# THE GOVERNING OF MICRONESIA

A Report on the Trust Territory
of the Pacific Islands

Based on a Field Survey
Conducted During February and March 1952

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

# I GETTING THE PERSPECTIVE

The blue Pacific Ocean extends westward for over 4,000 miles from San Francisco to the easternmost boundary of our newest territorial responsibility, the Trust Territory of the Pacific, the Islands of Micronesia. Within the boundaries of this great territory stretches a vast expanse of water exceeding in area all of continental United States and within which are scattered over 2,000 islands.

## The Green Islands

These islands vary widely in size from a substantial volcanic archipelago like the Northern Marianas including Saipan with over 46 square miles of land area, to tiny coral islets linking the circular chain of rock and vegetation which forms a coral atoll. These 2,000 and more islands may be conveniently grouped into about 96 island units, the largest being Palau in the Western Carolines consisting of 343 separate islands with about 188 square miles of dry land, and further into three major island groups: the Marshalls, the Carolines, and the Marianas. Of the 96 island units in Micronesia only 64 are said to be actually inhabited, the remainder being too small, too remote, or simply too barren to support a healthy community.

Generally these islands are classed as either high or low islands. High islands are the peaks of submarine volcanic mountains which may tower as high as 3,000 feet above sea level, while low islands are formed from coral outcropping built upon underwater ridges and are seldom more than a few feet above sea level. The Marianas are made

up entirely of high islands with a few coral reef developments, while the Marshalls to the east are all low coral atolls. The Carolines are more diverse in character with mostly low coral atolls but including 5 major volcanic high islands: Palau, Yap, Truk, Ponape, and Kusaie.

The climate of Micronesia, which makes possible the abundant vegetation found on the islands, varies considerably from one group to another, but in ways which most Americans would consider purely technical. However, it can be said of all the islands that they are hot and wet. It is characteristic of these islands that there is relatively little difference in temperature from one season to another, but rainfall does provide a certain seasonal variety. In fact seasons are reckoned according to the amount of rain enjoyed, the relatively dry season occurring between January and March. Likewise, the principal climatic difference between island groups is in the matter of rainfall. Saipan as representative of the Northern Marianas averages the least rain, 82 inches annually, while Ponape averages the maximum of 185 inches. However, average annual temperatures vary among groups within only the narrow range of between 78 to 81 degrees.

When the weather is clear the approach by air to any of these islands, but especially one of the low coral atolls, is a delightful and colorful experience. Soon after sighting an atoll over the horizon it appears as an indistinct, irregular thread of green

traced on the monotonous blue of the sea. As the airplane nears the atoll its form grows clearer and one sees dimly the green islands and white reefs which complete the ring of the atoll across the turquoise waters of the central lagoon. Flying lower directly over the narrow chain of islands which shelter the lagoon from the pounding sea, it is possible to pick out some of the details of island life from among the overwhelming growth of lush tropical vegetation. Occasional clearings with a scattering of grass huts for languorous living, some with corrugated iron roods; perhaps a larger settlement with a prominent white steepled church and nearby a small finger pier extending a short distance out into the lagoon; a white coral road dating back to the war years, interrupted here by heavy jungle growth and further on, where a causeway had bridged a low reef, by wave swept water; an impressive collection of former military buildings probably of quonset construction with what was once a substantial dock in the lagoon, now all abandoned, returning to the sea and the jungle; and finally the community of the District Center itself with its white painted quonset roofs, white coral roadways, its pier, its boats, its air of enterprise, all these may flash by below the airplane.

At first blush these green islands with their heavy tropical growth strike one as having the resource potential to support a population considerably in excess of what they now support and perhaps even to make a substantial contribution to world markets. Coconut trees grow abundantly, bananas are everywhere in evidence, breadfruit trees are

plentiful, occasional cultivation yields taro, tapioca, yams, sweet potatoes, and even pineapple. Poultry, pigs, and in one or two areas even cattle are raised. The sea and the lagoons abound in fish and sea foods of all kinds. Tropical hardwoods including mahogany give promise of future lumber mills. Phosphate deposits, now being exploited, and bauxite are among the known significant mineral resources.

Many people who know Micronesia well are very enthusiastic about the economic future of the islands. They argue that their resources have been only slightly scratched and that all that is necessary to bring prosperity to Micronesia is a modern program of resource analysis and an enlightened leadership in the development and marketing both with private and public capital of the known resources as well as those which may now be hidden.

