

# Micronesian Reporter

SECOND QUARTER 1977

With his wife Isobel by his side witnessing the occasion, Mr. Adrian P. Winkel is sworn-in July 9th as new High Commissioner of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands by Interior Undersecretary James A. Joseph. The newly appointed Director of the Office of Territorial Affairs (DOTA) Mrs. Ruth G. Van Cleve holds the Bible during the ceremony.





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# MicronesianReporter

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**PUBLISHER:**

Adrian P. Winkel, High Commissioner; Strik Yoma, Director of Public Affairs. The Public Information Division, Department of Public Affairs, Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

**EDITORIAL BOARD:**

Lazarus Salii, Territorial Planner & Chairman of the Editorial Board; Dwight Heine, Special Consultant to HiCom.; David Ramarui, T.T. Director of Education; Dana Smith, Acting Counsel, Congress of Micronesia; Mrs. Elizabeth Udui, Chief, Foreign Investment Branch, R & D; and Samuel McPhetres, Education for Self-Government Researcher, Public Affairs Department.

**EDITORIAL STAFF:**

Bonifacio Basilius, Chief, Public Information Division; Valentine N. Sengebau, Assistant Editor, Micronesian Reporter; Frank S. Rosario, Bureau Chief, Micronesian News Service; Derson Ramon, Assistant Editor Highlights.

**PRODUCTION STAFF:**

Graphic Artist, Nicolas C. Guerrero; Photographer, Johannes Ngiraibuuch

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# This Quarter's Worth

It is a rare occurrence when the Micronesian Reporter can interview both the new Director of the Office of Territorial Affairs, and the new High Commissioner of the Trust Territory Government simultaneously. This opportunity came during the "round-table" discussions recently held in Hawaii when the Micronesian Reporter was able to interview both Mrs. Ruth G. Van Cleve, Director of the Territorial Affairs, and Adrian P. Winkel, High Commissioner of the TTPI.

The new progressive income tax recently enacted by the Congress of Micronesia has become an emotional and political issue in Micronesia. The new law, Public Law 7-32, has brought with it protests from every corner of Micronesia. Some said it was too soon for such a tax; some said that the rates were too high; and others complained that some Micronesians would be taxed unfairly by the new law. There are still other people who feel that the law is too complicated and difficult to understand and enforce. Sam McPhetres, in his article, says that the age of dependency on U.S. dollars is coming to an end, and Micronesians, if they want to continue to have better public services like schools, hospitals, communications, and transportation, should assume the responsibilities of financing these facilities and activities.

Mrs. Nancy Rody, in "Food For Tomorrow's Children", looks into the year 2000 and offers a glimpse at the population explosion with a rather grim

picture of supply and demand of food. She asserts that Micronesians should start to utilize their local produce, rather than depend on import "surplus".

Carl Heine's article, "Toward a New United States-Micronesian Partnership" is thought provoking and at the same time offers a stimulating and challenging new concept. Some people might label it, "for adults only" like a late evening show. We let the reader be the judge.

It may sound like one of the hits in the 40's, "it's been a long, long time...", but Jim Hall's descriptive article about the exodus of the people of Enewetak in the Marshalls during the A-Bomb and H-Bomb tests in the 50's, the clean up and the return of the inhabitants after some twenty-odd years to find their home islands entirely desolated and altered, should give you that funny feeling... "it did not end with a bang, but with a whimper".

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## Who's Who

*...in this issue of the Reporter*

**Samuel F. McPhetres** is attached with the Division of Political Affairs of the Department of Public Affairs. He was a District Director of Peace Corps in Truk; a school teacher in Alaska, and he worked for the Trust Territory Department of Education before he joined the T.T. Public Affairs staff. McPhetres contributed "A Micronesian Income Tax: What Is It?"

**Mrs. Nancy Rody** has written several articles for the Micronesian Reporter in the past. As a registered dietitian and nutritionist, Mrs. Rody is concerned about Micronesians who are falling head over heels on imported canned foods and are neglecting their own fresh and nutritious local produce. She asserts that the area will have a problem feeding its increasing population by the year 2000. The continuous flow of imported foods into Micronesia will be both too expensive and of questionable value, she states.

**Carl Heine** is Deputy Director of the Trust Territory Public Affairs Department. He is presently in Honolulu working for his Ph. D. at the East-West Center. Carl has written

several articles for the Reporter in the past. He says in the article, "Toward a New United States-Micronesian Partnership" that a new political entity for Micronesia is imperative. He recommends that each district should be given a chance to develop and advance at its own rate.

**Jim V. Hall**, the Trust Territory High Commissioner's Press Secretary, has written several stories for the magazine. In this issue, Hall writes about the Enewetak people returning home after 29 years in exile.

"The arrivals seemed genuinely pleased at first with what they saw as they went ashore. The children quickly ran to the sandy beach and through the village area where unlike Ujelang, there were few rocky areas. The older folks sat under nearby palm trees to enjoy the pause that refreshes. Others strolled through the converted Butler buildings which were to be their temporary homes until new ones are built.

After the obligatory luau was over, certain doubts began to set in. Water was obviously in short supply. The coconut trees were old and only marginally productive. There were no pandanus or breadfruit trees. The fish seemed plentiful but self-sufficiency was light years away."



# INTERVIEWS:

## MRS. RUTH G. VAN CLEVE

*Mrs. Ruth G. Van Cleve, newly appointed Director of the Office of the Territorial Affairs, has extensive knowledge about Micronesia and its people. She held the same office under the late President Lyndon Johnson from 1964 to 1969, and toured Micronesia during that time. Mrs. Van Cleve authored a book, "The Office of Territorial Affairs," published in 1974.*

*Mrs. Van Cleve attended the University of Minnesota, graduated from Mount Holyoke College, Massachusetts, magna cum laude, and obtained her LLB from Yale University. She was admitted to the bars in Minnesota and Washington, D.C. in 1950. Mrs. Van Cleve has held offices as attorney for the Interior (1950-1954); assistant solicitor (1954-1964); and her recent job as assistant general counsel to the Federal Power Commission. Mrs. Van Cleve replaces Fred M. Zeder as Director of the Office of Territorial Affairs.*



**REPORTER:** How does it feel to be back on the job after eight years?

**VAN CLEVE:** It feels absolutely glorious. Just lovely in every particular.

**REPORTER:** Could you give us a general statement on your position, as you see it, with regard to Micronesia and its future and Interior's role?

**VAN CLEVE:** Yes, I'd be glad to. It will be a general statement. It has always seemed to me that the role of the Office of Territorial Affairs—and this relates not just to Micronesia but to all of the territories—is to sit in Washington and be as helpful to the territories vis-a-vis the federal establishment as we can. That is to say, we should purvey information that other parts of the federal government need in order to discharge their responsibilities intelligently; sometimes, in fact, to take positions of actual advocacy with other federal agencies and the Congress; and occasionally to become formal parties, for example, to regulatory proceedings. In short, we should be, as best we can, informed spokesmen for the territories at the Washington level. And, on the other hand, we should serve as a conduit of Washington information to the

territories. There are certain kinds of questions that are peculiarly federal, but on which we need to have help from our associates in the territories. By way of an example, it is only at the Washington level that questions having to do with federal funding can be decided with finality. But we should not offer recommendations to the ultimate decision makers in Washington until we know the position and views held by our colleagues in the field. In short, we sit in the middle and work both sides of the street; functioning sometimes as advocates and as sources of information, both in Washington for the territories and in the territories on behalf of Washington.

**REPORTER:** Your predecessor instituted a policy whereby practically every employment position at the managerial level had to be approved by Washington. Would you continue this policy?

**VAN CLEVE:** I hope it has already ceased. If it has not, that's only because the letter hasn't yet been put in the mail. It does not seem to me good or wise or effective administration to attempt to make decisions in Washington that can more sensibly be made in the field. And that kind of decision can far more sensibly be made in the field.

**REPORTER:** At present, there is no deputy high commissioner. And we were wondering what process would be undertaken in the selection of a new deputy high commissioner.

**VAN CLEVE:** The appointing authority, as you know, is the Secretary of the Interior. He will unquestionably seek advice from all quarters that might have informed views on this subject. He has obtained already a great deal of advice, some of it unsolicited, some of it solicited, to which I know he will give due regard when the time comes. He



awaits the recommendations of the High Commissioner-designate, whose views will be particularly important because it is the Secretary's, the Under Secretary's, and my view that we must attempt to achieve as near total harmony as possible between the first and the second office holders in each of the territories where Interior makes appointments. We have occasionally in the past had strained relations between the top two people, be it a governor and a secretary, a high commissioner and a deputy, that has been quite hurtful to the progress of the areas. And we would like very much to avoid that. I don't mean to say that the high commissioner's recommendation will be the last word. I do mean to say that this secretary will give very special regard to his recommendations on that subject, as indeed on all others.

**REPORTER:** Now the Office of Territorial Affairs was involved in these present roundtable talks, will they continue to be present in future roundtable discussions or will they be involved in any future status talks?

**VAN CLEVE:** It is my hope that we will continue to have a very heavy input in status talks, and that we will at all points be represented when such talks are continued. I don't know specifically by whom, but I should want to have either myself or a suitable representative present at all points. And this, again, is because I think this is a two-way street situation. I think we can offer to the status negotiator information and attitudes and points of view which he probably can better get from us than from any other federal source. And at the same time we, as administrators of the Trust Territory, will be in a far more effective position to do our job if we know what's being said at the negotiating table.

**REPORTER:** Do you contemplate frequent visits to the Trust Territory, and if so, when do you plan your first visit this time?

**VAN CLEVE:** I don't know precisely what the word frequent means. I would

hope to travel as often as would be productive from the standpoint of the job that I'm called upon to do. My fundamental belief is that my job needs to be done in Washington. When I am travelling in any offshore area, I'm learning something that will permit me to do the job better, but I'm not doing the job. In short, I would want to come as often as I need to so as to be as educated as I can be. But bearing in mind that I will not be working on my in-box when I'm travelling through island areas, I will not be doing as much of it as my personal preference might suggest.

**REPORTER:** The five year indicative development plan has been a subject of



some controversy because of some persons feeling that it over-emphasized revenue producing programs to the detriment of educational and health programs. Have you had a chance to review the five-year indicative development plan, and if so, what do you think of it?

**VAN CLEVE:** I have not had an opportunity to review it. It has only very recently come to the Interior Department with a request for our formal and official reactions. Until we have formally and officially reacted, I'm really not in a position to say anything responsive.

**REPORTER:** Can you give us some general ideas as to what the Trust Territory might expect in the budget?

Do you think it will be increased or decreased?

**VAN CLEVE:** The question is impossible for any person to answer, because there are so many components in the budget-making process. I have spent something like 27 years, give or take a few, urging the increase of appropriations for the Trust Territory, and I expect to maintain that stance so long as I hold this position.

**REPORTER:** As a follow-up on that, the Congress is concerned that the capital improvement projects part of the budget has not been as large as it should have been to fulfill the stated \$145 million infrastructure that is supposed to be in place prior to termination. This is, I think, the area where there was concern. Will you be pushing to increase the capital improvement program?

**VAN CLEVE:** I expect to do that to the fullest extent that I can be compatible with whatever position the Executive Branch generally finds it necessary to take with respect to funding levels in the upcoming several years. What I mean to be saying is that I am personally enthusiastic about and committed to the development of an infrastructure program that will achieve the objective that is shared by the Micronesians and those in the Interior Department concerned with Micronesia.

**REPORTER:** How much supervision will your office exercise over the administration of the Trust Territory?

**VAN CLEVE:** My office will in fact exercise none in any strict sense of the word. We're not empowered to do that. The Secretary of the Interior is the superior of the High Commissioner. He will look to us for advice and assistance in his discharge of that responsibility. But the line of authority does not, as a matter of law, run from the High Commissioner to the Office of Territorial Affairs to the Secretary. It runs to the Secretary. We stand ready to be helpful in both directions, and I hope we will.





**REPORTER:** Finally, do you have any message you would like to pass on to the people of Micronesia?

**VAN CLEVE:** I would like to say that the last four days that I've spent in Honolulu in connection with the status talks have been as edifying and as encouraging and as exhilarating as any days I can remember ever spending professionally. And this is the result of the extraordinary performance of the Micronesian leaders. Not a few, but

dozens and dozens were, at every point, judicious, reasonable, fluent, persuasive, and splendid advocates of their particular point of view. It is very exciting to me that Micronesia has produced such a large number of talented leaders. I'm not sure where the credit goes. It must go fundamentally to Micronesia and the United States must be grateful for the results.

**REPORTER:** Thank you very much.

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## ADRIAN P. WINKEL

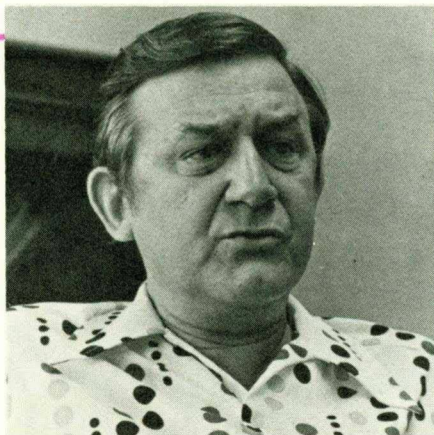
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*Adrian P. Winkel, appointed by President Jimmy Carter and confirmed by the U.S. Congress, is our new High Commissioner. Winkel, at 63, brings with him a wealth of experience. He has been an educator both at the high school and college level; administrative assistant to former Congressman Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota; a Commissioner of Public Works in the city of St. Paul, Minn.; an assistant to the State Commissioner of Taxation for the same state; and he served as regional director in the upper midwest area of the United States for the Post Office Department. His most recent position was as a staff assistant for Congressman Phillip Burton of California.*

*With his extensive experience with the legislative branch of the U.S. Government, Winkel sees his working relationship with the Congress of Micronesia as one of cooperation and harmony, of mutual trust and respect, with a maximum degree of agreement.*

**REPORTER:** Mr. Winkel, you just completed your Senate confirmation hearings and will soon be taking the position of High Commissioner of the Trust Territory. Many people in Micronesia are not familiar with your background and we would like you to spend a moment to tell us a little bit more about yourself.

