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Micronesian Reporter

FIRST QUARTER 1972

the japanese in micronesia

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This Quarter's Worth

As he introduced the reports of the Joint Committee on Future Status to his colleagues at the Congress of Micronesia in Janaury, Senator Lazarus Salii referred to the work of a sub-committee in preparing material based on a visit to Japan. The sub-committee's mandate was to travel to Japan to investigate possible future economic and trade relations between Japan and Micronesia, and other possible future aid from the Japanese Government.

"It is clear to me," the Senator said, "that Micronesia must continue in its search to find a viable economic life for itself, as well as with the rest of the neighboring Pacific islands and nations. It has become more and more clear that while Micronesia must look to the western nations for its political form and philosophy, it cannot, at the same time, ignore certain basic facts of Pacific geography--that is, Micronesia will have to look to the east to find future economic aid, in addition to that we may obtain from the west, as well as to establish trade relationships with Japan and other countries in the Pacific basin."

The sub-committee report concludes that there is substantial technical and financial aid available from Japan, and envisions a major Japan-Micronesia economic alliance. It also recommends additional study trips for similar sub-committees to other Pacific nations.

And so it is possible, indeed likely, that the Japanese will come again to Micronesia. It is evident that the years of Japanese administration of these islands was a profitable time economically if not socially. This quarter we look back through the eyes of a German Protestant missionary who was in Palau from 1933 to 1955, during part of the Japanese time and the period of upheaval and resettlement during and after the war. We also learn of the preparation for that war which the Japanese carried out in the late '30s and early '40s. And we look ahead, through specific proposals for future economic ties between the Japanese and the Micronesians in an article prepared by a Pacific area specialist after discussions both in Micronesia and Japan.

The characters on the cover this quarter are those for *Nanyo*--the south seas--of the Japanese Mandate.

Elsewhere in this issue, the beginnings of the Palauan religion, Modekngei, are reviewed. We hear of the thought and work which went into the establishment of the Micronesian Occupational Center in Palau and visit that campus. A Micronesian gives us his views on the economy of the Trust Territory and some of the obstacles which stand in the way of development. And we read tales of men who went down to the sea in ships, their contacts with the Marshallese in the 1800's, and the beginnings (and ends) of trading empires in the last century.

Finally, we rerun a feature from the Micronesian Reporter of a dozen years ago--another story of David Dean O'Keefe and a relic of another age that still stands in a village in Yap. --*J.M.*

Who's Who

...in this issue of the Reporter

David Ramarui is Deputy Director of Education for the Trust Territory, and a former Senator in the Congress of Micronesia. His involvement in the school systems of Micronesia dates back to the immediate post-war days.

Dirk A. Ballendorf wrote of the mutiny aboard the whaleship *Globe* for the *Micronesian Reporter* in 1970. He is a former Peace Corps staffer in Micronesia, and is at work for Peace Corps currently, this time in Washington, after time off for graduate degree work. He has maintained his deep interest in things Micronesian, and has promised future contributions based on his research.

Manuel A. Sablan is Acting Chief of the Economic Development Division in the Department of Resources and Development. He was named to that position after completing six months of specialized training in Thailand.

Frances McReynolds Smith lectures in politics at the University of California, Santa Cruz, where she is also a Specialist at the Center for South Pacific Studies. Dr. Smith was with the U.S. Department of State for 25 years, including a stint as the desk officer for the affairs of Australia, New Zealand and the South Pacific.

Mary A. Browning lived on Kwajalein for four years where she developed a consuming interest in Pacificana and the Marshalls. She wrote for the *Reporter* in 1968, and has since then published a monograph on Micronesian Dancing, a children's booklet on the Marshalls, and assorted articles for *Pacific Islands Monthly*.

INTERVIEW:

Pastor Wilhelm Fey

Few non-Micronesians have lived in Micronesia through a period of years so significant for these islands as did the subject of this quarter's interview. Pastor Wilhelm Fey left Germany in November, 1932, and arrived in Palau in January, 1933, to help establish the Liebenzell Protestant Mission more firmly in the villages of northern Babelthuap. He did not leave Palau for any extended period until May, 1955.

By the time Pastor Fey arrived in Palau, the Japanese had been there for nearly twenty years. By the time he left, the Americans had wrested the islands from the Japanese, and a new government had become established--first the Navy administration, and then the civilian government under the Department of the Interior.

Pastor Fey's colleagues have urged him many times to write down his experiences. To hear them tell it, his life and the manner in which he has lived it, could fill volumes. The Reporter got a sampling in several conversations over a period of weeks at the Palauan Evangelical Church on Guam where Pastor Fey is now the minister.

PASTOR FEY: The German government tried to avoid friction between the two churches. So they divided the whole of Micronesia into east and west, and asked the Catholics to stay out of the east and asked the Protestants to stay out of the west. So the Marianas, Palau and Yap were supposed to be under the Catholic church for education; the east, including Truk, the Marshalls and Ponape, was left to the Protestants. Of course, the Protestants already had been there through the work of the American missionaries since the 1850's. It happened, by intermarriage, that Catholics came to the East Carolines, and the Catholics came to influence in Truk as well as Ponape during the German time. The German government did not hinder them; the Protestants kept the promise that they gave the government at the beginning of the German era that they would not try to come into the West Carolines.

But after the war, the First World War, the Liebenzell Mission was asked by the Ponapean churches to come as advisors. They sent a missionary to Ponape, and he got permission from the Japanese government to enter Ponape as a visitor for a limited time. Then he took some helpers to Japan to revise and translate the Bible there. In the meantime there had been an arrangement between the Japanese government and the churches that they had sent Japanese missionaries, Japanese Pastors, to Ponape and to Truk to take over from the Germans. These churches, under the *Nanyo Dendo Dan*, came after the First World War to Truk, and there was some talk about going to Ponape. But then the *Nanyo Dendo Dan* preferred to have missionaries going to the west; and because the government had changed, the mission didn't feel the necessity to stick to the promise they had given to the government. They asked Pastor Wilhelm Lange to come to Palau to see whether there would be the possibility of having Protestant mission work in Palau. The Japanese government encouraged Pastor Lange to stay; so he went back to Truk to pack up his belongings, came to Palau, and began the work there in 1929.

It was so hopeful that he asked for a second missionary in 1930, and I came in 1933. I left Germany in November '32, and came to Palau in January '33. The first year I lived in Ngiwal, and began to build my house in Ngarchelong, in the northern part of Palau. In '35 my wife came and we married. Our mission has a principle not to go to areas where there are other missions. But we had some people in Koror who had been educated in German times, and they too encouraged Pastor Lange to stay. It was not that the mission was breaking its policy because we think that everywhere people ask about the Gospel, we will go, whether there are other religions or not. The Palauans are religious; they were not without religion.

REPORTER: What was the main work of the mission in these early days?

PASTOR FEY: Well, missions have different goals. We believe that when we preach the Gospel, we preach salvation, and we have done our job. But because of the young generation coming up, we have to raise them. We are not Baptists who believe only in baptizing grownups. We are Lutherans by background, and so we baptize children. For the children who came with their parents to church, we thought it necessary that we should have schools where we could train teachers and preachers, and maybe train some good Christians. We thought we ought to do this, but we had no personnel. When I came, we applied for a school, but I am not a trained teacher. At that time we could have had a primary school and could have taught the Palauan language and other subjects better than the Japanese. The Japanese had no interest in continuing the Palauan language and customs. But although the Japanese were theoretically giving us permission to prepare a school, they had a clause" . . . with the supervision of the Japanese mission . . . " and this was not good. We would not have been able to work together.

REPORTER: Were the Japanese making any religious effort with the Palauans?

PASTOR FEY: The Japanese had their Buddhist temple, and there were Buddhist priests paid by the government to work among the Palauans. But they had no hope of doing so because of some animosities of the Palauans to the Japanese at that time in the early '20's. At that time, the Palauan religion, the Modekngei, was very strong, so they were pretty anti-foreign. That means anti-Japanese, anti-German, that means anti-American. It was only when Pastor Lange came . . . well, he was very helpful with the Palauans with his knowledge of certain sicknesses. In some cases, because we believe in prayer, in some cases where he prayed for the sickness, without the help of medicine, they got well. And people said "If this is the case, I want to become a Christian." Pastor Lange was the kind of missionary who didn't care for himself, who didn't care for any recompensation. He went into the villages and preached, and then in less than three years we had a membership of several hundreds of dedicated people. When I came in '33, we already had Palauan helpers to whom we could give authority for local churches, for help in organizing and arranging things, even for help in teaching. He had with him a small printing press, and he taught reading and gave out small catechisms and hymn books.

Pastor and Mrs. Wilhelm Fey

REPORTER: You say your congregations grew fairly quickly. Were your converts from the Catholic church or from the Modekngei following?

PASTOR FEY: We had some converts from the Catholic church--very few, perhaps less than ten at first. And this mainly because there are dissidents in every organization. So most of our converts were from the Modekngei, or from those without religion. If you know something about this Palauan religion, Modekngei was more a political movement under the disguise of religion. And it still is today, although today perhaps more religion than politics on the surface. But it is still a political movement: Palau for the Palauans. Not everywhere did Modekngei give us converts; but for instance in Ngarchelong, I had a good number of Modekngei people who came into our church.

Modekngei says that the soul is going to Palau, so there is a spiritual concern. But it is more an institution for temporal things. "We will not be sick; but if we are sick, then we get medicines from the leader of the church. If we are in danger, we only have to call on him and everything will be fine." They had their religious ceremonies, but the common man didn't know much about religion. The belief is that every clan has its own gods, every family, every village, even individuals. Some believe that they cannot eat this or that animal because it has a god in it. Some believe that some special clouds are inhabited by gods. Some believe that some places in Palau are occupied by gods, and they will say, "we must honor these things and these places." So it was not very difficult to get Modekngei people into the church. We said, "You are a sinner; you have to come and confess your sins to get forgiveness and be a member of the church and have hope of salvation." That was very simple to tell to the Modekngei. It was more difficult to tell the Catholics, because they knew about Jesus, about the church, about the Gospel. They knew these things and were taught that we were just a corner church, not as important in the world as the Catholic church.

REPORTER: What were your first impressions of Palau from those early days? What were the Japanese doing by the time you arrived in Palau?

PASTOR FEY: The industry which the Japanese had in Palau was at Angaur, the phosphate. This was started by the Germans. Construction of buildings? You know, Koror was a nice Japanese city, with cement front and wooden rear housing so that when you came to Koror, you could compare it to a suburb of Yokohama. Narrow streets, stores at the edge of the street, and everyone liked it fine because this is the way it was built in Japan. Later they built the clubhouse, and the government house, and enlarged the hospital. And then in the years before the war they built the shrine. But this construction was not built by the Palauans; it was built by the Japanese for their use. Palauans had permission to go to Koror and rent there; if they had the land they could rent it and take the money and build houses either between the stores or behind the stores. At Malakal, the harbor, they had fisheries. They had wood warehouses there, and they had drydocks there. But this was not for the Palauans.

What did the Japanese do for the Palauans? Well, they made roads all around Babelthuap. Perhaps you cannot say roads, for they just cleared the jungles, and the roads had to be repaired after each heavy rain because they were just soil roads. You see, the people were not so sophisticated; they were not so educated. The Japanese were different--the relationship was more as the father to son rather than brother to brother. The Japanese allowed the Palauans just elementary school. Some were taken to the Koror school for the fourth and fifth grade, and some were taken to the carpenter school, and a very few could make some advancement in government or business. Only as *junsa,* as police officers . . . we still have some old fellows who were taught to this level. Felipe Bismark, Joseph Tellei (Waigasan), Joseph Siou (now Uherbelau, Chief of Angaur) . . . these were the three top men. You see, the Japanese were not interested in developing the Palauans. They were more interested in having a place to bring over the population--that was natural. But on the other hand, they gave the Palauans what the Palauans needed.

They gave them some education, as I said. They gave them some initiative to work. Many Palauans learned carpentry at that time. They urged them to farm, to bring their products, from bananas to copra, down to Koror where they sold them. In Koror there were several thousand Japanese who depended on foods from Babelthuap.

You see, what the Japanese did for the Palauans was this: they brought some sense of obedience, a sense of authority. Americans do not do this so much. I speak these days with one of our Pastors from Koror, and he says, "Well, the public schools, they are not the best, because the teachers do not teach authority to the children. Everyone can do what he wants." In the Japanese schools there were strict rules.

REPORTER: You say the Japanese gave the Palauans a sense of obedience and authority. Isn't this a part of the Palauan traditional structure?

PASTOR FEY: There is much to regret in the disappearance of the traditional customs of Palau. And it is with this new way of governing people--democracy. We do not preach slavery, but consider that in the old days you could leave your belongings unlocked. No one would steal them. You cannot find that today. They were not angels, the Palauans. They had their black sheeps in the villages, and unfortunate things happened. There were stories around sometimes that someone committed adultery or something else, but this did not need to be brought to the police. The Chief brought his co-chiefs, his helpers, together and then they talked it over. You know, all the years before the war there had been no murder in Palau. No one would have killed another. But today there is murder, and no one takes it very seriously. In the old days there was no fighting. The chiefs corrected such disturbances in their villages.

REPORTER: So there *was* the concept of authority within the traditional structure. What then was the relationship of the Japanese to the Chiefs?

PASTOR FEY: The Japanese were very wise. They left the Chief to the Chief, and they had very little trouble. In Babelthuap, there were only three police stations. And only in case someone got drunk did the police have to come into the picture, because it was forbidden to drink. They could drink their own *tuba,* and then they would go to sleep. But the young people wanted to drink with the Japanese, and some Japanese made friendships with the Palauans; and they used Japanese *sake* and they were not used to it. It happened from time to time that drunken young fellows came along; then, you see, the police had to come in. But the other things, what shall I say--if there was fighting between some people, or whatever--the police had nothing to do with it unless someone brought word to them that this and that boy or girl had done this or that. The Chief had to regulate it. Of course, they had no authority to imprison anyone. From time to time they had their meetings in Koror where the governor addressed them and gave them regulations and so forth; but on the whole, the Chiefs were left pretty well alone to do what they thought good for the community.

As far as authority is concerned, the Chief had a way to make his will known. For instance, in case some young fellows got loose and wanted to roam around at night, what did the Chief do? He put a sign at the entrance of the village that something was forbidden. He did not say it in so many words. You would see some leaves of the coconut hanging on a special pole, and you knew it was forbidden to roam,

or it is forbidden to sing aloud in the street, or it is forbidden to go without torches--everyone has to have light enough so that he can be recognized from afar when he is coming. And this worked very well. I remember that people tried to avoid it and they were punished. They had to do some village work, some village jobs without pay, with the overseeing of the Chiefs. Why, today, what can a magistrate say? What can the police do?

". . . you know, Koror was a nice Japanese city . . . you could compare it to a suburb of Yokohama."

I remember only one time during the years from '33 to '41, there was a young fellow who wanted to make something out of himself. What he did he learned from the movies. The Japanese showed movies from time to time in the villages. In Koror they had in the last year before the war a movie hall. And as it happened, the Japanese wanted to show how an efficient police force works: this was what most of the movies were about. So, you see, if I see this movie, I can see how the police work. But this young fellow also saw how the criminals worked; and I tell you this fellow was so clever that the police sought him for weeks and weeks and couldn't get him. He lived in Koror, and every night he made some mischief. One night they almost had him, and what did he do? He lay down in a ditch and they almost stumbled on him; but they didn't find him. Then when they finally caught him, he said to the police, "I learned it from you! From the movies!"

But this was the only one I remember. The Chief took part in the proceedings and the decision was that he be deported to Saipan, and only after the war did he return from Saipan.

REPORTER: Many people seem to look back at the Japanese time with nostalgia . . .

PASTOR FEY: I am a missionary, and we willfully abstained from mixing in politics, because we were German nationals. The Japanese were very suspicious that we were the emissaries for taking over again after Germany lost the war. They were afraid the Germans were coming; but we made it very clear that we had nothing to do with the German state, that we were paid by Christian people--by churches, not by the state.

The Japanese had ways of keeping people under control, which we never did praise. We made it clear that we thought it was cruel. For instance, there was this young fellow who had stolen some things--just a little bit, so I don't think he was making a big business of it--but he did steal. He was a very intelligent person, half Japanese and half Palauan. They caught him and brought him to court, but first to the police for investigation. And in order to have something to bring to court, he had to confess. They put him into a small space, put in a basin of water and a short piece of rope into the water, and told him that he would get treatment with the rope until he told the truth. He said, "Well, I will tell you the truth. I have done nothing bad." So they gave him one; and he said, "No, I can't say otherwise, because I'm not guilty of any misbehavior." And they gave him the second; and that rope was full of water, you know, and that's something. And this helped the fellow to tell the truth. This is cruel. No one should be treated like this; we do not say this is good.

Other instances--I once had a young fellow in our church, very talkative, and he and one of the police . . . *junsa* . . . got to talking one night, and he made a joke: "Soon the Germans are coming!"--just a joke--"then we have a better time." He didn't like the Japanese--he hated them. And this fellow took this to the police station and the next day he was taken prisoner to Koror. He was in prison many weeks because they wanted to have a confession from him that we as missionaries had something to do with this. But he was strong enough to deny it. He said, "The missionaries had nothing to do with this--it was a joke." But the Japanese treated him so that he became a little crazy. No washing, very little to eat, very little drinking, very little going out of a small cage. This is cruel; I don't say this should be done. The Japanese treated their own people this way--they didn't discriminate against the Palauans like this. It was part of their behavior, but with this they could control the rough and tough ones.

REPORTER: But there still seems to be this feeling that the Japanese time was a good time.

PASTOR FEY: Well, I tell you this. When the Americans first came to Palau, some of the Chiefs were happy that they came because after two or three years of living in the jungle everyone was permitted to come out and establish a new house. If he couldn't quickly build a house, he got a tent. So they were very happy. The Chiefs were invited to come to Koror; they got monthly pay as Chiefs, and rations, and they had a fine life. So the Americans

were greeted; people were grateful that they were here. But some of the Chiefs, after they observed their manner, they said, "The Americans will make us wicked." They have a word there--*melengerenger*--"wicked." And I heard them say this and asked them what they meant. And they said, "Well, Pastor, do you not see . . . ?" There were some instances in Koror (I will not recite them all), but for example a Sergeant who was in charge of a magazine on a Saturday afternoon had a box of beer, and drank ten or twelve or fourteen cans of beer in one sitting, and then invited others, "Come drink with me!" So the Chiefs said, "No, this will not have a good end." You see, in the Japanese time alcohol was forbidden. Later--it was in '38--the Chiefs got permission to drink *sake*, and then we began to talk: "When the Chiefs drink, everyone drinks. When the head drinks, the foot will drink--every member of the community will drink." And in fact the Chiefs invited the members of their families who were not in the Chiefly line to drink with them. So at that time things began to get a little loose. When some other person than the Chief was caught drunk, he could get imprisoned for a week or two, or made to do village work, clean the streets or whatever was necessary.