Others who have had no less experience with Micronesia are convinced that island resources are in fact meager. They say that the only reasonably attainable goal in the dim foreseeable future is a subsistence economy in which the islands may support their population adequately with better quality and more varied foods but an economy in which there will be little left over for world commerce. Those who argue this theory of meager resources and the subsistence economy point to the extreme thinness and relatively low fertility of most of the soils in Micronesia, the shortage of bait supplies for large scale deep sea fishing, the remoteness of the area from world markets as compared

with competing areas, the danger of destruction of the relatively scarce agricultural land from any significant exploitation of mineral resources, and the comparatively limited labor supply of the islands.

The merits of these two points of view cannot be settled here. This subject will be discussed later in somewhat more detail, but is important to recognize that a major problem exists in determining the goals for resource development.

The People and Their Past

The origins of the Micronesian people are obscure, but in general these islands are considered to have been originally settled by canoe voyagers from the marginal islands of Malaysia off the coast of southeastern Asia, with the first migrations beginning perhaps more than 2,000 years ago. Racially the Micronesian people closely resemble the Malaysians, having in the main medium physiques, soft Mongoloid features, straight to wavy black hair, and brown skin, and certain features of their culture likewise tend to substantiate their ties with Malaysia. Minor racial differences between islands indicate a considerable mixture in certain areas with other Pacific stocks notably the more negritoid Melanesians to the south and west and the more caucasoid Polynesians to the south and east. The people of the Marianas, the Chamorros, though not very different in appearance from other Micronesians, are reportedly a more complex racial mixture than the people of either the Carolines or the Marshalls.

Culturally the people of Micronesia vary considerably from one area to another, although certain characteristics such as kinship, ancestor worship, class, and leadership patterns appear to have common roots in all islands. At least nine major ethnic zones have been identified within Micronesia, and within each of these may be found subcultures sometimes very different in certain features from the dominant culture patterns. Comparatively little is known about the details of these different cultures, but clearly there are significant differences particularly in the degree to which western culture has been assimilated. For example, the Yapese people, though aware that change is essential, want to rework their own social structure to fit their present needs, and they are generally not particularly awed by the American and his civilization. The Palauan people, on the other hand, are eager to become westernized and for this and other reasons demonstrate extreme anxiety to please Americans, so much so that Palauans will frequently express what they know to be American ideas rather than their own when asked for their views on a particular problem.

Similarly, there are 9 different languages within Micronesia, each with its own distinct dialects. Only Japanese ever approached the status of a common language, but its use is becoming less common and in some areas it is not understood at all. Unfortunately the island languages historically were never written. Recent attempts which have been made, mainly by missionaries, to reduce these

languages to the English alphabet have employed a variety of systems. As a result the same words may be spelled in a variety of ways depending on whose system of phonetics is used, and there remains a need for standardizing these written languages.

The variety of cultures and languages illustrates a basic problem in the administration of these islands today. Not only is communication of necessity halting, an obvious difficulty, but also it must be recognized how important rather detailed knowledge of the culture and language of a given area is to those who would govern wisely within a framework acceptable to the people and how necessary it is that the temptation to generalize about the particular needs of all Micronesians be resisted. It further points up the problem of developing a unified political consciousness among Micronesians, from which might spring some day a responsible legislative body.

Our earliest knowledge of Micronesia dates back to 1520 when Magellan's expedition from the east in search of the Spice Islands, after failing to sight any of the hundreds of islands they must have sailed by, finally encountered Guam. Following this brief contact with "Las Islas de las Ladrones" (the Islands of Thieves), as Magellan called the Marianas after his opinion of the habits of the Guamanians, Spanish and Portuguese expeditions began exploring the Pacific in search of riches worth exploiting. Gestures were made to establish Spanish sovereignty over the Marianas and some of the Carolines, but no serious attempt was made until 1668 to bring any

of these islands under effective control. Having made Guam a port of call for Spanish ships plying the trade routes from Mexico to the Philippines, it became necessary for the Spaniards to establish some orderly control in the Marianas. In 1668 a small party consisting of a few soldiers and four Jesuit priests was landed on Guam, and soon after Spanish garrisons were set up throughout the Marianas.

Spanish rule of the Marianas was moderately successful since, especially in the early years, it did no serious violence to existing social and political institutions. Particularly successful was the Spanish effort to Christianize the islanders so that even today the people of the Marianas are almost uniformly Catholic. Spanish rule in the Carolines, however, was at best extremely spotty, and had always to compete for influence with German, Japanese, and American commercial interests, expanding British interests to the South, the frequent American whalers, and the Boston Mission Society which had been persuaded of the need to restore moral order in the islands. As might be expected with such a complex of competing interests, the history of these years is full of minor native rebellions and reprisals, disputes among European powers over sovereignty, diplomatic pressures to protect commercial and other interests, and the visits of the gunboats of various western powers. In spite of all of the interest in Micronesia manifested by westerners it should be pointed out that it was concentrated on a few of the major island centers, while the more isolated islands remained comparatively untouched.