**MR. WINKEL:** I'll be glad to do that. My work has been in government with the exception of the first 10 years of my working lifetime which I spent in teaching at the high school and college level. I have worked in the Congress of the United States as a staff assistant, first to former Congressman Eugene McCarthy from Minnesota, which is the state from which I come, and subsequently for Congressman Phillip Burton of California during the past six



years. I worked as an administrator in government to a greater extent actually than as a legislative staff person—first, as Commissioner of Public Works in the city of St. Paul, Minnesota, for a period of three years. I was the chief administrator of the public works program which consisted of the typical activities, the planning, designing,

engineering, construction, and maintenance of the streets and public utilities such as sewer, water, bridges, alleys, sidewalks, and so forth. This was for a city of some 325,000 people. I also served as Assistant to the State Commissioner of Taxation for the State of Minnesota for a period of two years. In that capacity, I worked in the area of supervising the assessment of real property for tax purposes throughout the state. I also served as regional director in the upper midwest area of the United States for the Post Office Department for a period of eight years. In that position, I was responsible for supervising the organization which provided postal service to an area of four states with a population of approximately 15 million people through an organization of some 30,000



employees working in over 2,000 cities and municipalities. I was responsible for the administration of a budget of approximately \$300 million a year.

**REPORTER:** Thank you. Now let's turn to Trust Territory government questions. Ambassador Phillip Manhard made a statement in his opening remarks at these Honolulu roundtable discussions about elected positions in the districts. I wonder if you can elaborate on that in any way.

**MR. WINKEL:** Well, I assume that Ambassador Manhard was referring to a program which was enacted by the Congress of Micronesia and which provides a procedure by which District Governments can be chartered by the Trust Territory Government. As a part of chartered status, the district administrator would be an elected officer rather than appointed by the High Commissioner as he or she now is. I think that's what the Ambassador was referring to.

**REPORTER:** During the last session of the Congress of Micronesia, they passed a bill requiring reconfirmation of certain high-level positions in the Trust Territory Government. The Acting High Commissioner vetoed that bill and the Secretary of Interior upheld that veto. In view of the sentiment implied in the bill, would you be reviewing these positions and perhaps replacing some of the incumbent appointees in the Trust Territory Government?

**MR. WINKEL:** As I understand it, the department and district directors and their deputies are appointed by the High Commissioner and serve at his pleasure. On that basis, of course, they are subject to the possibility of review and possible replacement in individual cases. I do not intend to be speaking in personal terms at this time or even in terms of any anticipated plans, but simply in terms of describing the situation. The bill you're referring to, as I understand it, was a little bit different in that it provided that all officials, including those who were not replaced, would be subject to reconfirmation by

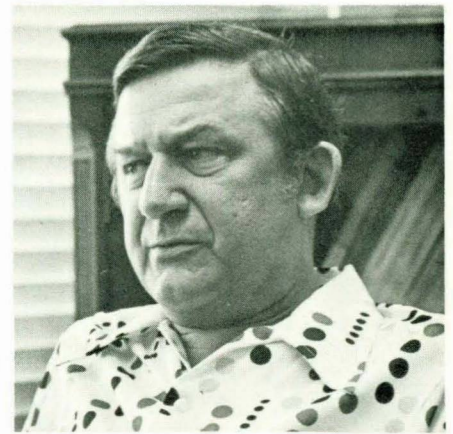
the Congress of Micronesia. That principle goes somewhat further than the general practice or the general nature of constitutions, both federal and state, in the United States. Cabinet officers are subject to senate confirmation when appointed but not when they are continued from the administration of one chief executive to another, as a matter of general practice. So the bill which was passed by the Congress this year went a step further in that respect by providing that they should be reconfirmed whether they were reappointed or not.

**REPORTER:** When you take over your office on Saipan would you expect all the advice and consent offices to submit a courtesy resignation?

**MR. WINKEL:** I have mixed feelings about that kind of practice. My general inclination is not to be favorable. It seems to me to be somewhat like hanging a guillotine sword above a person, which is certainly not conducive to creating good morale. On the other hand, I certainly do intend to review the backgrounds of the various department and district directors and deputies. I do intend to become as familiar as possible with them as individuals, as persons. I do intend to evaluate their performance as I have the opportunity and the basis for doing so, and then to make such judgements as I may find to be necessary.

**REPORTER:** Decentralization of government is another major issue today in the Trust Territory. Do you have any particular feelings on the issue of decentralization of the government?

**MR. WINKEL:** Well, generally, but not necessarily in all specifics, I'm in accord with the policy of decentralization. I think it's particularly a necessary action in the Trust Territory because of the tremendous distances between the capital, wherever it might be, and the various districts. Decentralization of authority, as well as of functions, must produce improved efficiency of operation, cost reduction of operation, highest quality of action by the



government, etc.; such goals would have to be achieved from decentralization. I don't believe in programs for the sake of programs. Sometimes programs become a value in themselves. I do not approve of that, but as I say, I would carry on this kind of activity so long as I'm satisfied that it is justified by the results.

**REPORTER:** When do you expect to set up residence in the Trust Territory?

**MR. WINKEL:** As soon as possible, and I would wish it to be sooner. My reason for not being more definite is the fact that the annual meeting of the United Nations Trusteeship Council is being held in New York in June and I have to be there at that time. I intend to become a resident totally as quickly after that as possible.

**REPORTER:** The High Commissioner has two hats at least, one of which is the role of High Commissioner as the Chief Executive Officer of the Trust Territory and the other as the representative of the Administering Authority. And as such it causes some conflicts in the relationships between the Congress and the Executive Branch. How do you visualize your future relationship particularly with the Congress of Micronesia?

**MR. WINKEL:** I would anticipate and look forward to its being a relationship of cooperation and harmony, of mutual trust and respect, with a maximum degree of agreement. I agree with you about the business of the two hats of





what had been agreed upon by us back home. With all the ability and power at my command I would attempt to secure approval of that which the Congress and I agreed was in the best interest of the Trust Territory. So I'm hopeful that we will be able to have this kind of relationship. Procedurally, when the Administration in Washington has made its determination and the matter goes to the Congress of the United States, then, of course, because of wearing that other hat to which you referred, I am a part of that Administration.

**REPORTER:** One particular bone of contention with the Congress and also with the United Nations is the subject of the veto power of the High Commissioner. We have stated in previous United Nations Trusteeship Council meetings that it is a policy of the administering authority not to veto bills which are purely internal in nature. However, this seems to continue to occur. Do you have any position on that?

**MR. WINKEL:** Frankly, I do not feel that I can properly take a general position in advance which would be restrictive of the exercise of what is a legitimate authority of the High Commissioner. However, I would certainly, to the maximum of my ability, act on the basis of the principle you have mentioned because I believe it is justified. So that the differences which might exist would occur between the Congress and myself with respect to whether or not a bill in a specific case was truly a matter of local interest only or also involved responsibilities of the United States Government. And this would be a situation, of course, which we would have to attempt to work out between ourselves, case by case, if such a case did develop. In this connection I do want to say, however, that I think my relationship with the Congress of Micronesia is going to be influenced by the fact that I've had 13 years of work on the legislative side of the legislative-executive relationship. So I'm very cognizant of and very sensitive to

the responsibilities of the legislative body. I frankly feel that I will be more sensitive to those considerations than the chief executive who has never worked in the legislative role.

**REPORTER:** What priorities will you have for your administration when you first get out to Saipan and take over?

**MR. WINKEL:** Well, obviously, as with any new chief executive, my first priority will be to master the information involved in administering the Trust Territory Government—to know the personnel, to visit the districts, to become familiar with and knowledgeable concerning the current problems, issues, and so forth. Beyond that, a second priority — and this of course will be a continuing priority over the entire time of my service as High Commissioner — will be to do those things which can be done to make the Trust Territory government as effective, as productive as possible. I feel very strongly that the matter of productivity of government is extremely important for the obvious general reasons, and also because a related aspect and another priority is the need for economic development. It is generally agreed that the construction of those public facilities which economic activity requires in order to operate and function, must be achieved as effectively, as efficiently, as economically, and as soon, as possible. How effective we are as a government is going to have a very substantial impact on the effectiveness of that program, and its relationship therefore to the economic development program. I think this is one of the highest priorities. It's not the kind of thing which generates a great deal of excitement... that is, making the government more efficient. Nobody gets very keyed up about it until they pay their taxes. But it's extremely important in the world for general reasons and in the Trust Territory for the specific reasons I have mentioned here.

**REPORTER:** From your experience with the U.S. Congress, do you feel that

this position, which makes the position different in many respects from the position of the more customary chief executive who does not have a higher authority to report to other than the people who have placed him in office by whatever means the system of government provides. But I don't think that disagreement between the chief executive and the legislative body is necessarily the result of the fact that there is this second hat to wear. It has to be kept in mind that in the separation of powers principle there are very distinct and different responsibilities held by the chief executive and by the legislative body, very frequently those responsibilities, because of their different nature, seem to come in conflict with each other. It's incumbent that both the chief executive and the legislative body respect the responsibilities and obligations of the other, and within that framework work to achieve an agreement and consensus with respect to whatever the matters may be. I stated in the hearing before the Senate Committee on my nomination, that after having worked out an agreement between the Congress of Micronesia and myself with respect, say, to the annual operating budget, I would go to Washington with the representatives of the Congress of Micronesia and there join with them to be an advocate and a proponent before the Department of Interior and the Office of Management and Budget of



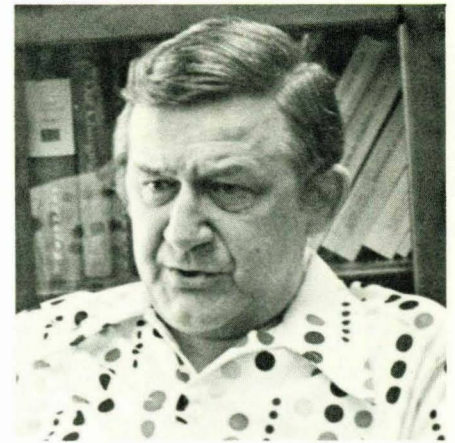
the Trust Territory itself will attract even greater attention than it has in the past?

**MR. WINKEL:** I think the best manner in which to attract the attention of the U.S. Congress will be for us to conduct our affairs in a manner which will leave no question about the merit and justification of our requests, and about the scrupulosity with which we administer the programs and expend the funds provided by the U.S. Congress in response to our requests.

**REPORTER:** In closing Mr. Winkel, do you have any general message for the people of Micronesia?

**MR. WINKEL:** I would have to repeat the words of Mrs. Van Cleve with respect to the experience of the last few days here in Honolulu at these discussions. What has happened here has served to support an aspect of Micronesia which has impressed me from the time I first came to know its leaders and to know its people. And that is the truly remarkable quality of the people themselves and of the leaders they have produced. I recall one of the first United Nations Trusteeship Council meetings I attended — and this is a subject which may not be well received

in all areas — it was a meeting at which the representatives of the Marianas District made their presentation to the Trusteeship Council concerning their request for separate negotiations. I say this without reference to the merits of that issue in any way, but simply to speak about what has so typified the people who have represented all of Micronesia in the various public forums in which I have seen and heard them. The Ambassador of France to the Trusteeship Council said, following the Marianas presentation, that there was no nation in the United Nations which would not have been proud to have been represented that day in the manner in which the Marianas spokesmen represented their people, and this was said very, very sincerely and with a great deal of emotion. This experience has been repeated by the events of these last three days. I thought to myself just this morning, as the chairman of the conference called upon the representatives of each of the districts and groups present to make their closing addresses, how from one district to another and from one group to another the speakers spoke eloquently, articulately, and with dignity. Truly,

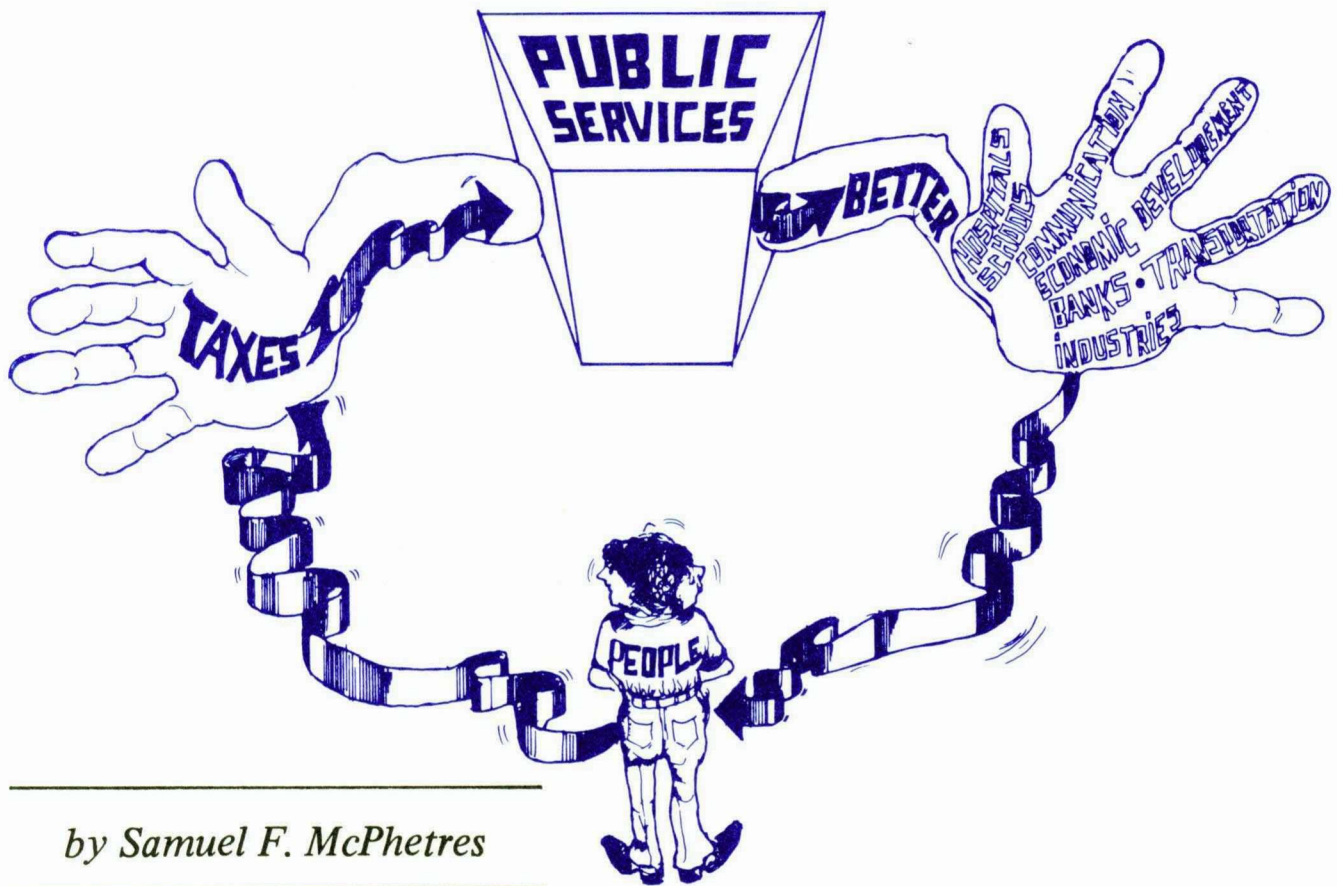


very, very impressive. And I think that this is a quality which I sense and feel among the people of Micronesia without any distinction or difference between the districts. These qualities are found in the people as a whole. I would simply say that for this reason I consider it a privilege to have this opportunity to work with the people of the Trust Territory and their leaders, and in their service. I very sincerely feel more honored by this opportunity than by any other similar opportunity my life has brought to me.