So when people say the Japanese time was good, they have reasons for praising it. But they should look deeper, and they would not say that.

REPORTER: Did the awareness that the war had begun come suddenly?

PASTOR FEY: In the years before the war, we were free to move from village to village. We were free in our jobs, except to start schools as I have said. During the war we were in some ways interned--not interned in camps, but we were not allowed to travel. We were only given permission to stay at home. The first weeks of the war, we were confined at our house. After several months (I think it was May, '42), they gave permission that I could move in the village, and then move in some other villages later, because the war got farther and farther away, down to the Philippines and Indonesia.

You see, the war began in '37, with China. From that time on the Palauans felt shortages--in nails, building materials, and later in clothing and foods. So when war broke out here in the Pacific, it was nothing new to them, because since '38 and '39, we had in Koror regularly military vessels, planes lying in the harbor, ships--three or four or five--in the harbor loading and unloading. So it was nothing new when the war began. Propaganda had worked. The Japanese youth had to train, and the grownups in Palau, they were trained in some ways, too. If you know the Japanese mentality, they thought that they are the only nation which can secure peace on earth--not the rotten Americans, not the rotten Europeans. Only the Japanese can build a roof over the world under which peace prevails. Palauan youth had been trained like this. They had not been trained to become soldiers, but they had been trained to become workers. From '38 and '39, these young peoples' organizations, teenagers as well as younger ones, were organized into doing community work. They had plenty of soldiers and they needed fresh food. These groups were supposed to grow enough sweet potatoes. Every group had its own hillside to plant, and they got nothing for it--just to plant and to harvest and bring it to the police station. And they did it with some enthusiasm, because they were told that only Japan is the nation which will be victorious. America had never lost a war, and when the war came, in the first months of the war there was no sabotage or any such thing. Everyone was working together, even the Chiefs, because they knew nothing else. We had not taught them about Japan and what it was, because we purposely kept out of politics. The Palauans knew Germany was defeated, but they said, "Well, this was once. Next time we will be stronger."

REPORTER: How did it come about that you were finally able to start your school after the war?

PASTOR FEY: After the war everything had to be reorganized in Palau. There was no education, no government. If the Chiefs had not had some authority, everything would have gone the wrong way. So after the war when we were permitted to move freely, all the people, sometime in '46, everything was arranged. The Japanese had left the island and everyone was free to look for some employment. The American government had started the company which bought products from the Palauans and sold them some goods, and money began to flow back and forth.

But school was a problem. The only school which the government could organize quickly was in Koror. They had very quickly-educated teachers--Palauan people who in courses in four or six or eight weeks became teachers--so it was a very poor school without any materials. The church knew that we wanted to have a school, so the deacons came forth as a group and talked to me about taking over the task to begin the school for our boys. They said, "We will take your place and go around and preach." And it happened at that time that we had a good spirit among the congregations. It was like a revival, like a coming to senses; we had to do something, our children had to learn. And I agreed, and I said, "If you want to take my place, I will try to get the school, but, what! I have no money! I have no support from somewhere else." I got some contributions from chaplains when they asked me to preach in their churches, but I also got advice from them, one chaplain especially. He said, "Talk with the commanders and they will give you permission to salvage." The base at Peleliu had to be cleaned up because there were no people there anymore, and soon it was all overgrown. So one day I gathered my courage and met Captain Fox, a very fine fellow. I talked it over with him about the necessity to rebuild churches

and to organize congregations, and last, to have a boys' school. And he was willing to help me. I asked for houses which were going to rot if they were left alone for several months. I remember he took me in his jeep one afternoon and he asked me to show him the houses I wanted. I showed him eight houses, quonset huts and mess halls, and he was a little bit astonished that I had so much in mind. But he was friendly enough to give me the permission to tear them down with all of the things inside, if I could do it without the help of GI's. I told him I would have enough means and enough people and that I only needed his permission to bring some Palauans over to do the work with me. This was given, and I could bring as many people as I was able. So I went home and called the church people together. They made an agreement that each week a number of people would come, first from one village, then from another, and so on, at their own expense, and help me tear down the huts and mess halls and bring them to Koror. In Koror I had a charter boat--there was a boatsman who had a Japanese sampan--and he carried the material to Koror from Peleliu. Also in Koror there was a Mr. Harper, who was supposed to be arranging commerce, with the U.S. Commercial Company, and he gave me some help and let me use his truck. In six months we gathered enough material to build the school. That was in '47, and in May '48 it was through. Emmaus had been built--a dormitory, classrooms, a house, a dining room, a cow shed, a house for a helper, shower room, toilets, and so forth. It was dedicated in September '48, and began with thirty-six young fellows with a three-year course, with only my wife and myself. All of this with no money, except for $2,000 gathered by the Christians at that time to pay the four Palauans who did the building.

REPORTER: When did you leave Palau?

PASTOR FEY: We were supposed to go for furlough in '41 or '42, but because of the war we couldn't. The Japanese were not very happy to let people go. Pastor Lange--his wife had died--had to go with his children because of the danger of war, but that was a necessity. But when we decided to stay, it was all okay with the Japanese. We were the

The chapel at Emmaus School, Koror. In the background, the reconstructed buildings from Peleliu.

only Protestant missionaries left, though there were still some Catholic Padres. Then, during the war, as I said, we were pretty confined. We couldn't do much, except that Christians came and we taught them in our house and in our church. Then after the war, we had a chance to reorganize, and could not leave because of that. We also had rules, special rules for the islands, that no foreigner could enter; so the mission could not send any relief. There were missionaries from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Boston who came to visit, and they were pleased that we had decided to stay because they did not have the personnel to bring anyone to Palau. They covered Truk, Ponape and the Marshalls, and were happy that we would stay until some help could come. And so it happened that we did not get our first relief until '53, when a missionary lady came.We left for a short vacation to Japan in September '53 and returned in December. Then through '54 and '55 we were told that we would have someone coming--an American--to relieve us. In May '55 we left Palau for America.

REPORTER: Do you return to Palau to see your work continuing?

PASTOR FEY: They invited me to graduation last year. Usually each year we make a visit.

REPORTER: It must be satisfying for you to see this work continuing.

PASTOR FEY: Well, you will be amazed if I say no. We had no intention of starting a high school. What we intended was to make a training home. These youngsters need training. They need education, it's true; but education without training of the hands and feet is half-work done. Just to have a fellow who knows how to tie a tie and work with a pencil but does not know how to use a hoe and how to grow a tree and raise some vegetables . . . We think the future of Palau is still in the hills, not Koror. It's foolish, the big immigration from Babelthuap and Peleliu ended in Koror. Koror stinks because there are too many people! If the Lord would not give regularly good trade winds, it would be unbearable to live there. Babelthuap is such a wonderful island. When I meet Palauans here, I ask them, "What are you doing in Koror. Who is caring for your bananas and your trees in Babelthuap?"

When we started our school, we intentionally did not call it a school. We called it Emmaus Training Home, and this made some people unhappy, some of the officers. And it happened that they told Washington about this; and if we had not had some friends in Washington who knew of our work, I would have been deported. They made me out as a Nazi, a Prussian, a dictator. They said, "What do you do with these Palauans?" And I said, "We want to raise them, to teach them to work, to depend on themselves and not on others." And I remember among our friends of the Catholic priests (we had the first school after the war--the Catholics came later because they did not have the personnel), they did not like to see that we sent our fellows from three o'clock to five o'clock in the fields to work, to raise their own food.

The government did not give me any pound of butter at that time--didn't give me any bag of rice or flour. I had to buy what we needed. But we had cows, and each morning the boys had their milk-rice, and they like it. And we had cows to butcher, enough pigs, enough chickens. We had our fields, and could bring to people who could not make their own fields and make presents with what the boys raised. We had enough sweet potatoes and cassava. And I think this is most necessary that the Palauans again learn to use their hands. They have to learn again how to fish a fish. You know there are people who do not know how to spear? You know the science of knowing when the fish is coming into the lagoon is dying out? None of these young fellows knows which fish is coming, when and where, and what tools we have to use to catch this fish and that fish. I wonder whether they still know how to make a trap? I wonder. And this is what we taught our fellows. At least once a month they had to go for a whole day to fish, usually at new moon or full moon. When high tide was in the morning they left. When high tide was in the evening they returned. And they had some three to four hundred pounds of fishes, so that we could make presents and make people happy.

Look at any school, even our Emmaus; they do not practice this anymore. You ask if I am satisfied? I am not satisfied, because this is the whole trend. But our people at Emmaus could not do otherwise; they had to follow, because the government asked them to have a charter for a high school for girls and boys. If they had asked me, I would say, "No, forget it. You may close me and I'd be happy to close." But this is the trend. People must learn again to use their hands.

But I am not unhappy. I am a missionary, and we do God's work in the islands, and in God's work our school has a big mission to fulfill: to show that without fearing God any education is incomplete. We have to tell people that there is a Creator to whom we are responsible. And this is missing in the public schools; that is what we are doing in our mission schools.

Modekngei: the Palauan Religion

Editor's note: The following information on Palau's Modekngei religion is taken from "Political Factionalism in Palau," by Arthur J. Vidich. It was published in June, 1949, as Report No. 23 of the Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology (CIMA) carried out in the period following World War II. The excerpt from the report tells of Modekngei's beginnings. A brief update, based on personal interviews conducted by the editor in Palau, is included at the end of the section.

Palau will always be for the Palauans. The Palau people should never take over the foreigner's religion and life. We are black and our god is black. The foreigner is white and his gods are white, so their gods and our gods can never come together.

--a tenet the of Modekngei religion

Modekngei began early in the Japanese period as a religio-politico movement initiated by a man named Temedad who came from a high ranking clan in A'ol village. In the German period, he had been employed as a constable in various parts of Yap and in the southern Palau islands. When the Japanese arrived in 1914, he was one of the first to enroll in the carpentry course in the Japanese school at Koror. During this period he continued his friendship with three other former German constables who were enrolled in the school, Ongesii, Wasii and Rngull. In the latter part of 1915, Temedad left the school to return to the village of A'ol.

Early in 1916, Temedad experienced his first seizure, probably epileptic, and upon recovery related that he had established contact with the god Ngiromokuul, the village god of A'ol. This follows the typical priestly pattern except that the powers which were derived from the trance did not conform to the traditional pattern. In this case, Temedad claimed the power to dictate which foods were taboo and which were not. In addition to this, the god Ngiromokuul was proclaimed never to have left Palau (contrary to Palau mythology) and to be resident in a stone ruin near A'ol.

In the general religious disorganization resulting from the Germans' destruction of temples and outlawing of native religion and the confusion created by the transition to the Japanese administration, the eating of bananas (a previously taboo food) without the expected consequences occurring was regarded as close to a miracle. This feat more than any other established the occult power of Temedad.

In the next few years a series of new functions were assumed by Temedad. First he proclaimed after another seizure that all Palau money had become contaminated by the presence of the Japanese and required purification. The response to the threat of impure money was widespread; individuals from many parts of Palau came to have their money purified. Temedad kept certain pieces on the basis that they were unpurifiable and charged a fee for those pieces returned. With this income he gained prestige since he rapidly became a wealthy man.

Secondly, Temedad stepped into the middle of an old political dispute involving the villages of A'ol and Ulimang in the district of Ngaraard. Before the abolition of war, A'ol had been defeated by Ulimang. Temedad regained the prestige lost in that dispute by stealing the Ulimang *bai* and carrying it back to A'ol. This was accomplished without resistence and served to enhance the prestige of A'ol and Temedad far beyond anything they had previously known.

Thirdly, according to legend, in the latter part of 1917, Temedad received an urgent call from the family of a dying woman in Ngarchelong. After an elaborate ritualistic ceremony the woman was presumably brought back to life after having been dead for a time. This adds another element--miraculous curing--to the characteristics of the movement.

After the initial outstanding successes, A'ol became the center of authority in Palau for those who were impressed by the Modekngei activities. An increasing number of medical patients were diverted from the Japanese hospital in Koror for treatment at A'ol; the Japanese school in Ngaraard was destroyed on the order of Temedad; and the wives of men who were employed by the Japanese were told to divorce their husbands. On one occasion in 1918, all the village and district chiefs in Palau were summoned to A'ol by Temedad, at which time he proclaimed the existence of a new and powerful religion whose power was derived from the ancestral god of Ngiromokuul. This religion

was called Modekngei which meant "to bring them together"--referring to both the ancestral gods and the people of Palau. Through the concept of a single deity the religion proposed to unite the people of Palau *vis a vis* the foreigner, since the implications of the movement were directly opposed to the aims of the Japanese administration. The re-vitalizing of an ancient political dispute, the violent action against the Japanese school, and above all the attempt to purify or make more meaningful the value of native money were all attempts to assert a conception of the old order of Palau--a society which the Japanese were consciously attempting to change. But the ideological contents of the movement must be viewed as more an attempt to re-establish the old *status quo*. This is evidenced by the basic appeal of a unified Palau.

Conversations with Palauans today indicate that followers of Modekngei include about a third of Palau's population. While the emphasis has shifted somewhat away from the political factionalism of the early days, the movement still wields some influence at election time. It is said that the word comes down from the Modekngei leaders that such and such a candidate has been chosen by the gods as the best in the field. Historically, these chosen candidates have been by and large from Palau's Liberal Party, though the rule is not absolute.

Much of the history of the Modekngei movement through the war years indicates a remarkable adaptibility to issues of the day. If there can be said to be an emphasis today, perhaps it can be said that the "Palau for Palauans" theme is aimed at economic viability. Modekngei operates retail ventures in Palau and Guam, as well as wholesale and import-export businesses and cooperatives in Palau.

The anti-foreign elements of Modekngei were weakened somewhat with the coming of the Americans. As Vidich says in a summary to his report:

So far as Modekngei was concerned, the new foreigner's policies recognized the integrity of the indigenous system and thereby removed the American administration as an object of attack. There were no barriers against free expression of any kind of religion, and the foreigner, by legitimizing the old system, removed the necessity for Modekngei's integrative function.

by David Ramarui

I am a Palauan, a Micronesian, and a citizen of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. I am writing this to share my views, convictions, and experiences, particularly on vocational education, with my fellow Micronesians and those non-Micronesians who are concerned about educational development in Micronesia. I focus my attention and discussion on the Micronesian Occupational Center (MOC) in Palau.

One of the most noted accomplishments the Trust Territory has achieved in the field of education in Micronesia is the establishment of the Micronesian Occupational Center in Palau. Although this institution is located in Palau, it is a territory-wide program and it

The Micronesian Occupational Center (MOC) first opened its doors to students in the fall of 1969. Since then, the student body has expanded to well over 200 young men and women who are receiving training in a dozen and a half fields. MOC's operating budget has risen from a half to three-quarters of a million dollars, with a projection for expansion to $1.5-million dollars yearly in five years. By then, the campus should accommodate 750 students.

The campus is located adjacent to Palau High School in the district center at Koror. At present, there are no branch campuses, but plans are now being studied which would open two such branches. One would be located on the larger island of Babelthuap and would be a center for training agricultural and forestry students. The other would be a "floating campus" located on board a ship and provide facilities for training in maritime-related occupations.

has its staff members recruited from all six districts of the Trust Territory, as well as from the United States. The enrollment also is composed of students, boys and girls, selected from among all districts' candidates. This institution will, in a short time, produce various kinds of skilled technicians to supply a most needed skilled manpower force in various fields of work throughout the Trust Territory.

The establishment of the Micronesian Occupational Center came about as a result of thorough studies, surveys and consultations made by many educators, administrators, consultants and Micronesian community leaders based on the following manifold realities: First and foremost of these realities, is the potential human resource in Micronesia capable of learning, assimilating, reflecting, and experiencing the full realization of human growth in all fields of human endeavor as well as all men everywhere.

Second, there are the realities of life's necessities, the felt needs and human desires, and man's innate urge to achieve physical comfort, psychological contentment, mental satisfaction, and social well-being.

Third, there are the realities of changes in time, motion and space. This may sound too philosophical or radical, but I see this view as most real and a practical concern. The world of change is quite apparent; what appeared yesterday as a trend of life, may no longer be so today, and for tomorrow a different trend may be anticipated. The movement of people into and out of Micronesia is gathering momentum. Business and commerce are gradually changing and shaping the Micronesian's ways of living and ways of thinking. The world is getting smaller and smaller, not in terms of dimensions, but in terms of one man's ability to communicate with another by sound and by vision, and his ability to travel by modern transportation with super-speed.

Micronesia is not as isolated from the world of technology as many people choose to think. The impact of technology is definitely felt by the majority of the population of Micronesia. Do you know that a man on the remote island of Tobi in the Palau Island group can pick up a radio microphone and converse easily with a man in the Koror district center? And do you know that a man on another remote island of Kayangel, also in the Palau Islands, can tune his transitor radio and listen to and understand programs broadcast in clear Japanese or English from Communist Peking or Moscow? And do you know that a man in Ngiwal in Babelthuap of Palau can open a kerosene operated refrigerator made in Holland or Denmark and pick out a cold Schlitz Beer, or Kirin Beer, or San Miguel Beer, or Löwenbräu Beer?

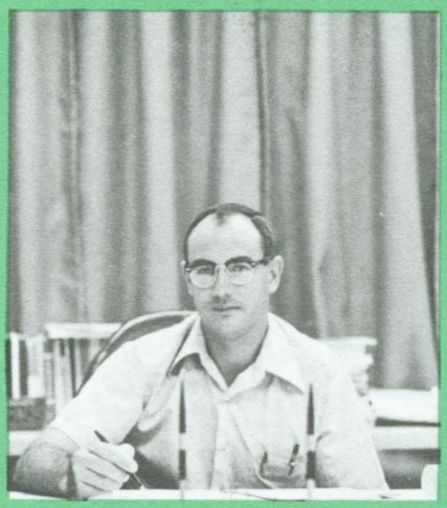
In the photo above, from left: MOC's large cafeteria, entirely operated with Micronesian management and help, and the center for the Food Services training program; two new dormitories under construction, which will allow MOC to double the enrollment when they are completed; existing dormitories and Palau High School facilities are at right; below the campus, a large oval track prepared for the joint use of the neighboring schools and for the track and field events of the next MicrOlympics.

Fourth, outside forces in trade, politics, and economic exploitation are slowly but steadily working their way into Micronesia and the consequence will be that we have to face stiff competition for jobs in business and perhaps even for our very livelihood. We will be competing with Japanese, Filipinos and Americans who necessarily possess all kinds of technical know-how which we Micronesians do not have. Where should we Micronesians proceed from this point in time, place, and circumstance? I can only suggest that the best alternative is for us to be aware of these outside influences and to prepare ourselves to face and control the impact of the world of change in order to survive. This requires a great deal of thought and some necessary changes in attitudes of none others than us Micronesians.

We would be naive and childish if we only sat back and insisted that we are protected under the mercy of the terms of the United Nations Trusteeship Agreement with the United States. Yes, the U.N. and the U.S. play their parts; but we Micronesians must play our roles--the major roles--for our self-development. We cannot deny the fact that we need outside grants, subsidies and technical aid as the necessary contingent forces for development, but we Micronesians must generate and evolve from within ourselves--our own forces--toward self-development.

