MicronesianReporter

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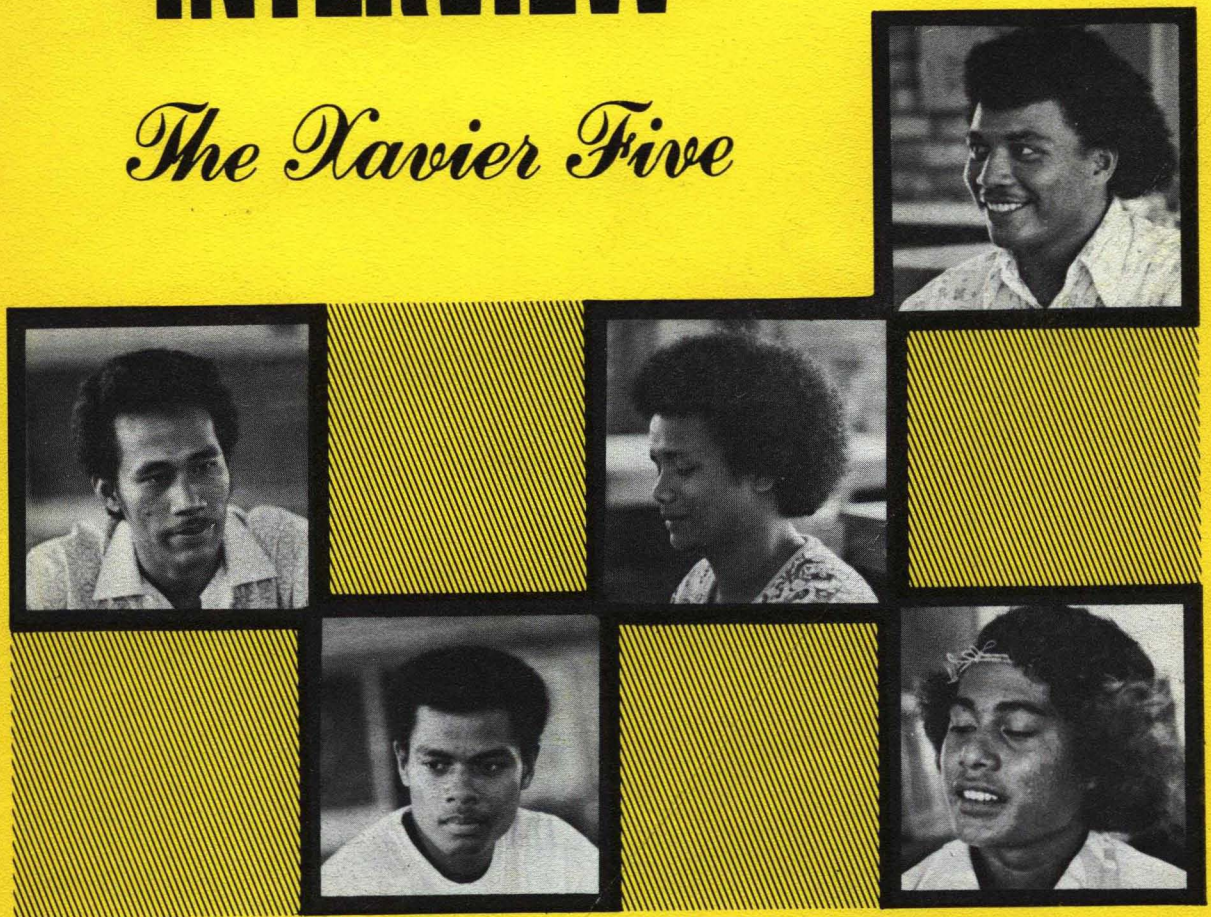
INTERVIEW:

The Xavier Five



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This Quarter's Worth

Stragglers

Jim and Eloise Johnson have been in the Trust Territory for a long time. Jim Johnson is now Senior Land Commissioner in the Marianas District; his wife is the Director of a Public Service Careers Project in the Headquarters Training Division. Among their first experiences in the Trust Territory was their involvement with the Japanese stragglers on the northern Marianas island of Anatahan recounted in the tale spun by Jim Peters beginning on page 40.

While this particular straggler story cannot match for sheer endurance that of Sgt. Yokoi, who spent 28 years on Guam after that island had been retaken by U.S. forces, it is nonetheless one of those countless stories of survival that add footnotes to history. It is not so much a story about Micronesia or Micronesians as it is about things that have happened on these islands which add to the myriad volumes of Pacific lore.

Good News, Bad News

The past few months have seen a great increase in the amount of space which the Guam newspapers *Pacific Daily News* and *Dateline* have devoted to items about the Trust Territory and her citizens. It is not uncommon for the entire Letters-to-the-Editor column to be taken up with arguments on the Kusaie separatist movement, the militancy or non-militancy of Trust Territory students at the University of Guam, or any number of other issues current in Micronesia. One reporter has sustained a series of interviews with young Micronesians over a period of several weeks, allowing these young people to express themselves before their peers throughout the Territory. And such is the interest of the papers in the Territory that they have opened an office on Saipan and assigned two reporters to it to cover the area full time.

Because of the "Gannett Connection"--the Guam papers are owned by the Gannett newspaper chain along with more than four-dozen other papers in the U.S.--much of the Guam-originated news about the Territory gets exposure far beyond the Pacific. That, of course, makes our job in the Public Information Division a bit easier; most of the miscellaneous questions we get in the mail these days inquiring about Micronesia are reasonably intelligent, and there seems to be little evidence of the "Mike who?" syndrome of years past.

There is, however, still some mass circulation *mis*-information about Micronesia floating around. At least two publications in recent months have alerted their readers to the "fact" that "Uncle Sam owns 2,000 islands in the Pacific which are available for sale or settling," and directing inquiries to the Office of the High Commissioner on Saipan. One of the publications is called "The Good News Hotline;" The other is called "How to Get What the U.S. Government Owes You." We have received literally hundreds of letters inquiring about buying islands and moving to paradise. That kind of information about the Trust Territory does us no good at all. *J.M.*

Who's Who

...in this issue of the Reporter

Bonifacio Basilius has joined the Public Information Division as Assistant Chief of the Division. He has been a frequent contributor to the *Reporter* in the past, and it is likely that in his new position his contributions will appear even more regularly. Basilius' thought-provoking analyses of the sessions of the Congress of Micronesia in these pages date back to 1971.

Lazarus Salii is the Chairman of the Congress of Micronesia Joint Committee on Future Status. In this capacity he has directed the course of the Micronesian status investigations and deliberations for five years. His thoughts on Micronesian unity in this issue provide a view of a basic consideration in any discussion of the Trust Territory's future.

Mary A. Browning lived on Kwajalein for several years when her husband worked as an engineer at the Missile Range. She has written for the *Reporter* before and has published a good deal of material elsewhere about the Marshall Islands and the Trust Territory. Her article in this issue is published with her permission and with the permission of the publishers of OCEANS Magazine in which it originally appeared.

Richard F. Kanost is Chief of the Training Division in the Department of Personnel at T.T. Headquarters. In the first of two articles for the *Reporter,* he examines Micronesia's population base as one factor which must be reckoned with in planning manpower development in the Trust Territory.

Jim Peters taught history at Marianas High School and edited the Marianas District newspaper as a Peace Corps Volunteer on Saipan. The story of the Anatahan stragglers which he reconstructs for us originally appeared in serial form in the *Marianas Variety.*

INTERVIEW:

The Xavier Five

Sabino Anastacio Ben B'Moon Mikel Benjamin

Simon Simina Joe Urusemal

The idea for this quarter's interview and the selection of its subjects developed over the course of several months. Initially, there was the suggestion that the *Micronesian Reporter* often portrays Micronesia as it *ought* to be rather than Micronesia as it is, and to an extent this is probably true. Since in the past it was in the Interview section of the journal where dissenting voices have most often been heard, it was proposed to broaden the Interview to include what we have here: a frank discussion of Micronesia's past, present and future as seen through the eyes of young men about to become involved in shaping Micronesia.

The interviewer had been minimally acquainted with Xavier High School through contacts with Father Francis Hezel, a contributor to the *Reporter,* and the guiding spirit behind development of important new educational materials now in use in social studies programs in the Trust Territory's secondary schools. The materials are collections of readings and suggestions for discussions grouped under two titles: *Micronesia--A Changing Society,* and *Micronesia Through the Years.* Correspondence with Father Hezel and Father Jack Ryan at Xavier set the time and the place for the roundtable talk, and the results of the conversations with five Xavier seniors are what follow.

Several things can be said about these young men. Unlike previous interview subjects, the Xavier Five were all born well after World War Two and grew up entirely within the period of the U.S. administration of the Trust Territory. They represent a cross-section of cultural backgrounds and values, and yet cultural distinctions begin to blur and new values are formed in the multi-cultural settings which exist on such neutral ground as that at Xavier. But the influence of these new values will not be felt for a few years; as Joe Urusemal points out, " . . .you don't speak out, because it is against the custom. You have to be quiet when you are young." And, indeed, in spite of the willingness to discuss Micronesia's problems of leadership and what the future holds, there were *post-mortem* expressions of concern about the possible effect of their published remarks on their chances for receiving government scholarships.

About Xavier . . .

Xavier High School is a boarding school for boys run by the Jesuits of the Caroline and Marshall Islands. The students--120 this year--are selected from all over Micronesia on the basis of a competitive entrance examination. At Xavier, they follow a college preparatory program that includes math, science, social studies, religion and English. In the 19 years that it has been in existence, Xavier has graduated 244 Micronesians. Over 80 percent of these have gone on for further education.

Xavier is also an historical monument. The school's main building was erected in 1940 by the Mabuchi Construction Company as a radio station for the signal corps of the Japanese army.

During the war, a communications unit of sixteen enlisted men and their commanding officer manned the station, supporting themselves on a small farm in the back of the building (the area which is now an athletic field). Three 150-foot radio towers served as prominent landmarks at the site. Recently, the towers had to be torn down, but the base of one of them can still be seen on the southern end of the lawn in front of the main building.

For several years after the war, the communications building lay in disuse and neglect. Finally, in 1952, the Catholic mission, which held title to the land, repossessed the property, and work was begun to convert the war relic into a school. Later that year, 21 boys from Truk were accepted for a pre-high school class. In addition to their class work, these students did much to "remodel" the building. In the fall of 1953, fifty-five students were accepted for the high school division, and the first four-year high school in Micronesia had begun.

REPORTER: Let's start by talking about education. For instance, what kind of decision was it that brought you to Xavier?

BEN: At the time, I was young and wasn't making any really serious decisions about things like where I was going to attend school. My parents wanted to put me in a mission school in Yap, and somewhere along the line I got the impression that the fathers and the sisters there were really impressed with the way I behaved. So they were really the ones who recommended that I come here. My parents were in full approval, so I came.

SABINO: I have four brothers and they all came here. It sort of became a tradition with my parents that they sent their sons here, so I came.

SIMON: I had never heard of Xavier before I came here. When I was in the eighth grade at Truk High, my cousin was also there. And he took the Xavier entrance test, and that's how I knew about this place. My parents didn't know about this place either, but they didn't care whether I came here or not. Anyway, the next year I took the entrance test, just for fun—I didn't intend to come here. But a Peace Corps teacher of mine, she recommended me, and I was surprised when I received a letter one day from Father Curran accepting me.

MIKEL: I wasn't planning to come here on my own. I was asked to come by my teachers and others who urged me to apply.

REPORTER: When you go home to your districts, do you find that compared with your friends you have a better background, that you are getting a better education here than you might in the public schools?

SABINO: I find that I am getting something out of my years here. But I also find it hard when I go back to Palau. I have a hard time talking with my friends there. They seem to isolate themselves from me because I have been away for nine months.

Sabino Anastacio was born on April 13, 1953, at Koror, Palau. He graduated from Maris Stella Elementary School in Koror and in 1969 began his freshman year at Xavier. Among his favorite activities at Xavier have been debating and sports. As a senior, Sabino serves as the Palauan students' elected representative to Xavier's Student Council. He hopes to attend a liberal arts college after graduating from Xavier.

REPORTER: Do you think that it is a good idea then for you to go so far away to school?

SABINO: I think that it's a good thing to go outward and go to school; but you still have to consider the fact that I am a Palauan and that when I go back I have to adjust myself to the way that they are living there, just as when I go outward I have to adjust myself to the way we are living here.

REPORTER: Joe, I think some of these things were brought out in your article for *Three Towers*. Would you like to add something to this?

JOE: After nine months, when I go back, I find that it's true that I am getting a better education here. But when I go back I find that it is really hard to adjust to the customs there, since I've been exposed to students from all over—Koror, Majuro—where they are far advanced over our outer island. When I go back, yes, the boys there, too, tend to isolate themselves from me. I don't know whether they are afraid that maybe I'm far better than they are, or what. But I think our people look up to the people who come to this school.

REPORTER: You seemed to be saying in your article that this might be a bad thing about the educational system, that you get a gap between the older generation and the young people, and that in some respects perhaps you can say that life will never be the same once you go back to an outer island from a place like Xavier. Would any of you care to comment on that?

BEN: You say that life can never be the same for Joe if he goes back. That's true. But if he goes back, he'll be the leader; he'll be one of the community heads. I think that's progress.

JOE: What I find is really hard is when you go back and you have been dealing with Western ideas and things, and you know these things are far better than the old ways. Yet you have to reserve yourself, you don't speak out, because it is against the custom. You have to be quiet when you are young. You don't just go there and speak out as if you're the big boss or something. It's really hard, because here they always teach us to speak up, to be Number One, and express our ideas. But when I go back, it's just the opposite.

REPORTER: At least one school that I know of—Outer Islands High School at Ulithi—is teaching regular classes in some of the island skills, some of the old ways of doing things. Do you feel that there should be more of this?

BEN: I think so. It would be a sad thing to in the future realize that we have missed the traditional heritage—for example, not knowing the origin of our traditional dances, how to build a canoe, carving statues—these things should be put into the educational system.

REPORTER: Do you mean that these things would be useful things to know in a future Micronesia? In other words, in view of the fact that more and more people like yourselves are getting formal educations, do you feel that these things are going to be of value?

BEN: I would not want to make a very general statement about that, but, as for Yap, we are very proud that we live in the traditional way. Each year we celebrate a holiday called Yap Day, during which each municipality competes with the others. Each brings in the best of its produce, its dancers, and so forth, and we see which is the best. I think these things are still of value.

JOE: All I would say is that if we can find a way in which we can change some of the educational values, I would like to see more of a Micronesian education—teaching not only how to make canoes and these things, but making it meaningful to a young Micronesian so that when he goes back home after finishing school his education has meaning. Like me, if I finish college, and I have majored in something like criminology or something, and I go back to my island, I'll be a bum, because on my island there is just no use for that.

REPORTER: What kinds of things do you think would have meaning?

JOE: I really cannot think of any specific things; but for instance, Micronesia is changing. And because of this we have to have leaders. At the same time, we have to know what we are made of, what makes up Micronesia.

BEN: I'm not sure that this is an example of a system which is good for Micronesians, but I would say that the Micronesian Social Studies courses which have been made up by Frank Hezel and Charlie Reafsnyder are a good beginning.

MIKEL: The way I see it, a good system would provide for being aware of the traditions, but at the same time would make way for some new ways of life, some ideas from the Western ways of doing things. This could be a good system.

SABINO: What's the use in having a Micronesian Social Studies course when we are all going for money When I get to school, I would prefer to major in English or in other subjects which will help me to be very objective in the community. I'm not sure that by studying Micronesian Social Studies that it's going to help me make money or get a job with the government.

REPORTER: Joe has talked about developing leaders for a changing Micronesia, and Sabino is talking about getting a job with the government. If I can extract something from Sabino's comment, maybe this means he doesn't think Micronesia is going to change from the present situation where there is a great economic dependence on government employment. Do any of you have any thoughts on this, or on how the economic situation might be improved in this respect?

BEN: I think when the American Administration first came to the islands, I think it was the Americans' mistake that they did not stimulate the sense of economic development here. Fishing, for instance—fishing would be the biggest—and also agriculture. They brought in American values, so that now we are uneducated Micronesians—not everyone—but many Micronesians. Those who go to school and get an education come back and live like Americans--not exactly—but at least living on the money economy.

REPORTER: The aim of the current status talks is to ultimately give Micronesians more control over their future, whatever the form of political status might be. But someone has said that political status depends on economic status. Can you be politically self-sufficient if you are not economically self-sufficient?

SABINO: Personally I think that independence is not impossible. It could be, I think. But first we would have to go through a time of free association.

JOE: But to me, free association can be either a stepping stone to independence, or it can be just the other way. They keep raising the government salaries, and if we go for free association and keep asking for $60-million or more from the U.S. just to pay for high salaries, I don't think that's the way to go. Going this way would not lead to independence, but to more dependence.

REPORTER: If free association is seen as a stepping-stone to eventual independence, would there then have to be some initiative toward developing the economy to support an independent Micronesia?

JOE: That's right. You know this economic development loan fund? They're using it to help these big businessmen, like these people who are setting up big stores which import a lot of things in from outside. They should help by using the money to set up a fishing industry or something. You know, in a way, I think these big stores are leading us more and more into a dependent state.

Joseph J. Urusemal, the President of Xavier's Senior Class and Student Council, was born at Tehailap on Woleai in Yap District on March 19, 1952. After attending Falalap Elementary School and Outer Islands High School, Joe came to Xavier in 1969. During his active three and a half years at Xavier Joe has frequently served as a member of the Student Council. He is both Editor-in-Chief and a frequent contributor to Xavier's newspaper and literary journal *The Three Towers.* In a recent article entitled "Micronesia is Awakening" Joe discussed the implications of Micronesia's present educational system. Joe's main academic interests are mathematics and political science. He plans on continuing his education next year as an undergraduate.

REPORTER: Should this be the responsibility of the Micronesians or the American Administration?

JOE: Well, it should be both, I think. But mostly it should be the responsibility of the Micronesians, if they want more to say about their future, more independence or freedom. They have to sacrifice—a lot—and it's really difficult. As I see now, we may talk of independence, but we are going the other way, raising salaries . . .

REPORTER: Do you refer to the Congressmen raising their salaries?

JOE: Yes, the Congressmen and all the government employees.

SIMON: In talking about economic development, I'm not sure, but there might be a way to help improve the economy. If we lead a simple life—that is, decrease the salaries—then people will look back and remember their taro patches and not just concentrate on money.

REPORTER: If I recall correctly there was a Congressman from Truk who stood up in the Congress one day and said that everyone should sacrifice and go back to the old ways, and the very next day he voted to raise his own salary. How did you feel about that, since you come from Truk yourself?

SIMON: When I heard that, I felt the same way that Nick Bossy felt. He published an article in the *Micronitor* criticizing our Congressman from Truk. He said that the things that the Congressman had said were not the opinions of the people of Truk. I feel that the Trukese should make some sacrifice—not to go back a thousand years—but make some sacrifice so that they become more self-sufficient.

REPORTER: Someone brought to my attention some time ago something else about Truk which is related in some ways to this problem. That was the difficulty which the district administration encountered in getting people to replant taro, breadfruit, coconuts and other crops after Typhoon Amy in the middle of 1971. There seemed to be a great reluctance to replant for future needs and a great willingness to continue to accept the USDA emergency food handouts.

SIMON: In the outer islands, specifically on my island of Kuttu, we don't find money everyday. Last summer when I was there, I didn't spend any money, I didn't buy anything. We got our share of the USDA food, but the first thing is our taro patch. That's where the spotlight is—we concentrate on our farms. Yes, we need money to buy clothes, but food—there is a lot of food out there. But here in Truk, here on Moen, after the Typhoon these rich people who had money took the food handouts, and the people who had no money but who had land, they worked on their farms.

JOE: On my island I would say the reason they're still depending on the taro patches and breadfruit is because there is no store there. But I could also say that the people there are opening up their hands. If there is any opportunity that would come where they could earn money, they would be most willing to do that. So when we talk of independence, I just wonder if it is possible. Unless it is clear that we really want independence, then we probably can't have it. Now it seems like it's just a matter of making speeches and like that, and it is not possible that way. As for the possibilities of making money on the outer islands, on Woleai, where the copra price is really down, they have men who are working under YAPCAP, Yap Community Action Program, and they encourage people to make handicraft and also do some farming—setting up places where they can raise some pigs and chickens and things like that. That's what they are trying to do to earn money, because they see that in the near future they will stop making copra. In raising pigs they are using the copra to feed the pigs. I think that in their view they are raising pigs just to get money. It is to replace the copra.

Simon Simina was born October 28, 1952, in the village of Luk on Kuttu Island in the Lower Mortlocks. One of Xavier's five Trukese seniors, Simon was a student at Kuttu Elementary School before his family moved to Moen in 1963. Simon then attended St. Cecelia's School and Truk High School before transferring to Xavier in 1969. He has participated in Xavier's sports program and also tutors elementary students in English and Social Studies at Moen's Sappuk School. He hopes to work as a medical technician after leaving Xavier.

SIMON: On the outer islands there are no big stores; there are some small ones. There are no jobs for the people. They make copra, but since the time that the price of copra has dropped, they don't want to make copra. They just work on their farms and eat taro and breadfruit.

SABINO: I feel that we cannot go back. My family's taro patch is getting smaller, and they seem to be living on the rice that comes from the store. I think that the way is to go for free association, so that we can still eat rice and rule oureselves, and let the Americans do what they want to do.

BEN: I'd like to say something about what Joe was saying about the outer islanders wanting to make money. I think there should be a plan by the leaders to assist. The fishing industry in Yap does not now exist—there isn't anything at all. But if I'm not mistaken, I think that the outer islanders of Yap are the best fishermen. So instead of letting them rush to the district center to find any jobs possible, the fishing industry should be introduced to them and they can earn money that way.

REPORTER: We have been talking around the status issue and the economics issue here; perhaps we can move to another aspect of the status negotiations. What's going to happen, in your views, as a result of the differences of opinion which are beginning to come up in the negotiations? Specifically, what about the previous assumptions that the Trust Territory will remain as a single unit in a future Micronesia? Is a united Micronesia possible, or is it necessary, or is it even desirable?

MIKEL: I would say that it is necessary, for the reason that I think we would have to be united before we could consider independence. And as I see it, some of our leaders are now beginning to move for independence.