**REPORTER:** Thank you very much Mr. Winkel.



# a MICRONESIAN income tax: what is it?



by Samuel F. McPhetres

(In consultation with the Director, Department of Finance, and the Project Director, UNDP)

Writing about taxes in a positive way is a little like telling a sick friend how well he looks. Sometimes a person will get better because someone says he already looks good.

Hopefully, looking at the positive side of taxation will make things better.

The new progressive income tax in Micronesia has become an emotional and political issue. With the narrow passage of the new law which became PL 7-32 during the First Regular Session of the Seventh Congress of Micronesia, protests were heard from every

corner of the Territory. Some said that it was too soon for a progressive income tax. Some said that the rates were too high. Others complained that some Micronesians would be taxed unfairly by the new law. Still others indicated the feeling that the law was too complicated and difficult to understand and enforce.

Proponents of the tax said that they felt that the additional revenues would help Micronesia become more self-reliant and ready to assume more of the responsibilities of self-government and provide more income to pay for government services coming from the people who require or desire them.

Given the fact that a progressive tax in Micronesia is a relatively new concept and that admittedly the new



*law is more complicated than anything to have come along so far, it becomes necessary to give some explanations to the people about what an income tax is supposed to be and why it may be justifiable. This is not to be understood as a defense of PL 7-32, but an explanation of the principle behind the law.*

*The following short story is a composite of the information which I was able to gather from a variety of sources.*

On one of the remote islands of Micronesia, a discussion between various villagers was being carried on with great animation.

"What is this thing the Congress of Micronesia is doing to us?" one man shouted. "I hear that they want to raise my taxes 200 or 300 percent."

"Yeah, I know," said another. "I'm afraid that when they do that, the U.S. will stop giving us the grants. What will we do then? We don't have any way to make the money to pay the taxes. Our economy will fall apart."

A third man, just returned from a trip to the district center joined the discussion. "I don't think you should worry too much. After all, first, the U.S. isn't going to stop giving us help for many years to come. Second, the taxes we are paying now are so small that they won't begin to pay for the services we are getting for several decades to come. Why, do you realize that in fiscal year 1975, our Congress raised only a little over \$4,000,000. At the same time, we spent over \$53,000,000 just to run the government.

The first man (we'll call him John) protested. But it's the responsibility of the United States to take care of us. That's what the Trusteeship Agreement says."

Hirosi, the third man, took a long drink from his coconut and said, "Well, that's true up to a point. But you should remember that the Trusteeship isn't going to last forever, and the Indicative Development Plan that our people have written is supposed to help us to get to be more self-sufficient when it ends. An income tax is just one of the means to help us support our own Government.

"OK. I'll grant that we should have higher taxes but I don't see why we should pay like the Americans. What I read in the papers makes it sound like we are going to have to copy the U.S. I don't think that's a good idea. Why don't we just raise the present tax on wages and salaries?"

"Let's see," thought Hiroshi, out loud, "this is the most difficult part of trying to explain the income tax. First, let's remember that the tax is supposed to go to support those government services that we cannot

provide for ourselves. That includes education, health, public works, utilities, economic development and everything else. These benefits go to all of the citizens in Micronesia. But remember that the present tax is only on wages and salaries and the poor man is paying the same share of his tax as the rich man with a high salary. That means that there are a lot of people who are getting the benefits of government now without contributing to it or paying their share of the cost.

Richard, the second speaker, said, "But most of the people in Micronesia don't earn enough money anyway. Why should they have to be taxed?"

"The idea of an income tax," Hiroshi explained, "is that people should contribute to their government in proportion to their ability to pay. If I only make a little money, then I only pay a little bit. If I am very successful, then I should pay more."

"Isn't that penalizing a successful person? I mean", John added, "if I work hard and make a lot of money, it is by my own efforts. I don't see why I should have to pay a larger proportion of my money to the government than someone who isn't working as hard as I am."

"There's something in what you say," said Hiroshi, "but you should remember that you are successful because of the society you live in and the Government makes it possible for you to be successful. A progressive or graduated income tax is one that says that a person who makes a lot of money in his community has a greater obligation to share the cost of his Government. After all, without it, he probably wouldn't be successful anyway. If he runs a store, for example, where would he be without public works to turn on his lights and run his freezers, without the schools that train him to keep his books and so on."

"But a man should be able to make a profit".

"True. Remember that with any tax of the type we are talking about here, there are basic provisions to guarantee everyone a minimum standard. The present tax, not more than 4%, is paid by all workers no matter how much they earn. This is harder on the person who earns just a little than it is on the man who makes a lot of money. The tax experts call this a 'regressive tax'. The progressive income tax says that anyone who makes any money should pay what he can afford. Of course, there are deductions to help with the costs of children, medical expenses, perhaps and other things."

"Does that mean that some people might be paying less than they do now?" Richard asked?

"That very well could be. If after deductions for himself, his family and other things that the law provides for, his income might be below the level where a tax is paid."





*"What is this thing the Congress of Micronesia is doing to us, I hear that they want to raise my taxes 200 or 300 percent",  
shouted one of the men in the group.*



"I still don't agree that I should have to pay any more taxes than I'm paying now. I'm a poor man and I have a large family to support. I'm the only one earning any money to pay for everything 15 people are living on. If I pay any more taxes, my family might really suffer."

"Well," smiled Hirosi, "what you say might be true. But can't any of those strong young men sitting around your house get jobs of their own and help pay for their own support? Our Micronesian way of life, I know, means that the person who earns something must share it with his relatives. This is very good and I hope that it doesn't change. But it is also true that an awful lot of our people are living off the earnings of just a few people who have government jobs and spending that money buying imported food, beer and cigarettes from outside. We could save a lot of our money and make it go a lot further if some of those young men and women did something to earn some of their own money or to cut the expenses of the family by growing their own food or fishing, for example. That way, more of the little money we have could go to providing schools, hospitals, transportation and other things we expect from our government. And it would be our own government providing the services based on what we can pay for. After all, the Trusteeship is going to end someday and we do have to begin to provide more of our own services with our own money."

"What about our economic development? So far, I haven't seen anything that would make jobs for my sons," said John.

"It's true that the jobs outside of government aren't very plentiful or very good paying. What do you say about that, Hirosi?" challenged Richard.

"Me, personally? I don't think I can change things as an individual, but if we work things out together, maybe we can come up with something. Maybe the best answer is in the development plan. Once the government is transferred to Ponape and the plan is implemented, the cost of government is supposed to go down. More money can then be put into development that will create more jobs for us. I think that is one area which is supposed to be helped by the income tax. After all, if the cost of the government is reduced and the tax revenues increased, more money will be available to invest in fisheries, agriculture, small industries, and other things that will create more jobs and more income for us. Development requires capital (money) and labor. We have a lot of people who are not working and very limited money to invest. But if, by careful planning and perhaps even sacrifices for a while, we invest what we have into producing more

goods and services of our own, we will create more jobs, increase the number of people who will be able to contribute to the government through their taxes and thereby increase the amount of money available for paying for the services that we are getting free from the U.S. right now. Understand me well. I'm not saying that this will happen overnight or that it will be easy. The income tax has to be tried out, its weaknesses and strengths evaluated and possibly corrected before it is really effective."

"I still don't like it," snorted John. "I think we should try to get our money from somewhere else before we tax our income!"

"I wish there were another way, too," agreed Hirosi. "But we don't have any phosphate deposits as big as Nauru's, there are no important minerals or oil that we know of. Our most plentiful natural resources are ourselves, our land and our seas. What we need to do is to make our government less costly and more efficient so that it is something we can afford from our own labors. And, I might add, the income tax shouldn't be considered as the only element in this discussion. We should remember that over the past 30 years our lives have changed drastically. We import a lot of expensive food that could be produced right here. We buy cars when bicycles or buses would do the job as well or better on our small islands. Each time we do that, that is money that goes out of the islands and can't be used again for our development. We have to consume more locally produced things instead of the things we import. And we have to make it as easy as possible for people who have the money to invest in our economic development and help build the jobs and the industries that will make our development possible. This is also part of the Indicative Development Plan. There is an import tax bill and an economic development incentives bill in the Congress right now which, if passed, would make it more attractive to do our own farming and fishing and other things because it will reduce the taxes we have to pay to the degree that we produce our own food and other necessities. The incentives act, we hope, will make investment in Micronesia's development profitable for anyone with a little money available, even Micronesians, not just foreign investors. After all, there are some Micronesians who are making a lot of money today but who haven't invested it in any real production in the islands, but spend it on imported things and deposit it in American banks. They ought to be encouraged to use their money to help in creating the jobs and developing the resources of our islands."

Well, said Richard, "I've got to get home and get ready for dinner. But I do have one more question. I



heard that this new tax will start next year. Just where do we stand?"

"True, but as I understand it right now," Hiroshi responded, "the law is being studied very carefully in Saipan and a lot of proposals are being prepared to amend it. We have to remember that going from no income tax to a brand new one is not an easy job. I expect that as the law is examined there will be a lot of things that people will want to change as they learn more about it. After all, it is a first try and they will have to learn as they go along about what amounts people can pay, what kind of deductions are realistic, how to administer the tax and a lot of other things. We, as taxpayers, will have to get used to the fact that we are working in a money economy now, not trading fish, coconuts, mats or lavalavas or other things in traditional taxpaying to our chiefs in return for his protection and leadership. We will have to learn to keep records of our money, how to fill out the forms and what our rights and obligations are concerning the tax."

"Well," said Richard, "I think I liked the old ways better. They weren't so complicated. But, I guess we'll have to get used to this."

"Me too," added John. "First we had no tax in money but we did pay our chiefs who took care of us. Then we began to get money and the American government took care of us. Now we have a small tax and we are beginning to contribute to our government in a new way. This income tax sounds just like the traditional contributions we used to make but this time in money."

"I think that's about all we can do," concluded Hiroshi. "If we want self-government, and a modern

progressive economy, we will have to pay for it. If we want control over our own affairs, we have to contribute to the cost of the government just like the citizens in most every other country in the world. Nobody likes taxes that I know of. But everybody expects the best schools for their children, good health care, safe and efficient transportation, airports, docks and other things. If we want them for ourselves, then we will have to work for them.

"It really means that we will get what we pay for just the same as when we go to the market. Only this time we are buying what the government has been giving us: services that we, as individuals cannot provide for ourselves."

As the sun sank over the horizon, the three men went their separate ways feeling that the income tax is not so bad after all and they will really get back from the Government exactly what they are willing to pay for, and to prepare for the next day's activities wondering what the future held for them when they became self-governing.

**The progressive Income Tax, Public Law 7-32, was passed by the Congress of Micronesia during the First Regular Session of the Seventh Congress in 1977. It is part of the economic development package proposed by the Indicative Development Plan.**

**Under the present schedule, the income tax will become effective January 1, 1978. The current tax on wages and salaries will be replaced by the new tax.**



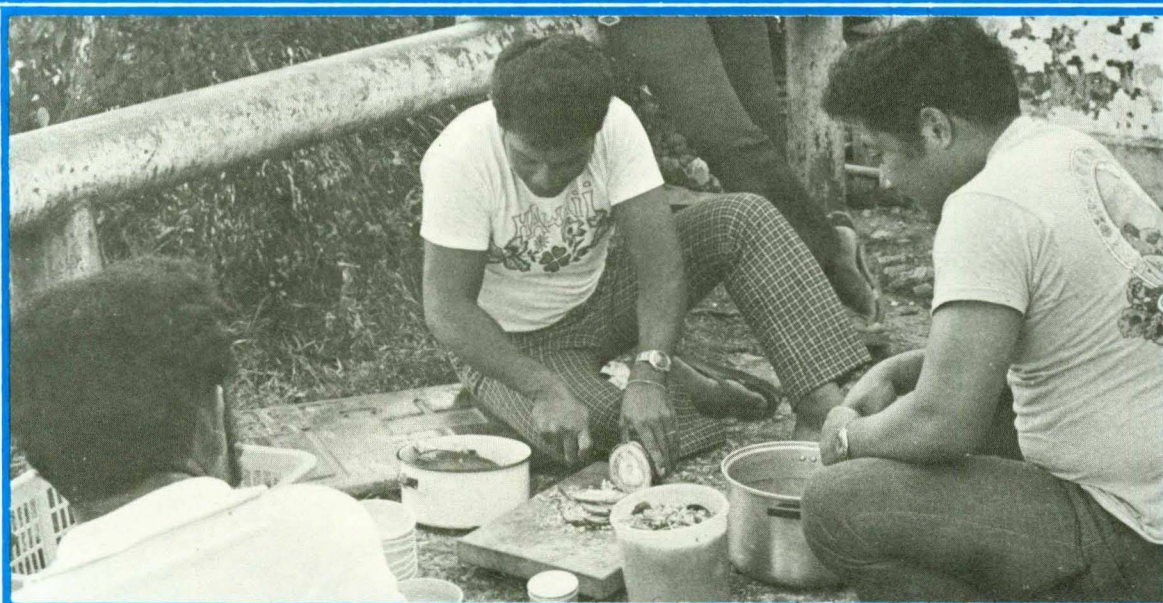
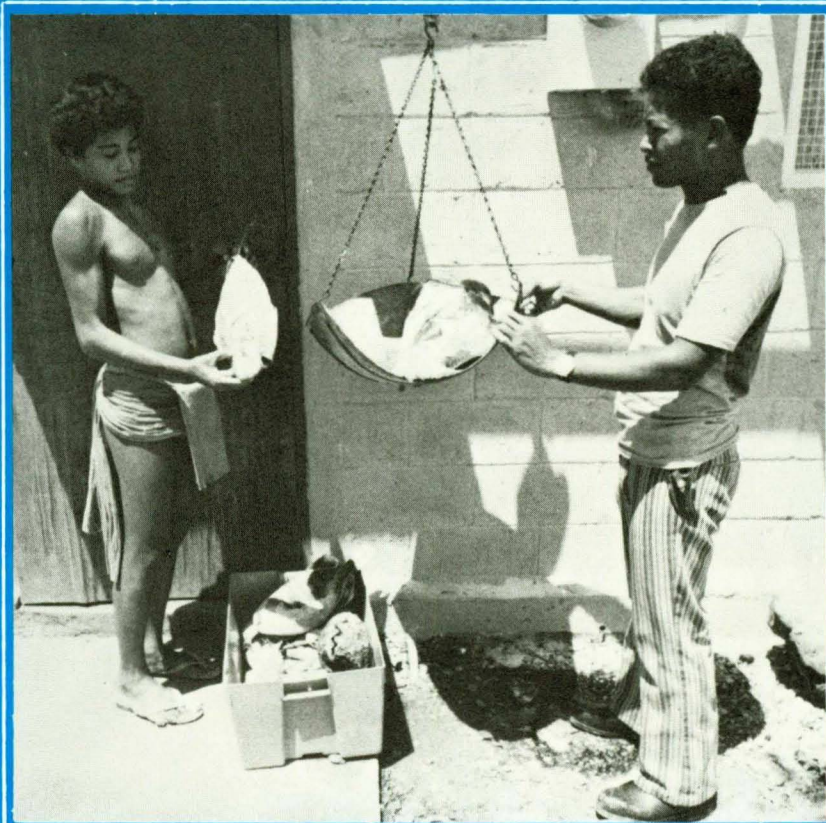
*Fish and farm produce from fishing and agriculture classes could be served in School cafeterias.*

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*by Mrs. Nancy Rody*

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# Food For Tomorrow's Children



*Health assistants in Yap District learning how to prepare banana flower, a very nutritious food, and a delicious dish.*



In only twenty-three years, merely one generation from now, the world population will have doubled. The production of body-building protein foods alone will have to be tripled to at least 60 million tons per year. The production of foods such as fish and meat cannot possibly meet the needs of the world population by the year 2000, and these foods will be much too expensive for the majority of humans. Hunger looms as the most pitiful prospect of the future.<sup>(1)</sup> Already in our overcrowded world two thirds of the people must go to sleep hungry every night.

