treaty provision in the 1800's concerning education to mean free Indian education to whatever level of education, including multiple Ph D. 's an Indian wanted to attain.)
- Ferpetual Federal buffering of tribes from States including special, direct Federal-tribal, set-asides in all Federal intergovernmental programs.

The result of all this is that Federal Indian programs are not needstested. Scholarships (over and above D/HEW programs) can go to children of GS-16's and people have been known to go back to reservations for health care. This is antithetical to the typical social-problem-solving approach taken to most Federal programs, but some Indians see themselves as receiving services because they are Indians and foresee no future set of conditions as supplying the rationale for a phasing out of these programs.

Secondly, the self-determination policy is by no means as ambiguous as it is frequently termed. That there is no clear Federal end-state goal being pursued is a function of the fact that this policy is process, not end-state in orientation. Its main components are

- Maximizing local choice of programs consonent with the constraints of
 - · Finite availability of funds.
 - · Federal accountability for the use of tax resources.
 - Federal accountability for the use and protection of Indian resources.

- Improving the abilities of tribal governments to select goals for themselves and apply resources in an efficient manner toward the attainment of those goals.
- Improving the administration of those programs which, by Federal or tribal choice, remain under the direct management of the Federal Government.
- Removing the threat of eventual termination from the decision making environment of tribes.

It is this latter point which creates substantive as well as procedural barriers to the social problem-solving strategy alternative.

The point is that this "social engineering" strategy or model would require a reversal of at least the trend in which the current policy is leading if not actually a reversal of currently codified specific policy decisions. More, not less, Federal control over the uses of resources would be required, and serious consideration would have to be given to the following sub-strategies.

- (1) Identifying reservations where the resource base cannot support the projected population at an income level commensurate with U.S. non-Indian income.
- (2) Either investing funds to develop industries on those reservation or encouraging people to leave.
- (3) Providing job training and education to an individual according to the decision as to whether he or she is to stay or leave.
- (4) Develop a plan whereby special Federal programs will cease on certain future dates when reservation economics achieve certain levels of self-sufficiency.
- (5) Futting individual needs-tests on all Federal programs.
- (6) Encouraging States to take over basic community services which
 States supply to non-Indian communities, such as police, schools,
 public health, and the like.
- (7) Not recognizing (bring back into dependence) any more tribes.



- (8) Encouraging tribes to divide up assets among individuals so that persons who are ready to enter the mainstream can cash in their assets and trade them for new assets (education, houses, etc.).
- (9) Redirecting on-reservation education systems to acculturation to mainstream norms.
- (10) Encouraging the arts through establishing museums and the like, so persons do not feel that their culture is disappearing.

The fact is that these things have been tried and are perceived to have failed. Each one of these, except for encouragement of the arts, finds its converse in current Federal policy. It would be pointless to enlist the assistance of Indian leaders -- if they in fact ascribe to the views attributed to them on pages 2 and 3 above -- in the pursuit of this strategy. Furthermore, it would also be pointless to involve the Bureau of Indian Affairs and other "Indian" agency leadership in this effort. What would be required is the establishment of a permanent entity of 50-100 social science professionals, lawyers, and administrato: to plan and impose these policies on the Indian community and its curren supporters.

Incrementalist Strategy

The fundamental assumption of this strategy is that things will not go to hell in a handbasket even if no radical policy shifts are made. In this instance, it would have the following components:

- (1) The recognition that the objects of social change policy are not inert. Call it participation, involvement, self-determination, or what have you, the perceptions and motives of the Indian people
 will be the major determinant of their futures.
- (2) Perceptions and motives change and can be influenced to change.
- (3) We have not yet reached the point where the general objectives of the Indian community in the management of Federal resources differ substantially from the objectives of federally-managed programs: improved health, educational, and economic status. The needs in these areas are still too great to cause tribes to divert substantial resources from these to other objectives.

- (4) Policies should not and need not be uncorrectable. In fact, correctability (evaluation) should be built into them.
- (5) Self-Determination per se is not an inadequate policy framework unless it is too narrowly defined. If it means not only communit (tribal) choice but also individual choice, there remains a major Federal role in altering socio-economic conditions at the local level.
- (6) Precedents are useful but not obligatory.
- (7) Dichotomies (as opposed to continuums) are harmful. It is not useful to say
 - · A tribe is either sovereign or non-existant.
 - A resource is in trust or not in trust.
 - · A tribe is recognized or not recognized.
 - · A program is tribally controlled or federally controlled.
- (8) Future policies should meet future needs, not simply institute actions in the future which should have been but were not, taken in the past. Self-Determination, taken this way, speaks to the future; it neither denies nor affirms the efficacy of past policies in the past.

Actions taken under this strategy are tentative, experimental, and correctable. Promises are modest, delivery is evaluated. The level of commitment is essentially rational and conditional, not emotional or moral. Issues of sovereignty and entitlement are viewed as reference points insofar as they are perceived to be valid concepts by some participants, but they are not viewed as "basic" or unconditional principles.