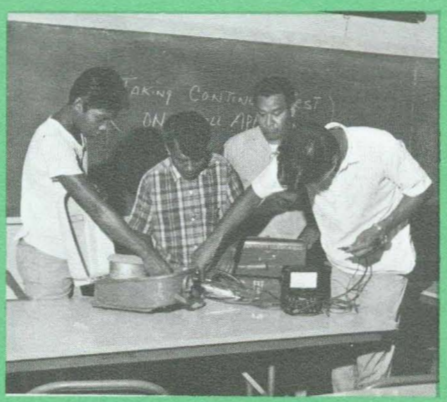
It is from these realities that the idea of establishing the Micronesian Occupational Center was born. An intensive planning program followed and a comprehensive program was designed. Subsequently, the full implementation of the program took place.

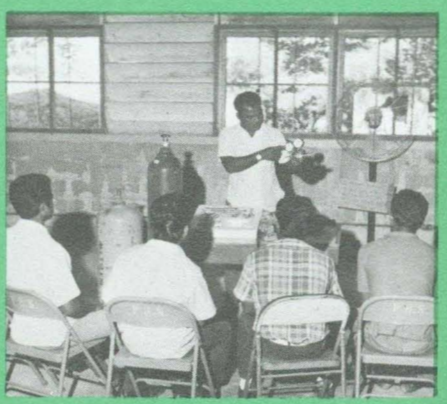
It is important to note again that the Micronesian Occupational Center came into being as the result of the intensive efforts of many minds and hearts, and the initiatives of people who are interested and concerned about the well-being of Micronesians. People set out to review the proposal for establishment of MOC, criticized and scrutinized its rationale and its comprehensive plan and came up with the decision. It is my contention that those observers who see the Micronesian Occupational Center as an asset to Micronesians have the proper attitude and wisdom. If there are people who do not view it this way, I cannot help but advise them that they should make every effort to correct their attitudes and accept the worthwhile idea of supporting such a vital establishment.



MOC's director is Norval L. Marsh (above). The instructional staff includes ten Americans and thirty Micronesians. The Micronesians come from all six districts of the Territory, and are hired either as Vocational Instructors or Related Instructors. Related Instructors teach English, Math, Science and Social Studies.

The on-campus program includes five periods of theory and shop and four periods of related academic study for each student each day. The off-campus program allows students to spend part or all of any day away from the campus working with a private company or a government department. Usually, a student must complete a full year on campus before any off-campus training. One such program has nine MOC students assigned toTranspacific Lines, Inc., ships for three months learning to become electricians, stewards and mechanics.

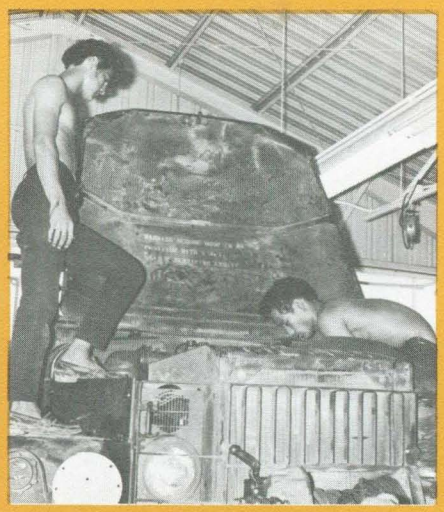




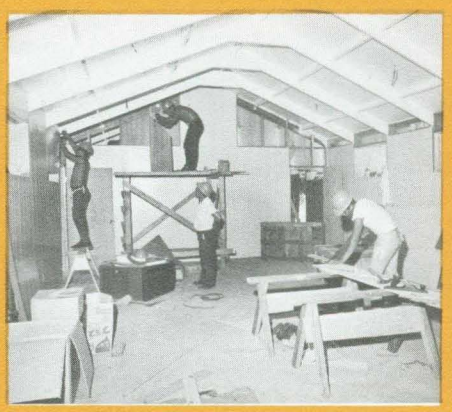
Palau was selected as the site of the Micronesian Occupational Center. This selection was based on common sense and practical reasoning. The educators, administrators, community leaders and master planners took into consideration many factors in order to arrive at this decision. They took into account the land space, land tenure, the existing pre-vocational school in Palau (already established as the forerunner for a more extensive vocational institution), logistic convenience, abundance of suitable foods for Micronesians (fish in particular), and budgetary factors. The planners also took into consideration another most important factor: the availability of numerous construction projects in Palau which provide a great opportunity for students to be exposed to practical learning experiences rather than learning strictly from books and theories.

The Micronesian Occupational Center offers courses that Micronesians have felt are relevant to their environment. But we must also open our minds to accommodate inevitable changes. The courses offered, in addition to academic courses, include air-conditioning and refrigeration, appliance repair, automotive mechanics, construction, masonry and concrete work, dental nursing, diesel and heavy equipment mechanics, construction electricity, food services, plumbing, seamstress training, small engine repair, surveying, cartographic drafting, and welding. All of these courses are vital and relevant to the needs of Micronesians, especially in the district centers where high population concentrations exist. These needs are, to some degree, felt even in the remote parts of Micronesia, or will eventually be felt by the outer islanders.

In my opinion, the major objective of the MOC is twofold. There is a short-term plan, and a long-range plan. The short-term plan calls for providing vocational training for Micronesians for immediate development of manpower forces most urgently needed in Micronesia today. There has been importation of all kinds of skilled technicians and professionals from abroad, the United States, the Philippines, Okinawa, and Japan, because Micronesia presently lacks these skilled personnel. The Micronesian Occupational Center was established to offset this imbalance: Micronesia, on the one hand, is experiencing a great need for skilled manpower forces, and on the other hand, she lacks such manpower forces among Micronesians which necessitates the importation of aliens.



In a cooperative program, MOC and another government department share the responsibility for specialized training. The department provides a vocational instructor, helps to select the students, and provides financial aid. MOC provides related instructors, food and housing. At present, MOC and the Department of Health Services are cooperating in a program to train dental nurses. The school has also begun a vocational teacher training program, designed to turn out qualified VocEd teachers for MOC itself and for Trust Territory High Schools in all districts. Starting in September, MOC plans to expand this program into a two-year course which will lead to an AA Degree in vocational education.



Automotive Mechanics students have serviced Palau district vehicles in their fully-equipped shops (above). In the coming year, MOC hopes to offer additional courses in diesel mechanics, body and fender repair, heavy equipment operation, surveying, and clerk-typist training.

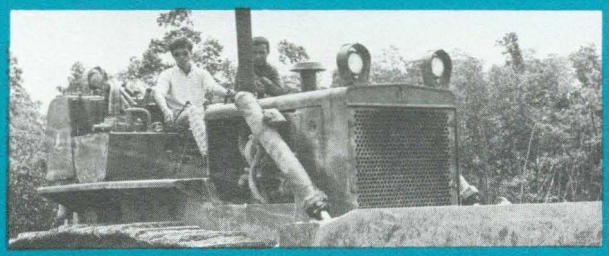
In terms of the long range plan, the following assumptions were taken into account: First of all, any nation, in order to develop its economy, must first develop its manpower in all the avenues of learning necessary to foster the development of natural resources. This requires an establishment of institutions of higher learning, perhaps not for the mass, but at least for a significant portion of the population who will carry out the various jobs which need to be done. This is precisely what MOC is established for. This institution will eventually be accredited and, hopefully, become also the training center for vocational teachers who will assume the responsibility of fostering vocational programs in their respective district high schools. Sending Trust Territory students out of Micronesia for the same training now provided by the Micronesian Occupational Center should be encouraged only as additional or optional and an interim measure.

It should also be noted that MOC is a specialized institution of higher learning, and, as such, it offers courses which are normally beyond those offered by ordinary high schools. Also, it is not feasible to duplicate institutions of this magnitude in all or some of the districts. Nor is it advisable to dissolve the MOC in Palau in the hope of distributing the money resources to help various district high schools develop specialized programs with equal quantity and quality.

There is another advantage here worth noting. MOC is in Palau, the Community College of Micronesia is in Ponape, the Trust Territory School of Nursing is in the Marianas, the Seaman's School is in Truk, and all these Trust Territory-wide establishments spread throughout the Trust Territory can serve as unifying agents for Micronesia.

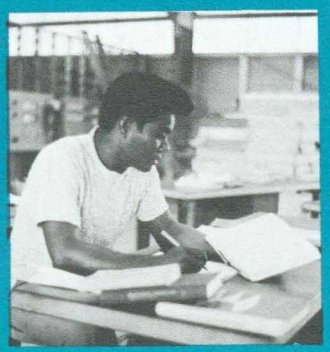
One might wonder if Palau, in fact, has lost its vocational school because of the coming of MOC to the area. The truth of the matter is that Palau retained its vocational school in a much greater scope and magnitude. The physical vocational school remained in Palau with its name changed from Palau Vocational School to that of Micronesian Occupational Center. Its programs were expanded vertically and horizontally, its standards raised and its administration reorganized. The eligibility and opportunity for Palauan students to enroll in this school is greater now than before when it was under the old system Under a previous system, enrollment was controlled by quota systems. Also under the old system, the Palau Vocational School struggled to maintain its integrity and identity because of academically oriented high school authorities who viewed vocational programs as mere extensions of arts and crafts, and nothing beyond general education.

The establishment of MOC has helped to revive the Palauan's respect for the value of vocational education. Palauan endeavor to have their children enroll in MOC even without having them stay in the dormitory. Palauans value the disciplining of the mind and training in manual skills very highly and look for the school to provide their children with these skills. As a Palauan, I am proud of this attitude. In future years, we can expect that MOC will become another Community College of Micronesia and, hopefully, will provide additional training opportunities for Micronesians.

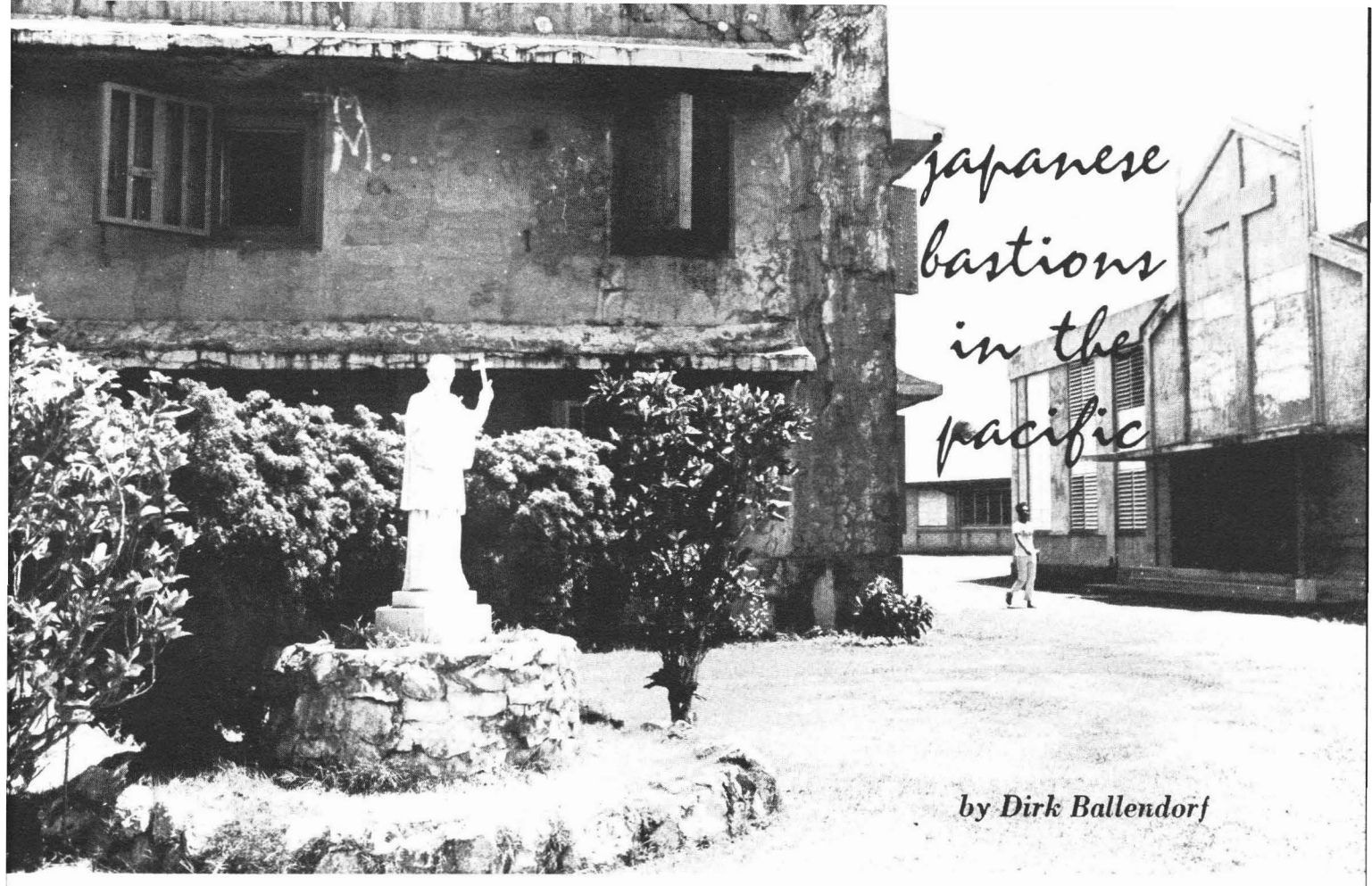


Above, a young lady in the ***Seamstress Training*** *course concentrates on her latest assignment-creation. At right, MOC accommodates everything from bulldozers to baking bread. The bulldozer was part of some on-the-job training for students who learned from Civic Action Team personnel who were involved in work on the field and track facilities for the coming MicrOlympics site. As the home-away-from-home for young people from all districts, MOC provides a unique setting for promoting inter-district cooperation among students from varied Micronesian backgrounds.*

The Food Services graduates (at left with their instructor) have all been placed in jobs or have continued their education at MOC or elsewhere. With only one exception, all students available for employment have been placed in jobs. Below, right, MOC's administrative offices.



Perhaps the biggest challenge to MOC at present is the placement of an expected 170 graduates this spring. A concerted campaign among private and government employers is now underway in an effort to make them aware of the fact that MOC is now turning out skilled laborers ready to take their places in the manpower pool to build a better Micronesia.



japanese bastions in the pacific

by Dirk Ballendorf

Xavier High School, Moen Island, Truk District, formerly a Japanese naval communications center.

The traveler in Micronesia, almost anywhere he goes, will invariably come across the remains of military fortifications. In all cases these remains are the last vestiges of the Japanese military presence in the islands. Lately, many of the ruins have become prime tourist attractions, and, over dinner and drinks in the evenings, a lot of discussion is generated about the origin and extent of the old fortification.

But most of the discussion is uninformed speculation. There is a certain romantic appeal in hypothesizing that for thirty years prior to World War II the Japanese secretly and systematically fortified the islands in preparation for war with the west. Very few of the hypothesizers--even those who are formerly members of the American and Japanese military services--have taken the time to document their speculations. It is appropriate then, that some examination be made of the facts of the matter in order that the tourists and visitors may be better informed on these various "tourist attractions."

It is seldom realized that these old bunkers, pillboxes, and seaplane ramps, are the last surviving specimens of their kind anywhere in the world. They are national historic sites; not only a part of the recent Micronesian past, but also of the world's past during a period of extreme and desperate international human struggle.

In most of the other parts of Asia and the Pacific, which were for a time under Japanese military domination, similar examples of fortifications have long since disappeared from the landscape, having been swept away, buried, or displaced. Curiously, one of the few positive things that can be said about the relative slowness of development in Micronesia since the war is that most of these concrete bastions have been permitted to stand. And now people are beginning, ironically, to appreciate them. Let us consider something of their history, and when it was that these structures arrived on the islands' scene.

To what extent had the Japanese constructed fortifications prior to the outbreak of hostilities with America on December 7, 1941, at Pearl Harbor? Both the Americans and the British had penetrated the islands during the 1920s and 1930s; and their findings, together with Japanese documents which have been made available since World War II, can attest to the extent of fortifications as well as to their significance.

The occupation of German Micronesia by the Japanese from August to October, 1914, was an acceptable move on the part of both the British and the Americans. The Japanese were allied with the British at the time due to treaties signed in 1902 and 1905. The British were quite busy with the war against the Germans on the European front, and were happy to have the Imperial Navy handle the German Pacific colonies. That the Pacific area was more within the Japanese "sphere of influence" was less a factor for their advance into Micronesia from the British point of view, although of prime motivational importance from the Japanese point of view.

The Americans, of course, had an interest in the islands since they held Hawaii, Wake, Midway, Guam, and the Philippines, all of which--excepting Hawaii--were in the greater Micronesian area. Also, the Americans were concerned over German aggression. Guam was exposed--surrounded by German territory in 1914--and there was concern that the Germans might attack with their garrisons at Saipan and Rota.

But the Americans were neutral in 1914, and they were also militarily weak in the Pacific. Therefore, the Japanese seizure of Micronesia from the Germans came as a somewhat reluctant relief.

The occupation did not result in a greater friendship between the Japanese and the Americans. The Imperial Navy immediately lowered a "bamboo curtain" around the islands. Foreigners were excluded--even allies. The American firm of Atkins Kroll in San Francisco,which hada branch office in Guam where it carried on copra trading in the islands, was not permitted into Japanese-occupied Micronesia in order to do business. The British firm of Burns Philp Company, Ltd., was excluded from trade in the Marshalls. Both companies were irate, and shortly their governments became concerned.

In 1915, an American merchant vessel in distress was refused help in the occupied Marshalls. German nationals, who were being repatriated, and who passed through Guam and the Philippines as well as through Singapore and Hong Kong on their way home, told stories of increased Japanese military activity in Micronesia. In 1915 a German naval officer who was leaving Micronesia, reported that "the Japanese fitted out Truk as a naval base."

In 1918, an American citizen who had been a master on a German schooner sailing out of Jaluit, reported that "the Japanese had a naval base with coal and stores at Truk." Also, that there was "some coal at Jaluit."

When the war ended the Japanese were awarded the islands' occupation by the Treaty of Versailles. A year later Micronesia was awarded to the Japanese as a Mandate by the League of Nations. One of the conditions of the award was that Japan would not erect fortifications in the islands. Since the U.S. had not joined the League of Nations, she got the same assurance about fortifications from the Japanese in a treaty signed in 1922.

The arrangements and agreements between the British, Americans, and the Japanese however, were weak and inadequate from the start. Suspicion on both sides began almost immediately. It was merely a continuation of the suspicion that had started during the Japanese occupation. Japan's policy towards foreigners didn't help matters. She refused to allow people or ships to come into the Mandates. Even the inspection teams from the League of Nations were not permitted in without special permission. The few foreign travelers who were allowed in were severely restricted in their movements.

Instead of discouraging the suspicions of the Americans and British, Japan only increased them by denying access to the Mandates.