Today the isles of Micronesia are one of the last places left in the world where it is still possible to live off foods gathered from the land and the sea. But how many Micronesian children are now learning how to produce their own food – how to gather food from the ocean, how to farm the health-giving food plants once grown by their elders? Today foreign ships bring rice and canned foods to Micronesia, but what of tomorrow? Will these ships continue to bring food here in the year 2000, while teeming millions on their shores go hungry? The answer can only be no.

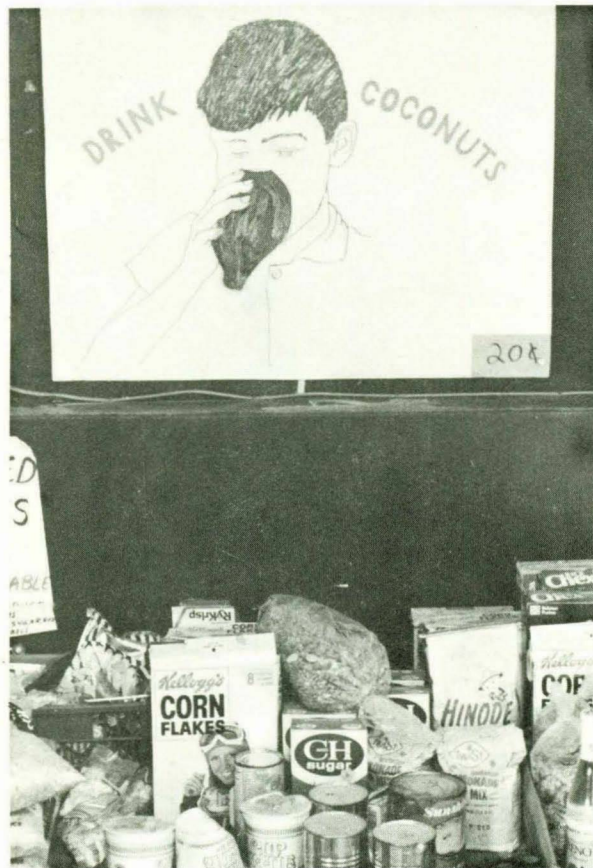
Tomorrow's children in Micronesia can be spared from disease, hunger and early death only if the parents of today will act now. Only by increasing the production of local foods and decreasing importation of foreign foods can the danger be averted.

## A BEGINNING

A nutrition education program has been initiated through the Yap District Health Department with the objective of promoting the increased utilization of locally produced foods and discouraging the use of expensive, non-essential imported foods. More than any other district of Micronesia, the people of Yap depend on the land and sea for their staples; fish, coconut, taro and other tubers, various types of bananas and seasonal fruits. In recent years, however, there has been a steady migration to the district center, the focus of the developing cash economy. Food imports were found to have increased 253% in Yap over a two year period.<sup>(2)</sup> However, the Yapese place the highest value on the preservation of their traditional culture, and this includes long revered food customs.

The prices of most imported foods are prohibitively high. A recent survey indicated that imported food prices in Yap's district center averaged 74% above retail food prices in Guam. A survey of Guam's food prices by the United States Department of Agriculture showed that Guam's food prices, in turn, are higher than any of the 50 U.S. states, including Hawaii and Alaska.<sup>(3)</sup> Prices in village stores

are higher than in the district center due to transportation costs and because many sales are made on credit. The most popular imported foods are polished rice, sugar, soft drinks, bread made from bleached flour, and canned fish and meat. Many foods are imported from Eastern countries and are not enriched. Costs of local agricultural and fisheries products are very low in relation to imported food prices, but have not been readily available.



*Stores report sales of over one thousand coconuts per week.*



(1) Mosert, N., *Supership*, 1 st. ed., Alfred A. Knopf, 1974, p. 354.

(2) Unpublished data, "Estimated Dollar Value of Non-Government Imports", Office of Economic Development, Yap District, T.T.P.I., 1977.

(3) Rody, N., *Yap's Prices 74% Higher Than Guam's*, The Carolines Observer 1:1, 1976, p.8.

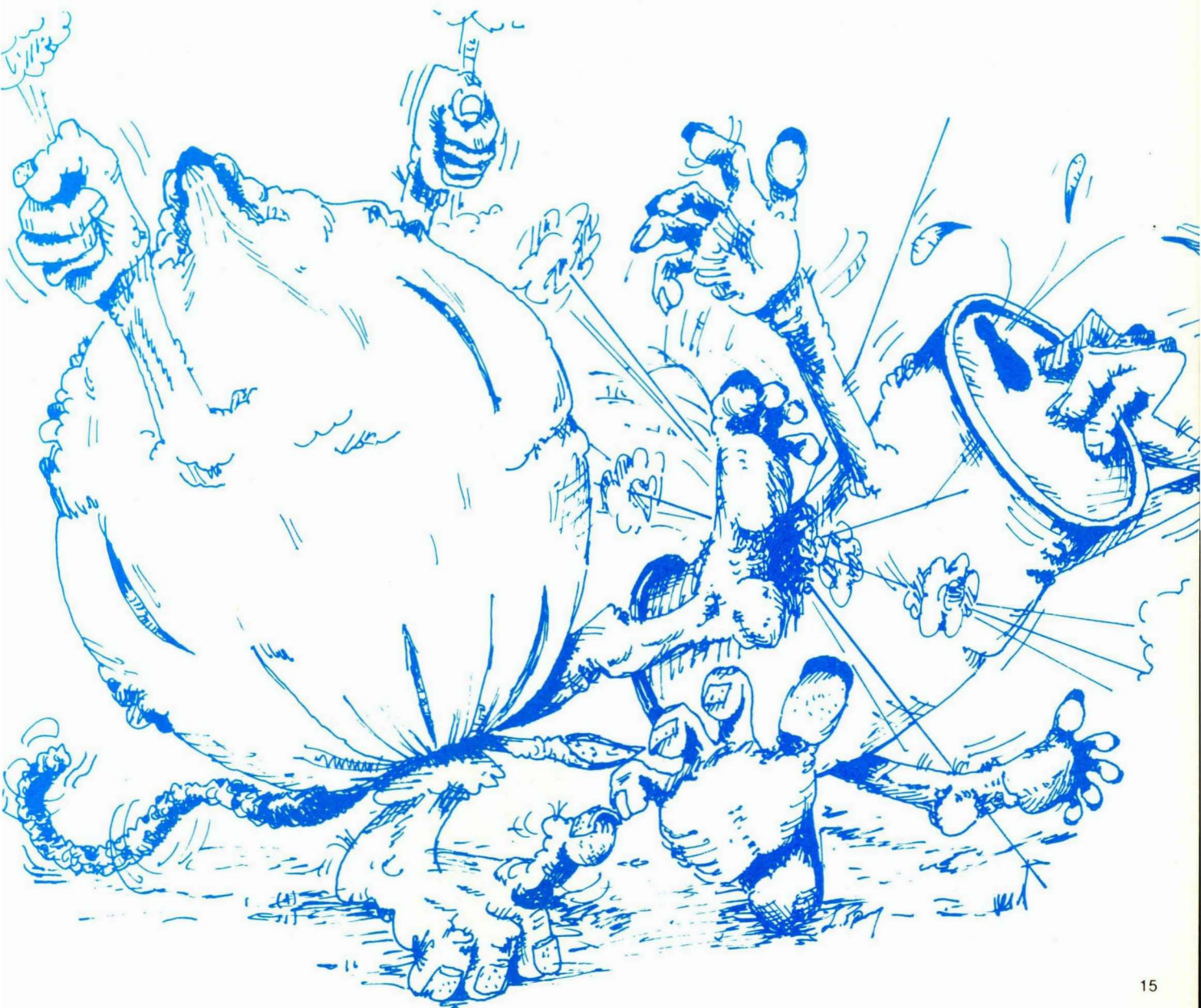


## THINGS GO BETTER WITH COCONUTS — AT LEAST IN YAP THEY DO

The nutrition education program has attempted to couple conventional techniques and materials — posters, flannelgraphs and flipcharts — with more unorthodox motivational methods to achieve a change in attitudes and practices. One such aim has been to promote the popularity of drinking coconuts instead of soft drinks. The active campaign has included school curriculum materials with a locally produced comic book and bar graph charts illustrating the relative nutritive value of coconuts and soft drinks. Attention is given to the fact that sale of this local product is advantageous to the Yapese economy. A photo in the local newspaper of a drinking coconut adorned with a metal pop top was run with the purloined caption,

"It's The Real Thing!". A depiction of a well-known soft drink was captioned, "It's The Artificial Thing." The Yap Cooperative Association agreed to display posters promoting drinking coconuts alongside advertisements for soft drinks in the store. Cold drinking coconuts have been served as refreshments at government meetings instead of other drinks. A newspaper political cartoon strip which was not originated by the nutrition staff has reflected local attitudes toward the imported influence, while the drinking coconut character represents Yapese sentiments.

Most stores now keep drinking coconuts in their coolers, and sell them for half the price of soft drinks. Individual stores report average sales of over 1000 coconuts per week. Many store owners complain that





supplies cannot keep up with their customers' demands. Local people wholesaling coconuts to retail stores find that they can realize greater profit from this than from copra, and with less labor. Coconuts are now also served in the largest local restaurant, and sold at the concession of the local movie theater. Total imports of soft drinks two years ago totaled \$450,216.00. One year ago they were \$198,447.00. Complete figures for the following year are not yet available, but through three quarters they totaled only \$88,478.00. These figures are based on district tax receipts. The price of soft drinks has increased ten cents per can during this period, indicating an even greater decline in the consumption of soft drinks. The population of Yap has also increased during the time importation of soft drinks has decreased.

### BREASTFEEDING BECOMING POPULAR

Another focus of the program has been to encourage breastfeeding. A video tape, shown in the hospital waiting room, was made to explain the advantages of breastfeeding and the disadvantages of bottle feeding, narrated by highly respected local women in the three languages used in the district. An illustrated booklet on breastfeeding in the vernacular is given to all pregnant women seen at the clinic, and an illustrated baby feeding "calendar" recommending breastfeeding, also in the vernacular, is given to all new mothers. A filmstrip featuring a well-known and widely respected Yapese woman breastfeeding her infant is shown in meetings of village mothers on a battery-operated projector. A radio spot consists of a dialogue between two fathers commenting on the money that can be saved by breastfeeding. Training in the advantages of breastfeeding has been provided to health department personnel, who are encouraged to promote breastfeeding among their own families and in their home villages. Health curricula developed for schools encourages breastfeeding, featuring activities such as calculating the cost of bottle feeding for one year and experiments with spoiled milk.

Two years ago most women seen in clinics were bottle feeding their infants, and occasionally were actively encouraged to do so by clinic personnel. Bottlefeeding was considered a status symbol, the "modern" thing to do. Women who breastfed their infants were sometimes ashamed to do so in public, not for reasons of modesty, as women traditionally are bare breasted in Yap, but because they were considered old fashioned. Now it can be observed in the clinic waiting room that many mothers are breastfeeding, and those who have a bottle may try to conceal it. Health Department personnel are very well aware of the

advantages of breastfeeding. This has constituted a striking change in attitude and practice.

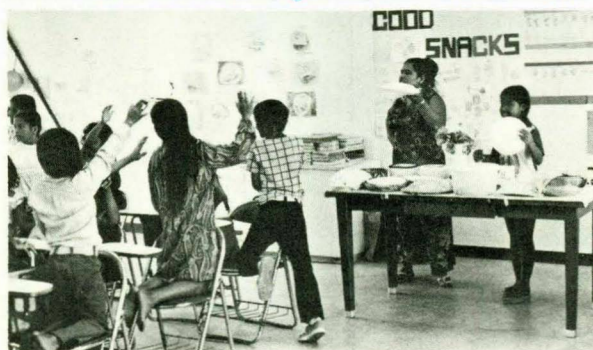
### LOCAL FOOD FOR BABY

A second video tape was made of a well-known highly educated Yapese woman preparing home-made baby food from local foods. It is also shown in the clinic. The baby feeding calendar given to new mothers illustrates the use of local foods for infants. Ironically, the foods that the booklet recommends are those Yapese mothers fed their babies before the importation of commercial baby foods. With the agreement of the Yap Cooperative Association, a demonstration of how to make baby food from local food using a simple hand grinder was given inside the store on government payday. Samples of this food were given out to interested crowds at the store. Illustrated handouts headlined, "Someone Is Paying \$4.80 Per Pound For Bananas" described the relative merits of commercial baby food and home preapred baby food. This information was later published in the local newspaper, "The Carolines Observer." A regular feature in the newspaper is a food column featuring recipes for local foods and health tips.