JOE: I think the reason we're not really united now is because the way it is now with the United States controlling us, each district can be sort of independent from the others. They don't need any support from each other. Truk, for instance, doesn't need any support from Ponape. But once people start talking about independence as the best choice, without the U.S., well, Truk cannot survive without rice from Ponape. It's true, they're not going to starve. But it's also true that it would be more difficult to get rice from Ponape to Truk if they're not united, if you see what I mean. Not only rice, but other things, too. Truk could provide fish and Ponape will provide rice. Also, if we have a strong central government, which helps all the people, then it will give people the idea that they should be united.

SABINO: In all of this discussion about unity in Micronesia right now, you know, it seems that the Congressmen only when they go to the Congress seem to push for independence for Micronesia. But I wonder what would be the case if each district made a choice about whether to go for independence or free association with the United States. They're saying, the Congressmen, that the districts are united in this idea. But when I go back to Palau, I don't hear much argument for independence in Palau.

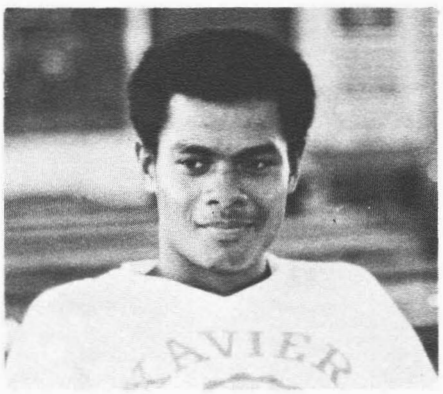
SIMON: I think that a united Micronesia would be better if we are aiming for independence. You know, I wonder how we could become independent if we in the Mortlocks decided to become independent from Truk. Economically I don't think we could do it. I think we would have to be united in order to be independent.

JOE: In other words, what Simon is saying is that if we all go together for independence, it would be easier than if each individual district aims for independence.

SIMON: The islands are too small. You cannot just farm whole islands and let people stand along the shore at the edge of the islands. So you could say that to be independent, we have to be dependent on each other.

SABINO: I don't agree with that, you see, because when I fly over Palau, over Babelthuap, and see the island—we could be independent; and if we wanted to be separated from the other island districts, well, we could do it, because we have enough land. Maybe we could offer some produce to others.

SIMON: When I talk about independence, though, I am talking about cutting off all possibility of getting free money from Uncle Sam. I just cut that off, to make it a somewhat hard life, for us to work hard. Let's say that salaries are cut and it is hard to buy things from the stores. It might be easy to farm our islands, but then again we can't farm the whole island. We have to have a place to farm and a place for the people to live. Our islands are too small, so we have to depend on each other.



BEN: If I'm not mistaken, when Dwight Heine was DistAd in the Marshalls, as the first Micronesian DistAd, he gave a speech somewhere, and I read that speech someplace. And he said that Micronesia is just like Europe—England, France, separate countries—but all called Europe. Different countries, just like our different districts and our different islands, but all called Europe, just as we are called Micronesia. We are different, distinct districts and peoples with different values.

REPORTER: Do you feel that these differences are insurmountable? Are the differences standing in the way of unity?

BEN: I would say that the differences will interfere with the independence of Micronesia. In a sense, it is a beauty that we are different but yet are one as a whole. But sometimes it's a fairy tale that we talk about that we are different, yet we are one in mind, heart and soul. I wouldn't make a straightforward statement about our unity.

MIKEL: We will have to make sacrifices if we are going for independence, and each district would have a contribution to make to the whole of Micronesia, not just for themselves.

JOE: I think Mikel is talking only about economics. But also culturally we can share our cultures. The Marshallese don't have to become Palauans to be united. Like here, I don't become Trukese so that I will be one of the

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Ben B'moon was born in Dalipebinaw in Yap on February 11, 1953. After attending St. Mary's Mission School in his home district he arrived at Xavier as a freshman in 1969. Ben's varied interests include basketball, mathematics, and politics. While at Xavier, Ben has been elected to a number of student government positions including serving presently as Vice-President of the Senior Class and Secretary of the Student Council. A firm believer in Micronesian political independence, Ben plans to continue his studies in college after leaving Xavier.

people here. You know, you have your differences, you are different from the boys from the other districts, but you have one goal that you are trying to accomplish. You want to live happily, and as far as the political thing, let's say if we want independence, if they put in some of their cultures—the Yapese give in some of their culture, and the Trukese put in something from theirs—I think that can happen.

SABINO: So far, I'm still confused. I don't see anything right now that makes me think there is unity in Micronesia. The Marianas is breaking away, and it seems to me that every district would do this if there is no precise reason why we should be united.

REPORTER: Do you see the Congress of Micronesia as a unifying force?

SABINO: I don't. I don't think it is necessarily a unifying force.

BEN: I would say that deep down in their hearts the Congressmen feel the obligation to unify the districts. For example, sometimes a Congressman from Ponape backs up a bill for Palau to have such an amount of money for such and such a project. I think that's an example of a feeling that there is some obligation to work for unity, for the whole Territory.

SIMON: Sometimes it seems to me that when the Congressmen get together and they meet, it is just to present the problems in their districts. But in the end I am sure that it will be for the welfare of Micronesia. Since the districts are different, their thoughts must be different and the problems must be different. But at the end the consideration must be for all of Micronesia. I think that the Congress is the only sign of unity in Micronesia.

REPORTER: Do you think of yourself as a Micronesian, or as a Trukese?

SIMON: Within Micronesia, if someone asks me where I am from, I say I'm from the Mortlocks, Truk. But if I were to go outside of Micronesia and somebody asks me the same question, I am a Micronesian. And if someone asks me whether I owe my loyalty to Micronesia or to Truk, I would say to

Truk, and I think that is true for a good number of Micronesians—not all, but a good number.

REPORTER: Does this cause problems here? Are there frictions which develop where you have so many people from the different districts?

SIMON: Well, yes, here in Truk there are problems between the outer islanders and these people here. Because when they come in they see some strange things going on and they get excited, and sometimes there is trouble. And I think there are frictions between people here and from the different districts.

REPORTER: Actually, my question was about the situation here at Xavier. Would any of you care to comment on that, or on the larger question?

MIKEL: Yes, you are right. There is friction here. I do not think that we can avoid it, because we are from different districts with different backgrounds. But I think also that a situation like this, where we are put all together like this is a good beginning to a united Micronesia. We get to know each other better.

BEN: In talking about the school here at Xavier, when we first came here as freshmen, the friction, I would say, was strong. But I would say that after my four years here, when I hear someone talking about, "Yap is the best," I just don't think that this is progress at all. Because I know, for instance, at least something about Truk or the other districts. So the friction , at least among the seniors, is less.

Mikel J. Benjamin was born on Jaluit in the Marshall Islands on March 3, 1952. He attended Sacred Heart School on Jaluit and the Assumption Mission School in Majuro before coming to Xavier in 1969. During his three and a half years at Xavier Mikel has played an active role in the Sodality and on the varsity baseball team. An avid reader, Mikel hopes to continue his studies in literature after leaving Xavier. It is his hope eventually to become a teacher.

JOE: My ideas are about the same, but I would say that perhaps the word "friction" is too strong. Maybe we could change it to "differences"—then maybe I would agree more with the thoughts. The word "friction" to me makes it sound as though the districts are always at war with each other, and that's not true.

REPORTER: There is something in this conversation which has been hinted at a couple of times, and I would like to pursue that, if I may. Do you feel that the Congressmen are responding to the will of the people in your districts, or do you feel that they might be going more on their own thoughts and wishes?

SABINO: In Palau—I don't know, maybe this is true—but last summer, I could see that the Congressmen are just too concerned with their own businesses, and the only time they would be talking about Micronesia and its future is when they are campaigning. Otherwise . . .

REPORTER: But when they are talking about Micronesia and its future, do you feel that they are representing the views of the people who voted for them?

SABINO: Maybe they have their own separate views, I don't know; but when they are out campaigning for election, they tend to go on the side where they think there are the most votes.

MIKEL: I would say they are representing the people, and taking the complaints of the people to the Congress.

SIMON: I have a question. Do the Congressmen take the time to go out and meet with the people from their districts to know their opinions, or do they just know what is in the minds of the people?

REPORTER: What do *you* think?

SIMON: I was here during the summer, and I saw these Congressmen campaigning. But I didn't hear of any meetings. All I know, though, is that there was a clash between the Trukese people and their Congressmen, and I heard of the same thing in Palau.

JOE: Before I say anything, I would like to ask Mikel to ask himself a question. If he goes out to, say, Ailinglaplap, or to some other remote island in the Marshalls District and asks the people there what's the meaning of free association—I wonder if they would answer him correctly. As far as my own statement, concerning Yap District, I don't know whether these Congressmen are just getting their opinions from the District Legislature or what, because during one of their sessions at the Legislature, they voted unanimously to support free association. And I know that if not all of them, at least three of the Congressmen from Yap are strong supporters of free association. But then if we ask the legislators whether their ideas are from the people, well, that is another question.

REPORTER: Mikel, would you like to comment on the question Joe had for you?

MIKEL: I think that I would say yes. Not everyone, but some of the people would know about free association, and that there is a question about future political status.

REPORTER: What would be their source of information?

MIKEL: There are government officials who usually go around in the outer islands and explain these things. That would be their source, or one of their sources. Also the radio.

JOE: Concerning the radio, it's true that in Yap they have those political awareness radio programs; but I think when they play those tapes, or when they have an interview on the radio, the people just turn them off and go away. They do not listen to these people.

SIMON: In Truk sometimes they have those interviews, and the people talk about free association and independence, but they never explain what each of them means. I think that the majority of the Trukese, or at least 99 percent of the people in the Mortlocks and the Westerns, those people don't receive newspapers. They just listen to the radio, and those people don't know anything about those two things.

REPORTER: Suppose they got something like this—the government newsletter, *Highlights?* Would they be able to read it? It's in English.

SIMON: No..

REPORTER: What if it were in Trukese?

SIMON: Yes, they could read Trukese, but the newspaper in this district—*Met Poraus*—doesn't go out to those islands. Just here on Moen and maybe out to Dublon.

JOE: I think that even if it was in Trukese, they would just look at the pictures and that's all. They won't read about what is free association and these things. They will say, "Oh, let *them* decide."

SABINO: Have you read the Palau newspaper *Tia Belau?* I must criticize that paper for its one-sided view, for telling people only about the good things about being independent. They never point to the sacrifices that people would have to make if there is to be independence. And there would be sacrifices. I think they fail as a newspaper.

REPORTER: *Tia Belau* is just one source for information or opinion. Is there something else available to the people to balance that view? Is there enough information on the other side of things for the people to be able to make an intelligent choice about their future?

SABINO: I don't think so. Even the Congressmen when they are campaigning, they're just giving the good points about independence, and that makes the ordinary people confused.

JOE: This is just my personal idea, but I think that the fact that the Congressmen are taking strong stands . . . Well, you know my friend, Hans Wiliander? He was a strong independence advocate, and I think they shouldn't do that, because they are the ones leading the people, and whatever decision they make, the people are most likely to agree with. I think that what they should try to do is present the ideas, not to go out and say, "I support independence." Just go out and give the meaning of independence and free association, because once they say, "I support this . . . ," or, "I support that . . . ," the people will go and say and do whatever the Congressmen say is good.

MIKEL: Furthermore, they shouldn't only inform the people of the outer islands on the radio. They should go out there to the islands and really explain themselves what's going on, the benefits of free association.

SIMON: If I were in the corner of a hut and if somebody comes in and says, "Independence is good!" and I say, "Why?", and he says, "Because then we will govern ourselves," I would feel really happy; and at that moment I would be all for independence. But if he comes in and says, "We're going to sleep while the Americans send us money!" I would be on that side. You know, it's good to talk about both at the same time, and let the people think. The way it is, if someone stands there and says independence is good, that's what moves us at the moment and we'll go for it.

REPORTER: Do any of you feel that the present status should be kept for a while?

BEN: I personally favor that. We are still in the stage of deciding what really will be the *final* decision. I don't think we're really there now, because the values of the people are such that we're not really Americans, but we are not really Micronesians, either. We want to have money, and yet we talk about independence.

REPORTER: Then do you feel that the present negotiations are premature?

BEN: First of all, I think that the negotiations should have started twenty years ago, or about when the present administration came in. What I mean is that when the Americans stepped on these islands twenty or thirty years ago, preparations should have started for self government—a set of aims, stimulating economic self-sufficiency—and the natives, we ourselves, should have carried on.

MIKEL: I see a lot of good in the present system, and I would see a lot of good if we held on to it for the time being. And in that time being I think we could get a more clear picture of what our future is going to be like. What I mean is that we could have time to look at our future.

JOE: On my island, I was asking people what kind of future status they would prefer, and most of them said, "Why change? This is good. We would like to see this forever. We seem not to be having any problems."

SIMON: To keep the present Trusteeship permanently means to me that my future is being determined by outsiders, by the U.S. Others may say that we have to have time to think about our next move. But we have had 25 years of thinking, and yet today there are people who just lean back and say, "Let the others think." What I mean is that Micronesia is not now controlled by me—it's up to the U.S. They make the move, and I follow.

REPORTER: Do any of you have any political ambitions?

JOE: Yes, if it's possible that when I finish here and I go back and they elect me one of their legislators, I would go. But the problem is, I don't think they would choose me because I am still young, and they would look down at me. But I would like to very much.

SIMON: I've been wishing to be a Congressman. But I think that because I'm younger than those Congressmen, I'm not a good politician, and I cannot be better than them. But I have been wishing to be a Congressman, and sometimes I think I could solve problems. Maybe someday.

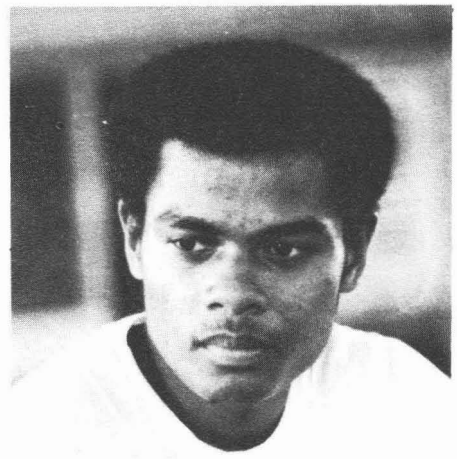
BEN: I, too, want to become a legislator. But also I'm not a politician and I'm not a good speaker. But I think that there are things that could be done. The legislators now are just sitting and not making any radical moves to improvement.

MIKEL: If possible I'd like to be in a position of one of the Congressmen, representing the people.

SABINO: There has been a lot of competition, even fighting, between people running for the Congress. Maybe it would be better if I start at the District Legislature.

REPORTER: Do you feel that the Congress is in a position to influence policy, or do you feel that it is the Executive Branch which is the overriding control in the government?

BEN: I think the Congress is a real influence. If the High Commissioner follows the policy of President Nixon, and the Congress feels that the people of Micronesia won't benefit at all from such a position, they present objections. And the High Commissioner and the Executive Branch of the government would, I would say, reflect that and make some changes to fit what the Congress of Micronesia is trying to say.



SABINO: I think the Congress is becoming more powerful, and just by seeing them raise their salaries by fifty percent, you can see that they are becoming more powerful and important.

REPORTER: So you think the taxpayers are getting their money's worth from their tax dollar?

SABINO: Where is the money coming from for their salary increase?

REPORTER: It's coming from the Micronesian Income Taxes and all of the other taxes collected on imports and so forth.

SABINO: In that case, then I don't think the taxpayers are getting their money's worth.

SIMON: I was just about to ask if we could talk about the salary increases. I think that Congressmen and some Micronesians talk about self-sufficiency, and then when they raise their salaries, what they say contradicts with what they do.

JOE: Maybe this is too critical, but I think many of the Congressmen don't work hard enough to make that $12,000 a year.

SIMON: I think maybe our Congressmen have something behind what they are doing, or maybe they are approaching their goals in a way which we do not understand. So maybe raising their salaries is not a bad thing; maybe they see another road, and what we see when we think they ought to lower the salary is not good. Maybe their way is better.

JOE: If I am a taxpayer, and I do happen to be one, I would say that if that's the case, maybe they should tell me why they are raising their salaries, if they think the way they are going is the right way. Because their salaries are coming from the taxes that I am paying, and they should be responsible to the people who are paying their salaries.

REPORTER: What about the arguments that being a Congressman is becoming more and more a full time job; or that salaries in the Executive Branch are going up, so the Congress salaries should go up, too?

JOE: I think that's the point. They want to be first with the highest. Maybe they forget that the salaries of the government employees in the Executive Branch are coming from the U.S., while their salary increase is coming from the people who buy cigarettes and liquor and these things. I don't think that reason can justify the raise in their salaries.

SIMON: I have a question. Do you know if there are legislators in the U.S. who have lower salaries than the Micronesian Congressmen?

REPORTER: If my information is correct, at the time that the pay raise was voted, there were only eight U.S. States which had legislators who made as much or more than the new salaries for the Congress of Micronesia members.

SIMON: That's what I heard, too. That the Congress of Micronesia salaries are higher than most of the State legislature salaries.

JOE: And the first reason you mentioned? About the fact that they are becoming more a full time legislature? I understand that when they are on Congress business they have certain money which they appropriated for each. Like if the committee on the budget is going to meet, I think there is appropriated money for this. If they make so much money, why can't they do this on their own salary?

SIMON: And maybe to complete Joe's sentence, if they want to raise their salaries, I would recommend that they drag the other people along, give some more money to others. Because what they are doing is just increasing the gap in salaries between themselves and others.

MIKEL: I fail to see why their salaries should be raised, while on the other hand they are going for something in which money will be less easily achieved—independence.

REPORTER: Let me ask you a couple of final questions. Most of you expect to go on to college after you graduate from Xavier. What kind of a Micronesia do you think you will find when you get back from college? Or let's say, what do you think it's going to be like here in five or ten years? And also, what would you *like* to see?

SABINO: I would prefer if possible that when I come back from college to see a lot of jobs with everyone getting high salaries.

REPORTER: What about the political situation?

SABINO: I do not think that it will be solved by then.

MIKEL: I would like to see Micronesia as a place where the people could provide for themselves.

REPORTER: What would you expect Majuro to be like in five or ten years?

MIKEL: From what I have seen, from the way things are going now, there will be some changes, new houses.

REPORTER: Majuro and the other district centers have become places where people from the outer islands many times go to get jobs. Do you see this continuing, or do you think there will be any move back to the outer islands?

MIKEL: I would think that there might be some people going back, if they have the means for providing for themselves on the outer islands. Then they will stop coming to the district centers.

JOE: As things are going on now, I think that the district centers will be really different—huge hotels—and in a matter of ten years, for instance, a lot of new houses. Even now I notice that people are building concrete houses. They don't use thatch-roof houses anymore. With the roads fixed, they will have houses all along the sides of the roads, with telephone poles and all of these things—as things are proceeding now. Whether I like this or not is another thing. If those things happen and the people are satisfied and don't have many problems in that setup, then I guess that's all right.

REPORTER: What kind of career are you aiming at? I know you talked about being a legislator.

JOE: That's my main goal. If the political status is resolved by then, then maybe my ambition will have changed. I don't know, maybe there won't be much to discuss anymore. But if by then the political status is still not resolved, that's what I'd like to do.

REPORTER: You say you're not sure whether or not the development you think will take place is what you would like. What is your concern here?

JOE: I think I would like to see that development happen but along with the people really having it be *their* choice, that it's not something forced on them, that they really want what they get.

SIMON: What I would like to see is Micronesia be Micronesia, culturally, and also that Micronesia can provide for its people. But what I think I'm going to see in the future is some high buildings, and on the other side of the island, a ghetto. And then on the outer islands, some huts. That's what I think I'm going to see.

REPORTER: You were talking earlier about the gap between the high salaries and the low salaries. Do you think this is going to continue to grow?

SIMON: I cannot think of any solution. There are no government jobs in the outer Mortlocks or in the Westerns. That's why I think I am going to see huts out there. On the island of Moen, this part here will be a ghetto. I cannot see how they are going to get money to build improvements; while down there, I see big buildings.

BEN: I don't know about the other districts, but in Yap, as I have said, the changes are really slow. Culturally, it's changing, but if I were to predict the situation five years from now, I would say there would be really little change taken place. Maybe the roads have been extended to most parts of the islands, and there may be a few other changes, but maybe that's all. I think the great changes come when there are a lot of people to carry out the changes. In Yap we have very few people. Half of those people are outer islanders. And those in Yap are spread out into villages, and they don't come into Colonia to form a town. The island is small, and the roads have gone far enough out so that the people have a way in to work, and then they go back. In the district center there may be some more new houses, but mostly it will be just government buildings. As for people moving in and staying in Colonia, I would say it just won't happen.

REPORTER: What would be the ideal Micronesia in your view? From some of the things you have said, maybe Yap is one place where you might say the ideal has been reached.

BEN: At one time I might have said that, but now I would say I would like to see a more Micronesian style of living. Like once in a while eat some taro, or eat some fish which you yourself have caught—things like that. And get rid of the motorbikes.

After the decision to return to Saipan, chambers were erected in record time; cost was shared by the Congress and the Executive Branch.

Congress 73: Return to Saipan

by Bonifacio Basilius

A little over two years ago I stood, in the early morning sun, with several members of Congress and a large crowd of Saipan residents watching the smoldering remains of what used to be the chambers of the House of Representatives and the Senate of the Congress of Micronesia at Saipan's Capitol Hill. I can still recall that scene vividly. Amid the still smoking pieces of boards and wood that had been parts of the Congress chambers, we saw piles and piles of burnt papers strewn here and there, some in charred briefcases and still others neatly stacked on top of blackened iron desks

We knew what the piles of burnt papers were. They were copies of bills and resolutions that were in various stages of legislative action by the first regular session of the Fourth Congress of Micronesia. As everyone remembers, that session went up in smoke without accomplishing anything. Two things, however, became abundantly clear as a result of that fire. First, it became evident that the Marianas will ultimately be divorced from the rest of the Trust Territory and that it is only a question of time until this will be done. Second, and perhaps less well understood at the time, was that among the casualties of the fire was the great illusion that there existed in the other five districts a deep-rooted sense of national unity despite their many differences.