As early as 1917, while World War I was still being fought, the Americans began to probe for information concerning Japanese activities in Micronesia. In that year Roger Welles, U.S. Director Of Naval Intelligence, directed the Governor of Guam to "submit to the Office of Naval Intelligence any information of interest . . . in regard to the political and commercial occurrences that take place in the adjacent islands."

American officials from Peking interviewed a German missionary who had been deported from the islands in November, 1919, and who was awaiting passage home from Shanghai. He reported that "the Japanese government has built large dry docks on Truk . . . large coal piles have been established; heavy lighters are being brought up from Japan; to fortify this island steps are apparently being taken."

Back in 1916 the British administration in the Gilbert Islands had been notified by the Japanese in the Marshalls that an embargo had been established upon the "touching of British and Australian ships at the Marshall Island group." The British, on getting this news, immediately sent their steamship *Mawatta* to Jaluit as a test case. The Japanese admiral refused her permission to enter. This episode caused considerable ill-feeling and suspicion towards the Japanese on the part of the British.

In 1920, Arthur Herrman, an American businessman at Kusaie, reported to the U.S. Naval Attache at Tokyo that there were "100 Japanese naval and government officials in Truk alone," and that there were also "three large coal piles at Truk, Ponape, and Jaluit." Herrman also stated that, in Truk, "a rock-walled chamber, about 100 feet square, has been constructed in the side of a hill, with an iron door and a wooden fence in front."

In 1920, an American marine, who was married to a Guamanian woman, and who had traveled through Yap and Palau in a small boat, reported that in talks with natives from the Western Carolines, he had heard that the Japanese had "guns and carriages in Upper Palau", and that "some of the guns were as large as ten inches."

Reports such as these caused the British and the Americans some concern over the possibility of extensive Japanese fortifications in Micronesia. It further caused them to increase intelligence-gathering efforts in the islands all through the 1920s and 1930s.

By 1921 the Americans had cracked the Japanese naval code, and on April 27th of that year the U.S. Chief of Naval Operations provided the Governor of Guam with the necessary information and instructions for intercepting all Japanese messages in the area.

The reports available to the Americans and the British on Japanese activities in the Mandates during the 1920s and before were those gathered by their intelligence networks, as well as the official public reports which the Japanese government submitted to the League of Nations. Of these, the former were often based on hearsay from native residents and were generally alarmist; the latter, of course, were official, but could also be a devious whitewash. A reasonable look backwards today however, based on existing evidence from subsequently available Japanese records, indicates that during the 1920s Japan really did not fortify the Mandates.

In 1920, after being awarded the islands, Japan withdrew her Navy and established civilian control in Micronesia. Her intentions were announced publicly. The English language newspaper, *Nichinichi,* of May 27, 1920, carried the following announcement:

The islands in the South Seas, at present under the military administration of our Navy Department, will at length have an office for their administration opened. The provincial military administration will be abolished, and a purely civil regime instituted.

Coastal defense pillbox, southern coast of Saipan

Seaplane ramp, Arakabesan Island, Palau District

Japan carried out her intentions on schedule and the Naval troops were withdrawn. The naval installations which had supported the troops, and which were the subject of prior U.S. intelligence reports, were discontinued.

The reports submitted to the League of Nations by Japan on their administration of the Mandates, carried absolutely no traces of fortifications, or that any fortifications were being planned. Nor were there any hints of fortifications made by the official inspection teams of the League of Nations which visited the islands during the 1920s.

Of course there were "improvements" made during the early years. Docks and harbors were built or improved, railroad systems were installed on some islands--notably Saipan and Rota--where large sugar centrals were being developed that required such rail facilities. But improvements, while they have clear military significance in time of war, are not fortifications. Even American intelligence, as it progressed in the islands during the 1920s, often substantiated the fact that military construction was not taking place. A secret cable from an American agent in the Marianas, received by the Office of Naval Intelligence on January 10,1921 read:

ADVANCE REPORT STOP VISITED SAIPAN JULY STOP FOUND NO FORTIFICATIONS STOP BUT OFFICIALS NERVOUS STOP

The last words of the cable probably explain the true situation on both sides at the time. The Americans were "nervous" over the Japanese reticence and refusal to allow free passage of foreigners in the Mandates. The Japanese, on the other hand, were also nervous; they were aware of the American and British intelligence network focused on them, and were interested in carrying out their *Nipponization* of the Mandates without having foreign influences impeding their efforts.

In conclusion, all evidence indicates that Japan made no improvements of permanent military significance in the Mandates for at least twenty years after taking them from Germany in 1914.

By the 1930s the Mandates were *Nipponized.* A generation of Micronesians were acculturated and made dependent upon Japanese consumer goods from the home islands. An expanding island economy created a position of near full employment. The Mandates were a virtual extension of the home islands. And Japanese foreign policy was coming more and more under the influence of the militarists in the government.

It came as no surprise then to England and the United States when the Japanese withdrew from the League of Nations in 1933. The Japanese, however, continued to submit reports to the League of Nations on their activities in the Mandates.

Between 1933 and 1934 Japan made the decision to construct improvements which would have clear military significance. These were not overt military improvements, but rather quasi-military in nature. But they were "permanent." It was decided that four "key" areas would be located at Palau, Saipan, Truk, and Ponape. Ponape would be the last to be developed.

The construction program which began in these key areas in 1934 was a cooperative effort between the Imperial Navy and the Japanese civilian administration (South Seas Bureau). The first project undertaken in 1934 was a seaplane ramp at Koror, Palau (the ramp is still there.) Shortly thereafter As Lito airfield was begun at Saipan (today this is Isely and Kobler fields.)

Harbor improvements and navigational aids were constructed also at Saipan and Palau between 1934 and 1939. Communications centers were built at Truk and Saipan (today a Catholic high school occupies the site at Truk.) Oil storage facilities were installed at all four key base areas between 1934 and 1939. At the same time airstrips were started at Tinian and Pagan in the Marianas, but the main emphasis was still on the other areas.

Although the planning and construction of the four key base areas was a "permanent" endeavor, there were no guns brought in at the time to protect the establishments. The bases were still "improvements" and not "fortifications." Japan did not feel that she was breaking her promise to the League of Nations not to fortify the islands, and she continued to send annual reports to the League.

At the same time, however, Japan became even more suspicious of foreigners. Travel through the Mandates was more severely restricted. Had the Japanese permitted foreigners free access, it is quite possible that she would have squelched some of the world's suspicions of her island activities. Observers would have seen and reported an unprecedented commercial and industrial boom in the Micronesian economy. But Japan did not permit most journalist-correspondent visitors to enter, and hence world suspicion of Japan increased.

The Americans, of course, continued their efforts at penetrating the Mandates. In 1936, the U.S. invited two Japanese ships to visit some Alaskan harbors, which had previously been closed to foreign ships, in exchange for an American ship visiting the Mandates. Japan refused.

In 1935 a seaplane ramp was started at Saipan, and in the same year an airfield was begun at Truk on Etan island (still there but now overgrown and unused.) In 1938 an airfield was started at Peleliu, and in the following year one at Ponape (the field at Peleliu was further improved by American forces in 1944-45.)

Of the four key base areas which were begun between 1934 and 1939, only one--Saipan--was actually completed by 1939, and there were no guns in place to protect it in that year.

In 1939 the Japanese shifted their construction program from a quasi-military effort to an overt-military effort. At the 1946-48 War Crimes Trials at Guam, the Japanese contended that no military fortifications were begun in the islands prior to the war. Subsequent evidence from Japanese records however, has proved that fortifications were started at least two years before Pearl Harbor.

Even before the availability of the new evidence, it was clear that the military build-up had started well before the outbreak of hostilities. When Admiral Halsey conducted carrier raids on the Marshalls in 1942, he was resisted by island-based aircraft from air bases which bristled with coastal guns. The business of putting these in place must have begun before the war.

The Marshalls were the first area to be intensively built-up, militarily. In the summer of 1939 the Imperial Navy sent a task force inspection team to the Marshalls to make recommendations for base construction. It is interesting to consider why the Marshalls were chosen at such a late date since most prior construction was undertaken in the Marianas and Carolines, and in 1939-40 was still unfinished. Several factors led to the Japanese construction in the Marshalls. For one thing, the Japanese had improved and enlarged their warships; they had more power and a longer range, hence it became feasible to base them farther from the home islands. Another reason was the successful Japanese development of heavy, land-based bombers. Lastly, there was a motivational reason: the U.S. during the later 1930s, had considerably increased its naval strength at Pearl Harbor, thus placing the Americans within striking distance of the Marshalls. Those islands would be vulnerable if not fortified.

In 1939 the task force inspection team selected Kwajalein, Wotje, Maloelap, and Jaluit for fortifications, and in 1940 construction began, thus making eight key bases in all of the Mandates.

Air facilities were the first priority in the construction program, and after these came fuel facilities. Oil pumps and oil storage tanks were installed at Saipan, Palau, Truk, Ponape, and Jaluit. Heavy fuel oil could be stored in the improved facilities and Eniwetok was added as a fuel storage area early in 1941. The fuel stored at these bases was used in the initial Japanese offenses early in the war.

In 1940 garrison troops were moved into Micronesia for the first time in more than twenty years. As the year of 1941 approached the records show that at least $2,813,953.00 was allocated to Mandate construction from various budget items. The construction included shore facilities at the eight key bases, anti-aircraft artillery, special gun positions, and submarine pens.

Between 1939 and 1941 more construction took place and more was accomplished in the way of military build-up than in all the years before.

In 1940 the Japanese Fourth Fleet established command at Truk. Large numbers of defending garrison troops were brought in to the Mandate to take up positions in the eight key base areas, and also to assist in the construction which was still going on.

The Fourth Fleet, which was in over-all command, was divided into four sectors: I, Western Carolines Group Sector; II, Eastern Carolines Group Sector; III, Marianas Group Sector; and IV, Marshalls Group Sector. Each group sector was commanded by a rear admiral, and each had the following units under his command: base forces, defense forces, communications unit, surface elements, and a small air unit.

The Marshalls received additional guard units since there were more bases located there. The Fourth Fleet continued to grow in strength during 1941 and by the time of Pearl Harbor had a conglomerate of military and support forces: shore defenses, construction workers, four light cruisers, eight destroyers, submarine forces, an air flotilla, many troop transports, sub-chasers, mine-sweepers, mine-layers, gunboats, and patrol vessels.

The various group sectors within the Fourth Fleet were supplied with offices, warehouses, ammunition storage magazines, and barracks, at a cost of $16,279, and $232,558 was alloted for base and defense force installations alone at Truk, Palau, Saipan, Kwajalein, and Ponape in 1941.

With this tremendous build-up just prior to the start of the war the Japanese were anxious to keep it as secretive as possible. At the same time the Americans were anxious to find out the extent of the Japanese strength in the islands. A 1940 incident serves to illustrate the posture on both sides. In that year a Japanese fishing boat was wrecked on the reef at Guam. The U.S. Navy immediately offered to put crew members ashore at Saipan. Japan refused. The survivors were instead transferred to a Japanese ship at sea midway between Saipan and Guam.

Hence the bamboo curtain around Micronesia remained relatively drawn and the entire Fourth Fleet strength of 20,000 navymen and 24,000 civilians by the end of 1941 remained pretty much unexposed.

The contention that the Japanese spent the thirty years before the war in building up fortifications in Micronesia is a myth. Although harbor, transportation, and communications improvements were in progress generally during the 1920s and 1930s, the actual military build-up did not materialize until two years before the outbreak of hostilities between Japan and America.

The fact is that this base construction program was too late for the Japanese. In retrospect, it would have been better for their war effort if they had in fact started much earlier as the British and Americans falsely suspected. Japan's eight key bases in Micronesia gave them a slight head start initially, but were inadequate in the longer run.

The most intensive build-up period began after the start of the war. The cold, hard figures show that the Mandates were stronger in 1944, when the Americans invaded, than they were in 1941. The Marianas garrison in 1944 had 30,000 men, while in 1941 the whole of Micronesia had 36,000 men. In mid-1944 the Marianas alone had operational airfields with a 400 plane capacity, while in 1941 the whole of Micronesia had only 8 airfields, not all of which were completely operational.

Moreover, Japanese construction of fortifications was never completed. Serious supply shortages during the war prevented much construction. When the Americans invaded Saipan in July, 1944, they found many fortifications unfinished, and construction still going on. The islands of Micronesia were invulnerable only so long as it took the United States to dominate the seas and air surrounding them.

the economic issues

where we're going

by Manuel A. Sablan

To appreciate the complexity of problems affecting Micronesia's current development efforts, one needs to be acquainted with Micronesia's natural setting--the huge distances to be bridged, the narrow resource endowments, and the marked variations in languages, customs and cultures of the major island groups.

There follows here an examination of the Territory's historical perspectives on development, and some of the internal and external obstacles to economic devleopment as I see them personally.

Virtually no substantial achievement was made in the name of development and economic progress during the Spanish and German regimes (1700-1898). Their efforts had been concentrated mainly on expanding copra production and trade. Development schemes undertaken in this period were more or less further economic aggrandisement of their own national interests, with Micronesians receiving only residual benefits.

Psychologically, the presence of outside political influence and control in Micronesia has to some extent contributed to the prevailing atmosphere of economic dependence along with other factors associated with the aesthetic environment of these islands. Therefore, the task of stimulating development by inducing the people to take on a much greater share of the socio-economic burden has a built-in psychological resistence with which development agents have had to reckon.

Economic expansion became a reality during the Japanese regime (1914-1944). Japanese captial, management and labor polarized the islands. Administrative formality was relaxed to faciliate mass importation of Korean, Japanese and Okinawan laborers, technicians and entrepreneurs. The Saipan experience during the pre-war period is an illustration of this. Prior to the 1944 invasion, the civilian population on Saipan numbered roughly thirty thousand: some twenty-five thousand Japanese, two thousand Koreans and over three thousand Chamorro and Carolinian natives. In less than 20 years of Japanese government administration, Saipan's sugar and fishing industries became integrated into the economy of the Japanese empire.

The hostilities of the war brought about almost total destruction of the Japanese physical plant and facilities; by mid-1946, following mass repatriation of non-Micronesian civilians and their families, it was evident that the vital economic base of the island had been reduced to rubble and the money economy had been destroyed.

". . . many obstacles to facilitating development have yet to be cleared."

When American armed forces had secured the islands of Micronesia, it was evident that the task of reviving the economy through major economic reconstruction programs was virtually impossible. There were two main obstacles to this. First, the quantity and quality of the domestic labor force was seriously reduced as a result of the mass exodus of Japanese technicians and skilled managerial personnel by 1946. Second, even if there was a full-fledged commitment by the United States to rehabilitate the economy, the immediate consequence of the war was such that marketing outlets established during the pre-war period had also disappeared.

During the first four years of the U.S. administration, the Department of Defense through its civil affairs section was charged with looking after the general welfare of the inhabitants. In 1951, this responsibility was shifted to the U.S. Department of the Interior. During the early years of supervision by Interior the policy of the administering authority appears to have been a "low key" approach to development. The main emphasis was the provision of acceptable public welfare services in the area of public health, education and maintenance of law and order. The budget ceiling averaged $6.5-million dollars per annum up to 1962.

A sudden boost in the U.S. budget appropriation took place in 1962 and re-newed emphasis was placed upon not only public services, but also in developing programs for the establishment of a vitally needed economic infrastructure; e.g. renovation and expansion of road systems, power and water distribution, and communication and transportation facilities. Concurrently, the development of democratic political institutions was instigated by creating the Territory-wide Council of Micronesia, the forerunner of the present Congress of Micronesia. The 1962 budget ceiling was hiked to $15-million dollars, an increase of over 50% from the previous year. Ever since it has been on a rising trend, reaching a level of $60-million dollars in Fiscal Year 1972.

Considering the increasing influx of U.S. direct grants and appropriations and the increased pace in the development of infrastructural facilities, Micronesia appears to be progressing economically and socially. The economic future, however, is not all that bright, for many obstacles to facilitating development have yet to be cleared. As I see it, there are two major economic problem areas in Micronesia. First, external constraints--policy measures adopted by the Administering Authority for consistency with the Trusteeship, such as the "favored nation" clause--which have an adverse effect on Micronesia's economic development. Second, internal constraints, which are development problems normally found in most underdeveloped countries.

External Constraints

Ariticle 8 of the Trusteeship Agreement states:

"In discharging its obligations under . . . the Charter . . . the administering authority, subject to requirements of security, and the obligation to promote the advancement of the inhabitants, shall accord to nationals of each member of the United Nations and to companies and associations organized in conformity with the laws of such member, treatment in the Trust Territory no less favorable than that accorded therein to nationals, companies and associations of any United Nation, except the administering authority."

This is the so-called "most favored nation clause" which has been given a strict interpretation to the effect that *only* U.S. citizens or corporations wholly owned by such citizens are permitted to do business in the Trust Territory. This restriction serves to dissuade competitive inflow of private foreign investment and narrows the availability of capital resources from abroad.

There exists no vehicle to facilitate effective use of land now held exclusively by Micronesians. The current statutes prohibit ownership by way of fee simple deeds or outright acquisition of land by non-Micronesians, though long-term leasing of private or public land for productive, religious or other purposes is permissable with prior approval of the High Commissioner. The problem with this is that a prospective U.S. investor desiring to invest substantial fixed assets would normally have to limit his investment activity in proportion to the duration of his lease contract--the investor must be assured that there is sufficient time to recover an investment. He must also agree to operate within the terms and conditions for which the lease was granted.

About two years ago the Congress of Micronesia enacted the Foreign Investor Permit Act in an attempt to regulate the involvement of U.S. investors in Micronesia. Of late, there has been an expression of interest by the Micronesian leadership in ways by which Micronesian citizens can effectively participate in non-citizen investments. The basic problem, which seriously needs resolution, is finding a way for private savings to be generated among Micronesians for purposes of investing in businesses owned partially by non-citizens. Along with this, a suitable policy must be formulated so that unutilized lands can be put to productive use.

Internal Constraints

Development constraints facing Micronesia vary from one administrative district to another. The dualism of the Micronesian economy presents a great challenge to development agents in bringing about structural changes from a tradition and subsistence oriented economy to a modern, money oriented economic system. Such changes are necessary if growth is to take place.

The modernization process is a long and gradual one, and seemingly insurmountable obstacles continue to crop up along the way. While the introduction of modern goods and services over time has greatly modified the Micronesian's traditional way of life, many aspects of the archaic societies linger on. The gap between the subsistence and modern economic sectors, though closing somewhat, will persist for some time in the wake of such problems as ill defined land tenure systems and the continuation of the complex social-economic-political systems of caste, family class and communal ownership.

Here are some of the specific development problems facing Micronesia today:

(1) Of all the things associated with Micronesia, the acute shortage of manpower where such resources are needed poses a significant development shortcoming. The fact that Micronesia has a high proportion of young dependent population further aggravates the situation. (Less than 50 percent of the total population is in the age categories between 15 and 59 years of age.) The supply of a trained and experienced labor force, including technicians and business managers, is low at points where the demand for employment persists. Some have advocated that the surplus labor force--the outer islands populations--should be mobilized into the commercial administrative centers. But this would be a painstakingly slow task requiring physical displacement of populations and heavy government expenditures. Such moves could be hazardous, considering the possible serious effects on the social fabric of communities thus displaced.