### CHANGING SCHOOLCHILDREN'S FOOD HABITS

A consultative effort with the Health Education Project of the Department of Education has resulted in the introduction of a nutrition "Learning Activity Package" series in health classes at the elementary and secondary levels. These packages promote local foods through such activities as choosing a nutrition "goal" like building bigger muscles or improving the shine of the hair and keeping a record of foods eaten and activities done to achieve that goal; working as a group to have healthy snack foods sold at their student store; serving a Basic Three meal as a class project; and interviewing village mothers on the subject of infant feeding for later class analysis and discussion. The secondary "LAP" has been expanded to three student workbooks: nutrition, food hygiene and a unit on

*Schoolchildren have fun learning the value of Micronesian foods.*





consumerism entitled "Buying Healthy Food". The consumerism unit, while being presented as optional because of the unusual nature of such a unit for a health class, is proving to be one of the most popular units. The unit consists almost entirely of functional investigation by the students of relevant community situations. Among these are shopping and pricing activities, interviews of local businessmen, and analysis of the operations of local farmer's and fishermen's cooperatives. It has been most effective in producing attitude modification. An appealing feature of these LAPs has been the inclusion of many drawings and photographs of Micronesians in everyday food-related activities. This LAP series is being field tested in Yap and is already being used on the secondary level in other districts. A Health Education course offered through the extension program of the Community College of Micronesia in conjunction with the Health Education Project includes nutrition education for teachers of these LAPs, and several workshops for health teachers have provided additional practical experiences in methods of nutrition education. The impact of these LAPs promoting local foods has been somewhat lessened, however, by the example of imported foods served in school cafeterias.

Students have indicated the potential to improve their eating habits as measured by means of acceptable pre and post test/interviews. The test/interview measures the student's knowledge and attitude. Many students were previously unaware of the value of their own island foods. As one high school boarding student explained, "Before these nutrition classes I thought imported foods were better for health than my own island foods because they look so good in their pretty packages. But now I know that is not true, and when I return to my island I am going to tell this to all the people."

### **BREADFRUIT BREAD AND PAPAYA PIE**

An illustrated cookbook, "Breadfruit Bread and Papaya Pie", is utilized in conjunction with an extension program of cooking demonstrations. A most effective image is created by having the nutritionist, considered well-informed and "modern", conduct these meetings on the value of local foods. A typical extension meeting consists of a locally produced filmstrip and a talk utilizing illustrated charts or food models. This is followed by a short cooking demonstration utilizing local methods of food preparation and the villagers' own cooking pots. Recipes are traditional ones modified for higher nutrient content, such as the addition of vegetables, perhaps taro leaves or banana flowers, to a typical fish

"soup". A taste for everyone and an illustrated booklet in the vernacular to take home completes the program. A respected local person such as a teacher is used as translator. Particularly stimulating are charts showing colored bar graphs illustrating the nutritive value of local foods as compared with high carbohydrate imports. Although the villagers may be unaware of individual vitamins and minerals, the array of colors presented on the graphs of local foods are most impressive. Older people, who still have great influence in the Yapese community, are pleased with hearing that traditional foods are superior to many imports, and provide helpful reinforcement. Appeal is made to pride in the "old ways" and the virtues of tradition. The popularity of these programs is evident by the frequent requests for return visits to present additional demonstrations.

### **A HEAD START ON NUTRITION**

Nutrition activities also take place on the pre-school level through the Yap Head Start Program and Mission Kindergarden. Head Start has a high status in the Yapese community, and much prestige is attached to sending one's children to these pre-schools. Meals and snacks for children, prepared by volunteer mothers, consist mainly of nutritious local foods. Practical instruction and demonstrations are given to all interested parents through the nutrition education program, which also provides regular in-service nutrition and health training to teachers as well as providing instructional materials for classroom use. Especially popular is the "Good Food Book", figures whose bodies are constructed of these foods, adorn the walls of the pre-school centers. These popular materials are also used in elementary schools.

### **THE RIGHT DIRECTION**

A beginning has been made. The positive response to the Yap nutrition program would appear to be based on the powerful images created through the highly visible participation of respected local persons and institutions, and the appeal to Yapese pride in tradition. Realistic methods by which this developing area can meet its needs despite limited resources are the major focus of all educational activities. The budget for the first year of this program was the nutritionist's salary, and for the second year it was the salary plus \$1200 for printing. Program strategy was based on practical methods of altering personal attitudes and practices rather than isolated remedial programs.



## WHAT ABOUT TOMORROW?

The techniques successfully promoted in Yap District could be applied elsewhere in Micronesia. Micronesia needs a National Nutrition Council to be formed to insure that there is a consistent approach to nutrition and food programs, and to establish administrative policies in regard to nutrition. Similiar councils have been established in several South American and African nations and have met with great success. The following are some areas in which the council could provide leadership.

1. Agriculture and Fisheries — There is a need for present agricultural programs emphasising the production of cash export crops such as copra and pepper to be diverted to the production of nutritionally superior foods such as root crops, fruits and vegetables. Research could be made into hydroponic gardening for increased food production, especially on atolls where soil is poor. Fish farming should be greatly increased.

2. Education — Micronesia needs Agriculture and Fishery Life Programs in schools to prepare children for the life of the future. These programs provide functional knowledge and skills for raising a family and operating a household, including fishing, growing and preserving food for family consumption, good child care, nutrition and sanitation, cultural activities and recreation, care of the injured and sick, intelligent shopping and use of money, making clothes and other consumption goods, house repairs, environmental improvements and protecting family health. Such programs are begun in elementary school and are already being successfully promoted in countries such as Papua New Guinea. Some T.T. high schools have fishing and agriculture classes, but usually sell their products for cash. How much better it would be to serve this fresh local food in school cafeterias rather than becoming dependent on United States School Food Service Program funds. Schools should be moving toward greater financial independence, not greater financial dependency. School Food Service programs should be confined to essential situations such as boarding schools and schools far from children's homes. They should not be extended to schools where children can easily go home for lunch or bring their own local foods to school. The degrading scenes now witnessed in some districts where parents follow their children to school and eat food from the children's trays could thus be avoided.

The present move to extend free food service to programs such as the Youth Conservation Corps, in which young people are supposed to be learning to

conserve their own natural island resources, also runs counter to the purpose of teaching self-reliance.

School stores now selling nutritionally poor foods such as cookies, soft drinks and candy could instead sell good foods such as cold coconuts, fresh local fruits, boiled eggs, sugar cane and other such foods.

Present Home Economics courses based on the use of foreign foods and expensive imported appliances could be replaced by a curriculum promoting the use of local foods and island food preparation methods. The home economics classrooms in Micronesian secondary schools, with their electric ovens, electric refrigerators and freezers, electric washers and dryers, and electric sewing machines, bear little resemblance to the island homes in which these young women will later be rearing their families. Excellent foods can be prepared with a few pots and a kerosene stove or an open fire. Clothes can be washed very well with a simple hand plunger instead of an expensive electric washing machine. Micronesia needs a home economics curriculum which would be relevant to island living and which would provide functional knowledge for raising a family and operating a household in a Micronesian setting. The South Pacific Commission is already engaged in sponsoring such curricula in the Cook Islands and the New Hebrides.

Nutrition courses emphasising the value of Micronesian foods should be offered at CCM and MOC, and an extension course in Micronesian nutrition could be offered in each district. Nutrition materials developed by the Department of Education in Yap could be taught in all Trust Territory schools, and in Head Start programs.

3. Public Affairs — The popularity of healthy Micronesian foods could be promoted through a coordinated campaign utilizing the mass media — radio, T.V., government publications and press releases. Such a campaign has been in effect for several years in the developing nation of Zambia, in southern Africa, and has met with great success, significantly reducing the incidence of malnutrition among the children of that country.

Nutrition materials and cookbooks promoting the use of local foods could be produced and translated into the languages of each district, to be made available through women's clubs, church groups and community workers such as Women's Interest Officers.

4. Health — A nutrition course based on the health aspects of Pacific area foods could be made a part of the training of T.T. nurses instead of the present one based on U.S. foods. Such a course has already been written by the South Pacific Commission. Such courses could also be part of the training of other health



workers. Classes for expectant mothers which promote the use of local foods in the mother's diet, the popularity of breastfeeding and the use of local foods for feeding infants instead of nutritionally poor imported baby food could be begun. A graduate nutritionist familiar with the nutritional utilization of Pacific area foods could be employed by the Department of Health to begin such a program, as there has not been a nutritionist working at Headquarters Health Services for several years.

5. General — Refreshments served at government conferences and workshops should be local foods, not the usual cola, coffee and sweet roll. At a recent health education conference in Yap refreshments such as

soursop punch, cold drinking coconuts, papaya cake and banana bread were served and greatly enjoyed by the participants.

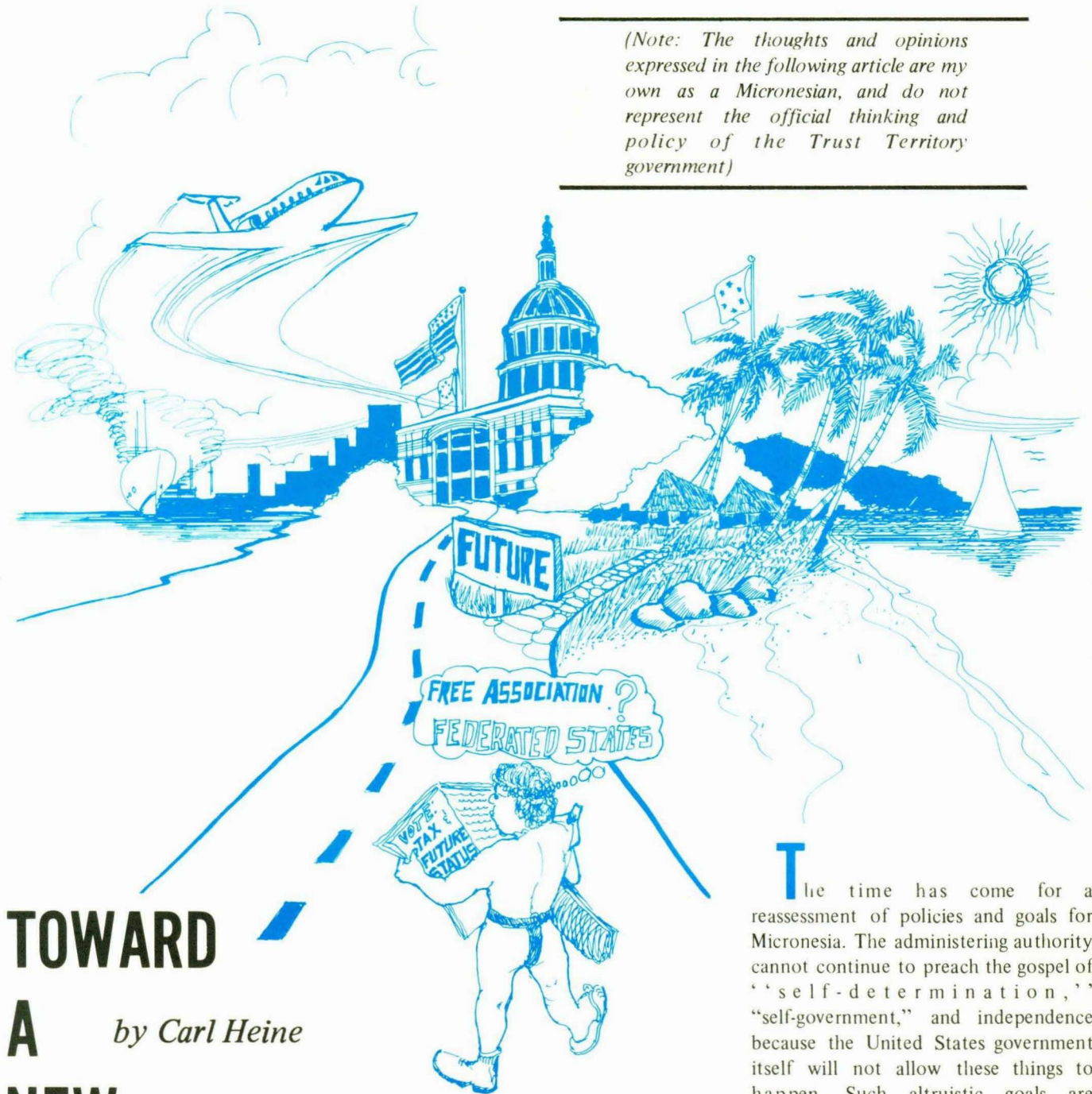
#### **IT CAN BE DONE**

The effectiveness of motivational techniques in nutrition education has been clearly demonstrated in developing areas of the world. In each situation, the aim has been the same: to change an attitude or practice and to accomplish that change as rapidly as possible. Change in the food habits of the peoples of Micronesia can be achieved. These techniques can be employed today to attack the nutrition problems of such pressing importance to tomorrow's children.

The **MICRONESIAN REPORTER** and its predecessor, the **MICRONESIAN MONTHLY** (first published in 1951), are available on Microfiche at \$65.00 for all issues from 1951 through 1975. Separate issues are available at 40¢ per Fiche copy. Order from the Publications Division, Trust Territory Government, Saipan, Mariana Islands 96950. All orders pre-paid. Checks should be made payable to the **TREASURER, TRUST TERRITORY**



(Note: The thoughts and opinions expressed in the following article are my own as a Micronesian, and do not represent the official thinking and policy of the Trust Territory government)



# TOWARD A NEW UNITED STATES- MICRONESIAN PARTNERSHIP

by Carl Heine

The time has come for a reassessment of policies and goals for Micronesia. The administering authority cannot continue to preach the gospel of "self-determination," "self-government," and independence because the United States government itself will not allow these things to happen. Such altruistic goals are misleading and unrealizable because they are in direct contradiction to the United States' main interests and national security in the Pacific. The concept of "strategic trust" and the unlimited "right of self-determination" are clearly incompatible. The two cannot logically co-exist. It is either one or the other, but not both at the same time.



For some thirty years now the administration of Micronesia has been generally run from Washington and by Washington. For thirty years now Micronesia as an administrative unit under the U.S. Government, has been drifting farther and farther away from the goal anticipated by the U.N. Trusteeship Agreement, from its potential as a Micronesian political entity. Efforts to unite Micronesia have been made; by both Americans and Micronesians; the conclusion must be admitted that they have been largely ineffective and costly. Both Washington and Micronesia must re-examine their common goals and give serious thought to what has in the past been declared unthinkable.