The question, however, that was uppermost in everyone's mind on that morning of February 21, 1971 was: Will Congress ever return to Saipan?

I remember thinking that morning -- "the stupid, incompetent fool who forgot to turn out the light in this building ought to be beaten with one of those smoking timbers." But as it turned out, the police investigation revealed that the chambers were deliberately set on fire, and as the implications of the arson dawned on me, my only thought was to get out of Saipan as fast as I could. I departed the following day, vowing never to return to Saipan again. Congress also departed, but it returned two years later. And so did I. Time indeed cured our anger and bitterness, but the changes in Congress following that traumatic shock seem, even at this late date,irreversible.

During the interval, the Congress of Micronesia held sessions in three other districts, all of which saw further withdrawal from the euphoria of the early days of the Congress. The Marianas delegation attempted to boycott the special session in Truk; the Marshalls delegation threatened to go on its own during the Palau regular session; and at the Ponape special session, the Congress refused to even consider the report and the proposed measures offered by the Joint Committee on Future Status for which it was specifically called.

It is against this backround that I shall attempt to present a coherent analysis of the first regular session of the Fifth Congress of Micronesia. This treatment is highly subjective in its emphasis because the results of the session, other than appropriation measures, did not indicate any particular area of concern which the Congress tried to pursue. It is also highly speculative in its conclusion simply because the Congress arrived at many of its substantive decisions in closed caucuses rather than in open floor debates, and as a result only a few of its major decisions were officially explained in public.

Before the Fifth Congress convened on Saipan in January, it was widely assumed that the major issues that would be taken up would be related to the question of Micronesia's future political status. The complete change that took place in the Senate leadership when Congress convened was viewed as a further indication that Congress at last would take definite steps to terminate the Trusteeship and usher in a new government for Micronesia. The new Senate President, Tosiwo Nakayama of Truk, and Speaker Bethwel Henry assured their colleagues in their respective houses in formal speeches that the time for that eventuality had finally arrived. The High Commissioner, in his State of the Territory message, said as much and urged the new Congress to adopt the Constitutional Convention bill that would pave the way for a new political status for Micronesia. Most assuredly, Ambassador Franklyn Haydn Williams, in his office in the United States, kept close watch on this development. Senator Lazarus Salii had his fingers crossed.

Those fingers were crossed until the 49th day of the session. On that day the House of Representatives killed the Constitutional Convention measure and by consequence also its two companion bills on the ground that there was no money to carry out their intentions.

Senator Salii, who authored the measures, said the explanation was not valid at all. "Since Congress appropriated over five million dollars, some of it for various insignificant projects, I can only speculate that the members of the Congress finance committees were not sincere or did not agree with the majority on the need to move Micronesia toward self-government," the Senator said.

What then was the real reason that made Congress refuse to pass a bill which seemed so important to Micronesia? As indicated earlier in this article, no clear cut answer came from the Congress as a whole.We are, therefore, left to speculate on what actualy moved Congress to that decision. This is how I see it as a Micronesian from Palau District.

There is a saying in Palau called "OMESIICH–A–BLACHEL," which in English may be roughly translated as "putting the finishing touches on chips carved out of an intended piece of sculpture." The adage is used by master canoe builders to impress on their young apprentices the fact that the basic art of building a canoe lies in one's ability to judge that portion of a huge timber which will ultimately become a canoe. An apprentice workman, who lacks the inner eye that sees the fine outline of a completed canoe in a timber, usually starts applying finishing touches on his work before the wood is reduced to the right proportions. As can be imagined, the results of such premature effort may be something that looks like a canoe, but certainly one that is not usable as a means of water transportation.

To correct such a mistake, the master builder normally picks up his axe and hacks away at the work of his apprentice until he has reduced the timber to the right size. Then he begins the tedious work of shaping the wood into a fine and sea-worthy canoe. Thus the most important lesson an apprentice canoe builder learns is: do not put finishing touches on your work until the right moment, otherwise your fine work will have to be carved out as decorated chips.

There are two elements of this Palauan adage that seem to have parallels in the recent session, particularly on the status issue. These are the distinction between the teacher and apprentice, and the important matter of doing things at the right time.

Speaker Henry--reelected

President Nakayama--new leadership

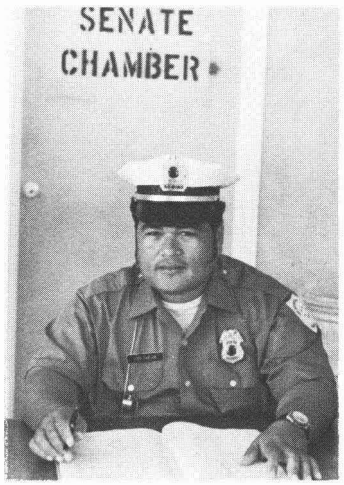
It is quite possible that the Congress, not wishing to cause any more divisiveness among the districts, is subtly reminding the Joint Committee on Future Status to slow things down until the right moment comes for the drafting of Micronesia's Constitution. It is also possible that, within the committee itself, a great number of differences have surfaced which prevented a solid and united effort for the passage of the Convention measures. So, let us examine these topics.

The Joint Committee on Future Status is composed of twelve members, ten in the Senate and two from the House of Representatives. The Committee is officially advocating the free association concept as the first future status alternative for Micronesia. Of the ten senate members, Tosiwo Nakayama and Andon Amaraich of Truk and Roman Tmetuchl of Palau have publicly advocated complete independence as their first choice for Micronesia's future. Edward Pangelinan is, of course, seeking a closer and permanent association with the United States for the Marianas. Amata Kabua of the Marshalls, if his remarks regarding the Convention bill are indicative of his true feelings, has adopted a wait-and-see posture. Of the two House members, Herman Guerrero is solidly behind his Marianas colleague in the Senate; Ekapap Silk fights for the Committee's official position because he is the Committee's co-chairman. By this arithmetic, and assuming that the other members support the official position of free association with the U.S., the Committee seems to be divided evenly on the most basic question in the status issue. Is it any wonder, then, that the Committee could not muster enough support to pass the Convention bill?

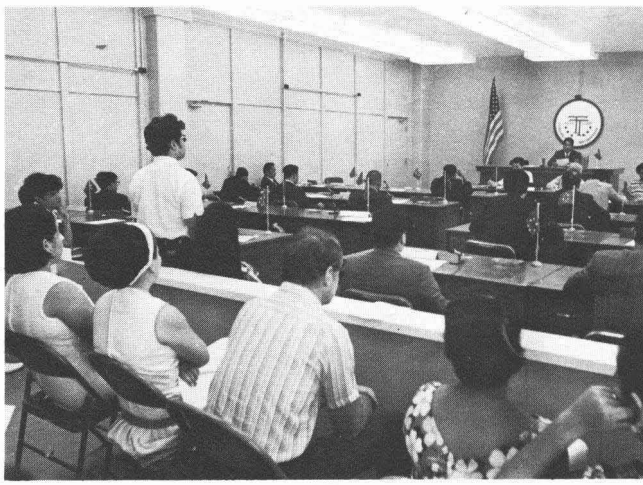
But let us dig deeper. Assuming that the Marianas will not be part of the political arrangement the other five districts may eventually form, the struggle for power in the new Micronesian government will, in my opinion, develop along these lines. Truk, with its large population, will attempt to dominate the new Government with its vote; Palau and the Marshalls will join forces and bargain for their fair share of power by using as leverage their status as sources of revenue to be derived from the presence of U.S. military bases, now envisioned in the Compact of Association; and Yap and Ponape will probably stand on the sidelines and join whoever becomes the winner. All this will almost certainly take place unless one vital ingredient is added beforehand--the appearance of a sincere and deeply-rooted sense of nationalism in the common man throughout the villages of Micronesia.

The members of Congress know their people very well. And they know that such an occurance is not possible, at least within the next five years. They realize also that while the present status leaves much to be desired, it at least assures financial and political stability, and that is preferable to the prospect of chaos and disintegration that will take place if things are pushed too fast. In this respect, Congress told the Joint Committee on Future Status that "the canoe is not quite ready yet for the finishing touches." A lot of things have to be done first.

Senate President Nakayama explained the situation thus: "For the past twenty six years, we Micronesians have been sleeping. We have lived a happy and soft life. We have done little for ourselves. We have asked for help--and help we have been given. We have asked for money--and we have been given money. We have always asked and we have always been given. This is why we have been sleeping. We must now wake up.



Security forces were bolstered by extra public safety officers flown in from the districts.



Above right, the House of Representatives in session on opening day with Congressman Setik presiding as temporary speaker. At right, the High Commissioner delivers his State of the Territory message.

"We in this Congress have committed a sin of having false pride. We have just followed examples of leadership we have seen or learned from the United States. We have copied somebody else's laws, we have passed laws which our people neither know nor understand...We need to lead the way to the future through our actions."

Congressman Timothy Olkeriil of Palau was more specific when he urged his colleagues to take Micronesia's economic development into their own hands before tackling the political status question. "Without a sound economic base," he said, "Micronesia has no real political choice and self-determination is only for the birds." The economic issue, therefore, took precedence over the status question, and Congress released the following official assesment:

"The specter of the false Micronesian economy has finally come to haunt the leadership of the people of Micronesia.

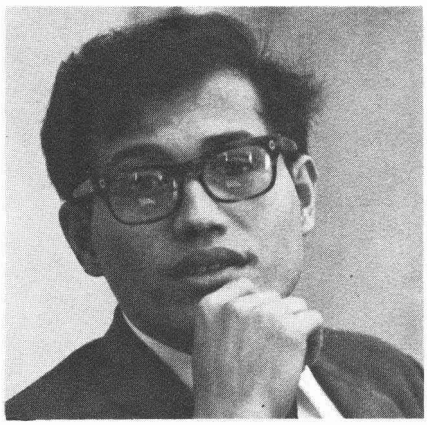
"More than ever now, the top Micronesian leaders as represented in the Congress of Micronesia are asking all sorts of questions and advancing all sorts of answers in a hurried attempt to find remedies to bail out the increasingly unbalanced Micronesian economy.

"What has brought the 'economic' question home to many Micronesians is their inability in the last four years to negotiate a political status of free association with the United States, an arrangement which most Micronesians felt to be more favorable to United States interests than their own. The Micronesian leaders are now realizing that the United States is prepared and intends to stall the negotiations until the Micronesians make more concessions.

"Representative Sasauo Haruo (Truk) spoke for many when he addressed the House of Representatives earlier this session:'We tend to think of economic development and the political status as separate, unrelated problems. But they are not. An economically self-sufficient Micronesia can stand up to the world and proclaim itself a nation and negotiate with the United States from a position of strength. An economically dependent Micronesia must deal with the United States from a position of weakness. How much different the political status negotiations would be if we could negotiate with confidence that with or without the United States grant funds our nation and our people would thrive.'

"The reason for this belated Micronesian awareness about the state of their economy is two-fold: Namely, that until 1969 most Micronesians never thought that the apron strings tying them to the United States would be cut off in the future, and that when it finally dawned on them that they would be on their own in the future, the 'political' question dominated and absorbed everybody's attention.

"The status question, while still occupying the center of concern, is now receding into the background and the question of how to develop the economy came to the forefront. The President of the Senate has even suggested that if necessary a special session of the Congress devoted primarily to the review and consideration of economic development be convened sometime this year."



New members of the Congress this session include Sungiwo Hadley and Resio Moses from Ponape (above), and Machime O'Sonis from Truk (left). They replaced Olter Paul, Heinrich Iriarte, and Hans Wiliander respectively.

Buried in this lengthy assessment of Micronesia's sad economic state is a glimpse into the real reason why Congress allowed the three most important bills to be introduced in this session to die in the House of Representatives. Congress said the status of free association with the United States "is an arangement which most Micronesians felt to be more favorable to United States interests than their own."

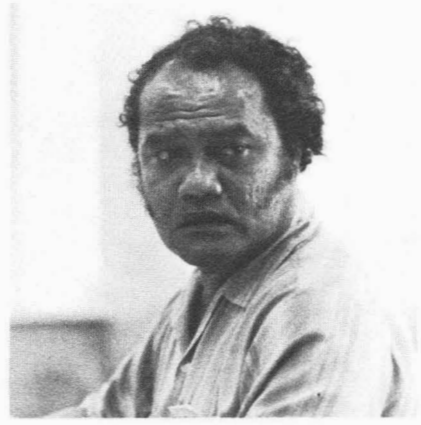
The major bills which were claimed to be the notable accomplishments of the First Regular Session of the Fifth Congress included a package of bills relating to fishing authorities in the districts and an appropriation of $300,000 as a supplemental subsidy for the Copra Stabilization Board. Of the latter, the Conference Committee of both houses had this to say: "The Senate and House clearly agree that Micronesian copra production cannot be indefinitely subsidized by the Congress of Micronesia. Money paid out in copra subsidies is a disbursement that buys, at best, nothing but time for Micronesia's copra producers. It is not an investment by the most liberal definition, and your committee feels that our very limited tax revenues should be invested, not simply spent. We should put our money where the prospects are brightest for its earning genuine, positive returns in the form of social, economic, and educational benefits for all Micronesians."

The Micronesian News Service, in its report on the forty-ninth day of the session, summed up the first regular session in these words:

"One casualty of the late evening was the Constitutional Convention bill. It was finally, and irrevocably laid to rest at around midnight when one last attempt to recall the measure from committee for reconsideration failed. There was substantial support for the measure in the House, but it was not sufficient to overcome the objection that, at this time, the Congress simply cannot afford to fund the convention.

"As with all measures which did not pass this session, the convention bill is technically still alive. It can be taken up again at another session of the Fifth Congress. Its failure to pass was nonetheless a disappointment to those members of the Joint Committee on Future Status who had worked so long and hard on behalf of the bill. For the second time in as many sessions, they were forced to accept the fact that the high priority they placed on the convention bill, and other bills related to the status question, is not shared by a majority of the members of the Congress. Other uses had again been found for the limited funds available to the Congress for appropriations.

In the Marianas, Pedro P. Tenorio (left) took Carlos Shoda's seat in the House. John Heine and Wilfred Kendall from the Marshalls (below left and center) moved into the House seat of Henry Samuel and the Senate seat of Isaac Lanwi respectively. John Mangefel of Yap (right) moved from the House to the Senate, defeating Rafel Moonfel in last November's elections. Luke T'man, a former member of Congress (below right), was elected to Mangefel's vacant post in the House.



"There were a variety of appropriations to carry out important district projects. There is a new base salary plan. There was a bill to permit Congress advice on High Court Justices. And there were bills making changes in existing laws, clarifying, defining and making more clear the intentions of the Congress in a number of areas, from the importation of alien workers to Social Security to protection of the environment."

Status legislation was not among the accomplishments of this session, and if the session was noted for anything, it was noted for what it did not do. Its action on the status question was comparable to a feast where the invited guests took the trouble to attend, only to discover that there was no food on the tables. That was the first regular session of the Fifth Congress of Micronesia.

This Quarter's Interview and the Subsequent article on the Congress of Micronesia by Bonifacio Basilius dealt in part with the question of Micronesian unity. It is a basic consideration to the future of the islands of the Trust Territory, and the subject of the following essay by the Chairman of the Congress Joint Committee on Future Status, Senator Lazarus Salii.

Unity or Separation?

by Lazarus Salii

Micronesia does not exist. It can only come about and continue to exist if we seriously want a Micronesian nation at this particular point in our history. It can be stated with reasonable justification that Micronesia is more a state of mind than of reality. For the great distances between the islands which prevented earlier generations of Micronesians from creating a single unified political entity out of these islands remain with us today and will continue to present problems of unity in the future.

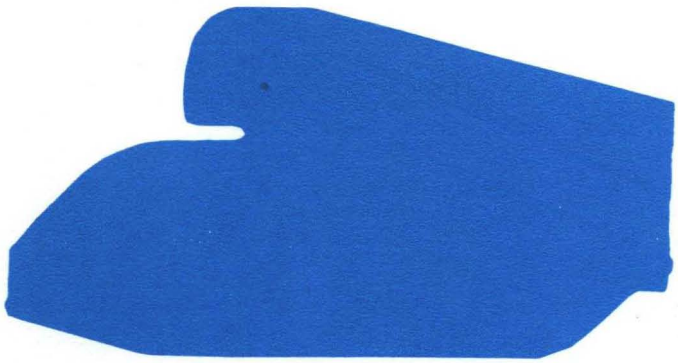
Prior to the advent of Western civilization, Micronesians lived a relatively isolated existence. There was very little contact between the three island groups. Each group lived within the confines of a set geographical area, and since their economic existence was based primarily on a subsistence economy, there was little need to extend the frontier or to explore inter-island trade. Few contacts were made between these islands, but such contacts as were made were the result of seafarers roaming around in their sailing canoes. It was through these sailing canoe contacts that Micronesians came to know one another. However, their respective cultures, customs, languages, manner of living, system of traditional law and justice remained separate and unintegrated until the arrival of Western missionaries and traders in the middle of the 19th century.

It is against this background that we Micronesians of the late 20th century must look at our own future development, and judge for ourselves whether it is better to continue and develop this new world of Micronesia that has been handed down to us through the legacy of Western colonialism or to return to the isolated world of our ancestors. We must weigh the merits and demerits of both worlds. It is incumbent upon us not only to do this, but also to arrive at the right decision for the people of Micronesia. If we want to create a Micronesian nation, this is the time to do it.

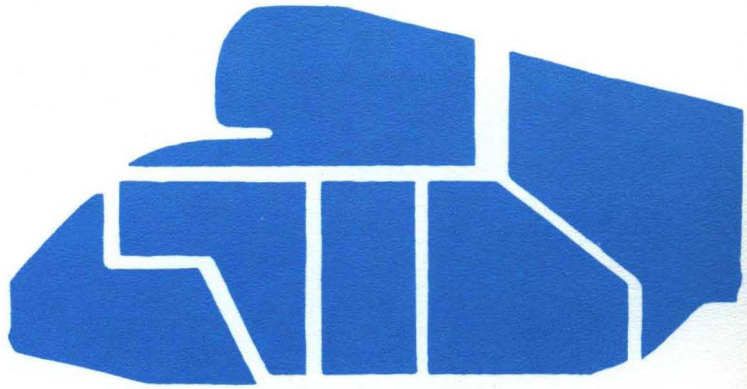
Time is fast running out for Micronesia. If the people of Micronesia and their leaders are not able to see the central issues and the reality of those issues, I am afraid the decision will have to be made somewhere else, by someone else. If we delay too long, the decision will already have been made by someone, somewhere else. Micronesians must stop dreaming that somewhere, sometime, out in the unknown, a utopian world is awaiting them. Micronesia cannot afford to dream the lofty dreams of other peoples and countries. Nature and circumstances have not given us the blessing of natural unity which other countries and people have been given.

My thoughts have turned to the issues of Unity versus Separation, for I fear there are those whose main preoccupation is simply to destroy the weak but nevertheless growing sense of national unity which we have been able to build over the years through our efforts of working and living together in the Congress of Micronesia. This sense of unity has been built as more and more interchanges have taken place between business leaders, government officials, and the people of Micronesia traveling back and forth throughout wide expanses of ocean in modern ships, jet planes and through an improved and advanced communication system.

I am very seriously concerned by the apparant lack of leadership by those Micronesians who are in a position to help provide national leadership at a time that such leadership is called for. It is difficult to believe that some of our national leaders would allow small local politics to enter the stage of national leadership where the main task is to provide enlightened leadership, not just for the good of one group of people, but for the good of all the people of Micronesia. We in the Congress of Micronesia, more than any group, simply cannot afford to allow local differences to dominate the area of national politics. We owe this much to the people of Micronesia -- a Micronesia that was handed down to us through inheritance by successive outside powers.



This is the only Micronesia that we have come to know, and the other Micronesia which we sometimes think we know is the Micronesia we read about in books and was passed on to us through oral tradition. The Micronesia which most of us have come to know, as compared to the Micronesia of our ancestors, has both legal and political entities. As a legal entity, Micronesia has recognition both in the United States Congress and in the eyes of the United Nations. The consequences of this status cannot be tossed aside without creating serious international problems. The attempt of the United States to divide Micronesia by staging separate negotiations with the Marianas is something for which the United States alone will be answerable before the United Nations. The Joint Committee on Future Status has simply given recognition to the political reality of the Marianas. The United States has gone beyond giving such recognition, and has actually attempted to legally divide the Marianas from the rest of Micronesia.



As a political entity, the Micronesia that exists with many shades of cultural differences is bound to have many shades of political opinion. I have for long recognized this state of affairs, but it has been my belief that this division of political leanings must be handled with the greatest of care. The Congress of Micornesia simply cannot and should not attempt to perform an impossible task. There are perhaps over one hundred different feelings and political attitudes that exist in Micronesia, as there are many groups of islands with different ethnic backgrounds. This Congress simply cannot legislate to please everyone in Micronesia. The Congress, however, can and must try to arrive at that delicate balance that can at least provide the minimum amount of disharmony among the people of Micronesia.

To me it does not make sense for any of the six districts in Micronesia to attempt to pursue an isolated course or to attempt to break away, only to join with another political entity outside of the Micronesian family of islands. The world trend is to seek greater union, not only politically, but also in terms of economic and trade considerations. The rich and powerful countries the world over are more than ever before trying to find solutions that will bring nations and people together. Micronesia is no exception. Micronesia does not live in an isolated world all by herself. She needs the support of the surrounding Pacific Community for her own economic and political life. Any attempt at internal division is irresponsible and plain political and economic suicide.

Micronesia has small, but specialized resources. The Marshalls with copra, Ponape with rice and all kinds of vegetables, Truk with copra and other agricultural crops, Yap with citrus fruits, Palau with fishing and other agricultural produce and the Marianas with cattle and farming crops. But all the districts have two common economic assets: fishing and tourism. With a united Micronesia, these economic assets can give Micronesia a relatively secure economic position in the world.

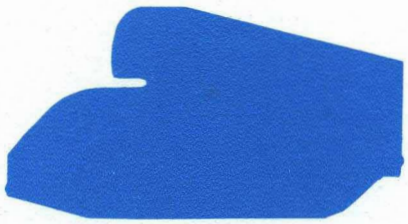
There is strength to be gained from a unified Micronesia. For example, the Marshall Islands alone cannot rely on copra whose price in the world market is not stable, but if the Marshallese utilized their coconut oil to produce soap and other related items, the other districts could buy soap in exchange for other crops that are not available in the Marshalls.