(2) The emphasis on providing essential public services by the government seems to outweigh the importance of giving requisite attention to private production and trade. It can be observed that there has been heavy reliance on government employment as a major source of livelihood, particularly for those located in or near the commercial administrative

". . . the Territorial Government is giving considerable attention to the needs and aspirations of the Micronesian people."

centers. The Government has been assuming the role of main "provider" of employment and of basic public services. While this may have a positive "multiplier effect," indirectly beneficial to the private business sector, it is unlikely that this gives a great "shot in the arm" in terms of stimulating the expansion of enterpreneurship without business enterprises undertaking costly programs to attract the talents and skills of government employees. One need not look much further to see what are some of the side effects of this situation. For example, owing to high government expenditures, there has been a continuing upward bias of government wages and salaries--the economic rationale of which is to support the rising cost of living which is basically due to the continuing escalation of both the quantum and prices of imported goods. It is the classic inflationary spiral.

(3) The wages and salaries paid by the T.T. Government are high when compared to those paid in other developing countries. This circumstance is likely to have an adverse economic effect on the private business sector whose predicament is further beset by the combination of low labor productivity and high labor costs. As a consequence, export potentials in small-scale processing industries which are in their infancy become less attractive and face the danger of not being able to compete effectively with their products in the international market.

It is very difficult without the aid of realistic and reliable statistics to judge whether development activities have been moving in a desired direction--that which would be beneficial instead of a cost burden in the long-run. The chance of an "enclaved" development, in which development efforts have been concentrated on a selective and uncoordinated basis having no proper forward or backward linkage can easily be overlooked. This phenomenon is especially likely to occur where a rapid and indiscriminate infusion of external financial and technical aid has taken place within a relatively short expanse of time in a developing country.

In spite of an inability to gauge in quantifiable terms some of the future implications of current development efforts, the economy of the Territory is certainly picking up momentum as more funds are being pumped into it, as the local enterpreneur sector becomes activated, and as other economic forces are set in motion.

A step in a positive direction has taken place with the promulgation of the "decentralization policy" of the Trust Territory Government giving more administrative authority to the district governments and encouraging greater participation of the people in all aspects of economic development. In establishing priorities for government expenditures, the Territorial Government is giving considerable attention to the needs and aspirations of the Micronesian people.

The problems of development as illustrated above are quite complex; therefore, individuals having the task of moving the economy forward face seemingly insurmountable responsibilities. Although some headway has been made in creating economic growth, such questions as the future political status toward which Micronesia aspires and the general goal of bringing about a much improved level of living has yet to be completely in sight. In defining the role of the administration in development, High Commissioner Johnston, speaking to the conferees during the first Trust Territory Economic Development Conference held in Saipan, February, 1971, said, "The administration's program will be to assist the production, rather than the theoretical approach toward development of the economy . . . This means production to raise more chickens, catch more fish, sell more bananas and cultivate more vegetables."

A young Palauan posed the question–"What are the three G's of Micronesia?" and furnished the answer while I vainly groped to make such categories as islands or languages or cultures. "For Spain," he said, "it was God; for Germany, it was Gold; for Japan, it was Glory." He paused briefly and asked, "What is the G in Micronesia for America?" and I replied, "for Good." The double meaning was not lost on the student, and in the many conversations which I had throughout Micronesia during the summer of 1971, I thought back to those four G's. Was the United States in the Trust Territory to make a good life for the Micronesians, or to stay for good in a faraway strategic area? What were our real interests and concerns?

the fourth G in micronesia

by Dr. Frances McReynolds Smith

Four hundred and fifty years of colonial administration in Micronesia by the Spanish, German, Japanese and American administrations have been characterized by expansion, conquest, exploitation, apathy and neglect. The Spanish sought new converts to Christianity; the Germans to develop new tropical products for world trade; the Japanese to colonize new land for the Empire. To the United States, its trusteeship was a new venture in internationalism, a venture of mixed idealism and strategic realism.

Whatever may have come to be the economic value of these islands to Japan, the real motivation for Japan's occupation and colonization was their military importance in the international politics of the Pacific. And whatever may have been the altruistic and idealistic bases of the Wilsonian and United States philosophy of self-determination and non-annexation, the real motivation of the United States was to ensure peace and international security in the Pacific. The Mandate system had as its rationale that the well-being and development of backward peoples formed a trust, indeed a sacred trust of civilization. The Permanent Mandates Commission often expressed fears that the principle of administering the territory for the people's benefit was being violated by the concentration of economic resources of Micronesia in the hands of Japanese nationals through Japanese immigration and industrial policies. The United States played a prominent role in framing the lofty principles of the United Nations Charter concerning dependent peoples, but frankly acknowledged to the U.N. its strategic interests and concern. From the outset, the United States stated that it would reap no economic benefit from these islands.

The anti-colonial tradition of the United States has been an important factor in developing a kind of schizophrenic philosphy toward its own administration of territories. For fifteen years following the end of World War II, the United States seemed to forget Micronesia existed, except for small annual appropriations by the U.S. Congress made in response to specific and immediate needs of the Territory. U.S. administration has not been brilliant, and the monies allocated were not, at least in the early stages, adequate for economic development of a war-damaged land. But neither has the U.S. sent thousands of colonizers to

settle permanently or used these islands for the economic benefit of its own nationals. The post-war period were years of economic stagnation but of cultural rejuvenation and of political innovation. As one Micronesian put it, if Micronesia had remained under Japanese administration for another decade, there would have been little or no trace left of any traditional culture, and the Micronesians as a race would have died off to be replaced by an entirely Japanese population. At the close of the last year in which Japan reported to the League of Nations, the Micronesian population numbered about 50,000 and the Japanese numbered 60,000. As of June 30, 1971, Micronesia had a population of 107,054 and there were some 2,000 to 2,500 American residents in Micronesia, most of them on short-term assignment to the Government.

The labor situation in modern-day Micronesia is, therefore, totally different from that of the Mandated period. The population growth is an outstanding economic plus. The territory now possesses the greatest resource for its own development--a growing and concerned Micronesian people. But population alone will not build an economic system. There remain tasks of planning, organizing, training and managing the kind of an economic system which will best fit the present-day needs and aspirations of the Micronesian people. What way will it be? A completely Micronesian system? Micronesian-American? Or as some have advocated, a three-way system with the former Mandatory power as a partner?

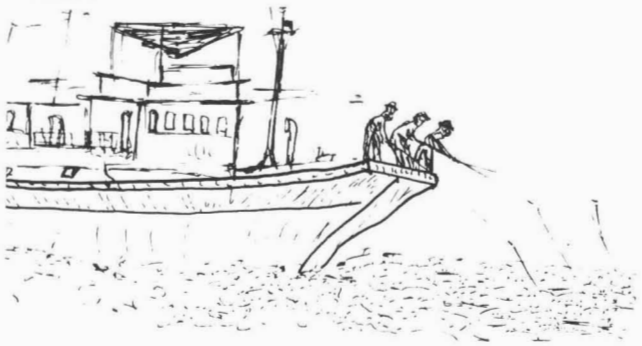
It was to get information on this latter possibility that I sent questionnaires to former Japanese Mandate officials and businessmen and interviewed them in Japan. Volunteering that U.S. political accomplishments in Micronesia are impressive, all those interviewed stated emphatically that Japan did not seek political control of any territory outside of Japan. Businessmen evidenced great interest in Micronesian political stability, and considered the American presence there as highly desirable, even a prerequisite to Japan's reentering the economic scene. Some businessmen expressed uneasiness with the disaffection among the young, educated elite in Micronesia and their growing ciriticism of U.S. government policies. They were quick to add that Japan, having no administrative responsibility, had no official governmental policy toward Micronesia.

The Japanese interviewed expressed the belief that their superior knowledge of small industries makes them uniquely able to develop the economic potential of Micronesia in a way that the United States can not. I gathered also that there exists a varied, sizeable and often not readily discernable Japanese investment in Micronesia which some Japanese businessmen are eager to expand. They would like, therefore, to have the most favored nation clause of the Trusteeship Agreement removed.

During its Mandate period, Japan made dramatic economic strides with the exploitation of five products--copra, phosphate, fish, sugar and alcohol. The paternalistic attitude of the Japanese Government toward their favorite industry--sugar--resulted in such favors to the companies as rent-free use of state land, monopoly rights, generous subsidies and tax exemptions. In addition, the Japanese Navy subsidized such allied, technical matters as water exploration. Their energies were concentrated on export products for Japanese markets. Even their agricultural experimental stations were concerned with products intended for export, such as rubber, cacao, coffee, and spices, and not with the development of native food plants. The United States Government, unfortunately, has had no plan for the rehabilitation of either export products or native foods. As a result, Micronesia is becoming increasingly dependent upon imported products and the value of Micronesian-produced exports is going down. Only the tourism trade is increasing under the U.S. administration.

The future political status of Micronesia has been examined intensively for many years, but the future economic status of Micronesia only lately has been studied. Yet, without adjusting the economic realities to the political realities, any act of political self-determination in Micronesia is only half an answer to its problems. Expensive economic development research has been undertaken by the U.S. administration, by specialist firms and by individual experts; but there is not an orderly, carefully-planned economic development program involving village, district and territory-wide levels. The startling fact is that from July 1, 1970 to June 30, 1971, the Trust Territory imported goods valued at just over $26.1 million dollars and exported goods of just over $3 million dollars. This means an increase in twelve months of about 25 percent in imports and a decrease of approximately 25 percent in exports in the same period. If these alarming figures are not to become the pattern, some immediate and hard decisions must be made. Micronesians must decide whether they want continually to rely upon foreign monies and an alien-dominated economy, or whether they want to return to a simpler economic base. Micronesia is a rich country--rich in survival requirements of food, clothing and shelter. But Micronesia is at an economic crossroad.

The suggestions below are advanced not as an economist but as one sincerely interested in the well-being of the Micronesian people and not as a political scientist advocating any particular political status. Hopefully, Micronesians themselves will start discussions soon at all levels on their future economic status.



It is fashionable these days to speak in terms of marine resources feeding the world of tomorrow. Certainly, Micronesia is surrounded by water, but it will be costly to study, develop and protect its great ocean resources. Many possibilities, other than those now in operation, are worthy of investigation.

The Japanese claim to have perfected a special technique for catching skipjack, unknown to U.S. fisherman. They would be willing to enter into some joint arrangement under which the Japanese supplied the boats, marine scientists, technical assistance and training of Micronesians while the U.S. undertook the initial financing. Eventually, the Japanese would want an economic stake in the enterprise on an equal basis with the U.S. They suggested the establishment of an American-Japanese Joint Fishing Commission to undertake research, conservation and exploitation of deep-sea, reef and lagoon fishing. The on-shore facilities for the canning, storing, preservation and marketing of the fish might be another such joint venture.

Micronesians are aware of the need to protect their own resources. If such a fishing commission were to be established, it should be done conjointly with the Micronesian Government as the third partner.

There are also a number of investigatory groups, both national and international, which should not be overlooked. The South Pacific Island Fisheries Development Agency (SPIFDA) is sponsored by the South Pacific Commission and two organs of the United Nations. Its purpose is to carry out surveys of marine resources, assess fishing vessel requirements and plan developments in oyster and spiny lobster cultivation and in turtle management.

The Pacific Islands Development Commission is under United States auspices. Its purpose is to promote general economic development in a cooperative effort among the state of Hawaii, the territories of Guam and American Samoa and the Trust Territory. Its initial thrust is in tuna fishing. The project envisages a research program including bait fishing potentials, development of a controlled situation for oyster and prawn growing, and the use of a research vessel. The second phase of this Commission's plan calls for an official approach to businessmen and tourist agencies for assistance. If the U.S. Congress approves the legislation now pending in both the House and Senate, a research program funded by a $3,000,000 grant would be undertaken on a three-year basis.

Micronesia might also look into the acquaculture plan now being undertaken by the Cook Islands. It is known as a "total atoll production system." The first step in that system is the diking of fishponds which are then stocked with mullet--a high-protein food fish. New spawning techniques are being used to develop more and bigger mullet. Plastic blades of "grass" are planted in the fishponds and the mullet feed on sun-induced algae growth on the plastic grass--a kind of sea pasture. Oysters and other shellfish will be grown on special rafts planted in the lagoons. In another area food plants are being grown in a hydroponics farm with chemical nutrients instead of soil. The system requires a small diesel-powered plant to provide electricity for freezers, and the heat from the energies will be utilized for the desalination of seawater. Such a project could provide food, export income and jobs for many Micronesians.

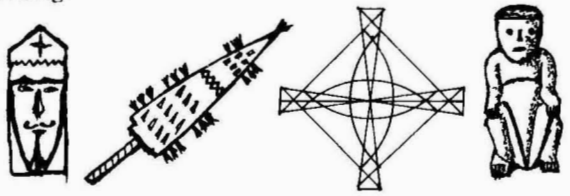
That Micronesians love their land and have a long agricultural tradition is obvious. That subsistence and traditional foods--coconuts, yams, breadfruit, taro, rice--must have priority in any agricultural development has not been so obvious. The diet of the Micronesian population today is probably deficient in protein and other essentials despite the greater amount of money in circulation, for the Micronesian is neglecting his traditional food and becoming more dependent upon imported food.

Second priority would logically be given to production of crops and animal production for local sale: fruits, melons, vegetables, cattle and pigs, all of which would find a ready market in Micronesia and especially in the hotels. Export crops (with the exception of copra which is already established) should be given third priority. Spices, (pepper, vanilla, cloves, nutmeg) and nuts, abaca(hemp), cacao and timber are other possibilities.

Accelerated production of local foodstuffs would probably need certain incentives, such as expanded agricultural experimental farms, supplying of fertilizers and research into food processing, packaging and distribution. While I am not ignoring the basic question of land tenure, I am assuming that there could be a much greater production of such traditional foods without waiting for the resolution of the complicated land tenure problem.

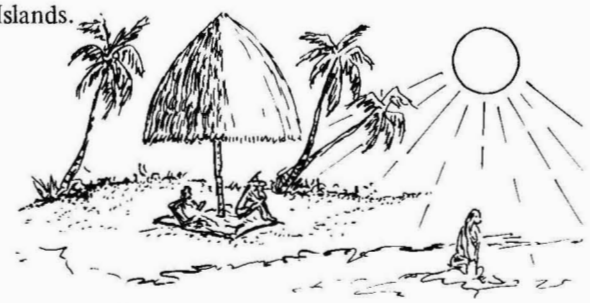
There appeared to be little interest in Japan in this kind of agricultural development. Micronesians, however, will doubtless not overlook the opportunity of raising Japanese foodstuffs and specialties which could be sold to hotels catering to Japanese tourists. The most important and lucrative crop under the Japanese--sugar--with its by-products of alcohol and molasses could scarcely compete in today's world with the large, efficient sugar-producing countries.

The destructive snail with its voracious appetite is a serious threat to an increased agricultural production, especially in the Marianas. Introduced by the Japanese as a source of food (although some Japanese claimed to me that it was introduced as a scavenger), it is not palatable to either Micronesians or Americans. The eradication of the snail might well be the object of a cooperative research and control program by the Japanese-Micronesian Governments. Other possibilities might be in the canning or preserving of the snail for export to Japan as well as the manufacturing of a chicken feed from the snails. Many California organic gardeners are learning that the snail pests in their gardens can be used to augment regular chicken feeding.



Micronesian handicrafts must compete in the U.S. market with those from Africa, South America, the Middle East and Asia which have outlets and a thriving trade. Any considerable increase in handicraft exports would have to be based upon an assured supply, an increased output, a competitive price, perhaps some redesigning, and surely a sales promotion campaign. It is doubtful that Micronesian handicraft could meet these requirements in time to alter appreciably the serious economic lag and trade imbalance. However, the sale of carvings, weavings, shells, paintings, clothing and jewelry could well form an important adjunct to the rapidly developing tourist trade.

In view of the special artistry and unique qualities of Micronesian handicraft, this industry should be encouraged on a territory-wide basis by the Government, as it is done in most of the Caribbean Islands.



Tourism is viewed by many people as the only hope for an improved economy. It is the one bright spot in the statistical picture for calendar year 1971 when tourist travel was up 26% over 1970. Many people are urging that tourism be bolstered to become the primary industry and that tourist facilities be expanded in every island, ranging from the luxury hotel to the cottage type accommodations. One group of promoters suggested the quick, sure cure to economic ills would be to build large, luxury hotels, entice gamblers from Asia and the U.S. and hire outside professionals for entertainment and management. In the wake of such developments, this group believes, supporting and subsidiary industries will spring up. In some mysterious fashion, the grandiose will upgrade the locally-owned small hotels and cafes. This plan totally disregards the social and cultural consequences of such importations, and Micronesians will easily spot the phoniness of such schemes.

Japanese hotelmen believe that tourism in Micronesia has almost unlimited possibilities. The "in thing" in Japan today is a trip to the nearest tropical island of Guam. Young people wearing Guamanian woven pandanus hats--as testimony to their foreign travel--can be seen on the streets of Tokyo, Osaka or Nikko. The affluent Japanese are enthusiastic travellers and delight in the still uncrowed areas of Micronesia. They are liberal spenders and are particularly fond of the convenient system of buying a package tour--airplane, hotel and meal ticket. Enlargement of this package tour from Micronesia to the independent state of Nauru, the Gilbert and Ellice Islands and to Papua-New Guinea, with Micronesia as the hub, would seem a logical expansion of what can undoubtedly become a lucrative industry. Japanese entrepreneurs are anxious to increase their activities in Micronesia, either on the basis of total Japanese financing or jointly with Americans.

The real decision facing Micronesians today, and they must decide soon, is what their role is to be in the financing, managing and controlling of tourism. For unless Micronesians themselves assume the authoritative voice on the direction of the tourist trade, they may find themselves relegated to the most menial of jobs with all else of foreign origin.

icronesia can augment these big basics of fishing, agriculture, tourism, handicrafts with smaller developments which will take little capital outlay and bring in a steady income. These industries are known in some countries as "smokeless factories."

For example, many large American firms have their Far Eastern headquarters in the metropolises of Tokyo, Singapore, Hong Kong and Bangkok all of which are over crowded, expensive and increasingly less concerned with attracting or catering to such "smokeless factories." One American businessman representative expressed to me an interest in discussing with the Micronesians the possibility of relocating his Far Eastern headquarters in one of the six Districts of Micronesia. The requirements would be good communications, good transportation and political stability.

Other possibilities for international businesses might include ship chartering, assembly plants for small objects which require the kind of manual dexterity which Micronesians possess abundantly, and mail order merchandising of luxury items from a warehouse in Micronesia. All would employ more Micronesians than Americans. In some instances, I was told, the entire enterprise would be handled by Micronesian employees with limited supervision by correspondence. None of these industries would require large amounts of power or water. They would not make large demands upon the meager land resources; nor would they be destructive of traditional values, culture and dignity.