The Presidential election in November 1976 represented an opportunity in the United States for a new beginning, a time to change, a time for the people to re-unite behind the new leadership. Not only is this true in the United States, but is now incumbent on the people of Micronesia to positively reassess their own situation if Micronesia is ever to become a viable political and economic entity.

Change is coming to Micronesia, this cannot be ignored, and President Carter ought to approach Micronesia with a new and dynamic policy. There are those who will stand in the way of such change for fear of what it may do to their vested interests. On the other hand, such a shift in administration is perhaps the only fresh and dynamic phenomenon that may be anticipated in Micronesia every four years. Other than this kind of shift or change of administration, that is, nothing much has happened to enable achievement of the objectives stated in the United Nations Trusteeship Agreement, as concerns the cause of Micronesian national unity and the right of self-determination. Under the past administration, Micronesians have seen the start of annexation of the Northern Mariana Islands as a United States Commonwealth, the threatened

separation of two other districts, Palau and the Marshalls, and the weakening of the role of the Congress of Micronesia in national planning and in seeking for national unity.

Until now, nothing new or innovative has developed in Washington's thinking and attitude toward the ultimate solution of the question of future political status for Micronesia. Every administration, since the beginning of Trusteeship in 1947, has pursued its policy of American national interest in Micronesia without ever really taking the wishes of the people of Micronesia into serious consideration. For many Micronesians the future has become a dead end street. The hope for independence, and the expectation of freedom, the quest for national unification have all been frustrated. Goals of national aspiration cannot be developed by the people in an atmosphere where their hopes and dreams are constantly discouraged. The failure of unity and the frustrations of hope and expectation should not be blamed solely on the Micronesians, for the administering authority must also bear part of that burden. The language of the Trust Agreement encouraged the people to dream the dreams of national expression and self-determination, and to feel a pride in themselves as one people, but always the Micronesians have been told to remember the need for "international security and peace" to consider the islands as a "strategic area."

It is therefore important that the rest of the world come to realize and appreciate the circumstances with which Micronesians must cope. It has been very difficult for the people to join and stand firmly behind their leaders in supporting and formulating their own long-range political and economic aspirations and goals. The islands of Micronesia have historically displayed all of the basic characteristics of a dependent territory both politically and

economically. The argument to be developed here is that under the Trusteeship Agreement and its humanitarian point of view, the people of Micronesia have never been given a fair chance to exercise their right of self-determination.

Of the original six districts constituting the trust area in Micronesia, officially known as the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, the Northern Mariana Islands are now in the process of annexation by the United States in the interest of U.S. security in the Pacific. Other Micronesians have been told that their economy is basically bankrupt, and that their only hope lies in the proposed establishment of the Palau Super Port by a multi-national consortium represented by interests in United States, Iran and Japan.

The Palauans and the Marshallese are now threatening to pull out of the Micronesian Trusteeship. The dollar signs reflected by the Super Port of Palau and the U.S. Missile Range on Kwajalein Atoll have an irresistible attraction to them. These facts of recent history are cited simply to illustrate the fragility and ultimate hopelessness of the consent of Micronesian unity. The present dilemma of Micronesian unity and future political status has resulted in a situation that is highly susceptible to manipulation and exploitation not only from outside Micronesia but also from within. Micronesia today lacks direction because it is leaderless because the Micronesian sense of nationhood and loyalty have been successfully conquered and divided between a one Micronesia and a many Micronesia. The Congress of Micronesia, once thought of as the guiding light of national expression and leadership, is reduced to despair, its hope for a unified nation shattered. Instead of being a protagonist for national unity and aspiration, it has become a bedrock for Micronesian provincialism and regional politics without institutional leadership and organized goals.



Today, the Congress of Micronesia, a highly respected Micronesian institution, is gradually losing its vision of the future. Its role of national leadership has been overpowered and outmaneuvered from within Micronesia and from itself. In this regard, the administering authority must also share the blame for its lack of support. For many Micronesians, the Congress of Micronesia, has tended to become an elitist organization serving the few and not the many. In short, it has become a government of the few, by the few, and for the few. A like situation also exists in some of the district governments, where the general interests of all the people go unheeded.

### I. ONE MICRONESIA THROUGH SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT

In a nutshell, the inescapable feature of the present Micronesian situation is that the area encompasses many different islands and ethnic groups. There are Palauans, Yapese, Trukese, Marshallese, Ponapeans and

Kosraeans as well ethnic enclaves among them. Each of these groups is a minority if the concept of a single Micronesia is held. However, long before Western contact, each group had become established separately over many centuries, and had created a homeland of its own. In the course of time, the outsiders — the Spanish, the

Germans, the Japanese, and the Americans — came and conquered, colonized, and exploited the islands for their own benefits. Micronesians, of course, also received some benefits from this historical exposure, just as they were visited by ills which they did not want.





**T**he roots of disunity in Micronesia are fundamentally economic and ethnic in character. Under the concept of separate development, as will be presented here, each state<sup>1</sup> would be free to develop itself economically and administratively in its own direction and at its own pace. In addition, the concept envisages complete district or state autonomy administratively. Central to the idea of separate development is the simple fact that Micronesia is not *one* but *many*. This fact has generally been disregarded by all previous administrations. Washington for many years has imposed its will and design phrased in terms of what it thought was good for Micronesia. The imposition of plans and goals from the top down has not worked very well. The concept of a single political unit as pushed by Washington is unworkable. The geographic and cultural realities of the Micronesian situation are the dominant ruling factors. The Micronesia of "one" is rapidly losing ground to the Micronesia of "many". There is an old saying that "if two men ride a horse one must ride behind." Far better, at least for Micronesia, is to give each man a horse of his own, for him to ride and control himself. The essentially pragmatic policy of separate development envisages just that.

A compromise is needed between the interests of the administering authority and those of Micronesia as a whole and between the opposing forces of unity and disunity within Micronesia.

The dilemma of the area's political future has reached an impasse. We hear much today of two documents of considerable importance. Both are now considered by most Micronesians to be unworkable. Both were developed during the time of the past administration, one is a product of many years of negotiations between the U.S. government and the Congress of Micronesia, and the other came about as a result of the Micronesian

Constitutional Convention of 1975. The first is referred to as the Draft Compact of Free Association, and the second is the Draft Constitution of the Federated States of Micronesia.

Both documents are inoperable in Micronesia. Both have a common disadvantage: they presuppose a united nation of Micronesia. They are blueprints for a nation the foundations for which do not exist. Both documents make the assumption that a united Micronesia will be created as a result of their having been prepared. No, if ever there is to be a Micronesia, it must first be born of its own will and only then may it be clothed with trappings such as those provided in these two documents. In other words, a written constitution or a treaty do not create a new nation or a single people. Rather, the sense of nationhood or being a single people must first be born, which then creates the need for a constitution or treaty. Unfortunately, the political climate and existing circumstances in present day Micronesia have virtually made it impossible for these documents to become operational.

There is no simple solution to the problems in Micronesia. We can only hope that the new administration in Washington will approach Micronesia with a new realistic policy. It is hoped by this writer that President Carter and his people will give serious consideration to the concept of separate development for the states of Micronesia as outlined in this paper. It will be an act of true statesmanship if President Carter makes it possible for the desires of each state to materialize. Such a policy will permit each state to grow and develop at its own speed economically and administratively. Each could have an internally autonomous status and be free to choose its own leaders by popular election and conduct its own internal affairs, setting up the necessary internal machinery of government it desires as long as it supports certain broad democratic principles in the American tradition.

Under such a policy, recognition is given to the existence of different regional sentiments and to the hope for economic cooperation and exchange along mutual interests among all the states. It is necessary to think the unthinkable, and challenge the unchallengeable with respect to development and policy goals for Micronesia. The traditional approaches have proved unworkable. The problems of Micronesia cannot be solved by Washington alone, nor can they be solved by a highly centralized bureaucracy in Micronesia. Micronesia's predicament is rooted in its past, in the economic, social, political and administrative structures that have emerged either internally or between itself and Washington. The present impasse in status negotiations and Micronesian unity are pressing and unparalleled. It is like a sickness which cannot be healed unilaterally nor by expeditious economic first-aid from Washington. To continue on the same path and the same policy will not be sufficient. What is required are a fundamentally new institutional approach and reforms based upon the recognition of a common interest and mutual concern between Washington and Micronesia.

Concepts provided by regional arrangement needed to achieve such reforms are now operating in the "European Economic Community" and the "South Pacific Commission." The philosophy underlying these regional arrangements might be instituted in Micronesia for the Micronesia situation. It is argued here that within the context of Micronesian development, the application of such concepts may provide the last hope for resolving the Micronesian dilemma. What is proposed here is a "Micronesian Regional Commission". In this approach, each state or member state would be recognized as a free internal unit to develop its own goals and potentials within a loose political alliance or federation of Micronesian states. Such an

<sup>1</sup> The term *state* is used in place of *district* from here on. It represents also each of the six major regional ethnic groups. The term *state* replaces *district* as a unit of government and geographical boundary.



arrangement has been the desire of most of the Micronesian districts. Palau and the Marshalls have been more forthright and vocal than the others in articulating their own self-interest plans, and they are fully compatible with such an alliance.

## II. MICRONESIAN REGIONAL COMMISSION

Oceania is a vast multi-ethnic community of peoples speaking in various tongues and proudly supporting separate traditions. A voluntary regional arrangement in the form of the South Pacific Forum which has survived the test of time is an example. It has been reasonably successful in achieving a degree of cooperation in this pluralistic setting. For the island nations — states of the Pacific area, this loose regional setting provides a political and administrative structure favorable to their respective political status and interests. Most of the island territories and countries having membership in this regional organization are politically independent of each other and maintain their traditional autonomy. They have all come together not because they are forced to do so, but rather due to their feeling a sense of kinship and their realizing the need for working together in economic cooperation and other social and technical exchanges of knowledge and information. Outside of these forums, each country or territory is on its own. <sup>2</sup>Ethnic Pacifica, the "Pacific way" as it has been called, is basically tradition-oriented in its common approach to problem-solving. Western penetration of the Pacific region in historic times has not completely replaced tradition; it has simply added many new dimensions. This same phenomenon tends to be true as well as in Micronesia.

**U**nder the proposed Micronesian Regional Commission, a loose link or regional arrangement between the member states of Micronesia is

envisioned. Initial membership would consist of the present six states or districts of the Trust Territory, comprising the three million square miles of the Carolines and the Marshalls. Hopefully the fragile sense of mutual identity would be facilitated through such an organization. In reality, the Micronesian Regional Commission (MRC) would provide the only political organ embodying Micronesian unity at a very loose level. MRC would also provide the major link and the official forum of exchange between Washington and the six states. Through MRC, the states would be able to maintain contact with one another.

The establishment of the Micronesian Regional Commission would be done through formal negotiation between the U.S. government representatives and a select group of Micronesian leaders representing both segments and interests of Micronesia. If for some reasons, the above method is not possible, the administering authority, after consultation and agreement with the United Nation, and upon termination of the Trust Agreement, would institute a government structure in Micronesia based on the MRC concept instead of what is now contemplated under the FSM Constitution, or the present structure of government. If the model outlined in this paper is considered and adopted, it is respectfully suggested that as a first step toward resolving the current Micronesian political impasse, the administering authority and the leadership of the Congress of Micronesia jointly take necessary action to withhold any formal action on ratification of the FSM Constitution. Such action would help prevent future political problems and unwanted legal complications.

Thus, through negotiations or some prior agreement, the structure, procedures, organizations and functions of the Micronesian Regional Commission would be established. Its formal relationship to each of the states

and the delineation of power and authority between the Commission and the states would also be a matter of prior agreement which would be made part of the charter creating the Commission.

The advantages of membership in such a regional alliance are that all U.S. economic assistance and all federal grant funds and other appropriations to Micronesia would be channeled through a single organization, i.e., the MRC. Again this would be done as a matter of prior agreement between the United States government and the Commission. Thus, in the final analysis, the major task of the Commission would be to facilitate and coordinate the distribution of this U.S. financial assistance to the member states through MRC.

**T**here are two major operating principles of the Commission. First, any matter of local nature would be up to each state to deal with directly. Second, for all other matters inter-state in nature, the Commission will be responsible. In other words, the main functions of the Commission would be to help facilitate the flow of services and information to and among the six member states, and in addition, the United States government and the member states could utilize the services of the Commission for mutual benefits and understanding of both when such services are requested by either party, or both.

Whereas the Draft Compact of Free Association and the Constitution of the Federated States of Micronesia, as they now exist, presuppose a united Micronesia by regulating a forced unity through their adoption, the Micronesian Regional Commission will neither compel unity nor impose on the states a system of government that is unacceptable to them. The Commission is simply the middle ground or meeting place, where Washington and each of the six member states join from time to

<sup>2</sup> Some of the Pacific territories are not totally on their own. Cook Islands are somewhat dependent on New Zealand. New Hebrides is not on its own and there are others.



time to discuss their mutual interests. One basic requirement to join the Commission as a matter of prior agreement among the six member states and the United States government, a requirement that is not Micronesian in character, but rather, an acquired value, is that all states must be committed in a broad sense to democratic ideals and that their governments follow practices which are ultimately responsive to the wishes of their populations. This implies the institution of periodic elections permitting modifications in government and guiding policies in accord with the wishes of the people as expressed by their votes.

Written into the charter of the Commission would be another important function of the MRC, that is, the power to audit all federal accounts and all U.S. financial assistance to the six member states. Each state receiving U.S. federal fundings would be accountable to the Commission on how such funds would be or have been allocated. Failure to follow or to institute the principle of democratic ideals as agreed to in the charter would constitute serious grounds for withholding of federal funds. The Charter of the MRC would vest such power and authority in the Commission as a mechanism of control for those states in violation of this understanding.

Furthermore, all criminal liabilities for misuse of federal funds would be prosecuted under authority of the Commission which will have jurisdiction of all applicable U.S. federal statutes concerning federal funds allocated to the Commission and to the states.

Each member state might be represented in the Commission by two popularly elected, at-large representatives serving for a set period of time. Once the Commission is organized, a small Secretariat would form the administrative arm of the organization, staffed with competent islanders and drawing upon the experience of various technical fields. The Secretariat staff is thus professional

and technical, rather than political. Its main functions would be to help the Commission maintain inter-state cooperation, and facilitate development on a regional level, and to administer all external funds received by the Commission. By prior agreement among the member states and the United States government, the Commission would administer an equitable distribution of funds received. It is not inconceivable that the United States government would want to set the formula upon which U.S. grant funds would be distributed to the six member states. Furthermore, as stipulated in the charter of the Commission, all locally realized revenues would remain with the member state which raised them. No revenue contribution would be made to the Commission by any member state, except that a nominal fee as a token of membership may be necessary. It is hoped that through negotiations between the member states and the U.S. government, a formula could be arrived at where both parties would undertake fundings for the operation of the Commission. Taxing powers of the Commission would be a matter of prior agreement between the states and the Commission.