Politically speaking, a divided Micronesia will open itself to outside colonial powers who are still seeking to develop their own self-interest in this part of the Pacific. On the other hand, if the Micronesian people are sincere in their desire to bring home rule to Micronesia, and thus end foreign domination, they can only do so by staying together and fighting for a common cause.

I belong to the school of thought that believes in change and progress, not just any change and progress; but rather change and progress whose benefits will be enjoyed by all.

I do not believe that Micronesia can afford to isolate itself in this day and age, nor can one district afford to try to build a "Berlin-type wall" around itself. It is my hope that before anyone attempts to criticize the unworkability of the proposed arrangement of Free Association with the United States, we in Micronesia will give it a fair chance to prove itself. Micronesia can always break itself up any time it wants to -- the "separatist tendencies" are there already -- but once the chance for unity is lost, it may be lost forever.

The Micronesia of tomorrow is full of challenges and opportunities. It is up to us to make these challenges and opportunities work for us and for the betterment of our own people. Future generations may criticize our lack of foresight, but they should not be able to criticize us for having, at least, given unity a try.



The subject of unity was also the underlying consideration in a resolution before the Congress during its Saipan session--a resolution which would "express the sense of the Congress of Micronesia with regard to certain issues relating to the future political status of Micronesia, and direct the Joint Committee on Future Status to conduct negotiations accordingly."

In reporting on committee discussion of the resolution, Senator Andon Amaraich said:

"The intent and purpose of this resolution is to express the sense of the Congress of Micronesia on two matters crucial to the progress of our negotiations with the United States regarding the future political status of Micronesia: that the Trust Territory is one single political unit, and thus, that the Trusteeship must be terminated simultaneously as to all districts, and may not be terminated or modified as to some and not others; and that only the Congress of Micronesia has the right and responsibility to conduct negotiations regarding the future political status of Micronesia, which right and responsibility extends to all parts of Micronesia."

Amaraich went on to say as Senator Salii says in his essay above, that the United States is encouraging fragmentation of the "single political unit which is the Trust Territory."

The resolution was, in the position of the Congress, an attempt to invalidate the negotiations between the United States and the Mariana Islands District Political Status Commission which formally began in December, 1972. Debate on the resolution was carried out in the presence of the United Nations Trusteeship Council Visiting Mission which sat in on the Senate meeting on February 17, the forty-first day of the session. The Trusteeship Council had, during discussion of the political future of the islands in June, 1972, indicated concern about the "division" of the Territory.

In response to Amaraich's remarks, Senator Edward Pangelinan, who is both a member of the Congress Joint Committee on Future Status and Chairman of the Marianas Political Status Commission, said that the statement that the U.S. is encouraging fragmentation of the Trust Territory is "misleading."

"I think the record is clear," he said, "especially when we go over our journals and realize the number of measures and resolutions that have come to the Congress from (the Marianas), and that is the expression of sentiment by the Mariana Islands District relative to their aspiration for a different status.

"For the past ten years we realized that this one district had articulated aspirations for closer ties with the United States. The United States had not expressed itself during the past ten years on this problem; but because of the increasing demands of the district to be heard on this important matter, and because of the Congress of Micronesia's attempt to negotiate on an aspiration that is not representative of (all of) the people of Micronesia, the representatives of the Marianas District finally received consent of the United States to open discussions on this important matter.

"I would like to say, for the record, that there has never been an attempt on the part of the United States (to divide the Territory). In fact, our representatives have been most disappointed that this matter was not addressed in a period of ten years.

"A few days ago, I submitted a report, as Chairman of the Marianas Political Status Commission, of the negotiations of the Marianas District. If you look at the report, it expresses very clearly that the United States has never been the initiating body. It is very clearly spelled out. I would also like to say for the record that the present negotiations between the Marianas and the United States are not to fragment the Trust Territory. I think the record is clear on that point. But, there is the inescapable conclusion that one of these days Micronesia is going to find its own determination of the important question of political status and, at that point, when the termination (of the Trusteeship) takes place, each one of us is going to be looking for the best

status for their particular constituents. It is my hope that Micronesia will become one, but the realities of life in our territory points out that there are various facets in life, that somehow this unity is not possible if we continue our present negotiating approach.

"I realize that the Congress of Micronesia has an important function in the determination of future status and I realize also that perhaps this is the best body that can approach this matter. Unfortunately, looking at the status question, I cannot fail to realize that the Joint Committee perhaps is not getting the best deal out of the negotiations. Our actions during the last Special Session in Ponape indicated another mandate was given to the Joint Committee for the discussion of independence. My concern is that the Joint Committee has not been given authority to negotiate on a different status--that some minority groups in the Trust Territory do not have the privilege to articulate.

"I hope that in adopting this report, we do not give the misleading impression that the United States is attempting to break apart the Trust Territory before the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement. It is also my hope that the United Nations will realize the aspirations of a minority group in the Trust Territory and (that) at the present time there is no mechanism, other than an independence movement by that particular group to express their aspirations, for a ballot or a plebiscite to take place so they are free to express their choice of status or what is best for them." (Remarks from the Senate Journal, 41st day, February 17, 1973.)

The resolution was subsequently adopted by the Senate, and the House of Representatives followed later in the session with its approval of the measure.

Status Update: The Marianas

The opening of the Marianas negotiations amounted to little more than restatements of the basic premises upon which the separate talks were initiated. In two days in mid-December the U.S. and Marianas delegations met at what the closing communique called "a festive inaugural ceremony, a public plenary session, and informal working talks." What follows are excerpts from opening remarks by the heads of the two delegations at the opening ceremonies.

Senator Pangelinan:

Today marks the beginning of a new chapter in the history of the people of the Marianas. For on this day our people are taking a very crucial step toward the attainment of that inherent right of all the people of this earth–the right of self-determination, in accordance with the freely expressed wishes of the people of the Marianas. It is well to point out that over the course of 400 years of our history, the people of the Mariana Islands District have experienced the dominance of four foreign powers in our territory. First came the Spaniards, then the Germans, followed by the Japanese, and then by the Americans. By virtue of annexation or conquest, and without any consultation and consideration, our lives, homes, lands, culture, and traditions were abruptly and drastically changed. Never was there an opportunity for our people to have the right to speak out on the important matters which faced them, such as the nature of their government, the development of their country and their future destiny. But this is now coming to an end.

The coming of the United States in Micronesia ushered in a new era for our people. The spirit of 200 years of democracy, of a society which practices the theory that a democracy should be "of the people, by the people, and for the people," a country that has the bill of rights, ensuring that every man is created equal under the law and guaranteeing his human rights, a country which has historically been a refuge for the oppressed and a land of opportunity for all people, these ideals were brought to the Marianas by the United States. For the first time in four centuries we could enjoy the fundamental human rights to which all men are entitled. America has brought us economic development, education, and health care. More important, the United States has taught us how to live as free men. As a direct result, we are beginning to take seriously our obligation to ourselves and our people–our obligation to arrive at a system of government which will be most beneficial and advantageous to our people, a government that will continue to assure the fundamental equality of all men and protect and preserve the other fundamental human rights.

After a quarter-century of American Administration, our people have come to know and appreciate the American system of government. The concept of democracy has become very important and significant to us. As a result we have been very active in expressing our wishes as to the form our future government will take. We desire a close political union with the United States of America–a membership in the United States political family.

For the past 10 years or more the people of the Marianas through their duly elected representatives have on numerous occasions expressed formally and informally to the government of the United States and to the United Nations, through petitions, resolutions adopted by the district legislature and municipal councils and in referenda, our strong desire that the Marianas become a part of the United States. As an outgrowth of this sentiment the Marianas representatives to the Joint Committee on Future Status of the Congress of Micronesia, during the fourth round of Micronesian Future Political Status talks in Koror, Palau on April 11, 1972, requested Ambassador Williams for the opportunity to institute separate talks with the Marianas District leading toward a closer and more permanent political relationship with the United States of America. In their request they stated: "We advocate our present position for the sole reason that we desire membership in the United States political family because of the demonstrated advantages of such a relationship. More than any nation with which we have had contact, the United States has brought to our people the values which we cherish and the economic goals which we desire. Continued affiliation with the United States offers the promise of the preservation of these values and the implementation of these goals."

As a result of this request and the favorable response thereto by the President's personal representative, the Marianas District Legislature held a special session in May of this year, where the Marianas Political Status Commission was authorized. Since that time the Marianas Political Status Commission has been established and has held several meetings in preparation for this week's round of talks.

The U.S. and Marianas delegations face each other across the conference table at Saipan's Royal Taga Hotel in a public plenary session opening the Marianas Status Negotiations.

Ambassador Williams:

A quarter of a century ago we came to your islands in force out of a military necessity as a consequence of armed aggression and of circumstances not of our making which caused you and your people suffering and hardship. During the intervening years we have remained with you as the Trustee of the Trust Territories of the Pacific Islands. Today the American delegation is here as your guests, having been invited to come to Saipan to begin a free and open and voluntary process leading to your stated desire–a close and enduring association between the Mariana Islands District and the United States upon the termination of your trustee status.

We are aware of the historic significance of this occasion. We are aware that for more than a decade, the people of this District have sought through referenda, through resolutions of their legislative bodies, through petitions to the United Nations, and through direct representations to my government, an end of the trusteeship and a new political status within the structure of the American nation.

Over the past four hundred years, you have been exposed to and have been governed by peoples of other lands. Historically, you have known colonialism and you have known subjugation and privation–within the lifetime of many of those present.

According to a formal statement made in the halls of the United Nations by one of your elected representatives: "After the Americans came, slowly but surely, things began to change. The American Administration guaranteed to us the fundamental freedoms which are the rights of all men . . .None of us had ever known these freedoms before. All of us . . . wanted to make certain that we would never lose them again. Sentiment for joining the American family was born."

The aspirations of the people of the Marianas for close association and political affiliation with the United States, springing from this sentiment and from the freely expressed will of the people is a matter of record. This desire has been recognized by visiting missions of the UN Trusteeship Council, and by the findings of the initial report of the Congress of Micronesia's Political Status Commission. The indisputable fact that the Marianas aspired to a different kind of future relationship with the United States than the representatives of the other Districts of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands has also been acknowledged by the Micronesian Joint Future Status Committee. You have made your views known, openly and persistently to the United Nations, to the Government of the United States and to the Congress of Micronesia at each of its recent sessions and special sessions.

Last April your representatives, with the knowledge of the Joint Future Status Committee, formally requested the United States to enter into separate talks leading to a close and permanent union with my country. The petition stated: "More than any other nation with which we have had contact, the United States has brought to our people the values which we cherish and the unique goals which we desire. Continued affiliation with the United States offers the promise of the preservation of these values and the implementation of these goals."

To this the United States replied: "As the record shows, the U.S. policy as the Administering Authority for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands has been to develop Micronesia toward a common status upon termination of the Trusteeship Agreement and our efforts have been directed toward this end . . .

"The further pursuit and implementation of this objective, against the expressed will of the people of the Marianas, would deny them their right of self-determination and impose upon them a future political status which they have said is unacceptable.

"Under these circumstances, I would like to state that my Government is willing to respond affirmatively to the request that has been formally presented to us today to enter into separate negotiations with the representatives of the Marianas in order to satisfy a desire which the Joint Committee has already recognized."

In a subsequent letter signed by a broadly representative group of your elected leaders, the United States was informed that in several meetings held with the villages, municipal councils, and district government, support for separate talks was reaffirmed. The letter went on to say:

" . . .The desire of the people of the Mariana Islands District to become a permanent part of the United States of America is fundamental and has existed for many years. Our exposure to American democracy spans over a quarter of a century since the United States assumed administrative responsibilities of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands at the conclusion of World War II. During this time, we have grown to appreciate and cherish the ideals of democracy and we wish to join the American political family. We pledge to you and your government, our loyalty and dedication to the principles for which America stands, and further, we stand ready to accept the responsibilities of the freedom that the United States guarantees and defends."

As an American and as the representative of the President of the United States, I cannot help but be moved by these words and the eloquence and sincerity of the statements of your leaders which I have cited on this occasion. As a free people, with all of our human imperfections, we cannot be less than enheartened and grateful that after coming to know us, the people of the Marianas would have reached the conclusion, voluntarily, that you desire to become a permanent part of the American family, that you have chosen to place your faith in the ideals which continue to guide and motivate the American nation as it strives to perfect its own system and to improve the quality of life of its citizens and people everywhere.

Today, our two delegations set out together on an historic venture, which with good will on both sides, should set the peoples of the Marianas high on the path toward the realization of their long cherished aspiration. We welcome the opportunity and the invitation to be here to work closely with your appointed delegates. As we approach the task of planning for a new beginning of our relationship we will be building on the trust which already exists. With mutual respect and good will we are confident that our deliberations can bring to early fruition a freely sought and a freely made covenant which will serve and protect your interests. Our aim will be to honor and respect your wishes and to build a firm foundation for a lasting friendship and mutually beneficial and satisfactory future relationship.

In the end the product of our joint effort will be subject to the popular will of the people of the Marianas. Through referenda and other means you have already made known and unmistakably clear the ultimate objective which you seek. By plebiscite you will be given in due course the opportunity to review and approve the final agreement between the Mariana Islands District and the United States.

There was basic agreement that the Marianas talks would resume in early May, and it was expected that more substantive matters would be discussed. The Joint Committee of the Congress, meanwhile, expects to meet with the U.S. delegation in late May.

WALAB IM MEDO: CANOES & NAVIGATION IN THE MARSHALLS

by Mary A. Browning

The old men who remember the stories say it was here, on Kwajalein atoll, that the chief named Lannini gathered his forces and prepared for war. A hundred and fifty years ago, when no foreign nation had yet claimed these scattered islands now called the Marshalls, Lannini summoned his men to come in their great outrigger canoes from the northern atolls of the Rālik chain, and to meet with him on Kwajalein's windward islet called Roi.

They prepared *jankwin* from dried breadfruit, which would keep indefinitely in pandanus-leaf cylinders. They gathered drinking nuts, and empty coconuts to hold fresh water. They sharpened the barbs on their spears, repaired their slings, and gathered throwing stones to be used as ballast in the canoes until they were needed as weapons. They tightened the lashings on the great canoes, mended rigging, and renewed the feather telltales at the tops of the masts.

When all the preparations were made for the voyage, the women gathered on the beach to play their hourglass-shaped drums and to chant with the men the prayers to the spirits of the surf and wind. Would the spirits help them on their journey? They consulted the seer, the *dri-kanen,* who consulted, in turn, the spirits. They carefully watched for propitious

signs. When the right signs appeared, the voyage was begun.

It is said there were a thousand men, twenty to a canoe, who sat where the helmsmen directed on the platforms over the outriggers, and who ranged their weapons along the masts and hulls to make a brave showing. Women were aboard; they would stand with the warriors in the coming battle. The provisions so carefully prepared were stowed in the thatched huts on the outrigger platforms.

Fifty great outrigger canoes flying enormous triangular mat sails and guided by fifty skilled navigators trained in secret arts, sailed slowly, majestically, down this vast lagoon and across to South Pass, a leeward break in the coral reef. One by one, they slipped out through the pass on the tide. They ranged themselves within signaling distance of their comrades on either hand in a giant V formation with Lannini's own canoe at the point. They sailed over the horizon toward Lannini's rivals, three hundred miles to the south, to challenge and conquer them.

That was long ago. Now, you might stand for days on the lagoon-side beach of Kwajalein islet at the southern tip of the atoll and not see even a small outrigger, for Kwajalein is a United States missile test site to which the necessities of life are hurried by a constant stream of planes and refrigerated ships. There is no need for outrigger canoes here.

But Kwajalein is not representative of all the Marshalls. On all atolls, even the most remote, the islanders certainly prefer motor power to sail power, and anyone who can acquire an outboard motor doesn't hesitate to do so. However, problems of availability, cost, and repair insure that outrigger canoe construction is not yet a lost art. The canoe is a mainstay, and is used extensively by fishermen and by those needing interisland or across-the-atoll transportation.

As one of the six districts of the United States-administered Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, the Marshalls are serviced by field trip ships chartered by the territory government. There are also smaller trading ships which travel between atolls, and the Marshallese prefer the relative comfort and safety of these

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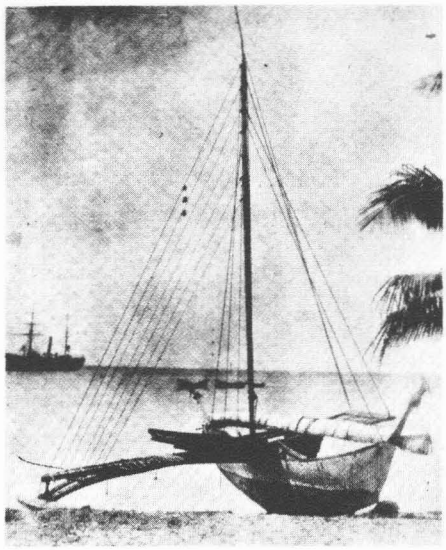
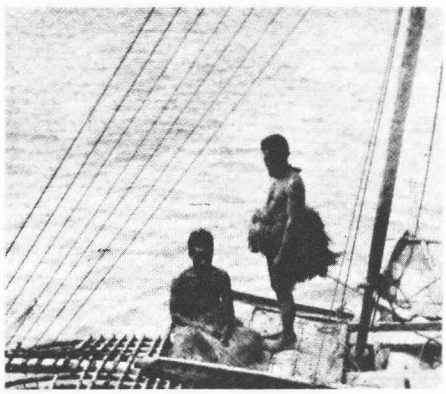




Outrigger canoe with sail rolled and wrapped in *atoro*, pandanus mat sail cover. Note the sennit stitching holding the hull planks together (probably taken at Jaluit). Below, some detail of cross-hatched outrigger construction shows, as well as mod styles for men of the time and clime.

ships for long-distance travel. Before there were such ships, however, even long before the first clumsy Spanish galleons ventured into these waters in 1526, the Marshallese regularly made voyages of hundreds of miles between atolls in canoes very much like modern-day outriggers. These *walab*, or big canoes, were usually larger, but large or small, the principles of design and construction were the same.

It's quite possible, in fact, to read the earliest descriptions of these canoes and find that they fit the present-day craft. At the least, they betray a grudging respect and they frequently run toward enthusiastic admiration. The earliest were written by members of a Russian exploring team headed by Otto von Kotzebue, which visited several atolls in the Marshalls' Ratak (eastern) chain in the early nineteenth century.

Another description, and one of the best, resulted from a famous escapade a few years later. In 1824, a Nantucket whaler named the GLOBE was taken over by a mutinous faction of her crew while in the Central Pacific. The mutineers sailed her to Mili ("The Mulgraves") in the southern Rataks. One night a few members of the crew slipped away in the ship to carry word of the mutiny to authorities at Valparaiso, and the U.S.S. DOLPHIN, commanded by Captain John ("Mad Jack") Percival, was dispatched to bring the mutineers to justice. Only two members of the crew were found alive; both were young men whom the islanders had adopted—or enslaved, depending on your viewpoint. Lieutenant Hiram Paulding, who wrote an account of the voyage in his *Journal of a Cruise of the U.S.S. Dolphin*, had several opportunities to watch the Mili canoes in action as the Marshallese used them to move the two young men from island to island one jump ahead of the DOLPHIN's search parties. This is what he said about those canoes:

...I have no doubt that, in a civilized country, they would be ranked amongst the rarest specimens of human industry, unassisted but by the rudest implements. The model is most singular, and differs from all that I have seen in use....Its construction is so remarkable, and in many respects so inconvenient, that it seems improbable the model should have had its origin in any other cause than the want of suitable timber for a more perfect structure. The depth of a Mulgrave canoe, of common size, is four or five feet; its length from thirty to forty. It is so narrow that a man can scarcely stand in it; perfectly flat on one side, and round on the other. It is sharp at both ends. The mast is from twelve to twenty-five feet long, and the sail, (a straw mat), which is bent to a small yard, is very large in proportion to the canoe. They always sail on the flat side, and have the mast a little inclined forward. It is supported by shrouds and a guy at either end, which is used at pleasure to give the mast its proper inclination. In beating to wind-

ward, instead of tacking as we do, and presenting the other side of the boat to the wind, they bring the other end of the boat to it, making that the bow which was before the stern. Amidships there are several light spars extending about ten feet over the round side, and four over the other. Across these are smaller sticks, which are securely lashed above and below, and over them is made a platform. Upon that part of it which extends over the flat side, they have a small thatched cabin, in which they store whatever they wish to preserve from getting wet, or would conceal from observation. The other part of the platform is intended to keep the canoe from being upset; and when hard pressed with carrying sail, several men will sometimes get on it, to keep the canoe upright. They move through the water with astonishing velocity, and, in turning to windward, no boats can surpass them. Although the natives had no other tools to work with than what they made of shells, previous to the visit of the Globe, *every article of their workmanship is neat, and as highly polished as though it had been wrought with steel. In the construction of their canoes, the keel-stern and sternpost are solid pieces of hard wood, upon which they are built up of small pieces laid one above the other, and closely seized on with the line of coco-husk. The seams are neither caulked or payed, and the canoes consequently leak so much as to require one man to bail constantly. The steerage is very laborious; they have no rudder, and the only means by which they steer, is with a long, flat paddle held in the hands of the helmsman. To steer a large canoe in blowing weather, requires the utmost strength of six or eight men. Upon the outriggers or platforms, and along the masts, they arrange their spears, which are always taken with them, even upon the most ordinary occasions. The canoes are also always balasted with a quantity of round stones, weighing about a pound each, which forms a material part of their armament. Our carpenter was several days at work upon the canoe of the high chief, caulking and graving her. When he had completed his work, the high chief, after expressing his gratification, earnestly solicited the captain to leave him on the island....*

Apparently, the DOLPHIN's carpenter introduced the notion of caulking, and it is known that by the middle of the nineteenth century the islanders sometimes used vegetable gum for this purpose. To this day, however, one still sees canoes which are not caulked. The Marshallese have also taken advantage of certain other refinements, such as canvas for sails, paint, and imported lumber (when available). The long projections and ornaments formerly attached to the stern pieces have been ignored for many years, but the shape of the hull hasn't otherwise changed in spite of attempts to improve upon it using plywood, planing design, or fixed masts, all unsuccessful.