In 1885 Germany assumed control of all the Marshalls, which had in fact been rediscovered only about a hundred years earlier and over which no formal western control had thus far been exercised. To this empire was added both the Carolines and Northern Marianas in 1899 when Spain, having suffered defeat in its war with America and having lost both Guam and the Philippines, was happy to sell out what she had left of Micronesia to Germany for $4,500,000.

German administration of Micronesia, which along with the administration of the Bismarcks and the Northern Solomons was supervised from German New Guinea, was on the whole more successful than that of the Spanish. The German administrators while few in number, with never more than 25 people in all of Micronesia, were exceptionally well trained and had a rather good understanding of the problems of the islanders. In most cases their attitude was sympathetic, and they followed a policy of minimum interference with island customs and social structure. The local administrations depended heavily on the island chiefs to keep order and to provide the copra and labor levies, which the administration employed as a means of supporting the minimum government services provided. To some extent the Germans attacked the problems of public health and sanitation with a physician and small hospital attached to each local administration, but the matter of schooling was left entirely to the various missionary groups. The principal contribution of the Germans to the acculturation of the

islanders was in the field of trade, for they were indefatigable surveyors of the economic potential. Through their Jaluit Company they were able to follow up with a reasonably effective exploitation of resources wherever they were discovered.

German sovereignty in Micronesia came to a sudden end with the outbreak of World War I when the Japanese Navy easily seized the islands. Japanese control of the islands was quickly consolidated so that by the end of the war the victorious Allies were confronted with the accomplished fact of virtual Japanese annexation of these former German colonies. American objections to this arrangement were ineffectual, though by the device of a League of Nations mandate, Japan's conquest was given a somewhat more acceptable moral tone.

The Japanese set to work with great zeal to bring Micronesia more closely into their economic sphere, and consequently their administration was characterized by several elements which had not been present during Spanish or German times. Colonization of the islands by Japanese was encouraged, exploitation of available resources was carried forward with considerably greater energy than had heretofore been the case, attempts were made to undermine the customs of the islanders in favor of actively introducing Japanese culture, all political affairs were under the direct control of the Japanese with relatively few islanders holding more than titular posts, and finally the islands were fortified in preparation for the realization of Japan's imperial ambitions. As might be expected the number of

Japanese officials in the islands increased rapidly to a maximum of 944 in 1935, as compared with 25 German prior to World War I. (This compares with about 280 Americans now in the Territory.)

The Japanese concerned themselves with public health, but comparatively little attention was paid to education except in the matter of teaching Japanese language and customs. The political development of the islanders which had been little affected by the Spanish and openly encouraged by the Germans was given a serious set-back by the autocratic methods of the Japanese. With the coming of World War II Japanese control became even more rigorous. The principal islands were quickly transformed into military fortresses, and the problems of the islanders were given a minimum of attention.

Following American occupation of the islands and the final surrender by Japan of the remaining islands of Micronesia at the end of World War II, the occupying authority, the United States Navy, was assigned administrative responsibility for these islands. The United Nations Trusteeship Agreement and the aims and success of the present United States administration will be discussed later in their proper places rather than as a part of the islands' history.

The Future: Progress or the Status Quo?

Today the 55,000 people of Micronesia look forward to a future they and their American governors see but dimly. The United Nations Trusteeship Agreement defines in very general terms the goals toward which they are now striving, but the details of how these goals are

to be reached and how long it will take to reach them are matters for Micronesians and Americans working together to determine.

The responsibilities of the United States to the people of Micronesia are well defined in Articles 6 and 7 of the Trusteeship Agreement (see Appendix B). This agreement requires first that we shall promote the development of the people toward self government, or even independence if appropriate, as the wishes of the people of Micronesia may indicate, and that we shall give appropriate recognition to the customs of Micronesia in legislating for the territory. Second, the agreement obligates the United States to develop the natural resources of the islands so as to promote the economic advancement and the self-sufficiency of the inhabitants and to protect the people against the loss of their lands. Third, we are required to promote the free social advancement of the people and to protect their health by controlling traffic in arms, dangerous drugs, and alcohol. Fourth, we must educate Micronesians by establishing a general elementary school system, by providing vocational training, and by encouraging students to pursue higher education. And fifth, we are required to guarantee the islanders the traditional freedoms of conscience, speech, press, assembly, religion, and migration.