**D**uring the last few decades, international or regional organizations have assumed an increasing importance on the world scene. These inter-governmental arrangements are important as they provide useful contacts for the exchange of information and furnishing of technical assistance. In this connection, the Commission would enter into contracts with various international and U.S. organizations, such as the postal service, world health organization, weather service, international communications, airlines, agencies of the United Nations, the Law of the Sea, and any other governing treaties established between the Commission and the United States or other governments. Any treaty

arrangement between the Micronesian Regional Commission and the United States government would provide for continuing contact and direct relationship between the United States and the six member states. Some of the provisions of the Draft Compact of Free Association already agreed upon might well be made operational or become the basis for a treaty relationship between the United States Government and the member states belonging to the Commission.

Under such a treaty, all U.S. military options originally contemplated in the Draft Compact of Free Association or ultimately to be negotiated would be respected and honored by the Commission and the member states concerned. Should the U.S. Government desire additional land for military use, it would negotiate directly with the state in question. Under any treaty agreed to between the Commission members and the U.S. Government, the latter may be required to enter into no conflicting agreement with third nation countries nor to allow such countries to conduct any business or activities within the boundaries of the Commission's jurisdiction. Under mutual agreement, conduct of foreign affairs would be through the U.S. Government, which would also represent and protect the interests of Micronesians traveling abroad.

### III. TRANSITION TO REGIONAL COMMISSION

An equitable social and economic order implies that a large number of decisions must be made or be taken at the lowest possible level, so as to enhance participation and the satisfaction derived. This implies that greater recognition must be given to each state. It may also mean that each state must within the foreseeable future, after the Commission is established, be responsible for its own cost and local upkeep and administration from its own locally realized revenue.



On the other hand, this new regional order also implies that some types of decisions — those with global or inter-state consequences — must be undertaken by the Commission. The world of Micronesia and its surrounding environment have become too complicated for any state within this Commission to even attempt to pursue all its goals in isolation. Whether a state can deal directly with any foreign country it wishes is a matter for the Commission and the states to work out. A mutual understanding and agreement must be worked out between the United States government and the Commission.

Because of the nature in which the Commission is structured, the roles of the Trust Territory Headquarters in Saipan and the Congress of Micronesia would have to be changed. There would be a major shift in emphasis from the present structure of government to the greatly decentralized internal state form of government and the Congress of Micronesia as they now exist would gradually be phased out. Under the concepts of separate development and state autonomy, there would be no real need nor justification for either the present large central bureaucracy or the Congress of Micronesia to continue to function. The Congress of Micronesia exists to legislate national laws for Micronesia as a whole. Under the concept of separate development and the regional Commission, Micronesia or the nation of Micronesia would not exist. Similarly, the central bureaucracy exist to execute the laws legislated by the Congress of Micronesia for that same political entity of Micronesia that is absent nor exist under this new arrangement. The Commission and its Secretariat would eventually fill the roles performed now by both, but

would do so only in a much reduced and narrowly defined fashion. The main emphasis of government in Micronesia once this model or plan is adopted, would be at the member state level.

## CONCLUSION

Self reliance and participatory development is the core of this concept of separate development of the states. If development is the growth and development of an individual state, as a member of the regional commission and within the context of Micronesian society, it must of necessity stem from the inner core of each society. A state's development must make use of its peoples strengths, creativity and wisdom, and of its own resources, including its cultural and natural heritage. Self-reliant and separate development are not out of context with the "Indicative Plan" developed for Micronesia's six regional districts. Among its advantages, it enables member states to assume fuller responsibility for their own development within the framework of enlarged political and economic interdependence. Trade relationships between and among the six states is contemplated under this plan. It builds development around individual states and groups rather than people around development, and it attempts to achieve this through the deployment of local resources and indigenous efforts.

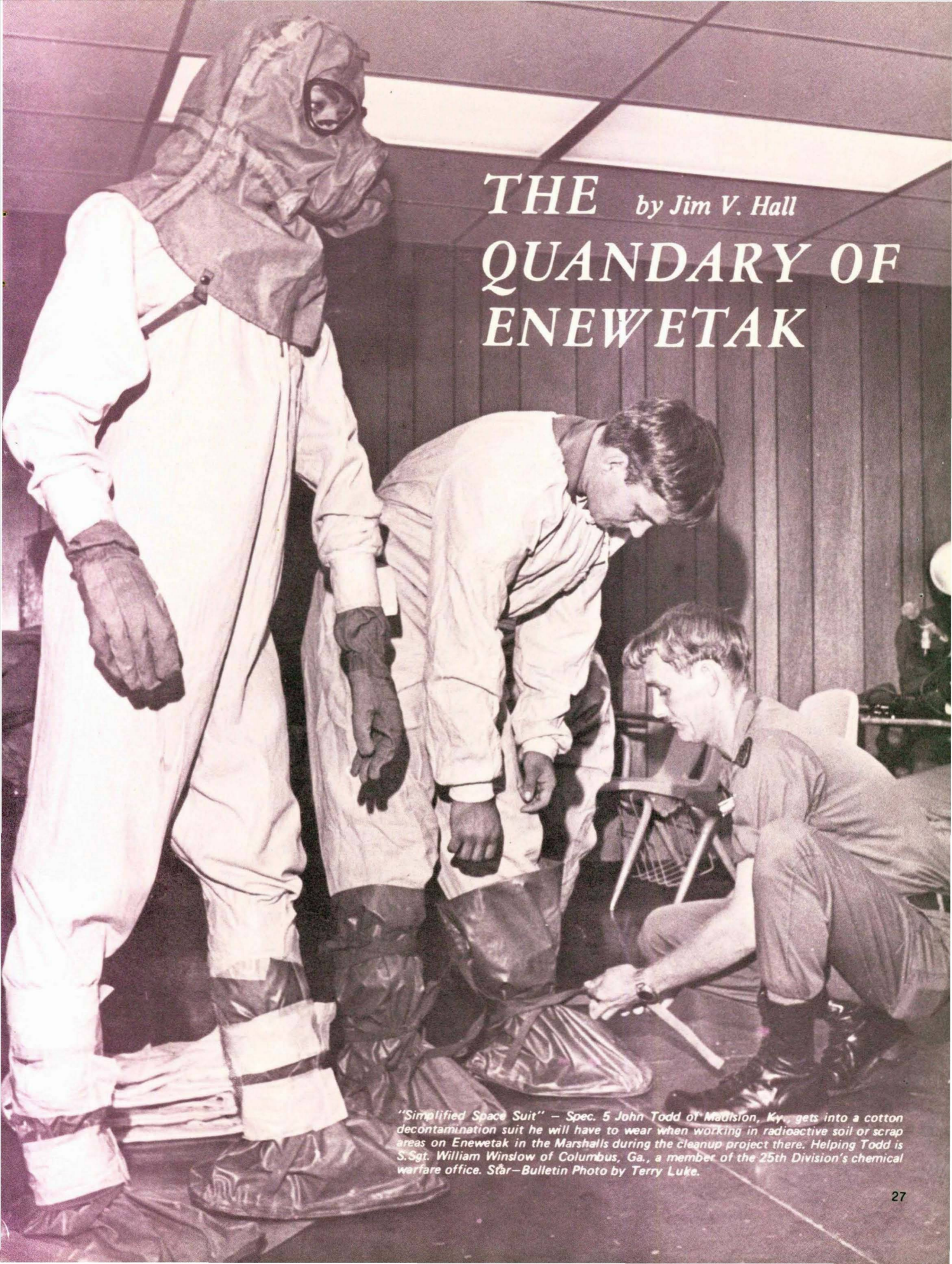
There are other governmental structures to be considered. This is only alternative model offered for consideration. It is a model not usually found in developing countries. It is not a structure that any truly national liberation movement would accept. It is however, a realistic design that could be

considered for Micronesia's political and administrative structure. It is based on a pragmatic approach to the actual and existing conditions facing Micronesia today. It is premised upon reciprocal interdependence of member states on the one hand, and the respect for their mutual independence on the other. It is a joint plan for relations between the United States and the Micronesian member states, taking into account the local needs and aspirations of each without abandoning the U.S. general interests to maintain security control of the area.

If this concept is adopted, subject to the United Nations Trusteeship termination and of the U.S. Congress ratification of the new regional Commission, a different political partnership involving regional cooperation and an amicable relationship between the U.S. and Micronesia could be established. Our past experience in devising policy and government plans from the top down has not been very productive in the case of Micronesia. It is high time that each possible party to this effort for regional cooperation and agreement meet the other on a more realistic basis. Only then can we shed the archaic and mythological approaches to Micronesian unity and solutions to Micronesian problems which have prevailed in the past.

Micronesia is the last U.N. Trusteeship left in the world today. The eyes of the world are on Micronesia. It is a challenging frontier, and unless realistic solutions are adopted for realistic problems, there is little hope for an enduring and creative relationship between the U.S. and the Micronesian peoples.





# THE by Jim V. Hall QUANDARY OF ENEWETAK

"Simplified Space Suit" — Spec. 5 John Todd of Madison, Ky., gets into a cotton decontamination suit he will have to wear when working in radioactive soil or scrap areas on Enewetak in the Marshalls during the cleanup project there. Helping Todd is S. Sgt. William Winslow of Columbus, Ga., a member of the 25th Division's chemical warfare office. Star-Bulletin Photo by Terry Luke.



As St. Bernard was reported to say some many years ago: "The road to Hell is paved with good intentions." Certainly when one views the present situation at Enewetak Atoll it can be seen that despite all the good intentions, the U.S. Government is rapidly paving, or rather unpaving, its way towards a destination somewhere between a rock and a hard place.

The question becomes: Is it really possible to take a tropical atoll of some forty islands, shell it, bomb it, bulldoze it over, send the inhabitants away, pave it, rebuild it, test nuclear weapons on it, abandon it, come back, tear down the old structures, "clean" it up, build new homes on it, bring the people back and expect everything to be the way it once was forty or fifty years ago? Highly unlikely. It would be nice if it could be so but the intervening years has changed both the islands and the people to such an extent that all the good intentions, not to mention money, in the world cannot overcome those changes.

The not-so-diplomatic relations between the people of Enewetak and the people of America began in January 1944 during regular air strikes from planes based in Tarawa and Makin or from Admiral Mischer's mighty Task Force 58. It was known that the most populated islands, Enewetak, Medrin and Enjebi were defended in strength by the Japanese and it was against those islands that the Americans concentrated their fire power.

On "D" Day, February 17, 1944, a naval task force, ranging from battleships to destroyers, moved into the lagoon by way of the so-called "Wide Passage" and the "Deep Entrance." The ensuing naval bombardment alternated with the continuing air strikes. On the following day, the Marines landed on Enjebi and the Army on Enewetak Island. It was mercifully over quickly and one of the prisoners was quoted as saying that half of the defenders were killed or wounded prior to the landings. No mention was made of the Marshallese but one fact was certain, virtually all the structures above ground had been demolished.

The itinerant existence of the Enewetak people began shortly afterwards. The Americans relocated all the surviving Marshallese to Aomon Island in the Northeast corner of the atoll while the Seabees worked feverishly to re-fortify the islands for future operations in the Western Pacific. A mighty 8100 foot runway was constructed which could handle 75 bombers.

As soon as the hot war was over, the cold war began. In June 1946, less than one year after the war ended, the 128 surviving people of Enewetak were on the move again. This time because Operations

Crossroads, the first of the atomic experiments in the Pacific, was about to take place at Bikini Atoll. Loaded on an LST, they were carted off to Kwajalein Atoll until Enewetak was declared safe for them to return a month later.

On December 2, 1947, the United States Government notified the Security Council of the United Nations that Enewetak Atoll was to be closed to the world "for security reasons" in order that "necessary experiments relating to nuclear fission" be conducted at the 300 square mile atoll. The people of Enewetak were on the move again by December 20th, this time in another Naval LST bound for Ujelang, an isolated, rock strewn atoll, 120 miles to the Southeast. The Enewetak people received ownership rights to that atoll, which had been abandoned after 1870 because of a devastating typhoon which literally threw ocean bed rocks across the entire main island. Life on Ujelang was to be no rose garden as the displaced Marshallese were to learn.

Even at Ujelang they weren't free from being moved about. In 1952, another LST arrived and took them some 130 miles further away because, they were told, "some dangerous activity was being carried on at our home atoll." They were to see the flash, hear the roar and feel the shock of "Mike". Of the 43 nuclear tests at Enewetak none was bigger than "Mike" the world's first hydrogen bomb test.