Construction still begins with the boatbuilder locating a suitable breadfruit tree and purchasing it from its owner. He cuts it down, strips the branches, and begins to fashion the keel. When he has hacked out the basic shape with an adze, he carries it home where the remainder of the work is done. Although the tools are no longer made of shaped hunks of killer clam shell, they are still hand tools.

The early accounts usually mention lengths of 30 to 45 feet. However, fifty-footers weren't uncommon, and there are some reports of lengths of sixty feet. Herein lies the major change which has taken place, for the Marshallese no longer build the big canoes. They became obsolete as foreign incursions intensified. In the mid-nineteenth century, whalers and traders were regular callers, and when coconut oil was discovered to be a valuable commodity, the traders came to stay, as did the missionaries. The culture of the islanders was changed forever. The Germans had gained a strong foothold with their traders and had declared sovereignty over the islands by 1885. By outlawing warfare, they removed a prime reason for the *iroij lablab* (high chiefs) to maintain fleets of large canoes. When World War I began in 1914, the Japanese invaded and seized the islands. They instituted fairly regular transport service, thus removing the last of the reasons for building *walab*. Besides, the chiefs had already begun to acquire schooners or barks whenever possible and by whatever means they could. One chief named John claimed the LOTUS after her owner, the notorious pirate Bully Hayes, had been killed aboard her. The murder took place in the waters west of Jaluit, the LOTUS was returned to that atoll afterwards, and John simply claimed it.

And so the refinement and development of the Marshallese *walab* came to an evolutionary dead end when it was replaced by something with roomier holds, better protection from the weather, and more prestige for the owner. But how did it begin? Out of what did it develop? Comparative studies of canoes and theories about their relationship to migrations in the Pacific seem to indicate that the first people in Micronesia came from Indonesia, perhaps 2,000 years ago, and that they used a very primitive version of the lateen sail hung from a loop passed over a peg on the mast. There seem to be no traditions of double canoes or double outriggers in the Marshalls, or of rafts, for that matter, though the latter seem a possibility since the Equatorial Countercurrent passes directly into the islands' waters from the west. But there is too little information for certain answers. Even the folklore is sketchy. One legend says the first canoes had neither sails nor paddles, and were propelled through the water by parts called "the fishes," but that this source of power came to an end when a ghost on Wotho killed the "fish" of a Bikini canoe. As for facts, only two present themselves: at some point in time people reached these islands in or on something which would float, and from whatever that was they developed the marvelous single-outrigger sailing canoes first seen by outsiders in the sixteenth century. Nor did their ingenuity end there, for as a corollary they developed a system of navigational techniques just as inventive, which has puzzled and intrigued generations of the uninitiated who have tried to understand it.

Atolls averaging a distance of a hundred miles from each other, and never rising more than a few feet above sea level, tend to disappear into the mist at a very short distance. Sometimes, at high tide and with a wind flinging lots of salt around, visibility is limited to two miles. Yet the Marshallese traveled in the old days from atoll to atoll: many great chiefs supervised large kingdoms extending over several hundred square miles; northern islands too barren to support human

populations were visited regularly by islanders who traveled scores of miles to harvest birds' eggs and turtles; members of the "extended families" called *bwij* visited each other; war parties constituting large fleets of canoes conducted raids. It was a highly mobile society living in an area containing far more water than land. And there was nothing, once away from land, to guide the sailor: nothing but the open, empty, heaving surface of the Pacific Ocean.

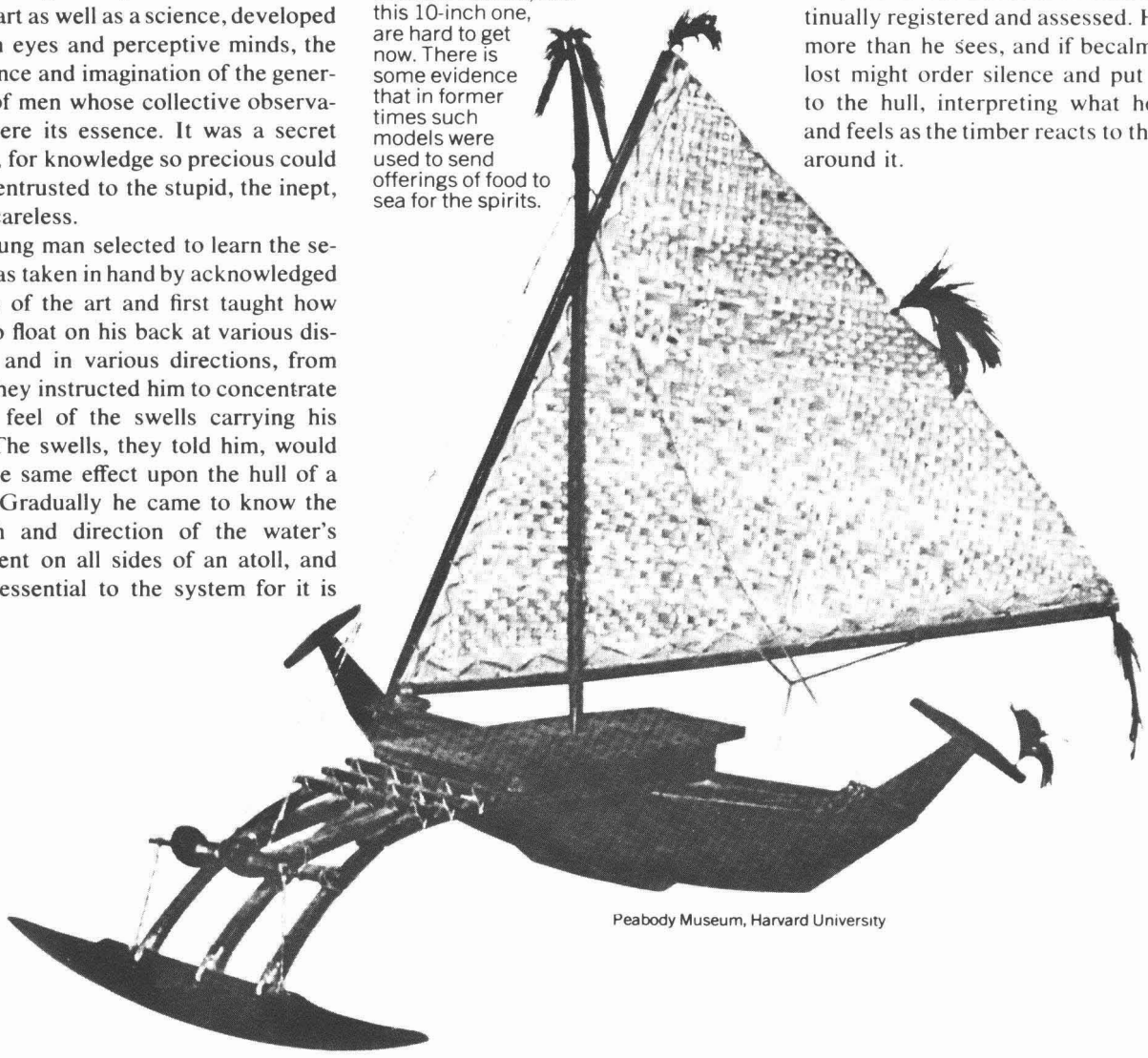
So, having nothing else—except intelligence and imagination—the islanders used what they had; they learned to read the surface of the sea. Although they never ignored other useful signs which might make themselves evident (a flight of birds, a heavy mist in the distance, the positions of stars at night), the single most important element of their navigational system was the interpretation of the signals given by the water itself. It was an art as well as a science, developed by keen eyes and perceptive minds, the experience and imagination of the generations of men whose collective observations were its essence. It was a secret art, too, for knowledge so precious could not be entrusted to the stupid, the inept, or the careless.

A young man selected to learn the secrets was taken in hand by acknowledged masters of the art and first taught how it felt to float on his back at various distances, and in various directions, from land. They instructed him to concentrate on the feel of the swells carrying his body. The swells, they told him, would have the same effect upon the hull of a canoe. Gradually he came to know the strength and direction of the water's movement on all sides of an atoll, and this is essential to the system for it is a reasonably predictable element in those waters. When he had mastered these basic lessons, he learned to recognize the same swell patterns on sight and to differentiate between them.

Glancing at a map will help explain why the swell patterns are, at least to a large extent, predictable, and why the Marshallese could depend on them to the extent of building a navigational system around them. Elementary is the fact that nothing but water lies to the east of the Marshalls. Nothing stops the long, unbroken line of swells sweeping, one after the other, out of the northeast, pushed by the nearly constant trade winds which blow from the same direction. These swells were to the islander what a magnetized needle was to the European—the cardinal directional indicator. The Marshallese call this direction from which the swells and the trade winds come *rear*, which translates as "east" even though the direction itself is more northeast.

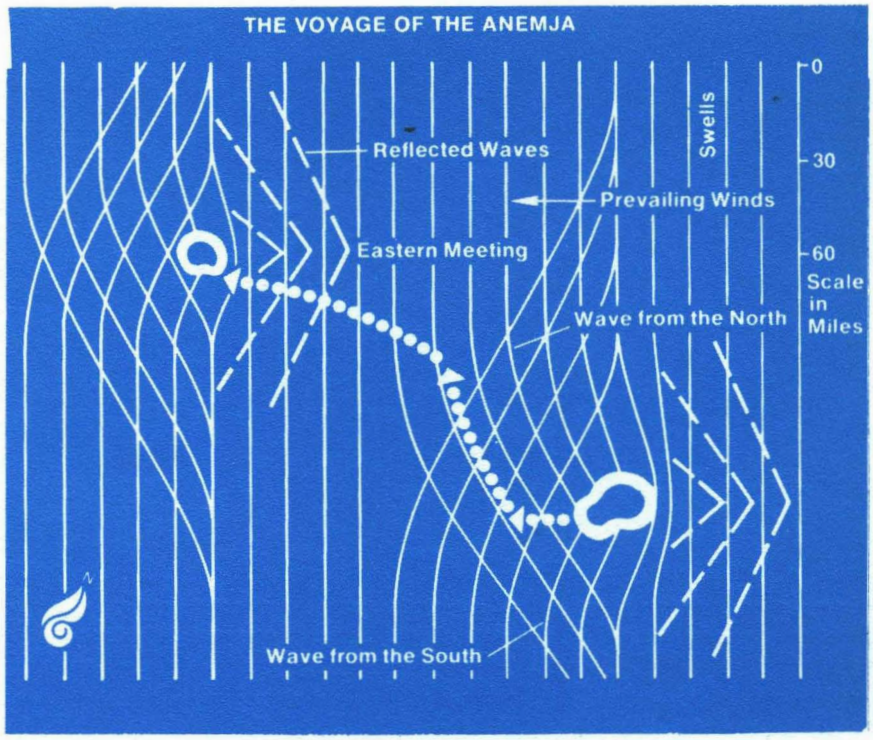
How, then, did the Marshallese navigator use this knowledge to proceed from one point to another? To find out, let's follow the voyage of the canoe ANEMJA ("fast as a flash") between two atolls, remembering that the navigator knows which direction to take initially and, within some sort of limit, how long it should take him.

Finally, remember that Marshallese navigation has much in common with "flying by the seat of the pants." More than anything else, those first floating lessons will help the navigator make his way. He can recognize and name the kind of pitching ten miles from land, twenty miles from land, or thirty. The push or pull on bow or stern, the pitch, roll, and all the nuances of each are continually registered and assessed. He feels more than he sees, and if becalmed and lost might order silence and put his ear to the hull, interpreting what he hears and feels as the timber reacts to the water around it.



Detailed models, like this 10-inch one, are hard to get now. There is some evidence that in former times such models were used to send offerings of food to sea for the spirits.

Peabody Museum, Harvard University



Our navigator sails out of a western leeward channel in his atoll, putting the circle of islands between him and the long swell from the east. Once outside, he does not encounter the eastern swell as such, but must sail through the remnants of those waves which have approached the other side of his atoll and have bent around the obstruction, setting up two other series which form a diamond pattern as they intersect.* The water is choppy. One series of swells moves from approximately north, while another comes from the southeast. The navigator will feel the stronger series of waves from the south pushing the stern of the ANEMJA as well as the northern series nudging the bow. He will search for a "knot," a place where they meet, "fighting each other." When he locates the "knot," he can determine the precise relationship between the two series, and set the ANEMJA on course according to the angle formed at the meeting. The navigator might well decide to sail parallel to the wave from the north, using the crest line as reference for the general direction he wishes to travel.

The pitching will decrease steadily as he puts distance between the ANEMJA and the atoll. And the direction of the swell travel will change with distance, too, for the atoll will cease to exert an influence. The wave coming from the north will gradually assume a more westerly movement until it is once again part of the primary series sweeping out of the east.

A glance at the diagram shows that at sixty miles out the ANEMJA is in water dominated by the eastern swell. The navigator will begin to head down now. Following the crest line would carry him more and more directly north, possibly making him bypass his destination without knowing, but heading down should eventually enable him to intercept waves being influenced by his goal.

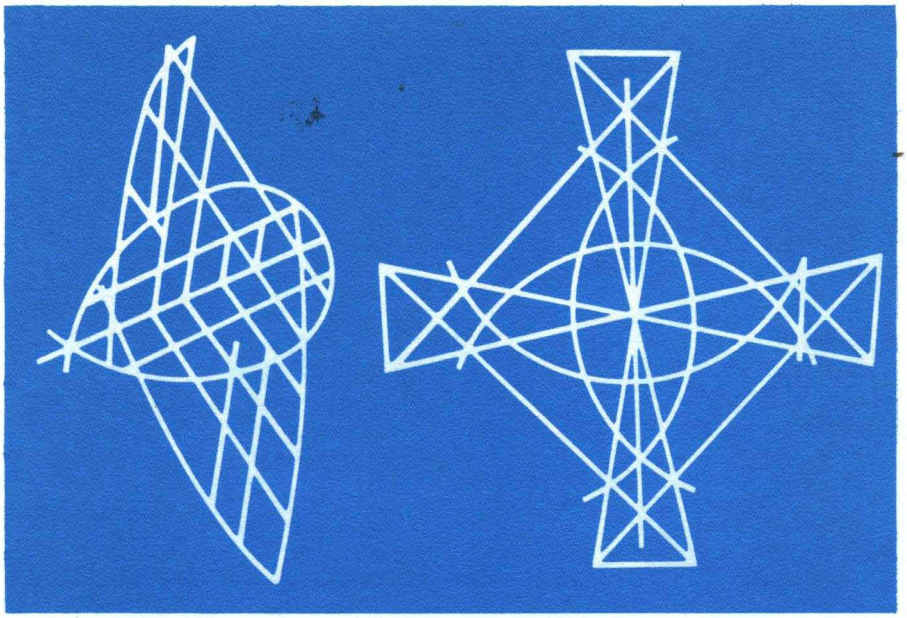
As he approaches the island he is trying to reach, he will feel the eastern swell strongly as long as he remains windward of land. There will be cross swells, too, moving away from the atoll as reflected waves. Two sets of these cross swells move back against the primary series, but not parallel to it. Directly windward of an atoll they meet each other at a sharp angle called the "eastern meeting." The navigator will try to find that angle formed by the cross swells meeting each other, halve the angle with the ANEMJA, and sail before the wind directly to the atoll. More likely, however, he will find a knot formed by one of the cross swells—the one from the south—and the primary swell before he reaches the "eastern meeting," and will use the ANEMJA to intersect *that* angle, which will also put him right on course for land.

Assuming that all has gone well, the only remaining job is to work the ANEMJA around to a pass and into the lagoon. The reef channels of these atolls are usually narrow and shallow; some atolls, in fact, are nearly impossible to enter except under perfect conditions. However, a pass of any size at all will have a relatively calm area in its deepest part, and the Marshallese concentrate on finding that area and staying with it while they keep an eye out for coral heads. They say their best navigators can enter a channel at night, however, guided only by the feel of the craft.

Long ago, the experienced navigator probably drew diagrams of the swell patterns in the sand for his students. From those came the practice of making more permanent diagrams by tying slender sticks together. These stick charts showed the swell patterns and their relationships to islands (represented by tiny shells tied to the sticks). The charts were of three different kinds. First was the *mattang*, a generalized representation of patterns around a single island or atoll. The *mattang* was used to show the novice the fundamentals and to demonstrate theoretical problems. The second variety represented a small group of atolls, perhaps three, and was called *medo*. The *medo* showed details of the patterns surrounding specific atolls, and might be made by the navigator to represent his own atoll and the neighboring groups visited most often. The third category of chart, the *rebillib*, mapped an entire chain (or, infrequently, both Marshallese chains), and while it had little detail it did show spatial relationships and primary swells. The charts were only generalized guides, and, as the saying "The navigator wears the atolls like a wreath" would indicate, the important knowledge was in a man's head.

Before the Marshallese navigators saw fit to divulge any of their secret knowledge, these stick charts were seen by outsiders and aroused considerable

*There are names for all these waves which indicate their direction of travel, and sometimes their distance from land as well. But the terminology is confusing, appearing to vary according to the age and location of the source.



The beautiful *medo* at left, seen by German traders in the mid-nineteenth century, shows two atolls. The *mattang* on the right is the kind commonly sold as a curiosity now. (Both are shown as traced from documentary sources.)

interest. In the second half of the nineteenth century, one observer who believed they had something to do with the stars, said so in writing, and as a result, references to "star charts" still turn up.

While the navigators didn't chart the heavens, they did use the stars as guides, just as they used many other indicators. Although knowledge of the swell patterns formed the single most important element in their system, the other kinds of navigational indicators, which were woven into an unwritten literature of chants and songs, were also an integral part. The young man learning to guide a canoe in these waters had to be a master of legend and myth as well as the accumulated wisdom of his predecessors, for the short chants containing formulas were filled with archaic words, references to legendary events or mythical creatures, brief, disjointed phrases, all of which depended for meaning on associations formed in the mind of the navigator. They might be thought of as verbal stick charts, presenting key phrases as a stick chart presents primary patterns. Whether they evolved into this kind of shorthand through use, or whether they were a deliberate effort at vagueness translatable only by an exclusive brotherhood, I don't know. But it is easy to hear magic in their obscurities, and they were, indeed, regarded as having magical properties.

The formula chants and the related sailing songs mentioned indicators of many kinds. Perhaps the most frequent references were to currents, which form especially interesting patterns here because the Equatorial Countercurrent flows directly toward the Marshalls, moving in a northeasterly direction into the primary swells and the trade winds. The current splits into two streams containing areas of relative or complete calm, other areas of maximum speed, and, of course, limits; and all of these factors were known and referred to in some way. To understand the kind of detailed observation made by the old navigators, consider the "shallow sea," west of Kili Island. The Marshallese compare its conditions to those inside an atoll because, even though there is no visible reef, the "shallow sea" is a circular area of calm water, as calm as a lagoon, into and out of which the tides flow rapidly through a "channel," a narrow area in the open sea. Whether or not soundings have by now proved the existence of a very shallow area producing lagoon-like conditions, I don't know, but the old navigators didn't usually guess about such things.

The formulas might contain references to birds, indicating the canoe's position according to known habits of a species. A flock of birds flying out to meet the canoe was the specific indicator for the island of Jemo. Other references were to trees, perhaps certain trees given names in myths, and growing in well-known places. Stars and constellations were named. To reach Ebon atoll, the navigator steered toward the Southern Cross, called Ebon's Trigger Fish. There were said to be chants which dealt only with astronomical observations. Sometimes the songs included invocations to the ruling spirits of the destination. For instance, when the islanders visited the uninhabited northern islands in the Ratak chain for the yearly harvesting of bird's eggs and turtles, they took great care to approach in a ritual manner, singing songs appealing to the spirits so they would not be offended by the invasion.

Some chants dealt only with meteorological observations, not surprisingly for there are seasons even though the temperature remains fairly constant. Americans frequently refer to them as the "rainy" and "dry" seasons, while the Marshallese regard them, with more accuracy, as the windy and calm seasons. It seems evident that long voyages in the *walab* were not attempted in the high winds. When the summer months of calm ended, the *nat in iju,* or "wind of the star" came. *Nat in iju* constituted notably dangerous sailing weather. Squalls in the Marshalls can be violent; the winds shift from their normal northeasterly direction to southeasterly, increasing to around 15 knots, and doing incredible things to the water. Typhoons aren't unknown, and are likely to strip large sections of vegetation from the islands while hurling enough salt water inland to ensure slow starts for new plantings. Typhoons have changed history, certainly, for it was often typhoon-stripped land which chiefs sold to German traders for copra plantations.

In the old days, when a storm was brewing, the Marshallese gathered on the beaches to beat the waves with palm fronds, while chanting, drumming, and dancing prayers to the spirits of the surf and wind in the hope that the storm would pass them by. And they appealed to the same spirits before they began an important voyage. Everywhere, in the sea, reef, air, land, there were things both visible and invisible which could affect the outcome of a voyage. An eel might bring good weather, a rock might cause

a storm if it saw an untattooed person fishing, a tree might be consulted about the weather (if it dropped a leaf the weather would be good). A voyage would not begin until the signs read right.

Even with such precautions, accidents still occurred and many of the longest voyages were probably accidental. Accidental voyages still happen, of course, sometimes with disastrous results, for few Marshallese carry the old knowledge in their heads nowadays, and they aren't likely to carry life jackets or signaling devices on fishing trips. In the old days when a canoe didn't depend on an outboard, the men simply stayed with the canoe and frequently were blown to the Eastern Carolines. Hiram Bingham, Jr., son of the well-known missionary to Hawaii, reported an entire fleet of Marshallese canoes blown to Kusaie in 1856. He thought it remarkable, but no one else did.

Kusaie, the island most often reached because it is high and easily visible as well as being the easternmost of the Carolines, was often the intended destination. The *walab* traveled there, and even further west, and also far south to the Gilberts. In 1834, an American whaler took a Marshallese boy from Bikini to Kusaie, and the only ones surprised when the boy found three acquaintances there were the Americans. Kotzebue, the Russian explorer, met a native of Woleai, Western Carolines, in the Marshalls in 1817, and was informed that the islander had been told about the Rāliks and Rataks by an old man on Yap, far to the west. (The traffic went west-east, too, for the Caroline islander had drifted to the Marshalls.)