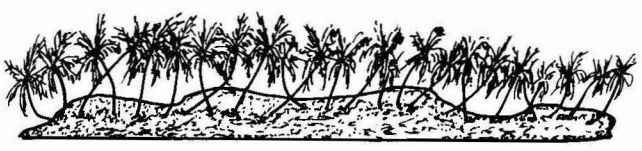
f economic development in any of the above areas is considered desirable by Micronesians, then policies, attitudes and even life styles will need to be reoriented. If the United States and Micronesian Governments are to be associated economically, realistic and long-range planning will be imperative. It is assumed, in any event, that the United States would be responsible for leaving in Micronesia a system of roads, harbors, waterworks and airfields. A Micronesian Development Bank might be the means of bringing small loans to the small farmer and businessman.

Firm understanding on land uses and rights will be required. Companies operating in the territory should have at least a 51 percent Micronesian membership on their boards and shares must be equally available to Micronesians. The books of such companies should be open to government auditors and annual reports submitted so that the public can have full knowledge of profits and losses. But the availability of shares to Micronesians is a hollow gesture if Micronesians do not have personal savings. While it may be a superficial explanation to put blame for such lack of locally accrued capital on luxury buying of such items as automobiles and outboard motors, it is obvious that there is in Micronesia today a conspicuous consumption of many imported articles which could be either drastically cut down or produced locally.

For example, I asked why soap had to be imported when Micronesians had at hand the best and foremost ingredients--coconut oil and flower scents--and the process was such a simple one. The answer was that islanders had never been taught to make soap; further, that they liked the smell of Lux and Camay to such an extent that any locally-produced soap would be considered inferior. An appetite has been created for certain status goods--outboard motors, cars, motorbikes, beer, cigarettes and clothing. Can we expect Micronesians to return to the simple life without any of these imported products? Consumption of these articles, moreover, represents to many Micronesians a newly-found liberty, a freedom to buy and to use articles which were either unattainable or forbidden under the former administrations of the Germans and the Japanese.

The American administration must face up to this new situation, for the Micronesians have taken on a new way of life. There must be an assessment by both Micronesians and Americans of the psychology of the new value system and an acknowledgment that Micronesia is undergoing a rapid, convulsive cultural transition based upon new products,new consumptions and a new educational system. There must be a recognition of the frustration which comes when these new products fail in some way. Micronesian inability to repair the article or to fully understand the new values result in a hostility directed toward the nation which introduced the new values--the United States.

It all adds up to a challenge and to a quesion: What *is* the G in Micronesia for America?



Traders in the Marshalls

Reception of Captain Kotzebue at the island of Otdia (Wotje)

by Mary A. Browning

The first iron probably came to the Marshalls from the sea as spikes imbedded in driftwood: in timbers from wrecked Spanish galleons. For as soon as the Spanish found a way across the Pacific in the early 16th century, they established the galleon route between Acupulco and Manila, and the westward route led directly through the Marshalls. Since dozens of these vessels were wrecked between 1565 and 1815, and even though there is no evidence that the Spanish ever landed on the atolls, they may still deserve credit for introducing that first trade item -- iron.

The people of Mili knew what the stuff was in 1788 when Captain Gilbert took the *Charlotte* to "the Mulgraves." The islanders carried away every loose bit of iron and thirty years later, Kotzebue found the same thing true when he offered iron nails in trade from the deck of the *Rurick*. By then, the Australia-to-China trade route was leading British ships into the Marshalls, while the rich whaling grounds were attracting others. Among vessels in the area were: *HMS Dolphin*, Capt. Wallis, 1767; *Royal Admiral*, Capt. Bond, 1792; *Walpole*, Capt. Thomas Butler, 1794; *Britania*, Capt. Dennett, 1797; *Hunter*, Capt. Fearn, 1798; *Nautilus*, Capt. Charles Bishop, 1799; *Ocean*, Capt. Mertho, 1804; *Cornwallis*, Capt. Johnston, 1807; *Elizabeth*, Capt. Patterson, 1809; *Providence*, 1811; *Coquille*, Capt. Duperry, 1822-5; *Globe*, 1824; *USS Dolphin*, Capt. Percival, 1825; a Russian-American Co. ship, Capt. Hagemeister, 1829; *Alliance*, Capt. Covell, 1831; *Rambler*, Capt. Worth, 1831-2; *Bolivar Liberator*, Capt. Underwood, 1833; *Victoria*, Capt. Dowsett, 1834. How many did any trading? Most left no records of contacts at all -- but the *Victoria* did.

She anchored outside "the Pescadores" -- probably Bikini -- and the captain took five men ashore with him. When only two returned, the *Victoria* beat away toward Honolulu. To the rescue, in November, 1834, went the brig *Waverly*, Capt. Cathcart, hired by the Hawaiian government and fitted out for whaling by Messrs. Ladd & Co. Capt. Cathcart sent a party ashore to trade iron, beads and cloth for information, and then made a personal visit to the *iroij*. Evidence was found that Dowsett had been there, but killing thirty hostages and holding others in irons brought only repeated gestures toward canoes and the ocean from the islanders. Further hostages were publicly flogged, and the Captain's plans to hang them were thwarted only when the second mate freed all but the *iroij*. It seemed useless to persist then, and the *Waverly* sailed. (Later, at Kusaie, they were told of islanders arriving some months before who claimed that a "white chief" and three others had started with them in another canoe, but had become lost. The *Waverly* was subsequently captured by Kusaieans and the crew was massacred.)

In the meantime, in late 1834, the Falmouth whaler *Awashonks*, Capt. Coffin, anchored off Namorik. When about thirty islanders came aboard a battle for possession of some whale spades began which resulted in the death of the Captain and first and second mates. The crew finally recaptured the ship and sailed it away. Inevitably, U.S. naval vessels were sent to the area: the *USS Peacock* ended a long Pacific cruise by making another brief search for Dowsett; and the brig-of-war *Porpoise* visited the Ratak chain during the early '40s.

The whalers persisted. In 1845, Capt. Cheyne of the *Naid* "had a disagreement with the people of Ebon" which resulted in two islanders being wounded, one of whom later died. The dead man was a nephew of the powerful *iroij* Kaibuki, and Kaibuki vowed to cut off every ship touching Ebon in the future.

When the French whaler *Angelina* visited Mili in 1846, the Mili people were invited to trade aboard ship. All went so well that the Captain decided to go ashore with some of the crew. But, later, when whales were sighted by the ship's watch and a signal was given for the Captain to return, he didn't respond. For days, the *Angelina* alternately drifted away from Mili and fought her way back through bad weather and unfamiliar reefs. But the men never reappeared.

Six men from the British *William Melville* went ashore at Kwajalein in May, 1850. Only four returned, claiming that the other two had been captured. The entire crew of the *Glencoe*, Capt. Lamson, San Francisco, was murdered and the ship burned at Ebon in October of the same year. Two months later, the British *Sea Nymph* suffered the same fate at Jaluit, one crewman surviving.

At nearly the same time, the *William Penn*, Capt. Hussey, touched at Ebon and came away with more than $1,000 in coins. Capt. Fish of the *Indian Chief* was there two weeks later and reported that money was plentiful. (He didn't collect any. Fish believed that the Marshallese were planning to capture him, led by a "Solomon Islander" who was the "ringleader of mischief on that island.") According to a story told to missionaries in 1861, the money had been brought some years before by six men in a small boat, and they believed that this coincided with the 1846 disappearance of the *William Neilson* which was missing after sailing from Shanghai, bound for Honolulu.

Kwajalein was visited again in 1854 by the British sloop *Serpent*, searching for the two men lost there by the *Melvillle*. They weren't found, but some stories circulated later that the two had gone to Mokil.

Trading, however incidental and insignificant it seemed at the time, was probably done by most of these ships, but a new phase was about to begin. The Sept., 1855 edition of the Honolulu *Missionary Herald* published the following:

"In conversation with a man a few days since, I happened to ask him if he knew of any opportunity by which we could reach Strong's Island during the summer. He replied that there was a vessel in port, engaged in sperm-whaling and procuring coconut oil; . . . possibly he could . . . touch at Strong's Island. Upon this suggestion, I went to see the captain, and asked him where he intended to cruise. He said that the best he could do would be to take me to the Kingsmill Islands and leave me there. . .

"He then turned and looked at me very closely, and asked, 'In what capacity do you go?' I replied, 'As a missionary.' He looked at me very seriously . . . after which he said, 'I have a mind to take you to Strong's Island, for I love the missionary work. I want missionaries to be placed on every island in the ocean; and I am willing to do what I can for the cause. Whalers have been a curse to these islands long enough . . .' After talking with him some time, he said if we were disposed to take a passage with him, and cruise along through the Kingsmill and Radack groups, stopping at some ten or twelve of these islands, he would take us to Strong's Island.

"Captain Handy has been visiting these islands regularly for about seventeen years for coconut oil and has become well acquainted with many of the natives, and understands the languages to a certain extent. Indeed, he had lived upon one of the islands for several months. He is very desirous to have missionaries settle upon both these groups of islands, especially upon the Radack and Ralick Chains. There are no foreigners residing upon them, and we might preoccupy the ground, and so avoid many difficulties that come from wicked foreigners who have gained influence before the arrival of missionaries . . . "

The Rev. Dr. Pierson's conversation resulted in the historic cruise of the whaleship *Belle*, which introduced both missionaries and coconut oil trade to the Marshalls. Ichabod Handy was principal owner as well as captain of the Belle, so he had considerable interest in her profits. When the little whaler finally sailed "among the Mulgraves," Handy was able to talk with the islanders, perhaps in Gilbertese, making trade arrangements and extracting a promise from Kaibuki

that the missionaries would be safe if and when they came to stay. Handy traded 17½¢-worth of tobacco (1½ lbs. of poor quality stuff) for a 3½-gallon bucket of oil which he could sell for $3.50. (According to one account, he conceded that he could well afford to pay 50¢ a gallon instead of something less than 5¢.)

Kaibuki's promise that no more ships would be cut off at Ebon was not broken, and the ships continued to come: the bark *Dragon* of Salem; bark *Virginia*, Capt. Peakes, New Bedford, which struck a reef west of Narik and was helped off by the people of Mili; the *Mercury*, Capt. Hayden, which rescued a canoe-load of people drifting west of the Gilberts; and the New Bedford whaler *Roscoe*, Capt. Coffin. All, and no doubt others, were in the Marshalls trading -- and apparently building goodwill, too.

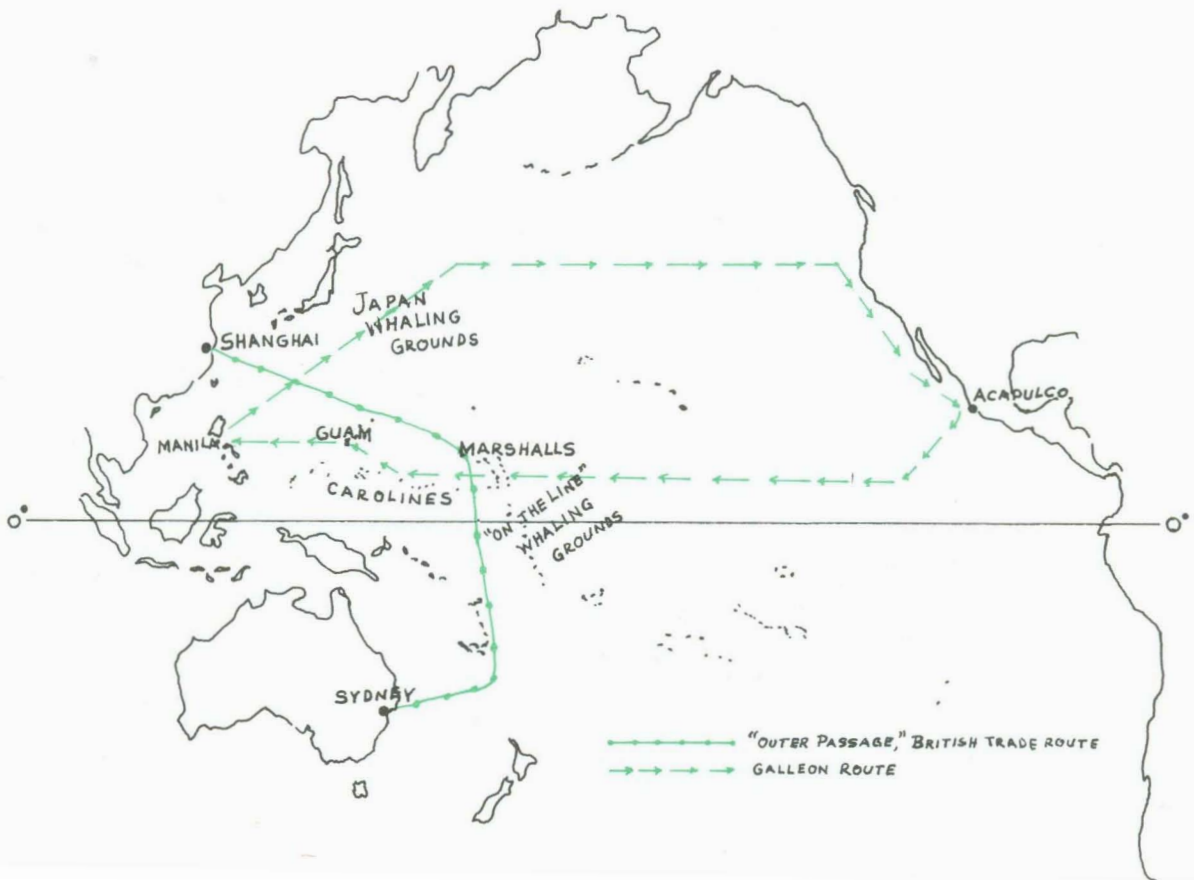
On January 29, 1859, the schooner *Pfeil*, Capt. Danelsberg (or Daudsberg) was damaged entering Ebon lagoon. Later, between Ponape and Guam, the schooner's makeshift repairs gave way, and it was condemned at Guam. Despite the loss, the owners, Stapenhorst and Hoffschlager, continued operations and established the first trading station in the Marshalls. By 1861, their Ebon station was built and was expected to have 100 barrels of oil by the end of the year. Apparently, it was Adolph Capelle who built this station in 1860 and who remained as trader. The *Pfeil* was soon replaced by another ship of the same name.

In 1859, the U.S. Survey Schooner *Fenimore Cooper* included Pokak on its Paific rounds, taking soundings near the atoll but finding no way to land.

In 1863, the *Maria*, Capt. Blodgett, traded at Mili, inviting the islanders to visit the "trading room" whereupon the price, in oil, of the desired items was agreed upon. Ebon was the *Maria's* next stop, and final one as it turned out, for she was wrecked on the reef there Feb. 4. The Captain and crew secured passage back to Honolulu aboard the mission ship *Morning Star*, Capt. Gellet.

During this period, Capt. Eury, working out of the Gilberts for the Sydney shipowner Robert Towns, had established stations in the Marshalls, and one of them was robbed of a large amount of oil in 1867 by Capt. Ben Pease. In the same year the American schooner *Caroline Mills* visited Pokak where pieces of an unidentified wreck were found. And in October the British trader *Dundonald*, Capt. Kewley, anchored outside Ujelang and sent a boat to explore the lagoon. No people were seen, but pieces of two canoes were carried off as souvenirs.

Capt. Ben "Bully" Pease burned down a village at Jaluit in December, 1868, and when the British bark *Syringia* was wrecked at the atoll a short time later, the islanders sought the aid of the *Syringia's* Capt. Brown in fighting off Pease when he returned. Brown did no such thing, of course; instead, he sold the wreck's salvage rights to Pease and got passage for himself and his crew aboard Pease's ship, *Water Lily*.



Pease directed trading in Micronesia for Glover, Dow, & Co. of Shanghai. Headquarters were at Ponape, and from that station both the *Malolo* and *Water Lily* made regular runs to the southern Marshalls, beginning in 1867. Pease commanded the *Water Lily*, but the *Malolo* had a rapid turnover of masters: G.A. Bridges, John P. Eldridge, A.W. Tripp, John J. Mahlmann (who had been aboard the *Syringia)*, and finally A.E. Pitman who took the *Malolo* to trade at Mili in 1870. By then, the *Water Lily* had a new name: *Pioneer.*

The *USS Jamestown,* Capt. Truxton, visited Mili in 1868, (looking for Pease) and noted that there were two North German vessels in the lagoon. They probably belonged to J.C. Godeffroy & Sons of Hamburg, the Samoa-based firm, whose schooner *Franz* was burned at Rongelap in 1869.

The 1870s were marked by rapid acceleration of trade. The purchase of copra rather than oil increased profits; at Jaluit many kinds of coins were in common use; and it is said that the people of Ebon were importing their mats from the northern atolls. Stappenhorst and Hoffschlager disappeared from the scene, but Adolph Capelle stayed, going into partnership at Jaluit with Anton DeBrum who had come to the islands as a harpooner aboard an American whaling vessel. Later, Charles Ingalls, an American trader at Ponape, joined the partnership, and Capelle and Co. stations were established at Ebon, Maloelap, Mili and Ponape, as well as Jaluit. MacDonald, Smith & Co. of the Gilberts was trading in the southern Raliks by this time in the *E.K. Bateson.*

In late 1870, Capt. Pitman, former master of the *Malolo,* reappeared as skipper of the *Neva* and as a confederate of another "Bully" -- Hayes -- who had taken over Pease's ship and business ventures. The former *Water Lily* and *Pioneer* was now called *Leonora.* On November 19, 1871, the *Neva* and *Leonora* were anchored side-by-side in Mili lagoon and the *Neva's* first mate, Charles Roberts, was landed as agent at Tokawa islet. After both ships went to the Gilberts, the *Neva* returned to Mili and visited Arno and Majuro, taking Lebellim, *iroij lablab* of Mili, and "one of the Kaibukis" -- probably Kaibuki Tobinwa -- as passengers. At Arno, the *Neva* received a visit from Lageman, *iroij lablab;* and Lometo came aboard at Majuro to see his child whom Lebellim had brought. Hayes' trader at Majuro was Henry Burlingame.