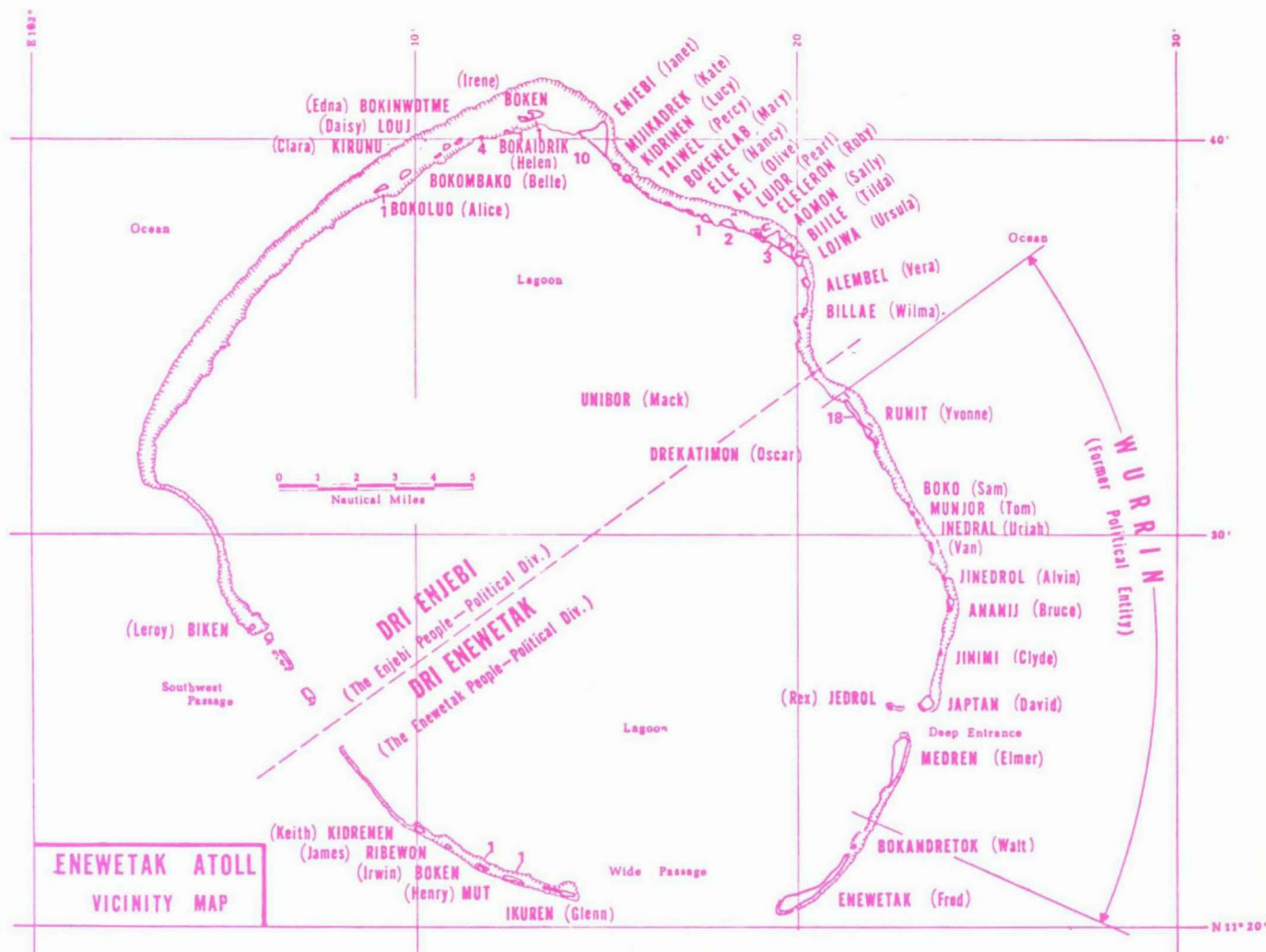
"Mike", a conglomeration of ion chambers, beta ray spectrographs, containers of uranium and heavy hydrogen, was towed to tiny Elugelab Island located near Enjebi.

When the button was pushed and several thousand pairs of smoked glasses observed from forty miles distance, Elugelab disappeared in a gigantic five mile wide fire ball followed by a great cauliflower-shaped cloud that rose 125,000 feet skyward. Today, Elugelab is represented by a mile long, 175 foot deep canyon in the ocean floor. Neighboring Enjebi was swamped by a 100 foot wall of water and showed by various radio-nucleides. It is not considered inhabitable until at least 1992.

After the danger had passed, the people were returned to Ujelang where in 1956 the U.S. made a cash settlement for the indefinite use of Enewetak — \$25,000 in cash and \$150,000 in a trust account.

By 1958, the U.S had agreed to halt atmospheric testing but soon the atolls facilities were converted into a missile testing site. The Enewetak people continued the long wait to return home to their atoll. By 1968, the population of Ujelang had grown from the original 138 to almost 400. They decided to take action on their own.





Early one October morning, the field trip vessel, the *Militobi*, docked off Ujelang Island and the field trip officer, Ataji Balos, now a congressman, went ashore to meet with the Magistrate and members of the Municipal Council.

Balos was unaware of the fact that the people had decided to abandon the island and so while he was conducting the meeting, the remaining islands, over three hundred of them, went aboard the *Militobi* crowding it with men, women and children from stem to stern and from truck to keelson.

Eventually the Council told Balos of the plan to abandon Ujelang and flee to Majuro. They told him that "nobody really cares about us". They said they were virtually starving and did not even have copra to trade.

Balos noted that the ship was severely overloaded and tried to bargain with them to get off. They refused. The negotiations continued for four hours.

Finally an agreement was reached in which the ship was to put ashore whatever flour and rice was available. Balos remained behind as a hostage as the ship left for Majuro with a two week deadline to return with adequate provisions. It returned in exactly 14 days.

Following that incident, the United States gave the people and an ex gratia payment of \$1.4 million to be placed in trust. This was fine but the people still wanted to return home.

In April of 1972, the President's Personal Representative Haydn Williams and High Commissioner Edward E. Johnston announced that the United States had been able to structure its research plans and programs in such a way as to permit an early return of the atoll to the people of Enewetak after the necessary surveys, cleanup and rehabilitation procedures had been undertaken.

Therefore, in May 1972, the U.S. agreed to allow a team of Trust Territory officials and Enewetak people



return to at least see their home atoll. The Marshallese were obviously happy to be home for the first time in 25 years but they were also upset at the changes that had taken place.

Not only was Eugelab gone but so was Teiteiripucchi and Borairikk Islands... now only craters in the reef. Medren and Japtan contained many abandoned buildings and were overgrown with brush and scrub trees. The levels of radiation were too high in the Northern Islands to allow resettlement for many years. The island of Runit was severely cratered and contaminated by radio-active plutonium. Nevertheless, the people were still anxious to return.

Another complication now arose. Historically the islands of Enewetak were divided into two political units. The Northern Islands had their own Iroij (Chief) and were centered on Enjebi and thought of themselves as Enjebi people. Living on the Southern Islands, centered on Enewetak, were the Enewetak people. As a result of the nuclear testing, the Northern Islands will not be habitable for another generation meaning that the Enjebi and Enewetak peoples will have to share the Southern Islands. The problem was ameliorated by the fact that the two groups had lived together side by side for years at Ujelang and frequent intermarriage had taken place. But the question for the future would remain whether or not the Enjebi people would be satisfied living on someone else's land.

But certain Americans, especially Lt. Gen. Warren D. Johnson, Defense Nuclear Agency Commanding Officer, were determined to do the "right" thing. Bring them home as soon as possible.

First there was the question of the clean-up. Estimates for removing the 125,000 cubic yards of non-radioactive debris, the 7300 cubic yards of radioactive scrap and the 79,000 cubic yards of contaminated soil ran to \$40 million or more. This didn't include the \$12.4 million necessary for the rehabilitation of the islands agricultural capabilities and the construction of housing for the returnees.

The U.S. Congress was understandably reluctant to spend this amount of money and struck a compromise with the Department of Defense. They would appropriate \$20 million for clean-up if the DOD performed this clean-up using available troop manpower. This additional cost of paying and providing logistical support for the clean-up was to come out of the military's hide. The true cost of the clean-up and rehabilitation will run close to \$90 million for the 450 returnees — or about \$200,000 per person.

And will this satisfy everyone? Probably not. There is the responsibility to constantly monitor the

health of these people for generations after they return. Lawsuits are inevitable even though an agreement was signed on September 16, 1976 between the Acting High Commissioner, Peter T. Coleman, and the Marshallese leadership that the \$20 million would "constitute the total commitment" of the U.S. for the clean-up. The agreement also described certain rights which the Trust Territory would retain but in general it released and restored all rights and title to those holding the traditional rights to the lands of Enewetak Atoll.

On March 15, 1977 the first contingent of returnees arrived on the MS Militobi to Japtan Island. "It's good to be back" said Iroij Joanej Peter, the first Enewetakese to officially return home after an absence of 29 years.

Following him onto the wooden pier, over the stern of the ship, were his wife and 54 others, the members of ten families representing both the Dri Enjebi and the Dri Enewetak peoples. Among the groups were young children, infants, young adults and a comparative handful who remembered the departure so many years ago.

The arrivals seemed genuinely pleased at first with what they saw as they went ashore. The children quickly ran to the sandy beach and through the village area where unlike Ujelang, there were few rocky areas. The older folks sat under nearby palm trees to enjoy the pause that refreshes. Others strolled through the converted Butler buildings which were to be their temporary homes until new ones are built.

After the obligatory luau was over, certain doubts began to set in. Water was obviously in short supply. The coconut trees were old and only marginally productive. There were no pandanus or breadfruit trees. The fish seemed plentiful but self-sufficiency was light years away.

This factor began to raise the spectre of a new "Ebeye", the overcrowded Marshallese commuter island located three miles from the Kwajalein Missile Range. Japtan is six miles from Enewetak Island where a thousand Americans will be based during the 36 month clean-up. Marshallese will be hired to work with them and will be paid TT rates, not much but certainly it will mean more money will be available than at Ujelang.

Already there is a PX on Enewetak, closed circuit TV, a number of clubs and no women. This situation will inevitably lead to an increasing number of commercial transactions between the Marshallese and the Americans. Like Ebeye, Japtan will begin to attract an accelerating flow of Marshallese to Japtan, eager to



earn dollars to support their extended families and to raise their own meager standard of living.

Add this to the mixed reaction to the vast infrastructure already in place at Enewetak and Medren Islands where homes are also scheduled to be constructed. The de-salinization plant and the freezer plant are scheduled for demolition yet these are facilities which are in great demand everywhere in Micronesia. The airport facilities and other structures in good condition will remain but will they be effectively utilized? The proposed College of Micronesia could easily be supported by the surplus facilities already in place. Will they be wasted?

There are two interrelated questions that do not as yet seem to be resolved. First is the proper utilization of the remaining facilities and the second is the recognition that the traditional society of Enewetak is in the process of being destroyed.

A traditional society, especially an atoll society, has the fragility of an egg. It possesses the characteristic of tremendous strength under even pressure but once shattered, like Humpty-Dumpty, all the President's money and all the President's men won't be able to put the Enewetak culture back together again.

Like some foods, a traditional society is a natural product with no additives, nothing artificial, an integral part of some prehistoric ecosystem where man lived as one with his surroundings. It has developed and responded to its environment and has survived through the centuries precisely because of its adaptability.

Unlike a modern society, which alters man's relationship with nature through insulated homes, furnaces or air conditioners and alters man's relationship to one another through the introduction of a money economy, such a society does not seek to alter nature but rather to co-exist with it. Its population is held in check by the ravages of nature and the limitations of its primitive economy in which all goods flow to the Chief to be dispensed according to his wishes. Thirty years of exile on Ujelang brought

rudimentary educational programs, field trip vessels, tinned goods and imported accouterments which have altered an Enewetak traditional society beyond recognition. If the rest of Micronesia is any example, the worst is yet to come.

To the consternation of anthropologists and various "zoo-keepers" the truly traditional society is quickly becoming as extinct as the great amphibious lizards that might have roamed on Enewetak when it was a huge mountain some million years ago.

The traditional society's demise began as soon as the first child learned to read and write and when the first dollar bill was earned and exchanged for goods of services. It has been terminally infected by the disease of modernity. The people's survival depends on how quickly and surely they can adapt to the new conditions.

With jobs for the young men of Japtan in the rehabilitation and clean-up programs and a virtual absence of the mainstays of a traditional economy — breadfruit, pandanus, coconuts and canoes — the cancer will grow.

To expect anything else in the future for the people of Japtan except more field trip vessels, more tinned goods, more ex gratia payments and more government subsidization, t'is more than folly — t'is madness.

The day is soon coming when the only chiefs in the world will be on a football team in Kansas City or officials in various police and fire departments around the world. "Traditional Dances" will be a high school elective and traditional customs and culture will be covered in Anthropology 102.

Some farsighted and realistic planning for the future is necessary now unless we are to compound heartache with new heartache. I mean, who wants to sit around forever on a reservation with their finger in their ear. The world is on the move and someone should think about how best to help the Enewetak people get on board. There is no turning back.



# The Koror-Babelthuap Bridge is now open for traffic

Palau High Chief Ibedul Gibbon and Guam's Governor Ricardo J. Bordallo, through a mix up in transportation arrangements, had the distinction of being the first to cross the bridge on foot. (L-R): Socio President B.W. Chung, High Chief Ibedul, Governor Bordallo, and Mrs. Chung strolling across the bridge.



All dignitaries took part in the ribbon cutting ceremony which officially opened the bridge to traffic linking the district center of Koror with the big island.

Front row (L-R): High Chief Ibedul Gibbons; Governor Ricky Bordallo, Guam; T.T. Acting High Commissioner J. Boyd Mackenzie; Mrs. and Mr. B.W. Chung, President of Socio; and Palau District Administrator Thomas O. Remengesau. Back row behind Mackenzie (L-R): General Jacobsen, Commander of Anderson Air Force, Guam; and Erwin D. Canham, Resident Commissioner of the Northern Marianas.



## THE TASK

The warmth of our ember glowing  
During the chilly and dark night  
Should offer warm embrace to ancients  
Dwelling under tottered huts  
Enduring a torrent of raindrops,  
And the cold night winds  
And occasional quakes.  
Yet despite the lack of luxuries  
Nothing hampers their souls.  
For their spirits soar  
Through the cosmos  
In harmony with the moons and stars  
And waltzing with the puffy cotton clouds  
Floating within the vast blue heavens  
Proud and elegant in cultural and traditional attire  
And free from bondage.  
The sound of their folklore and chants  
Should lull the man-made upheaval and distress  
And infuse peace and harmony into micronations.  
Like the gentle waves caressing  
And hugging our shores  
Across the 3 million miles.  
Our seas whether ebbing or flowing  
Bridge us into insular galaxy.  
Our forefathers treasured the sea  
Because it's our path, defense and meal  
From ages to ages.  
We must learn many things from the sea.  
It belongs to no one  
But for all to share but not possess.  
The sea retains its identity.  
Of course we are all searching for a pot of gold  
At the end of the rainbow  
And we all dream in hope  
To reach this destiny.  
However in spite of our shortcomings  
Here and then there  
We must continue sailing  
Through the rain and storms  
Guided by the stars at night  
And by birds and currents at day  
On our individual outrigger canoes  
Holding our heads up high  
With pride, honor, and dignity  
Because each of us is an ambassador  
Of his cultural heritage  
Entrusted to us by our ancestors  
To preserve, uphold and hand over  
To the seeds of the bearers  
Of the cultural torch.





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Commending the new HiCom, Undersecretary Joseph said, "It is our belief in Interior, shared by the members of the U.S. Senate shown by their unanimous confirmation, that no better choice as High Commissioner could have been made at this critical period which is before the T.T.P.I. I am confident that with his special background, he will make a very significant contribution to the transition period which lies ahead of us."

Director of the Office of Territorial Affairs Mrs. Van Cleve speaking at the swearing-in ceremony while (l-r) Acting Deputy HiCom Juan A. Sablan, HiCom Winkel and Guam Congressional Delegate Antonio B. Won Pat look on.