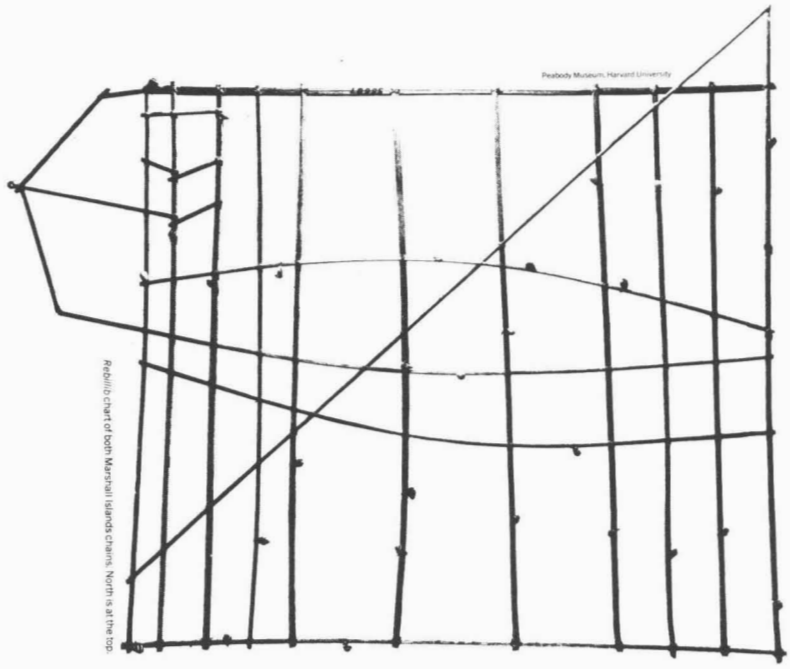
The long voyages in the *walab* were leisurely affairs, lasting many months. They were said to have moved much more slowly than the smaller canoes. Besides, there was never any special hurry about such matters as Lannini's voyage. A missionary reported 800 people leaving Ebon for the northern islands in September 1857, and returning in March 1860. Traveling time, both ways, accounted for many of these months; preparations for the return voyage probably accounted for most of the rest. With simple provisions aboard, the Marshallese could stay at sea for weeks, catch fish and rainwater to supplement the diet, perform their dances while seated on the canoe platforms, spread their sleeping mats wherever there was space, and arrive at their destinations not too much the worse for wear.

The navigators who led such expeditions were men of great potential power, and the navigating fraternity was an exclusive one, composed, in general, only of chiefs and other members of the royal clans. The knowledge and magic were closely guarded secrets – who knew what some young upstart might accomplish if he learned all the secrets? When the navigators died, their graves were fenced with canoe paddles, and their canoes sometimes broken up, the pieces being distributed to members of the family. Honors accrued to those who sailed with them, too. A fast, untiring bailer, or someone else giving special service on an important voyage, might be given a bit of "reward land" by the navigator-chief.

More of all this than just the *walab* is gone now. There are still men who know the old navigating system, but they can, and do, also use compasses and modern charts. And so, what need is there for a young man to go through the rigorous ancient training to learn an art no longer necessary? Besides, it was all tied in with superstition, wasn't it?

I suppose it is true that those most concerned about the passing of the old ways are those who either live in the past entirely, or those so comfortably ensconced in the present that they don't have to push for a stake in it. The Marshallese are pushing for a stake in the modern world; the old ways are passing, for the most part unnoticed. A very few young people return from college with a new perspective, and, their stake made, regret the changes. But most young Marshallese cannot do that. To them, the sooner the old ways go, the better their chances.

In order to save the past until it is wanted again, a museum is being planned for Majuro, the District Center, and with lots of luck, hard work, and contributing friends, the Marshallese and Americans who are trying so hard to establish it, may succeed in preserving the kinds of things which will eventually allow looking back. Future generations of Marshallese will surely gain new insights into, and respect for, their very rich heritage which, lacking vast physical resources, was built on inner strengths – courage, imagination, intelligence. And in no other area of their culture will those Marshallese find their forebears were more inventive, than in the ways they learned to live with, and use, the sea.



Rebilib chart of both Marshall Islands chains. North is at the top.

The development of a territory involves a wide range of choices concerning the nature, extent and pace of development. These choices are not unlimited. There are limitations placed by geographic location, population, natural resource base and other factors.

Economic, political and social development are inseparable. The pace and nature of development will be conditioned by the relative priority given to such values as self government, self sufficiency and preservation of culture.

This article is not an attempt to anticipate the course of development, much less to prescribe a course. It is rather an attempt to evaluate some of the possibilities and limitations that are inherent in the geographic spread and population base, to see how the job market has developed to date and what trends and choices are indicated from this experience. The purpose is not to provide answers, but to raise issues for consideration in the continuing dialogue on the future of Micronesia.

A later companion article will deal with the preconditions of effective manpower development and institution building from the standpoint of the human factors.

Over the past forty years, a great deal of research has been done on the conditions that foster an effective organization, particularly the motivations for learning, growth, commitment and cooperation. This research has thrown considerable light on the author's own experience in struggling with the problem of training in this developing territory. This will be the subject of the second article.

The interest in these articles is in manpower development. No attempt is made to assess the potential of different types of industries, a field in which the author has no competence, except to the extent that industries have already emerged. Manpower development, of course, requires anticipating the emerging job market. The trends to date, at least, give some basis for doing this.

Two assumptions should be acknowledged. One is that the purpose of economic development is to allow as many families in Micronesia as possible to share in development by providing them with dependable dollar incomes. Development plans and policies should be geared to this objective. A second assumption is that the overwhelming majority of the people of Micronesia want development to the extent, at least, that it will give them this opportunity.

MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT in micronesia

The First of two articles by Richard F. Kanost

It is often remarked that Micronesia's development possibilities are severely limited by the vast geographic dispersion of the inhabited islands. There is no doubt that this degree of dispersion is a considerable constraint. However, to evaluate the extent of this constraint and to consider what possibilities of development exist, it is instructive to consider the way in which population is distributed over the more than 90 inhabited islands.

There are thirteen islands in the Trust Territory that have populations in excess of 2,000 [1]. These islands in order of size are:

Island	Population
Ponape	16,614
Saipan	10,745
Majuro	9,059
Moen	6,580
Koror	6,032
Ebeye	5,604
Babelthuap	5,141
Yap Islands Complex	4,790
Kusaie	4,614
Tol	3,608
Dublon	2,732
Fefan	2,463
Uman	2,153

It will be noted that, with the exception of Kusaie, all of these islands are either on the regularly-traveled air routes or in close proximity to the district center. Five are in the Truk lagoon. Some degree of economic development, at least agriculture and fishing, would seem to be definitely possible for all of this group. If the entire Truk atoll is included, as well as Tinian and Rota, which have excellent prospects of further development, the combined population of the group totals 88,351, over 77% of the Trust Territory total.

[1] All statistics in this article are taken from the appropriate Annual Reports to the United Nations.

A comparison of population change between this group and a random group of other islands between 1954 and 1972 is also instructive:

Island	% of Increase	island	% of Increase
Ponape	110	Agrihan	-53
Saipan	85	Pagan	-38
Majuro	495	Mili	193
Moen	174	Namorik	-4
Koror	170	Ebon	-45
Ebeye	355	Peleliu	10
Babelthuap	35	Sonsorol	-15
Yap Islands	65	Mokil	- 7
Kusaie	118	Pingelap	34
Tol	96	Nukuoro	65
Dublon	106	Satawal	45
Fefan	84	Lamotrek	41
Uman	85	Ulithi Atoll	32
Tinian	78	Losap	64
Rota	104	Lukunor	75

Not surprisingly, all of the district centers in this group showed larger rates of increase than their respective districts as a whole. All district centers except the Yap Islands complex exceeded the overall Trust Territory increase of 66 percent. Only two of the fifteen were significantly below the overall Trust Territory rate of increase, compared with 12 out of 15 on the other list. Six on the comparison list lost population during this period.

One thing revealed by population figures is that the population of Micronesia is now growing at a rate which will result in its doubling in 23 years. This places Micronesia among the group of countries with the fastest growing populations in the world. At this rate of increase, within the lifetime of persons now living, Micronesia's population will exceed one million.

Population control is obviously Micronesia's number one problem. All other problems are insignificant by comparison. Could any conceivable development enable these islands to support a population of over one million at a decent standard of living? Of course, there is the alternative of migration out of the Territory, but this will not likely be possible on the scale required.

The population problem is a subject for a separate study, however. The current distribution of population indicates that at least a degree of economic development is possible along the transportation corridor where over 77% of the people reside.

Although Babelthaup, the biggest island in the Territory, has not shared significantly in the development that has occured to date, it could do so with the completion of the channel bridge to Koror and with the extension and improvement of roads. The Truk lagoon contains over 23,000 of the Trust Territory's populations. If the local fishing industry develops as planned, all of the islands in the lagoon can share in this activity. An expansion of agriculture for the local market, at least, is another possibility.

A look at population development indicates that there has been a shift in population towards these islands along the air transportation corridor. Populations need not be increasingly concentrated in the district centers but, with planned development, some can be shifted to other islands in close proximity to the district centers.

In addition to population distribution, it is instructive to look at the present employment distribution and its relationship to the adult working population. The following table shows the distribution of jobs, as of June 30, 1972:

Total Micronesian Employment by District - June 30, 1972

	TT Gov't	Local Gov't*	Fed. Gov't**	Total Gov't	Private	Total
arianas	1,586	75	155	1,816	1,636	3.452
arshalls	946	64	180	I,190	1,544	2,734
ilau	I,018	89	110	1,217	811	2,028
nape	1,353	94	81	1,528	622	2,150
uk	1,221	54	74	1,349	820	2,169
ap	655	69	86	810	311	1,121
Total	6,779	445	686	7,910	5,744	13,654

Municipalities and district legislatures.
ncludes Post Office, Weather Bureau, Coast Guard, Peace Corps and programs such as CAA, NYC, etc.

The figures for the Trust Territory Government are as of June 30, 1972; and presumably reflect permanent, full time positions. The local government, federal government and private employment figures were those reported by the Social Security Administration and reflect the average number of persons employed during the year ending June 30.

The following table shows employment by district as a percentage of the potential work force. The potential work force was determined by deducting from the district population the numbers of persons under 15 years of age and the numbers of students over fifteen:

Employed Micronesians as a Percentage of the Micronesian Work Force

	Population	Potential Work Force	Employed Micronesians	% of Work Force Employed
Marianas	13,381	5,672	3,452	60.8%
Marshalls	24,248	11,549	2,734	23.7%
Palau	13,025	6,379	2,028	31.8%
Ponape	23,723	I2,097	2,150	17.8%
Truk	32,732	17,319	2,169	12.5%
Yap	7,536	4,078	1,121	27.5%
Total	114,645	57,094	13,654	23.9%

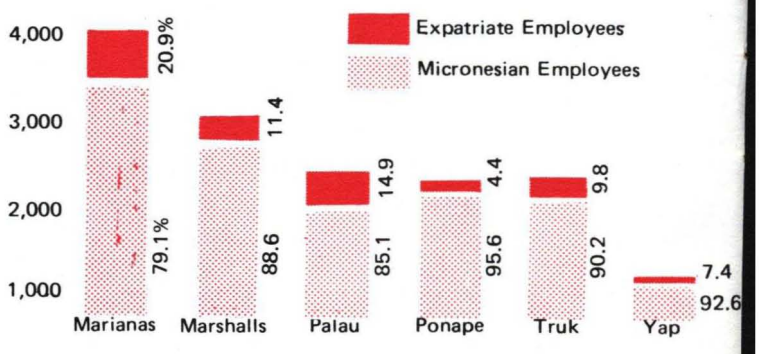
It should be borne in mind that these figures include only wage earners covered by the Social Security Act. Practically all wage earners are included, but among those who are not are significant categories of self employed persons, such as the hundreds of family store operators, fishermen who sell to the cooperatives and cash farmers. Many in these categories have significant dollar incomes.

It is not to be assumed that all of the persons included in the figures for the "potential work force" are actively *seeking* employment. All adults who are not students are included, both male and female. As in the United States and elsewhere, not all married women in Micronesia are interested in employment outside of the home. The figure includes an undetermined number of elderly and physically handicapped.

The situation in the Marianas probably represents very close to full employment. It is doubtful if anyone in the Marianas who has a marketable skill is unemployed, except by his own choice. If the much discussed military bases and hotels develop soon, a substantial importation of labor is inevitable.

This is borne out by the fact that at present the Marianas has a much higher percentage of expatriates in the work force than any other district, as illustrated by the following graph:

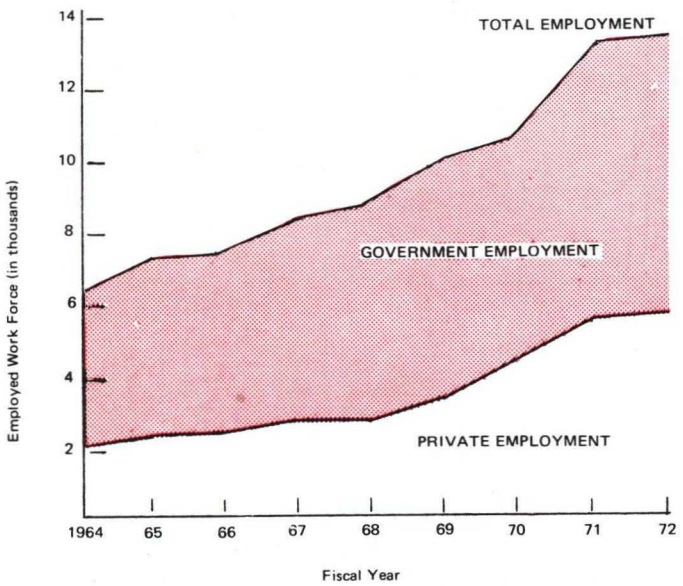
Comparison of Micronesian and Expatriate Employment



At present there are 1,946 expatriate wage earners in Micronesia, of whom 1,314 (roughly two-thirds) are in private employment and 632 (one-third) are employed by the Government. Since importation of expatriate employees in both the public and private sectors is permitted only in the absence of qualified Micronesians, the positions they occupy should be considered, along with Micronesian positions, as indicative of the present job market. Positions occupied by expatriates represent 12.3% of the Trust Territory total.

It will be noted from Table 1 that 58% of the employed work force still are employed by the Government. This is the lowest percentage that it has been under the Trusteeship. The following graph illustrates the trend since 1964:

Trust Territory Micronesian Employment Trend - 1964-1972



There is frequent expression of concern over the continual growth of the government work force. If the goal is eventual self-sufficiency for Micronesia, there is cause for concern, since the private sector must generate the revenues to pay the cost of government. Under the most optimistic estimates of economic activity, revenues generated by the private economy will not support the present level of government activity in the foreseeable future. As the above graph illustrates, the trend is towards a greater proportion of private employment; but the relative gain in private employment will have to accelerate dramatically if self sufficiency is a goal to be realized in the foreseeable future.

Is the government work force too large by any other standard? At present, the government employs one person out of every seven in the potential work force, or one out of every 14 persons in the Territory. Much is made of the fact that more than one in every two employed persons works for the government. However, this measures the state of development in the private sector, not the appropriateness of the size of government employment. Government services are as necessary in a developing territory as in a developed industrial state.

Government in Micronesia performs some services, particularly in public health, transportation, communications, utilities and legal services, that are most often provided by the private sector in other countries. Likewise, the territorial government, with very limited exceptions, provides all of the services that in the United States are divided among federal, state, county and city governments. While some services required in an industrial society are not required in Micronesia, the converse is also true. The Government of Micronesia must promote the development of private economic activity and meet other needs that are peculiar to developing lands.

It is important to bear in mind that there is a built-in inefficiency in the degree of geographic dispersion of the Trust Territory population. No economies of scale can be realized. A school system for roughly the same size territory on a single island, such as Guam, would have one superintendent of schools (with perhaps an assistant superintendent or two) instead of six, as in the Trust Territory. Many fewer overhead employees, such as clerks and custodial workers, could adequately serve the same school population, if it were more concentrated. It would be much easier to maintain proper teacher-pupil ratios in a geographically concentrated population. These examples, from education, could be multiplied many times over for the other departments of government. Although there is frequent talk of the undue size of government, each activity head, in discussing his own department, complains of shortages.

In 1972, 1,645 out of 7,910 government employees (or 21% of total employees) were public school teachers. This is one teacher for every 20 public school enrollees. Is this excessive? The total work force in Health Services was 1,140. This is one Health Services employee for every 100 persons in the population. Is this excessive for a population of 114,645, considering its dispersion and inability to achieve economies of scale? In terms of nurses, there was one for every 686 in the population; one medical officer for every 2,293; one dentist for every 4,985.

With the growth in population, there will be need for more teachers; more medical officers, nurses and technicians; more police officers and others engaged in the provision of direct services to the public. Some increase can be absorbed without increasing the numbers of such personnel, assuming their numbers are now adequate, because economies of scale will be realized with population growth.

Every new government service, program or regulatory activity requires additional government manpower. Such new activities are constantly being introduced, adding to the government manpower requirement.

The purpose of the foregoing is not to suggest that the continual growth of the government work force is inevitable or should be passively accepted. The purpose is rather to put the problem in proper perspective. The present government is not overstaffed in terms of the activities it is performing. Its organization structure is not especially complex, nor does it contain an excessive number of overhead positions. In terms of the activities it is attempting to perform, it is quite thinly staffed.

This is not to say that present government employees are all efficiently utilized and productive. Doubtless many are not, but that is a different question. Improvements in utilization and productivity would improve the quality and timeliness of services provided by government, but would not materially affect staffing requirements.

The principal means by which manpower economies can be realized is by cutting out activities. It can be assumed that every position in the government is fulfilling some need. It cannot be assumed that the need is, in all cases, sufficient to justify the cost. If essential additional services are going to be provided without increasing government manpower beyond present levels, it will be necessary to reduce present staffing by an amount equivalent to the necessary increases.

To do this, it will be necessary to subject each activity now performed by a government employee to a rigorous test. What measurable benefits accrue to the people of Micronesia through the performance of this activity? The value of these benefits must then be compared to the costs. Benefits should at least equal costs. If they do not, or if they are too vague or uncertain, the activity could be eliminated.

This is not to imply that the benefits of police protection, environmental protection and other services can be precisely measured. Even less can the extent to which a given staff position improves the quality of these services be measured. Nonetheless, if a need can be identified and dealt with, surely that need and the measures taken to deal with the need can be described and evaluated.

Although, as stated above, the structure of the government is relatively simple, some appreciable savings might possibly be achieved through structural changes. The problem of centralization and decentralization should be approached from the standpoint of efficiency and manpower utilization.

Generally, operating decisions should be made in the districts. Policy and procedure decisions should be made centrally, assuming the continuation of a unified territory. However, there are some operations that can most effectively be performed centrally. Accounting and record keeping for most activities could be performed centrally at a considerable savings and with greater efficiency and accuracy. Given the greater speed of present day transportation and the advantage of electronic data processing, could not all personnel and finance records, processing and reporting be centralized?

A single personnel representative in each district could prepare all personnel actions for central processing, since payroll is now centralized. What is the need to maintain personnel records in the district? The functions of position classification and examination can be performed centrally with referral of eligibles to the district for selection.

A disbursing officer might well be needed in a district. Could the central office not handle his accounting? In addition to the advantage of electronic data processing, considerable economies of scale would be realized by having one records office, instead of seven.

In addition to evaluating activities and organization structure, it will be necessary to decide what level of government services it is practical to provide to the different island communities, considering population, isolation and potential for development. A classification of local government according to these criteria is needed, with a standard of services and staffing for each class.

Finally, the number of levels of government should be held to the minimum that the factors of geography and culture will permit, and methods of government operations should be as simple as possible.

Many of the methods of operation which have been adopted in Micronesia have been modelled on those of the United States and are too elaborate for the needs of Micronesia. Elaborate and involved regulations, excessive paperwork and other devices intended to improve control actually make effective control more difficult. These are tendencies of bureaucracy which must be avoided.

Needless to say, there is no incentive to try to restrict government employment to its present level unless there is an accelerating growth in non-government employment. Assuming there are going to be alternative sources of employment for future graduating classes, it is very much in the interest of the people of Micronesia to minimize the growth of the government work force. It will take more imagination, ingenuity and effort than is commonly supposed to accomplish this goal. It is worth considerable thought and effort.

Employment in the money economy has shown a steady growth in Micronesia over the past decade. It has increased at a somewhat faster rate than the population, though it needs to accelerate in most areas, if it is going to absorb a significant number of adults now excluded from the money economy, as well as the young people entering the labor market each year.

Government employment, at last count, still provided 58% of the total and is still growing. However, at least since 1964, private employment has been growing at a slightly faster rate than government employment. The introduction of the Social Security System in 1968 has provided a source of employment data that will enable us to see trends by district and industry.

A reduction of the relative proportion of government employment is often stated as a desirable goal. However, a careful study of the situation of Micronesia, particularly its wide geographic dispersion; the lack of private medicine, communications, transportation and other services; and the many needs of Micronesia as a developing territory demonstrate that it will not be easy to restrain the growth of government. It will require ingenuity in rationalizing the structure and methods, and eliminating activities of marginal benefit to the people.

A study of population distribution in Micronesia reveals that it is somewhat more concentrated than commonly supposed, when one considers the more populated islands in close proximity to the district centers. There are fifteen islands that give promise of some degree of development, with all but one either on or in close proximity to the airline routes. These islands contain more than three-quarters of the population. Their proportion of the total population has been increasing over the years. These would be logical targets for planned economic development, each in accordance with its own peculiar possibilities and limitations.

Development plans should be geared to providing as many money incomes for Micronesians as possible. Important progress will come in small increments. Known and tested opportunities can provide substantial increments of new employment.

Even under the present labor market, substantial gains can be realized by accelerating replacement of expatriates with trained Micronesians. There is room for some expansion of commercial agriculture and fishing, where these have already been shown to be successful, just to more adequately supply the local market. With the development of wider markets, greater expansion will be possible. In order for potential gains to be realized, education and training activities must be tailored to the emerging job market.