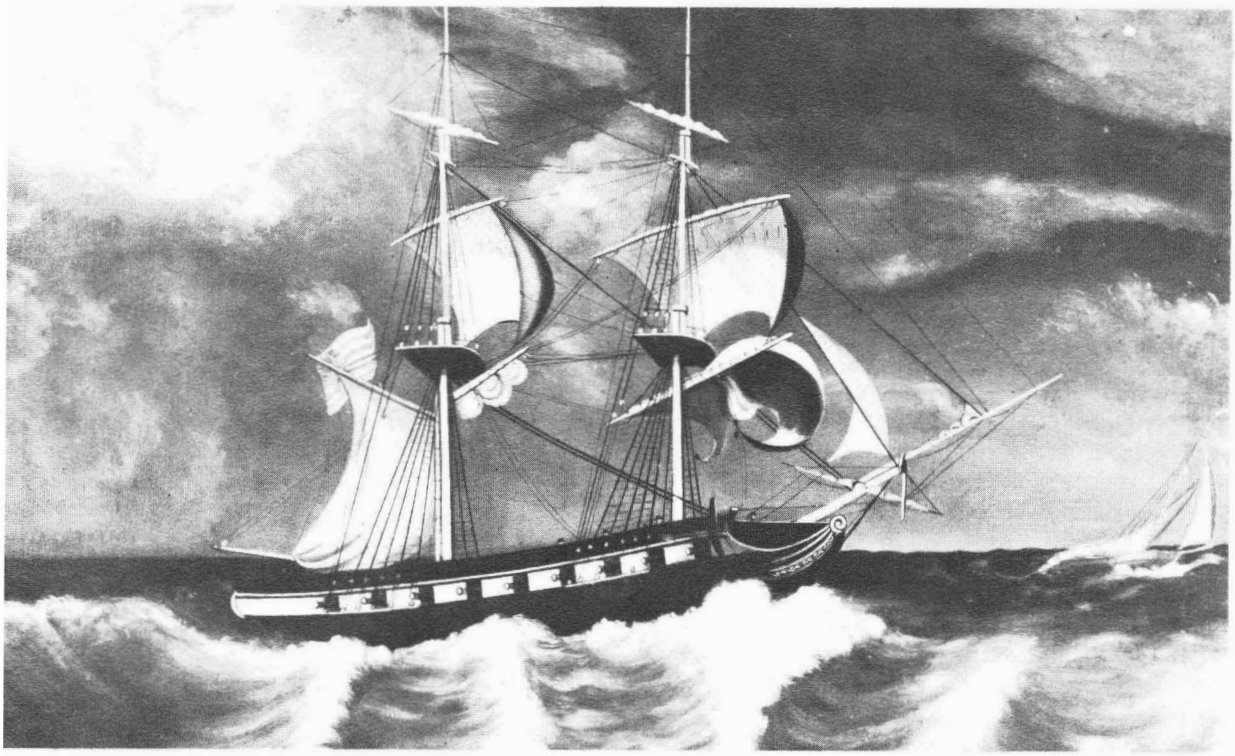
By January 5, 1972, both the *Neva* and *Leonora* were again at Mili the *Leonora* with passengers from the Gilberts: James Gaston and his wife, and Frank Benson, a new trader for Tokawa. In February, the *Limata,* Capt. Brown, visited Mili with Kaibuki aboard as a passenger. On July 13, Godeffroy's schooner *Savaii* put in at the atoll. And various other people were around: William Lowther, a trader for Hayes at Narlo (or Naolo, or Noulou): "Jack," a trader at the same place; and John Eyslop, who was perhaps the same person as "Jack."

The English war steamer *Baragossa* and the *USS Jamestown* both made inquiries about Hayes at Mili during the early months of 1872.

On one of Hayes' visits, Pitman found that the name of his vessel had been changed from *Neva* to *Emily* at the Samoa consulate, so it was the *Emily* which in August finally gave up on Hayes and returned to Honolulu. Hayes had last been seen in May as he sailed off to the west "to put men on different stations."

Hayes showed up again in January, 1874, to take delivery of the "worm-eatern" ketch, *E.A. Williams,* which had been sailed up from the Gilberts (for MacFarlane & Williams) by Louis Becke. Becke sailed with Hayes as supercargo as far as Kusaie, where the Leonora was wrecked.

Godeffroy opened its own station in the Marshalls, though it had already been operating as suppliers to Capelle & Co. The *Alfred,* one of the firm's ships, was wrecked on the reef at Jaluit in 1874. Lost in the accident were 100 cases of material collected at Nan Madol by J.S. Kubary, the Godeffroy-sponsored scientist. *(Micronesian Reporter,* Third Quarter, 1971) Godeffroy was in serious financial trouble, and by 1875 all of its "South Sea" holdings were transferred to a stock company, the *Deutsche Handels und Plantagen Gesellschaft der Sudsee Inseln Zu Hamburg* (called "D.H. & P.G.," the "Long Handle Firm," or, simply, "The Firm").



U.S. Brig Porpoise

"Black Tom" appears frequently in the reports of this period, one saying he had been deported from Samoa for robbery, arrived aboard the ketch *Mary Ann,* and became a cook for Mr. Capelle at Jaluit. The same account says he was 6'7" tall, 270 pounds. In 1876 he was a trader at Chellenge, Arno, but after he was attacked by the people there, *iroij* Lesuela would not guarantee his safety. So, Tom moved back to Jaluit. A reliable German account states that the immediate cause of the battle between Kabua and Loiak at Jaluit in May, 1880, was that Kabua had sold a small bit of land to Tom which Loiak claimed was his. Will Jackson of the coaler *Rainier* (mentioned later) stayed with Tom at Jaluit in 1884. Both Louis Becke and Robert Louis Stevenson make literary references to a character like Tom.

The brig *Vision,* owned by Thomas Farrell, visited Mili, Majuro, Arno, Jaluit, Kili and Namorik in 1876. At Ebon, James Lyle Young and Frank Sherlock were landed to set up shop for Farrell. Farrell failed to supply the station and Young left the following year for Majuro, where he accepted a job with Capelle & Co. and became their "business manager" at Yap.

Earlier that year, Hayes had met his death aboard the *Lotus* just west of Jaluit. It is said that two months later Capelle & Co. asked the *Maggie Johnston's* captains Henry and Bliven to take responsibility for the *Lotus,* which had been returned to Jaluit. Accordingly, Henry and Bliven put the *Lotus's* papers in the Capelle & Co. safe, and her cargo in Capelle's warehouse. How this took the ownerless ship off Capelle & Co. hands is difficult to see, but the account takes the matter no further.

Later in 1877, Hernsheim & Co. established a station at Jaluit. And, in August, arrangements were made between Jose Anton DeBrum and Jortaka, *iroij lablab* of the northern Rataks, for DeBrum (and later his partners) to acquire Likiep.

Capt. von Werner, of the *SMS Ariadne,* and the combined *iroij* of Jaluit reached an agreement in 1878 which gave the Germans exclusive rights to use the harbor and a favored position throughout the Raliks. German companies had stations on many atolls by this time. A typhoon had damaged both Ailinglaplap and Kili in 1874; the latter was abandoned but Ailinglaplap was being replanted. Disgruntled traders said the missionaries were encouraging the Marshallese to demand something more than the going rate of two sticks of tobacco for 400 husked nuts.

Henry Burlingame, earlier a trader for Hayes at Majuro, was now at Mili, and so was Frank Coffin of New Bedford.

Late in 1880, when the *Pomare,* Capt. Tripp, out of Honolulu, put in briefly at Jaluit, John Cameron described Jabwor as being "quite urban," with two trading firms' headquarters, a restaurant and grogshop. Imported provisions were plentiful, and local pigs, fowls, and coconuts could be purchased. One trader there at about that time was Yohan Edward Meyer, of Hamburg. He left for the Gilberts in 1890, where his descendents live today.

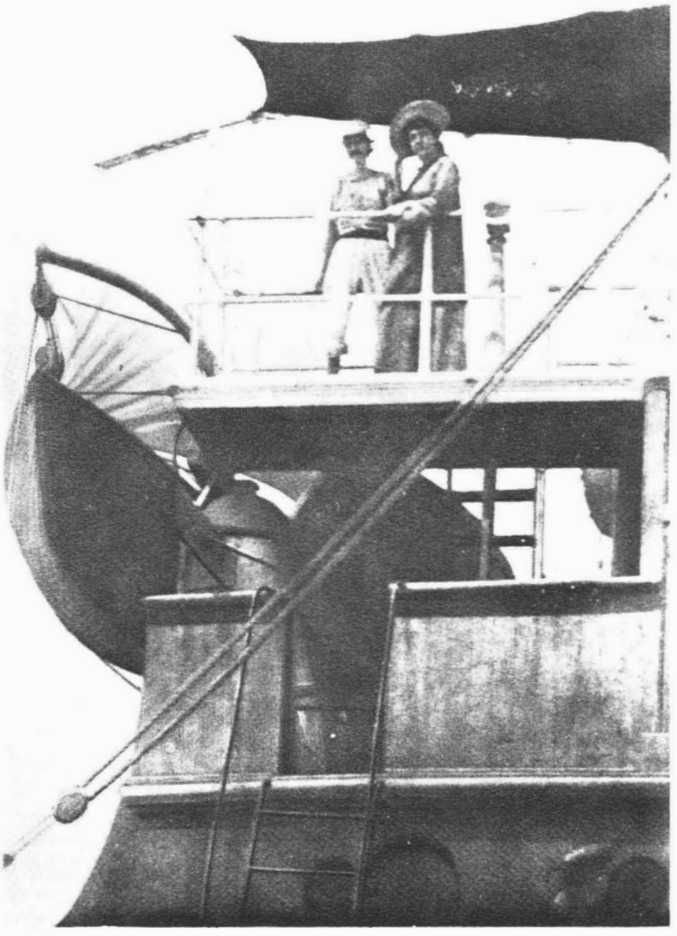
Capelle & Co.'s man at Yap, James Lyle Young, moved his headquarters to Guam in 1880, and continued trading throughout Micronesia in the *Tutuila.* In 1881, he left Capelle's to work for Crawford & Co. at San Francisco. During this period, Henderson & MacFarlane of New Zealand began trading out of Majuro. Hernsheim's trader there in 1882 was Louis Becke, who was probably there only for one year but Majuro and the Marshalls provide settings for many of his stories.

Capelle & Co.'s 1883 financial crisis forced turning over everything but the Likiep property to "The Firm." They concentrated on developing the atoll and trading in the northern Rataks in partnership with Crawford & Co., San Francisco, using Crawford's schooner *H.L. Tiernan.*

From an account of the wreck of the coaler *Rainier* at Ujae in 1884, we learn that Jaluit was visited by a Swedish man-of-war carrying Prince Oscar of Sweden; that the *Lotus* was still afloat and being used by one of the *iroij* of Ailinglaplap; and that ships in the area included the *Klakuk, Julia, USS Essex,* and the copra schooner *Francisca,* Capt. Ryan, trading between Jaluit and the outer atolls.

In 1885, Germany formally established a protectorate, putting administration in the hands of local commercial companies. Hernsheim & Co. merged with *Deutsche Handles und Plantagen Gesellschaft* to form the Jaluit Company -- the Empire's official administration. It assumed the cost of government in exchange for rights to annex unowned land, to exploit natural resources, and to be heard first when disputes arose. By 1888, it was very firmly in control with a virtual monopoly on trade, as well as the power to collect taxes.

The original picture (below) is captioned "White trader and his wife 'Topsy,' Majuro Island.' At right, Robert Louis Stevenson and his wife, aboard the Janet Nichol.



Crawford & Co. operations at Jaluit in 1888 were in charge of Mr. Morgan, who was also the U.S. Consul. By this time, Crawford was operating the fifty-ton schooner *Ebon*, Capt. Cameron, which traded tobacco, cloth, axes, knives, etc., for copra, shark's fin, turtle and pearl shell, ivory nuts and *beche-de-mer*. In addition to the *Ebon* and *Tiernan*, Crawford operated the *Lizzie Vance*, Capt. Robertson; the *Ehukai*, Capt. Thomas; and the *Pannonia*, Capt. Lovdahl, which was wrecked at Rongelap in 1890. Crawford's trader at Namorik was a former whaling captain named Hazard.

The Jaluit Co. had about thirty foreign employees at Jabwor in 1890. And the town had become a coaling station for steamships. The British gunboat *Mutine*, Capt. Davies, put in for coal in 1890. And so did the *Janet Nichol*, whose passengers, Robert Louis and Fanny Stevenson, were travelling despite the misgivings of the ship's owners (Henderson & MacFarlane). The Stevensons were entertained on June 19, at Jaluit, by the "commissioner" (probably Mr. Sonnenschein) and met Capt. Brandeis. On June 30, the steamer reached Majuro, called by Mrs. Stevenson "...a pearl of atolls" (now you know who said it). She reported that there was little copra being made because of a measles epidemic. The *Janet Nichol* returned to Jaluit on June 26, and was at Namorik the following day where, "Louis went on shore and met a wicked old man who afterward appeared in the "Beach of Falesa." At Ebon, they saw the hulk of the wrecked American schooner *Hazeltine*.

Shortly afterwards, Capt. Brandeis became the German Commissioner, while the U.S. Consul, Mr. Morgan, was replaced by Mr. Anderson, replaced in turn by Mr. Reid. Each was also employed by Crawford & Co., which was slowly being driven out of business. About 1892, the *Ebon's* master, John Cameron, left the company, accepting the schooner *Ebon* and some trade goods as payment. The company declared bankruptcy the following year. At around the same time, Charles Ingalls, partner of Capelle and DeBrum, died. The Jaluit Co. bought his share of the property from his widow, and eventually Capelle and DeBrum retrieved it by assuming a loan and by agreeing to deal exclusively with the Jaluit Co.

Burns Philp began trading in the Marshalls and running a steamship service between Jaluit and Sydney. They remained in the Marshalls until 1922, and continued the steamer service until 1925. The Jaluit Co. also ran steamers to Sydney by way of Nauru, Rabaul, Ponape, Yap and Manila. In addition, they operated three ships a year to Hong Kong, as well as the inter-atoll service which was said to reach the main atolls five times a year.

Until 1900, American, Australian, Mexican and German currencies were legal, but after that date only German money was accepted. The Jaluit Co. was collecting (through the chiefs) 300,000 pounds of copra each year as a tax levy. The right to use "unowned" land was being exploited, and it was probably during this period that plantations on Kili and Ujelang, as well as on land elsewhere, were established. (For instance, typhoons at Arno in 1905 and 1908 caused the taro beds there to be flooded with salt water, and most of these then became extensions of coconut plantations.)

The foreign population of Jabwor in 1906 is said to have been between 25 and 30 people, most of whom were in the employ of the Jaluit Co. But strong British protests against their policies led the German government to end the arrangement with the Jaluit Co., and the resident administrator at Jabwor became answerable to the Governor of New Guinea. As Germany further consolidated its Pacific holdings, the Marshalls were governed from Ponape.

A British report says that in 1913 there were 179 foreigners in the Marshalls, 76 of them Germans. But, in 1914, with World War I beginning, the acting German governor of New Guinea formally surrendered the islands to the British. Less than two weeks later, it was the Japanese who began a methodical occupation of the islands.

The effect upon trade was minimal, for, essentially, the Japanese only continued and consolidated what had already been established, adding colonization and redirecting profits.

RERUN

from Micronesian Reporter September–October–1960

THE SIGN –– with Yoror standing in front of his home in Rumuu Village, Fanif, Yap.

The Sign

FEW INDIVIDUALS except the Yapese people who live in the immediate vicinity ever have seen the big Vice-Consulate sign tucked away in the tiny Marror settlement along the banks of a stream in Rumuu Village, Fanif Municipality, Yap District, Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

It was cool, walking along the flowered path to Yoror's home in the late afternoon, with the tall, well-formed palms at the left and the quiet waters on the right. Downstream where a foot bridge crosses over from the main road, a Yapese woman attired in grass skirt and necklace was washing a pan in the water. A few dwellings were scattered along the way. Suddenly, Yoror's house came into view, and although the porch was in shadow, the oval sign gleamed in the twilight, big and bold.

Unmistakably, this was royal insignia - the traditional British lion flanking the shield of England on the one side, and the unicorn of Scotland supporting if from the other side. At the top of the shield was a crown, with the lion for courage protecting it. And below, in capital letters, were outlined the words "DIEU ET MON DROIT" - the motto which Queen Victoria adopted for the royal arms of Britain in 1837 in memory of King Richard I, who had used it as a password for this army in victorious battle some six hundred years earlier.

It was a bit startling, but decidedly pleasant, to find this token of the past resting upon the porch of Yoror's home in the sheltered little settlement.

There could be no question as to the authenticity of the sign. It was still intact with its solid backing secured tightly - to withstand tropical suns, blowing sands, ocean sprays and typhoon weathers. The edges of the oval were slightly chipped here and there but the colors were still bright and the whole gave little hint of its age - some sixty years at least.

In striking contrast to the official government emblem was the row of pretty-girl calendars - year 1958 - on the wall of Yoror's porch, a touch of modern civilization in exile.

Fittingly, a third symbol of historic significance stood near the base of the sign. It consisted of a pair of heavy circular stone discs with holes chiseled in the centers. These could be only of Yap - the famed stone money called *rai* which serve chiefly as marks of prestige for the owners, but which are used also for payments in important transactions such as land or marriage, and to honor an individual or village for heroic deeds or momentous happenings. The *rai* were as characteristically Yapese as the consulate sign was British, and the calendars, American.

The *rai* are older, perhaps, than the consulate emblem; on the other hand, these particular pieces in Yoror's yard may be about the same age - for the sign arrived, and the Yap stone money was produced in its largest quantities, during that adventurous era in Yap's past when "His Majesty" Captain David Dean O'Keefe lived, traded and finally set up his kingdom on one of the islands of Yap during the latter half of the nineteenth century. O'Keefe was a red-bearded giant of an Irishman from Savannah, Georgia, whose fabled and oft-exaggerated exploits were recounted by sailors and traders from the coasts of England to the seaports of Australia, and from Hong Kong's harbor to Havana's shore. He made a fortune, largely through exploiting the Yapese love of *rai* and trading it for copra and trepang which he sold in Hong Kong and other ports.

O'Keefe had won respect and was trusted by most of the people. Among the valiant acts with which he is still credited, and from which his early popularity at Yap stemmed, was his overthrow of the notorious marauder of the Pacific, Bully Hayes, thus saving the island and its people from excessive plunder. This episode took place in May 1874. O'Keefe had arrived in Yap about two years earlier in December 1871.

Although stone money had been identified with the culture of Yap for many years before O'Keefe's arrival, these particular pieces of *rai* may well be a part of those which were cut during his "reign," for it was he who was responsible for quarrying the money on a kind of mass-production scale, transporting it in quantities to Yap from the white limestone "mint" on the island of Babelthuap in the Palaus some 260 miles away where Yapese men went at frequent intervals to cut the stone and fashion it into *rai*."

The story of the sign and how it happened to be in his keeping was told by Yoror, a former elementary schoolteacher, now retired. Although Yoror understands English fairly well, he preferred to speak through an interpreter, which he did on the occasion of explaining his part in the preservation of an emblem which formerly designated one of Britain's most isolated trade establishments. He was dressed in typical Yapese attire, consisting of a cloth *thu* worn in the fashion of a G-string, with a *gal* or *kofor* fashioned from many strands of hibiscus bark fiber tied loosely over the *thu*; and the *gal* was secured around the waist by a *begiy,* a belt-like strip of fiber made from a special kind of banana plant. He sat on the floor on a light colored piece of beaten betel nut bark. At his side was a woven fiber bag of the type all Yapese men carry, from which at intervals he pulled out betel nuts for chewing. His teeth were black from the juice of the nuts.