RERUN

from Micronesian Reporter November-December 1959

The ceremony: High Commissioner Nucker examines the new passport. Others, from left, Robert K. Shoecraft, Attorney-Advisor; John E. de Young, Staff Anthropologist; Lee Shoemaker, Administrative Assistant; Dr. Ngas Kansou, recipient of the passport; Deputy High Commissioner Joseph C. Putnam; and immigration officer Henry T. Burnside.

First Trust Territory Passport Is Issued

On March 28, 1966, the Trust Territory Government discontinued issuing the type of passport described in the article below. In its place, two types of passports came into use. These are the regular passports with a blue cover and the official passport with a black cover. While a number of the earlier passports are still valid and in use, none is being renewed and the new "blue cover" versions are being issued to current applicants. The "official passport" with a black cover is issued to members of the Congress of Micronesia and certain officials of the Trust Territory Government. As this issue of the Reporter goes to the press, a total of 20,606 regular passports have been issued to Micronesians while 78 official passports have been given to members of Congress and certain high Micronesian officials of the Trust Territory Government.

A HANDSOME maroon-colored. document with pages of lighter shade, the first passport ever to be issued by the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, was presented on October 7, 1959, by High Commissioner D.H. Nucker to Dr. Ngas Kansou, a medical officer on the staff of the Truk District Department of Public Health. Mr. Henry T. Burnside, Officer in Charge of Immigration and Naturalization Service in Guam, was among those witnessing the presentation which took place in the High Commissioner's office in Guam, in the presence of various officials who had participated in the successive stages of development of the new document and in its validation for "Dr. Ngas."

Dr. Ngas Kansou of Truk receives Trust Territory Passport No. 1 from High Commissioner D.H. Nucker. Immigration Officer Henry T. Burnside is interested spectator. Below, on a large map of the world, Deputy High Commissioner Joseph C. Putnam and Dr. Ngas point out the area of the Trust Territory for which the new passports are the official documents of identification.

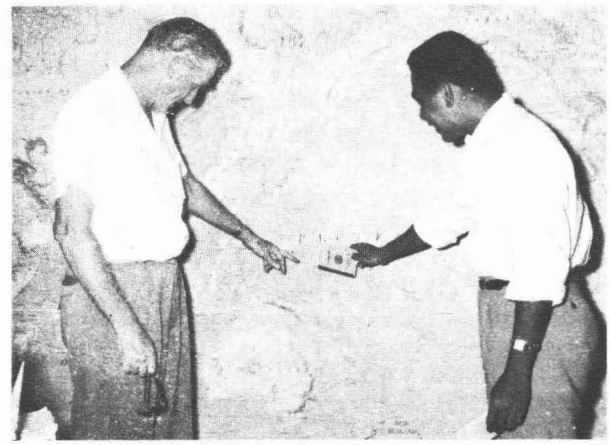
In the future, any of the Trust Territory's 73,000 inhabitants contemplating travel abroad will be entitled upon application to receive an official passport in lieu of the folded sheet of paper labeled "Travel Document" which has been issued prior to this time. The new passports, unless limited to a shorter period, are valid for five years from date of issue, and may be renewed once to permit a total of ten years' validity. They are revocable at any time upon order of the High Commissioner, or by a United States diplomatic or consular officer upon authorization of the Department of State.

Old travel documents now in possession of Trust Territory residents will be honored until their respective dates of expiration, Mr. Nucker stated. Thus it will not be necessary for all those in travel status to apply for the new passports at the same time. However, he said, anyone now holding the previous travel document and wishing to make application for a new passport may do so.

The official seal of the High Commissioner appears on each page of the 32-page document, which has the customary space for photograph and description of the bearer, for official signatures, and for visas.

In accord with Article Eleven of the Trusteeship Agreement, each passport bearer is entitled to receive diplomatic and consular protection of the United States of America, just as is any citizen of the United States when traveling abroad.

The recipient of Passport Number One is known in his home district as "Dr. Ngas." It is customary in Truk for an adult to be called by his first name only. He was graduated from the Central Medical School in Fiji; has had two years' internship at the Truk Hospital, and one year at the Hilo Memorial Hospital in Hawaii. Prior to coming to Guam for a course in anaesthesia at the Naval Hospital, which he is presently following, he was doing special work in TB control at Truk.



Dr. Ngas is now Truk District Director of Health Services. His "Passport No. 1" has expired, and he now has one of the familiar blue-cover documents which he used not too long ago to travel to New Caledonia to represent the Department of Health Services at a Pacific region conference.

Odyssey On Anatahan

by Jim Peters

During the early summer of 1944, scores of American ships surrounded the island of Saipan, midway up the Marianas chain. As ground troops stormed ashore, carrier-based American pilots were raiding all Japanese occupied islands in the vicinity.

Into this massive assemblage of enemy firepower ran a convoy of 19 Japanese fishing and supply ships out of Yokohama, destined for the Truk Lagoon. The convoy had stopped at Chi Chi Jima and was slowly plodding south. On June 12, as it came abreast of Anatahan Island, 60 miles north of Saipan, American dive bombers plunged down out of the sky, sinking three of the small ships. Thirty-one survivors managed to reach shore on Anatahan. Their numbers included eight Imperial Navy seamen, two army privates and 21 Navy-drafted civilians, mostly fishermen. Unbeknownst to them at the time, they were beginning one of the great odysseys of the war.

From the hills of Anatahan, 43 Carolinians watched the fighting. Also watching from a cave near the anchorage were two Okinawans, a man and a woman. They, too, were unaware of the role they were about to fill in the seven year struggle to survive and defend Anatahan for the Emperor.

After reaching the beach and recovering their strength, the shipwrecked Japanese began providing for their most immediate need--food. From the ruins of the damaged ships they had salvaged only three days supply of food, one bottle of iodine, one light machine gun, two rifles and about 350 rounds of assorted ammunition.

Their initial forays yielded little but frustration. They found the island extremely mountainous. Its slopes were steep, lush with foliage and furrowed by deep gorges that made travel extremely difficult. Though the island was merely five miles long and two miles wide, the marooned Japanese soon discovered it took three days to make the circuit of its rugged shores. Breaking up into small groups and combining their talents, the men roamed over the island searching for food. Some wild pigs and chickens were found, but they lasted only a few months. They chased crabs over the rocky beaches, climbed trees for coconuts, searched the forests for fruit and uprooted pulpy pig-feed potatoes (they had eaten all the pigs) from the gardens of the Carolinian natives. They ate fruit bats, coconut crabs and the large, speckled monitor lizards that are still common in parts of the Marianas.

Their early days on Anatahan, as well as the years that followed, were made easier by a few basic skills learned from the Carolinians, with whom contact had been made shortly after the air raid. The Japanese learned where to look for breadfruit, papaya and other edible fruits. They learned to make a fire by rapidly twirling two pieces of wood and how to obtain *tuba*, a mildly alcoholic drink, from coconut trees. The *tuba* dulled their hunger pangs, got them drunk and soon led some of the men to brooding about something else besides food the Okinawan woman, Kazuko Higa.

Since Kazuko was living with the other Okinawan, Kikuchiro Higa, it had been assumed they were married. In fact, her legitimate husband was another Higa - Shoichiro. He had left the island destined for Pagan on June 9, just three days before the survivors landed. (Higa is a common Okinawan name. The two were not related.) Whether he got there or not, no one knew. Somehow, the word circulated among the marooned males that Kazuko did not legally belong to the second Higa, an interesting but ominous bit of information.

The early days were full of miseries for the survivors. Tormented by their own fate as much as by insects and strange food, several in the group began to wonder why Higa, and not they, should enjoy the pleasures of a wife. As they became more interested, a few of the bolder ones offered Kazuko small gifts. Higa, her thirty-two year old "husband," was openly afraid of the others and he persuaded Kazuko to move with him far into the hills. One day, before the move, Kazuko ran off for a brief interlude with Chiba Morio, a young fisherman. The indiscretion was short lived but established a deadly precedent.

Apart from occasional air raids, the war seemed to be by-passing the castaways. Then, on February 21, 1945--after nine weary months of waiting--the alarm went out that Americans were landing on the island. Curiously, the Americans soon returned to their ship, circled the island and landed on the north shore. After a week, during which the Japanese stayed out of their way, the Americans left. It would be many months before the reason for the visit was known.

Within a week of the visit, however, the Japanese learned something important. The Americans had removed all the Carolinians. They were now alone. This fact ushered in four months of daily bombing and strafing, broken by another puzzling landing by the Americans.

As quickly as they had started, the air raids ceased. On September 15, 1945, an American ship cruised off the coast, broadcasting over amplifiers that the war had ended. The Japanese ignored it, thinking it was a trick. The Americans returned with Japanese newspapers and magazines which confirmed that the Emperor had announced his complete surrender more than a month earlier. They were also passed off as fakes and American trickery.

On several other occasions before the end of 1945 American ships circled the island, broadcasting the same message. By far the most disturbing piece of "enemy propaganda," however, was a document addressed to Japanese armed forces everywhere, ostensibly written by the Japanese government, which declared: "To continue resistance is the greatest disloyalty to the Emperor." The captain of one of the sunken vessels called a meeting and warned that this was also a deception. He told the men, "They have failed to bomb us out, so now they are trying to lure us out." Not a man wavered. The month was October, 1945, a few weeks after V-J Day. It would be almost six years before the diehard soldiers and sailors on Anatahan would believe the war had been lost.

Weeks stretched into months, the months into years and there were no more air raids. The garrison on Anatahan surmised that the fighting had either shifted to another area or Japan had won the war and they would soon be rescued. This permitted the men to fight among themselves over the only thing on Anatahan worth fighting for--Kazuko.

Early in September, 1946, Kazuko and Higa were crossing the steaming 2,500 foot volcanic crater atop the island when they stumbled upon the wreckage of an American B-29. Here, at last, was the reason for the American landings more than 18 months earlier. Nobody remembered hearing it crash; but there it was--a tangled, scorched wreck. But for the survivors on Anatahan it was a treasure beyond their wildest hopes.

Parachutes found in the aircraft yielded nylon for clothing and cord that was carefully unraveled, then rewoven into fishing lines. Using stone hammers, the men chopped away the duralumin plates and beneath them found aluminum which was eventually formed into cooking utensils, razors, harpoons, fishhooks, spears and knives. Wire from the springs in the machine guns was twisted into shark hooks. Oxygen tanks were modified for use as water catchments. Engine bolts were fashioned into chisels and other cutting and drilling tools. Plexiglass and strips of rubber were made into pairs of underwater goggles. Everything that could be carried away from this great prize was taken and zealously guarded. When one man discovered a method for making a new implement, the less inventive of the group made copies. One man designed a model sailing vessel from duralumin and copper wire from the aircraft. Another produced a number of banjo-like *samisens*, traditional Japanese three-stringed instruments.

While the B-29 yielded many articles which helped sustain life, it also provided instruments of death: A pair of .45 caliber automatic pistols. The weapons were siezed by two of Kazuko's suitors. For the remaining months of their lives the two reigned as kings of the island.

Barely two months after the discovery of the pistols one of them was put into use. During a quarrel over property and crab hunting rights, Yoshito Naito, a sailor, shot and killed one of the civilian fishermen, Taneo Goto. The date was November 13, 1946.

The murder of Goto was only a prelude to the overture of death that was to be played out on Anatahan during 1947. As the year began, the shipwrecked group numbered

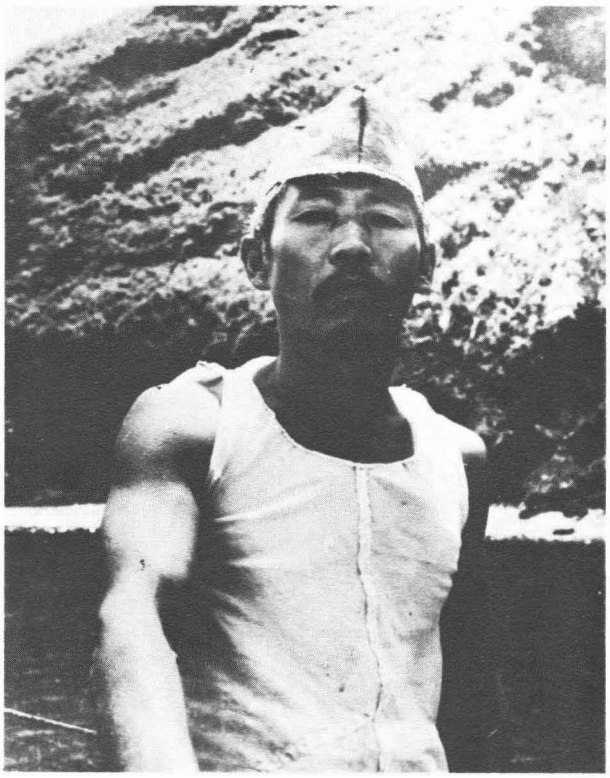
twenty-seven. By the time it ended, four more of the original thirty-one castaways were numbered with the dead, as was the Okinawan man, Kikuchiro Higa.

Though details of the violent incidents during and subsequent to 1947 are muddled, at least three–perhaps four of the deaths were rooted in jealous fighting over Kazuko. In her own narrative, told on Saipan shortly after she surrendered, a frightened Kazuko mentioned only two murders during the six years she was marooned on Anatahan. She attributed all other deaths to illness or drowning.

After their own capitulation in 1951, spokesmen for the holdouts unfolded another version. As reported in the *Guam News,* July 2, 1951, "Out of the original group three drowned, six were killed, one died from wounds from the bombing, one was killed accidently . . . and one death sentence was passed out." In this account, the spokesmen " . . . admitted that the six deaths followed friction in their small society . . . at least partly caused by jealousy over the island's only woman." In an Associated Press story from Tokyo more than a year after her surrender, Kazuko admitted more responsibility for the deaths.

Kazuko's popularity as the "queen bee" of Anatahan never subsided. During the six years she shared the island with survivors of the bombed ships, Kazuko was officially "married" to four different men in addition to sharing herself with various interlopers. Winning the favor of Kazuko, however, had its price. Not one of her "husbands" left Anatahan alive.

Subsequent to the arrival of the first American ship, some eight months after they were marooned, the survivors separated into small groups. At first the groups reflected the various ships or military units to which the men were attached; however, their composition changed intermittently as the tastes or apprehensions of the men changed. A few even lived alone.



Junji Inoue--the day of his surrender at Anatahan--June, 1951.

One such loner was the highest ranking military man among the survivors, petty officer first class Inoue Junji. A loner out of necessity rather than choice, Junji had originally lived with the crew of his ship, the Kaiho Maru. Not long after their arrival on Anatahan, Junji became the figure of military discipline and authority. He was a fiercely dedicated military man with a meticulously trimmed mustache and a small pointed goatee. As the ranking officer, according to one account, he insisted that all except the ship captains salute him. One day, after two seamen failed to comply, he ordered them to stand at stiff attention while he sharply cuffed them on the cheek.

On another occasion, the story says, he enforced corporal punishment on six men whom he heard expressing doubt that any of them would ever leave the island alive. They were lined up in front of the others, ordered to face the East and bow low. Then, one by one, he administered spine-shaking whacks to their exposed buttocks.

Junji's strong arm tactics led to near mutiny among the men and, as a group, they finally forced him into a life of isolation on a remote part of the island.

During 1946 and 1947, American ships, still considered hostile by the Japanese, paid many visits to Anatahan. On one occasion an American boat sent men ashore to leave more newspapers and magazines which they hoped would convince the stubborn band of stragglers that the war had ended. Several of the Japanese were walking along the shore when they came upon the four men. They continued nonchalantly about their business, assuming the others were their compatriots as they were wearing only loincloths. The band came within 30 feet of the four fellows from the boat when one of the crew members said in Japanese, "Do not be afraid, we are from the boat."

According to a story told by one of the survivors, "we ran into the mountains where we stayed for 22 or 23 days."

On another occasion, a band of the castaways were surprised and almost surrounded by a group of U.S. soldiers who had landed during the night. According to Kazuko's account: "The men were very drunk on *tuba* when they went to sleep. The soldiers from the ships had come in so quietly they did not know about them until they were surrounded. They somehow escaped and again retired to the hills . . . "

But normal days for the holdouts on Anatahan were not spent running from American landing parties nor were they spent in fighting over the woman. Rather, they were centered around subsistence activities–food gathering, fishing, fire-making and hunting. The following description of a normal day is from the unpublished first interview with Kazuko Higa taken just after her rescue from Anatahan in 1950. Translation was by Kan Akatani, a Japanese employee of the Navy Administration, with transcription by Elouise Johnson:

> As soon as dawn broke, some of the men climbed coconut trees. This served two purposes–one as a lookout for enemies and the other to start cutting for *tuba.* We prepared *tuba* each day and saved it for the evening meal. All but two of our party drank at least one liter (slightly more than a quart) a day. It served to fill us up, economized on food and made us drunk enough to sleep soundly.
>
> Often the entire day's meals would be prepared at one time. Fires were made at an early hour to minimize the danger of smoke being seen. At first we made fire by rubbing two sticks together but later we used our "firemaker." This consisted of a little charcoal in a coconut shell and a piece of glass to catch the rays of the sun.

The mainstay of our meals was taro. It was cooked with coconut oil and salt water to give it flavor. When we had meat it was often put in the bottom of the pan so the flavor would permeate the taro.

When the morning meal was over, two or three men would go out looking for crabs and lizards. To catch the long lizards, (up to five feet) a length of fibre rope was attached to a stick. When the lizard heard it he would stop and listen with his head up. At that point the noose was thrown around his head. The lizards were either roasted, cooked with taro or salted and dried for future use. At first we used the skins to make purses and cigarette cases to take home to Japan, but our tanning process was not successful and they soon deteriorated with mildew.

The copra racks that the NKK (South Seas Development Company) had used on the island had small gauge rails. We took some of these rails and twisted them into hooks for catching coconut crabs. It was no trouble to locate the crabs as they would leave a wake of coconut shells in their path as they went along and would end up in a hole. In the early morning it was easy to reach the hook into the hole and pull them out.

We caught rain water by tying the leaves of young palm trees so the rain would drip into a bottle or flask.

There were no streams for bathing. Having lived on Pagan I had seen some of the natives dig up a root to wash their clothes with. I did not know which root it was but remembered how it smelled and that it lathered better than any soap or shampoo. By trial and error I found this root to use as soap.

We made slippers with pandanus plant. They had only toes and soles, but were good for gripping on the rocks. We wore wooden clogs around our huts.

There was a large black fowl on the island that sometimes laid 70 eggs in one place. The hen lays the eggs, then goes off, waiting for them to hatch by themselves as the ground is the right temperature for hatching. We would look for such eggs and would eat them directly from the shells by sucking them. At one time I had 400 of the eggs. They would keep as long as two months without spoiling. They were almost all yolk.

We got sugar from the cane that grew wild on the island. We would chop the sugar cane into small pieces and heat it to extract the juice. This would continue cooking until sugar was formed.

Very early we consumed all the tobacco that was growing on the island. We used the leaves, the stems and every bit of it we could get. Then, for something to smoke, we dried papaya leaves, crushed them and rolled them up in a banana leaf.

About noon all those who had gone looking for crabs and lizards would return to their huts. After the noon meal almost everyone would lie around their huts just talking and resting. The conversation was generally about how good the weather was, when we might be rescued and such.

We always ate the evening meal early, before it got dark. Then we got to the *tuba.* While drinking it we would converse, sing, then sleep soundly.

Most fishing was done at night. It was usually a party because the *tuba* was carried along. Fishing parties usually consisted of two or three people.

During the summer of 1949, Lieutenant Commander James B. Johnson was attending the U.S. Navy's post graduate school in Monterey, California. One day the subject of the castaways on Anatahan was brought up in class. Johnson said he recalled hearing about the holdout garrison while he was on Saipan in late 1944. They discussed the numerous thwarted attempts by the Navy to convince the holdouts that the war had ended. Johnson remembers making the remark in class—"They can be gotten off."

He was right, of course, but he had no way of knowing that events were taking place on Saipan at that very moment which were undermining future efforts to remove the Anatahan holdouts. Army demolition teams were at work that summer attempting to detonate thousands of tons of ordnance which had been stockpiled on Saipan for the planned invasion of Japan. From Anatahan, sixty miles to the north, the stranded Japanese could hear what sounded like the unmistakable thunder of combat. To the loyal Nipponese warriors, the explosions from Saipan confirmed that the war was not over—that the broadcast admonitions to surrender were merely American tricks—that the newspaper and magazine accounts picturing their Emperor with American General MacArthur were clever fakes. They were still very much at war with the United States.

Toward the end of 1949, Johnson was reassigned to duty as Deputy Civil Administrator on Saipan. Less than six months after his return he had initiated plans to make contact with the holdout garrison on Anatahan. On June 26, 1950, he filed the following operation order:

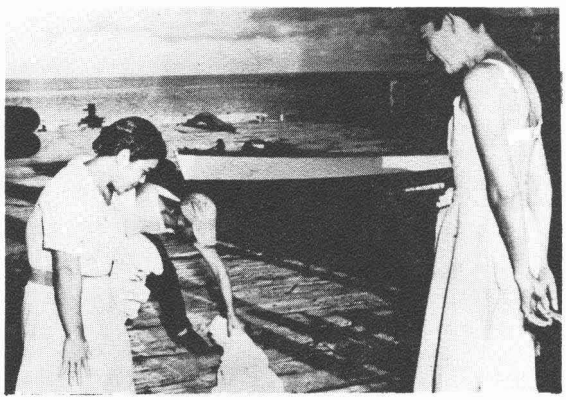
> "The sole mission of this expedition shall be to make a peaceful contact with the Japanese Nationals known to be on the Island of Anatahan . . .The party will use every means at its disposal to accomplish this mission including the delivery of mail addressed to the inhabitants, delivery of papers, magazines, food supplies, Japanese beer and cigarettes."

Several weeks after Yoshino, her third husband, had been stabbed to death, Kazuko was married to his murderer and her original paramour, Chiba Morio. By all accounts, Chiba proved a jealous, uncompromising tyrant. When he drank he beat Kazuko . . . and he drank almost daily. After more than eight months of putting up with Chiba, the lone woman on Anatahan ran off to fend for herself.

Taking care of herself was a new experience for Kazuko. During her six year stay on Anatahan she had never been wanting for company. But now, after the years of violence and killing, coupled with the recent beatings from Chiba, she was alone and in fear of her life. Kazuko prayed for deliverance. Anything would be better than her present condition. After eleven days of hiding she sighted a transport ship. She waved frantically, but the ship kept going. On the morning of the twelfth day away from Chiba she awoke and there, in the anchorage, was a small tugboat, the *Miss Susie.* Had her prayers been answered?

From her hiding place near the edge of the jungle, Kazuko watched four men come ashore in a small boat. They left a package on the beach, then split into pairs and disappeared from her view. When they returned she cautiously emerged from the jungle fringe . . .

Standing on the deck of the *Miss Susie,* LCDR Johnson stared in disbelief. The launch was returning but something was wrong. He had sent four men ashore—five were returning. As he soon discovered, one of the men had given his clothes to the terrified Kazuko who feared a sniper's sudden reprisal should Chiba or the others be watching from the mountain rising behind them almost vertically out of the Anatahan anchorage. At last, nearly six years after she was marooned, Kazuko Higa was on her way home.



The first woman Kazuko Higa had seen in six years was Eloise Johnson, wife of Lt. Cdr. James Johnson, Deputy Civil Administrator on Saipan. Kazuko is pictured here aboard the Miss Susie on the day of her surrender in June, 1950, and on her arrival at Charlie Dock, Saipan, shortly after that.

Kazuko Higa watched cautiously as the small boat approached Anatahan. She emerged from the jungle later, and, in the lower photo, poses aboard Miss Susie with her "rescue party." Lt. Cdr. Johnson is at right.

Kazuko's influence lingered beyond her physical departure. Before she left she had incriminated Chiba for the murder of Yoshino. She told another man how Chiba had stabbed Yoshino to death when he was drunk and helpless. The survivors held a brief but solemn murder trial. Chiba was found guilty and executed with a blunt Samurai-like sword made of aluminum from the B-29.

The appearance of the *Miss Susie* and Commander Johnson at that moment was a coincidence but certainly no accident. Since his classroom days in Monterey, Johnson had believed the only way to convince the castaways the war was over was to have their families write them. Among the items being deposited on the beach the day Kazuko was picked up were letters from the relatives of two members of the garrison whose names had been remembered by one of the Carolinians removed in 1945.

The following excerpt is from a letter written to chief petty officer Junji by his father in law:

> Earnestly waiting for five years since surrender in vain. We finished your funeral service on the day when we received an official notice of your death. Still could not help thinking that you were among those who survived in a remote island in the South. Just at that time we were informed you were living to our greatest pleasure. Understanding well your state of mind as a warrior, I beg to tell you that Japan was completely defeated. Still this defeated nation is not maltreated and is living its peaceful life thanks to America . . . "

For Commander Johnson, the next twelve months were extremely busy. He had been elevated to Civil Administrator for the Mariana Islands and was in the process of transfering the responsibility for the islands from the hands of the Navy to the Department of Interior. But he found time to communicate with a friend on the General Staff in Tokyo and with the cooperation of the Japanese Repatriation Bureau began the tedious process of securing letters from the families of the surviving men on Anatahan.

Eleven months after Kazuko's surrender everything was ready and "Operation Removal" was launched. On June 6, 1951, leaflets were dropped on Anatahan announcing that a boat would arrive in the next few days with more than 200 letters from the survivors' families. One of the letters read:

> "My beloved husband, I thank you for the endless suffering you went through all these long years. On November 11, the newspapers said you were still alive on Anatahan Island in the South Seas. I was shocked. My sister and I looked at the newspaper over and over again, holding on to each other's hand and crying with joy for I don't know how long. Today Japan is at peace. It is already five years since the end of the war. The American people are kind so don't worry and please hurry back to me. My sister says she is only worried as to how you will look when you return. Your grave has been well tended for seven years. Knowing your weak condition, please take care . . . "

When the ship carrying the parcel of letters arrived, it was met by a solitary Japanese, the banished petty officer, Inoue Junji. Junji became the first of the shipwrecked soldiers to surrender. Taken to Saipan and asked why he left his island hideaway, Junji explained: "When Mrs. Higa surrendered

to the Navy last June and I read the letters left on the beach from my family in Japan telling me the war was over, I finally decided that it must be true. Since then I have been watching every day for the Americans to come."

Newspaper accounts say Junji was a frightened man. "Some of the others on Anatahan believe the war is truly over," he said, "but a group led by Nakagawa Ichiro will kill anyone who tries to leave. He has been trying to kill me since I received my first letter."

On June 26, Commander Johnson flew over Anatahan, again dropping leaflets. "You are free men," the leaflets said, "and will not be treated as prisoners of war. You may return to Japan or you may remain where you are ... The American government is not concerned with what has happened on Anatahan since you have been there. All 18 of you will be returned to Japan and your families." Four days later, on June 30, 1951, the entire garrison surrendered.

Commander Johnson arrived at the Anatahan anchorage at 10:00 a.m. on June 30, accompanied by newsmen from around the world. The 18 survivors of the Anatahan garrison were lined in rigid military formation along the rock-strewn beach–a white flag of surrender at their flank. They had been there since dawn. After a brief ceremony at which Johnson accepted the surrender of the last Japanese stronghold of World War II, the holdouts bowed a formal farewell to their island home, then were ferried out to the fleet tug, MV Cocopa, for the trip to Saipan, Guam and repatriation.

Ironically, the pacification of the Anatahan garrison occurred as the last action of the Naval Administration in the Marianas. The islands were turned over to the Department of Interior the next day.

Junji Inoue reads documents urging his compatriots to surrender--aboard MV Cocopa at Anatahan, June, 1951. At right, Inoue's personal implements--fiber slippers, coconut husk hat, knives fashioned from parts of the B-29.

Later, during a newspaper interview on Guam, four spokesmen for the group discounted Junji's earlier statements that Nakagawa had turned war lord, threatening to kill anyone who surrendered. They recounted how Junji had imparted a high-handed form of military discipline shortly after the group had been ship-wrecked and explained the details of his banishment.

Examinations by Navy Physicians on Guam revealed that the holdouts were as healthy as they had been stubborn. All were well-nourished. Dental conditions were said to be excellent under the circumstances, although two of the men had infections and all had contracted pyorrhea.

After a week on Guam, the survivors were returned to Japan. Their leap from the midst of the Pacific war into post war Japan was not without surprises. Nearly all were saddened to learn of the death of close family members. They were surprised to find Tokyo a modern bustling city and not lying in ruins. Five returned to find their wives remarried. Even Kazuko, who had returned a year earlier, was surprised to discover she had one husband left–Shoichiro, her legal spouse, who had left Anatahan just three days before it became a home for castaways. But he too was happily remarried, the father of two children.

DISTRICT DIGEST

a quarterly review of news and events from the six districts

Ponape Ponape, one of the wettest places in the Trust Territory as measured by annual rainfall totals, found itself during the quarter in the midst of a long dry spell. District Administrator Leo A. Falcam reported that there was little rain in the district and as a consequence water rationing had to be put into effect. Trucks had to be sent out on daily trips to streams in Net and Sokehs municipalities to bring water to the district center of Kolonia . . .Students at the Community College of Micronesia (CCM) organized a dance group called the Guild of Performing Micronesian Arts. The Guild is dedicated to the study, performance, and preservation of authentic music and dances of Micronesia. The group has members from all districts of Micronesia and has presented several performances in Ponape . . .During the quarter, Kusaie lost its Dental Officer, Dr. Jacob Aliksa, who died of a combination of pneumonia and heart failure. Dr. Aliksa was a 1955 graduate of the Fiji Dental School and had served in Ponape for seventeen years, most of his services being rendered on Kusaie . . . The Ponape Housing Authority has made 32 low-cost housing loans totalling about $100,000 to borrowers. The average homes for which the loans were made ranged in cost from $3,000 to $5,000 . . .And finally, two special elections were called during the quarter to fill in the vacant legislature seats for the municipalities of Kiti and Metalanim. Successful candidates were Alter Paul (Kiti) and Atiner Tihpen, who captured the Metalanim seat.

Yap Former Congress of Micronesia Senator Francis Nuuan died at Guam Naval Hospital from injuries sustained in an automobile accident. The former Senator was walking toward his hotel when he was hit by a car. Nuuan was passing through Guam after attending a Bank of Micronesia Board of Directors meeting on Saipan . . . . An official from the YMCA in Honolulu, Hawaii, visited Yap and had meetings with Yap leaders on possible YMCA programs that could be initiated in the district . . . . Santa's Sailors, the Christmas program of the Navy on Guam, arrived during the quarter with over 500 gifts for Yap school children. The COMNAVMAR Band accompanied Santa and his entourage . . . . The first commercial jet plane, a Continental/Air Micronesia 727, landed at Yap Airport during the quarter. A Yapese bamboo dance performed by young maidens from Dinay community highlighted the inauguration of jet service to Yap district . . . . On the employment scene, Acting Deputy District Administrator Luke Tman resigned from his post after his election to a seat in the Congress of Micronesia House of Representatives. Kuniwo Nakamura of Palau, who served as District Economic Development Officer, resigned from his position to accept a new job in Palau. Otoichi Besebes, also from Palau, was assigned to fill the vacancy left open by Nakamura . . . . Experiencing a two-month dry spell which necessitated imposition of strict water hours, the Yap Islands Council formally requested the Yap delegation to the Congress of Micronesia to introduce a resolution requesting the Administration to survey Yap water sources and to hire a water specialist for Yap District. The Council also prescribed a $2,000 fine for damage or alteration to local graves without permission . . . . The Yap Public Information Office was asked by Bishop Neylon to assist the Yap Catholic Mission in preparing a series of political education programs on Micronesia's future.

Headquarters The Fifth Congress of Micronesia opened its first Regular Session on Saipan this quarter. Elected President of the Senate was Tosiwo Nakayama of Truk; Palau's Lazarus Salii was chosen Vice-President, and Ambilos Iehsi of Ponape, Floor Leader. The House retained Speaker Bethwel Henry, and elected Truk's Congressman Endy Dois as the new Vice-Speaker. Congressman Ekpap Silk retained the Floor Leader's position . . . President Nixon named James M. Wilson to replace Ambassador Arthur Hummel as Deputy to Ambassador Franklin Haydn Williams, the President's personal Representative for the Micronesian Status Negotiations . . .Prominent visitors to the TT included WHO Director of Manpower Development, Dr. Eric Goon, who discussed manpower requirements with officials of TT Health Services . . .Also visiting the TT were nine prominent U.S. businessmen who discussed plans to improve economic conditions in the territory . . . Tom Warren, Peace Corps Director, received an award from the U.S. Small Business Administration for

assisting with SBA projects...Conferences held at the Headquarters included meetings of the Copra Stabilization Board, a Health Council Meeting and Women's Interest Conference...Grants-in-Aid approved by the HiCom included $2,280 for Mokilese boats for Ponape and funds for fiberglass water tanks for Truk District... Juan P. Tenorio became Micronesia's first data processor after training at IBM. Miss Mariana Santos became the first Micronesian Court Reporter for the High Court...Disaster Control Plans were reviewed in preparation for establishing offices in the districts...Also, plans for the up-coming TT-wide Census were prepared by the Disaster Control Office...A survey conducted by the U.S. National Park Service indicated that the TT contains historic sites, buildings, structures and objects which are of national significance to Micronesians as well as citizens of other nations...Micronesians and Americans mourned the sudden death of Larry Anderson, a TT employee for 17 years. Larry died in his sleep at home and was buried after services at Mt. Carmel Church on Saipan.

Truk The Truk District Legislature held a special session concurrently with the Truk Magistrates Conference which was attended by thirty-eight municipal leaders from throughout the district. High Commissioner Edward E. Johnston was in the district briefly at this time and was able to attend both meetings. The Speaker of the Legislature appointed a five-member delegation to attend and observe the sessions of the Congress of Micronesia...The Micronesian Maritime Center graduated thirteen seamen trainees in December, seven of whom were from Truk district...A MEDEX training program of the Trust Territory Department of Health Services was initiated during the quarter at Truk Hospital with participants from all six districts... The District experienced serious water shortages and was in water hours during the entire quarter...On the housing scene, the Truk Housing Authority has granted sixty-two low cost housing loans to borrowers. Meanwhile, a new Civic Action Team arrived during the quarter to continue work on projects in Namoneas and Faichuk areas...Truk continued to expand its tourist industry, as numbers of visitors to the district increased. In November only 57 visitors stopped at Truk; in December the number was 197; and January saw 334 tourists visiting the islands...Trust Territory Chief Justice Harold Burnett denied Continental's motion to dismiss a class action lawsuit filed by twenty four employees of Continental Hotel in Truk. The employees demanded that Continental Hotel pay wages in the same range as those paid to Trust Territory Government employees in comparable jobs. Chief Justice Burnett ruled in favor of the Truk employees.

Marshalls Dr. John Steele from Canada, and Dr. Masao Korean, the latest Marshallese graduate of the Fiji School of Medicine, joined the District Health Services staff during the quarter, providing a much needed boost to the hospital services in the district... The new Majuro International Airport is now in operation. The 7,200 ft. runway was formally opened in official completion ceremonies attended by Micronesian dignitaries including High Commissioner Edward E. Johnston, and the Leadership of the Congress of Micronesia. Contractors are still in the process of constructing the new terminal building which, when completed, will give the Marshalls District the most modern airport in the Trust Territory. At present a temporary terminal building is in use at the airport site...Tropical Storm Violet baffled the weathermen with its irregular movements travelling from the Eastern end of the district, through the northern sector, and finally exiting through the western islands. Violet kept Radio Station WSZO continuously in operation for approximately 114 hours. Fortunately, damage from Violet was not as extensive as earlier predicted...Larry Hastings joined the district staff as CIP manager. The M/V Palau Islander went aground on the reef near Ebadon in the west end of Kwajalein Atoll. Initial investigation of the incident seems to indicate there may have been defects in the steering system of the vessel. Salvage experts have been very pessimistic about the recovery of the old ship...Several visitors to the district, including one large diving tour group, bypassed Majuro as a result of an outbreak of infectious hepatitis in the district center. Reports now indicate the disease is under control and restrictions on travellers have been lifted.

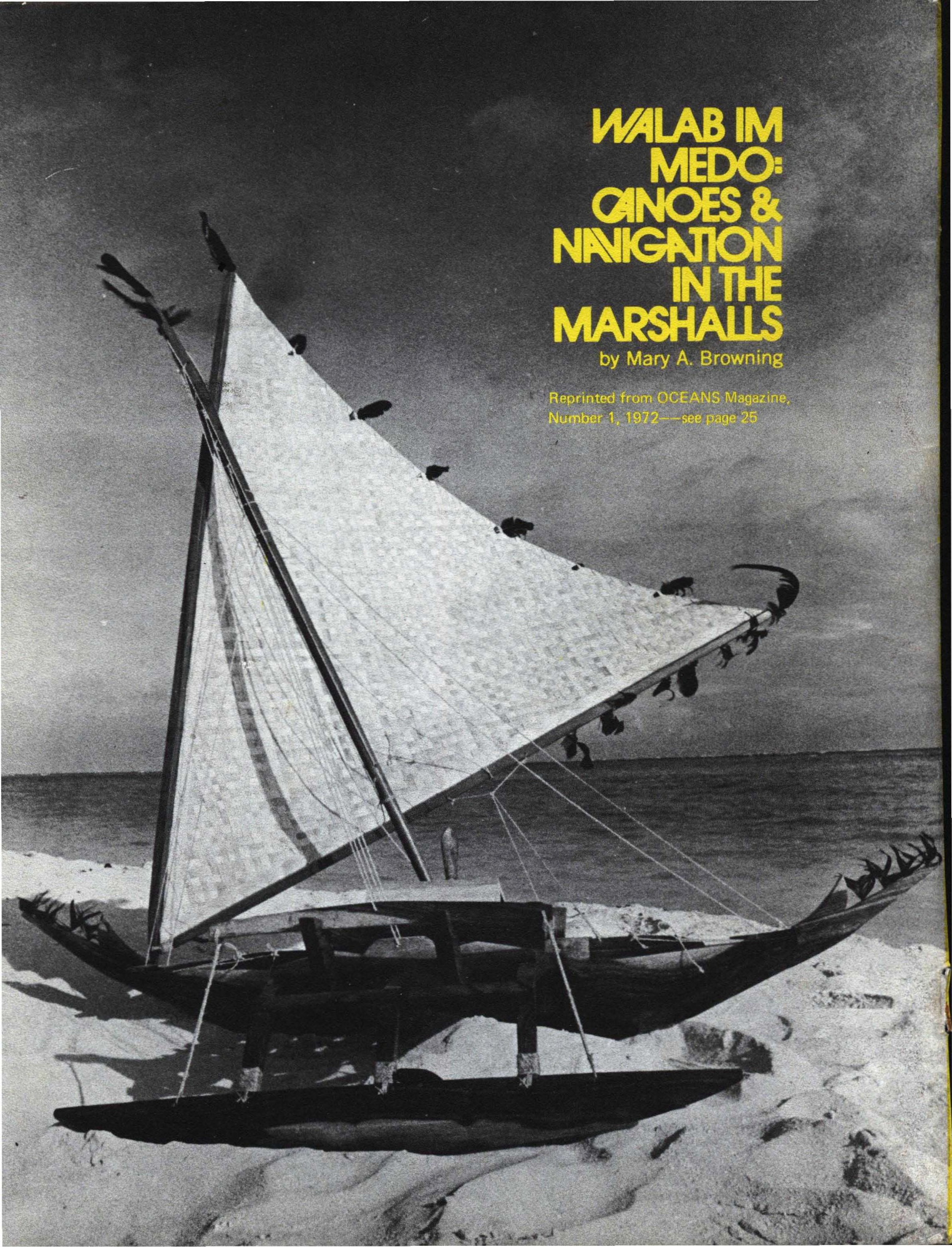
Marianas The Marianas District hosted the District Administrators' Conference during the quarter...The quarter was noteworthy for the formal opening of negotiations between the Marianas Status Commission and the U.S. delegation for achieving a union between the Marianas Islands and the United States. The meetings consisted of a festive inaugural ceremony, a public plenary opening session and informal working talks. Both sides reviewed the history of the repeated expressions of the desires of the people of the Mariana Islands for a "close and permanent affiliation with the United States." Plans and procedures for future negotiating sessions were worked out. It was agreed that the next meeting, which would concentrate on matters of substance, would be held on Saipan in the Spring of this year... Marianas District Administrator Francisco C. Ada and the Mayor of Saipan, Vicente D. Sablan, hosted a dinner for the elderly citizens of Saipan, an annual occasion initiated in 1970. The occasion was filled with much fun and merriment, with many of the guests of honor dancing to the tunes of the ***batsos*** and

Sotis . . . On the visitor roster, a Pan American 707 Airliner flew direct from Japan to Saipan's Kobler field with 136 Japanese tourists. This was the second time that a charter flight by an aircraft of that size has ever landed on Saipan . . .The Leadership of the Congress of Micronesia and officials of the Executive Branch of the Trust Territory Government made the decision to hold the First Regular Session of the Fifth Congress of Micronesia on Saipan, thus returning the Congress to Saipan following the fire which destroyed the Congress chambers in February of 1971.

Palau Palau traditional and elected leaders, with the exception of the members of the Congress of Micronesia, issued in November a declaration opposing the use of lands in Palau by the United States military. The declaration was an answer to a proposed visit by the Sub-committee on Land Matters of the Congress Joint Committee on Future Status and a U.S. Military Survey Team which was made known to the Palauan leaders in early November of last year. The proposed visit was intended to survey and designate land areas in the Palau District for possible use by the U.S. Military as envisioned in the draft compact worked out by the Joint Committee and the U.S. Delegation headed by Ambassador Franklin Haydn Williams. The visit was called off following issuance of the declaration. Ambassador Williams and Senator Lazarus Salii, Chairman of the Joint Committee on Status, traveled to Palau during the quarter to assess the Palau land situation as it related to further negotiations on the Status issue . . .Fourteen residents of Arkabesang hamlet of Koror received certificates of land ownership issued by the Palau Land Commission, becoming the first group in Palau to acquire land titles under the Trust Territory Land registration program . . .High Chief Reklai, Acting High Chief Ibedul (Takeo Yano) and two members of the District Legislature, including Mayor Fritz Rubasch of Koror, met on Saipan with members of the Congress of Micronesia at the invitation of Senator Lazarus Salii to discuss the land situation in Palau District . . .Dave Shay, Palau's District Director of Public Works, received a $300 incentive award for his excellent performance in maintaining the Koror Power and Water systems in good running condition despite defective machinery . . .On the employment scene, Bonifacio Basilius, who was Distad Thomas Remengesau's Administrative Officer, transferred to Headquarters Public Information Division; David Ngirmidol was hired as Palau's new Public Information Officer, and Jonathan Emul, who headed the District Civic Affairs Office, assumed a new job as head of the District Community Development Office . . .The District hosted an intensive four-week police supervisory training course for nineteen officers from all six districts . . .The Trust Territory Health Council held its conference on Koror where a variety of Health programs were discussed, particularly the construction of dispensaries and the kinds of services they render to people outside of the district centers.

District correspondents:
Marianas, Manuel Sablan; Marshalls, Tony DeBrum; Palau, David Ngirmidol; Truk, Noha Ruben; Yap, Wilfred Gorongfel; Headquarters, Patrick Mangar. Ponape compiled from monthly reports.

A modest microfilm center has been established at Trust Territory Headquarters on Saipan, and personnel there are in the process of transferring to microfilm a number of public documents. Among these are the complete file of Micronesian Reporter magazines and the issues of the Reporter's predecessor publication, Micronesian Monthly, dating back to November, 1951. The file copies of the Public Information Division's daily news service-- Micronesian News Service--are also being put on film for the years 1968 through 1972. Anyone interested in buying copies of films or printouts from the films of these or other documents which might be available is invited to inquire at the Public Information Division, Trust Territory Headquarters, Saipan, Mariana Islands 96950.



WALAB IM MEDO: CANOES & NAVIGATION IN THE MARSHALLS

by Mary A. Browning

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