The sign was a memento of the days before World War I, Yoror explained; he had been asked to save it if he should find it, and this he had done - both found it and saved it.

In his mind it belongs to the traditions that go with "His Majesty" Captain O'Keefe, the legends of whose success in copra trading had heightened the interest of trade-minded Spain and Germany, and of England as well.

Yoror's story begins with the island of Tarang in Tomil Harbor, which was O'Keefe's headquarters. Now deserted, it is known as O'Keefe's island. How the Irishman succeeded in owning it in spite of the strong tradition that the Yap land belongs to the Yapese alone, was described by Yoror. O'Keefe had proven himself a friend and leader, and his wishes were akin to law; when he chose this island for his home and business operations, the *pilung* or chief of Tomil Island had only to request the people of Dugor Village, to whom Tarang "belonged," to give it to Captain O'Keefe, and the request was granted. This was before the days of his proclaimed kingship. O'Keefe had married a young girl from Nauru in the South Pacific, with whom he had fallen in love when he stopped there on his journey from Savannah. At Tarang they raised a family of five - three girls and two boys.

Yoror recalls that his father was helping to build a dock for O'Keefe at Tarang, and was working on a stone wall. As a boy Yoror occasionally accompanied his parent to watch the workmen, going to the island by outrigger canoe - which is still the chief means of travel for the Yapese people. Yoror remembers the "king" as a "big man with a fat stomach." According to Authors Klingman and Green who wrote *His Majesty O'Keefe* the Irishman was six feet four.

It was about 1897, Yoror believes, that a young Englishman named Alfred Scott came from Singapore to Yap to represent Great Britain and strengthen her

commercial interests. Spain had established a claim to the islands, but the right of free trade had been granted to both Germany and England. Scott was well received by O'Keefe, and welcomed into his home. The Englishman was much attracted to O'Keefe's eldest daughter, Eugenie, who had been away at school in Hong Kong, and asked her to marry him. After they were wed, Yoror explained, Eugenie changed her name to "Mrs. Scott." By Yapese custom she would have remained "Eugenie." Scott had been in the islands about three years, according to Yoror, when the Vice-Consulate sign arrived from England; he then set up a British Consulate at Colonia, Yap. He also established a trading company.

The sign was not used nor the consulate kept open for long, Yoror said.

The year 1898 had marked the end of Spain as a Pacific power; Germany had bought all of the Carolines and the Marianas as well, except Guam, and by a royal edict they became a German protectorate in 1898. Almost immediately, things happened. O'Keefe was displaced from his "throne." It was rumored that a German curiser was on its way to take the big man to New Guinea for imprisonment. Unhappy, distraught at the turn of events and seeing the handwriting on the wall, the "king," according to the authors of *His Majesty . . .*, took off secretly with his two sons and a crew on the night of May 10, 1901. The weather was stormy and rain was pouring on them in the dark as the SANTA CRUZ sailed out of Yap Harbor. O'Keefe had told Eugenie that he would send for her and the girls. That was the last definite word ever heard of him and his men. All are believed to have perished in a typhoon at sea. The winds blowing that night may have been the first fringe of the oncoming storm that took his life.

According to Yoror, Scott remained in Yap through World War I, but became ill and at the end of the war went to Japan for treatment. The Japanese by this time had come into power in the Carolines through mandate of the League of Nations. Scott, Yoror believes, must have died in Japan.

Before Alfred Scott left Yap he made a request to his wife to protect the consulate sign, Yoror stated. After Mrs. Scott received word of her husband's death, she departed for St. David's Island (Mapia), south of Palau in the Netherland New Guinea group, where her father had owned properties. As she was about to leave, she asked one of the men who worked for her husband on Tarang - a Mr. "Fritz" Henry Fleming, described as part English, part Samoan - to keep the British Vice-Consulate sign and hide it. Mr. Fleming, who retained his loyalty to the British, fulfilled her request, hiding it at his home. But as World War II broke out, it became expedient for Fleming also to leave Yap. The feeling against the British had intensified, and the sign already had disappeared from its hiding place, taken away by Japanese soldiers, Yoror supposes. Fleming, upon parting, begged his friend Yoror, a fellow worker, to try to find it.

"If ever you find even a small piece of it, either take care of it yourself or send it to me," he charged Yoror. It is the latter's belief that Fleming sought refuge at Tinian in the Mariana group. He has never heard from him since.

"You see - I have found it and it is not in pieces," Yoror said as he looked at it happily. "I found it on Tarang Island about four years ago, and had it brought here to my home."

O'Keefe was born in Ireland under the British flag. Perhaps his now-quiet spirit hovers near the secluded spot in peaceful Marror where the sign remains as a souvenir of his reign on Yap.

The story was compiled and written by Cynthia R. Olsen, editor of the Micronesian Reporter at the time the tale was first published. Her information was from Vern L. Feiler, then Administrative Assistant, Yap, and from John Mangefel, then Micronesian Reporter staff correspondent in Yap. Yap District Assistant Anthropologist Fran Defngin was her interpreter.

Yoror is still alive, now in his 80's, and the sign still stands at his residence in Rumuu. Henry Fleming manages the hotel on Tinian in quarters which once served as the residence for General Curtis LeMay, USAF.

DISTRICT DIGEST

a quarterly review of news and events from the six districts

Marianas The Marianas District Administration was host to the semi-annual District Administrator's Conference late in the year, and DistAd Francisco C. Ada was chairman for the conference . . . The installation of runway lights for Saipan's Kobler Field began, with Air Micronesia promising increased and improved service once the installation has been completed . . . The quarter saw visitors from many walks of life on Saipan including the German Consul for Micronesia, Hans Heldt; Admiral Thomas H. Moorer, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; Eduardo Mancinelli, gathering economic development data for the United Nations and the South Pacific Commission; Ambassador Arthur Hummel, of the Office of Micronesian Status Negotiations; U.S. Senator Barry Goldwater and his son Barry Goldwater, Jr.; and Mr. and Mrs. Robert Six--Six is President of Continental Airlines and his wife is the charming actress Audrey Meadows . . . The Marianas sent its District Economic Development Officer, Pedro Q. Dela Cruz, to Malaysia to attend a conference of the Pacific Area Travel Association . . . The 1972 island-wide junior basketball league got underway with a total of eight teams registered.

Palau The most significant event during the quarter was the convening of the Second Regular Session of the Fourth Congress of Micronesia on January 10. Prior to the session Palau District was extremely busy making preparations for the historic meeting. Practically everything had to start from scratch. Office space had to be built or renovated, land transportation had to be negotiated for use by members and Congress staff, and most important of all, thousands of documents and a complete library had to be shipped from Saipan to Palau. All of the meticulous preparations were completed on time and the Congress got underway on schedule.

While the Congress was in session, thousands of local residents observed the daily sessions, some of them coming in by boats from the outlying municipalities . . . Also during the session most members of the Congress visited some of the outer municipalities of Palau on their off-days. Perhaps the most significant social events held for the members of the Congress were the almost daily luncheons which were prepared by the residents of Koror hamlets on a rotation basis, with lunches held from hamlet to hamlet. This activity has an ancient tradition and it took the Congress of Micronesia to revive it in Palau.

Also just prior to the beginning of the Congress the Pacific Islands Development Commission held a meeting in Koror, attended by the Governor of American Samoa, representatives of the Hawaii and Guam governments, and by Trust Territory High Commissioner Edward E. Johnston and members of the Marine Resources staff. At that conference, a resolution was adopted to request a research vessel to conduct bait and fishing surveys in the Trust Territory . . . a search that could possibly result in more expanded and technologically effective pelagic fishing in the TT.

The quarter was also significant for expanded health services, particularly the filariasis program for residents of communities outside of the district center. The total number of persons involved in the survey was 7,430, a figure which is more than half the total population of Palau District . . .

The quarter witnessed a recurrence of the chronic power and water outages which affect the district center, but with the able leadership of District Public Works Officer David Shay, the situation was kept under control. In fact, a new, six- inch pipe line was laid across the Renrak Channel to replace the leaking smaller pipe, and this greatly alleviated the water problem on Koror. The operation was quite difficult because of strong currents in the channel, but it was done with cooperation from the Marine Resources Division and workers from MOC and Public Works . . Chiefs Ibedul and Reklai journeyed to Washington D.C. to attend the nation-wide conference on aging. The two chiefs reported that their trip was very successful and that they were very pleased to have had the opportunity to visit America's Capital. Prominent visitors to the district included Ambassador Arthur Hummel and DASTA Stanley Carpenter. They met with local elected and traditional leaders to discuss areas of mutual interest, particularly the status issue and economic development.

Popo the Clown was another visitor to the district. He entertained hundreds of children in various schools throughout Koror . . . And the Palau District Attorney and the local constabulary boarded the M/V Pacific Paul and arrested several crew members, including the captain, for grand theft involving the stealing of cargo. The case was settled out of court with fines totalling $9,000 levied against the sailors.

Headquarters The High Commissioner's residence on Capitol Hill was severely damaged by fire, forcing the Johnstons to move to new quarters while rebuilding takes place. The investigation indicated arson, and early in February a 19-year-old suspect was arrested and charged in the case . . . The Public Safety Division opened its new Police Academy, located behind the Marianas Civic Center on Saipan. Recruits were already hard at work when the official ceremonies took place . . . The TT Nursing School held capping and pinning ceremonies for two dozen young men and women who had completed their first year of studies at the Saipan facility . . . Ron Peterson was named Director of Finance to fill the vacancy left when George Hoover resigned over the last summer . . . Larry Johnson, Director of Peace Corps/Micronesia, moved on to a PC post in Washington, leaving the thriving Micronesia program in the hands of Thomas E. Warren, who will soon welcome the thirteenth group of volunteers to Micronesia . . . The High Commissioner led a delegation of TT officials, including two members of the Congress of Micronesia, to Honolulu for meetings with the Department of Housing and Urban Development, in efforts to involve HUD in a TT housing program . . . The Public Affairs Department coordinated the combined Navy/Air Force Christmas Drop program, which was this year extended to include some islands in the Marshalls.

Truk The Congress of Micronesia's Budget Committee, headed by Truk Representative Ray Setik, visited the district on its TT tour, and included a stop at Satawan to review the programs of that sub-district center with special attention to infrastructure development . . . Ambassador Arthur Hummel also visited Truk . . . 19 Trukese students are on the list for Government Scholarships in the fields of health, secondary education, business administration, vocational education, and others . . . ninety-six percent of the typhoon house materials have been distributed following last May's Typhoon Amy, but meanwhile one typhoon house burned down recently in Peniesene Village on Moen . . . A $4-million dollar contract has been let for the Truk water and sewer system and typhoon restoration work including a new Boat Pool building, general warehouse, eight units of staff housing, 12 school classrooms, and a new gymnasium . . . The Truk Civic Action Team is moving its camp to Dublon as the present camp site is to be occupied by the new air terminal . . . The Health Assistant Midwife training program has been completed with twelve health assistants receiving certificates of completion . . . Heavy wave action damaged homes and crops at islands in the lower Mortlocks . . . Truk District Farmers' Day was celebrated in Moen over the holiday season during which farmers brought in their produce to display at the Agriculture Station.

Ponape The season of annual feasting to the Nanmwarki got underway, with ***kamadipw*** in every part of Ponape island. It's a bad time for pigs and a good time for yams, up to several hundred pounds each! . . . DistAd Boyd MacKenzie doing well, following open heart surgery last fall . . . Island Fishing Incorporated (Net Municipality) has its three skipjack boats and mothership out of the district pending reorganization . . . Kapingamarangi Atoll getting a reasonable amount of rainfall, after the kind of drought that resulted in establishment of the Kapinga colony in Kolonia some 50 years ago . . . Ponape itself nearly washed away in the early part of the "dry season" . . . Net Cultural Center has opened with demonstrations of traditional dancing and skills and ***sakau*** ceremony, with presentations for visitors who so far have been much impressed. Travel to and from the center is by canoe. This is the work of the people of the Kahmar section of Net, guided by elementary teacher Francisco Marcus . . . The coral curtain was pierced on friendly terms with assistance to a crewman with appendicitis from a Russian research vessel . . . Santa arrived variously by canoe, pickup and military aircraft . . . High tides and strong winds combined to produce damaging waves at Kusaie, where numerous houses and seawalls were washed away, along with damage to crops and roadways; the atolls of Ngatik and Ant suffered, too . . . Ponape's bars still closed at presstime, with tranquility the rule and drinking happening in corners of neighborhoods and along the shore in friendly groups that produce song, sometimes all night, instead of troubles; plus ***sakau*** drinking in Kolonia at an all time high, for the super peaceful turn-on.

Marshalls The first lighted airfield and the first night landings in the Trust Territory took place on Majuro when Air Nauru began twice-weekly service between the island country and the Marshalls District Center. Just about the whole island turned out for the occasion. There were also guests from Truk and Ponape and the Kwajalein Missile Range. District Administrator Oscar DeBrum flew to Nauru on the opposite leg of the inaugural as a special representative of the High Commissioner. The flight to Nauru coincided with the anniversary celebration of Nauru's independence . . . The TT vessel ***Militobi*** apprehended a Japanese fishing vessel, ***Kurio Maru,*** for illegal entry into Trust Territory waters. Some crewmembers from the Japanese ship had gone ashore at Namdrik island to trade fish for bananas and coconuts at the same time that the ***Militobi*** was making its regular field trip visit to Namdrik. The crew and their vessel were taken into custody and brought to Majuro where they appeared before the high court. They pleaded

guilty to illegal entry and Judge Kelly Turner fined the captain $2,500 and each crew member $150. The court permitted the fines to be paid in fish, and approximately six tons of tuna were delivered for use of the district hospital and the Marshall Islands High School . . . Robert Reimers, one of the all time great boatbuilders in the Marshalls, has resumed boatbuilding. Robert Reimers Enterprises is now working under a Grant-in-aid program to build copra boats for the outer islands . . . Paving of the Majuro road is still underway, with about half of the project completed . . . The new airport is progressing along, with pipe lines laid. The airfield will serve as the main water catchment for the district center . . . Also during the quarter, construction of the new Marshalls courthouse and a two-story classroom-dormitory building for the high school was begun . . . A special task force, created and organized by the Trust Territory Health Planning Council, visited the outer islands of the Marshalls to survey health problems there . . . The Congress of Micronesia Joint Committee on Program and Budget Planning made a special trip to Bikini to see what progress is being made in rehabilitating the island . . . Meanwhile the Marshall Islands *Nitijela* budget committee met to review the five-year budget plan for the district . . . Ambassador Arthur Hummel visited the Marshalls during his TT tour, and took a boat to Aur Atoll to see what life is like on an outer island.

Yap Typhoon Irma, with center winds of 80 miles an hour and gusts up to 100 miles an hour, swept north of Ulithi Atoll. Damage was relatively light, but the Air Force flew in 17,000 pounds of emergency food and other supplies for the people of Ulithi, Fais and Euripik . . . two men visited the district looking for Japanese Zero aircraft still in good enough shape to be displayed in U.S. museums . . . Jay Porter's plan to establish a business advisory firm in Yap was approved by the High Commissioner. The firm is expected to render assistance in general accounting, taxes, inventory control and other advisory services for local businessmen . . . The German Consul for Micronesia, Hans Heldt, was among visitors during the quarter. Others included the High Commissioner, Ambassador Hummel, and 41 members of the Talan Bulan Credit Union of Palau, who came to the district on a "social" goodwill visit organized by the Women's Interest Advisors . . . The HiCom was presented with a gift of stone money during a beach party while he was visiting . . . A freighter full of brand new Datsuns, the *M/V Solar Trader,* ran aground on the reef at West Fayu, some 400 miles east of the district center, during the night just before Christmas. The TT vessel *Hafa Adai* was nearby on field trip visits to Woleai and was diverted to help in the rescue of the 33 crewmen. No one was injured. The freighter is still hard aground on the reef, leaking some oil which is being washed out into the open ocean, and some of the holds have broken open yielding their cargo of cars to the deep blue sea . . . Civic Affairs Officer Francisco Luktun and Council of Chiefs Chairman Andrew Roboman were delegates to the White House Conference on Aging . . . Seven Yap police recruits travelled to Saipan to train at the new Police Academy . . . The Yap Tourist Commission met with tourism office personnel from headquarters, and Yap sent Economic Development Officer Kuniwo Nakamura to the Pacific Area Travel Association meetings in Kuala Lumpur.

District correspondents:

Headquarters, Patrick Mangar; Marianas Manuel Sablan; Palau, Bonifacio Basilius, Marshalls, Laurence Edwards; Ponape, Peter Hill; Truk, Fermin Likiche; Yap, Wilfred Gorongfel.

in the next quarter

Congress '72——The first regular session of the Congress of Micronesia held away from Saipan saw enactment of more legislation than ever before. Bonifacio Basilius analyzes the accomplishments of the historic Congress.

Political Status——The Congress Joint Committee on Future Status meets with U.S. negotiators again in April. The Reporter updates the information on the resolution of Micronesia's most important question.

Planning for Micronesia——Phillip Chamberlain, Chief of Planning for the Trust Territory, writes of the master plans, what goes into them, and why it's all being done.

Civic Action Teams——Small teams of dedicated military construction men have become integral parts of the communities where they work, training Micronesians and developing a semi-skilled labor force in the districts. A photo-journalist team reports from the field.

On-The-Go——Marianas District Public Information Officer Manuel Sablan visited Pagan Island on a field trip earlier this year. He tells prospective visitors how to get there and what to expect on this paradise island that may soon be a destination resort area.

The memorial pictured on the back cover of this issue stands in a quarter-acre park cleared and landscaped over the last several months by the Association in Japan for the Construction of a Peace Memorial in Saipan. It is located at the scenic lookout at Suicide Cliff, where hundreds of Japanese jumped to their death, choosing suicide rather than capture in the waning days of the Pacific war.

The association was organized in 1969 by Japanese businessman Tokuichi Kuribayashi, now 75 years old. Kuribayashi headed the *Nanyo Kohatsu Kaisha* which had developed the sugar industry in the Marianas prior to the war. As Kuribayashi's son, Tokugoro, explained at dedication ceremonies for the memorial in late January, "My father felt personally responsible for the deaths of his sugar industry employees. He conceived the memorial not only in behalf of his lost employees, but for all people who died during the war."

Kuribayashi was among some three dozen people who flew to Saipan from Japan to attend the dedication ceremonies. To them, and to the others who were there, High Commissioner Johnston said in his remarks:

"The nightmare of the Pacific War is 27 years past. Today, the scars of battle still remain hidden in this wild and striking beauty of majestic Marpi . . .

"But to those of you who have journeyed from Japan to take part in this ceremony, the tragedy of the war years remains. The *Bushido* code of *senjikun*--no surrender--which cost the lives of thousands of soldiers and civilians--Japanese, Americans and Saipanese alike--has clouded a multitude of families in everlasting sadness.

"Today we join you before this symbol of peace to rededicate ourselves to this realization of an everlasting peace in the Pacific . . . Our purpose must be to live openly and in trust with our neighbors--to make full use of our human resources to benefit mankind."