By signing and ratifying this agreement the United States has given a straightforward and irrevocable answer to the basic philosophical question, "Progress or the status quo?" As a matter of fact it might require a greater effort on our part to draw an iron curtain around

the islands in an attempt to stabilize the present level of island culture than will be required to assist and guide them in their aspirations toward civilization. We have accepted a responsibility with a noble purpose, and however much we may have been motivated by considerations of self-interest we are now bound to undertake the job of giving these islanders a wise and enlightened introduction to western civilization.

Having answered this question of direction, we have by no means freed our minds of doubt and uncertainty. We have in fact merely made it possible to ask a thousand questions about how fast and how far we should lead the people of Micronesia along the road to civilization. To make the problem more difficult we should recognize that these questions must be answered in different ways from one group of islands to another in view of the great differences in cultural achievement.

A few of the more general questions of this order are immediately raised by the major goals defined in the Trusteeship Agreement. As has been suggested above there are great and perhaps even insurmountable barriers of geography, language, and culture to a unified, territory-wide self-government at least for the foreseeable future, though local and district self-government may be feasible in most cases. However, even in this area there are questions about the patterns self-government should follow. Should it, for example, be democratic or should it

simply reinforce the traditional aristocratic chieftanship system; and if democratic should it necessarily embrace western notions about representation, the rule of the majority, or separation of powers?

Likewise there is a question, briefly touched on above, about the role of Micronesia in the world economy. Are the resources of the islands sufficient to support a large measure of world trade or should the people be satisfied with an abundant subsistence economy? Whichever choice is made, and no choice should be made without a more profound evaluation of the resources of Micronesia than has thus far been made, there are the questions of what are reasonably attainable goals, eschewing dreams, and how do the islanders assess these goals in terms of their own appraisal of their economic wants and capacities?

Similar questions follow from our responsibilities for the education and the health of Micronesians. Should education be limited to the skills required for a simple island life, or should individuals be encouraged to seek their maximum potential wherever it may be in the larger world community? Should contacts in education with more advanced cultures be carefully restricted or should they be engineered and encouraged? Should modern public health be carried to all of the remote islands, and if so how regularly, and how complete should be the facilities available in those remote areas?

Many of these questions simply cannot be answered today with any finality, but they are nonetheless valid questions which require at

least tentative answers as guides for future policy. In the pages that follow I shall attempt to discuss them in somewhat greater detail, but in many cases the questions must remain unanswered.

## II A MID-PACIFIC POINT IV PROGRAM

The hoary and once honorable concept of the "white man's burden" has fallen into well deserved disrepute in recent times. It has been exposed for what it too often was, a mask for some of the most shameless kind of despoilment and dispossession of backward peoples in history, of peoples who were simply unequipped until recently to resist the ruthless march of western civilization. It should be clear that our motives in requesting trusteeship over Micronesia are of a very different order. While these islands are vital to our present defense it is not our purpose to exploit their resources solely for the benefit of the United States but rather to encourage the economic self-sufficiency of the islanders and their aspirations toward self-government. A new concept of responsibility toward backward areas has been accepted. It requires an enlightened and altruistic leadership which is difficult to learn. We have accepted the responsibilities of such leadership in our Point IV Program, and our work in the Trust Territory is based largely on the same noble principles.

### Can Self-Government Work?

It is a truism that men cannot live long together without government, and Micronesia is no exception. Political problems were being solved by the islanders with more or less success long before the arrival of the Spanish. The traditional patterns of political organization and control, which in most cases were closely related to the organs of social control and religious expression, were, however, predominantly

local in character. While group harmony was established and maintained by the predominantly matrilineal chieftanship system within the community of a single island or perhaps group of smaller islands, clan warfare frequently characterized the relationships of one community with its neighbors, and this warfare might be, indeed often was, between tribes with a common heritage and language. With the coming of a peace enforced by alien governors, warfare became unacceptable as a means of settling grievances, gaining prestige, or acquiring riches, but little was done by the Spanish, Germans, or Japanese to combine smaller communities into larger ones or to settle clan rivalries.

The foundation of Micronesian political organization was and largely still is the household or group of kindred households. These units are tied together with other similar units in a community or clan with the headmen of each forming a council under the leadership of a single chief. These communities may in turn be bound under a king within a larger area of loyalty, usually called a district. These relationships may be extremely complex and involve elaborate systems of land tenure, tribute to chiefs and kings, and relative hereditary prestige among clans and among households. It would be a mistake, however, to assume that the authority of chiefs or kings was ever absolute within their realms. In fact most matters of importance to the group were, and are still, talked out in endless detail by the councils, and decisions reached by this process are normally unanimous.

It should be noted too that the passing of the hereditary chieftainship title was not without its conflict, and it was not unusual to pass up the next in line for a more popular rival.

Although the primitive chieftainship systems have undergone rather extensive modifications during the years of foreign rule, so that in some areas, particularly the Northern Marianas, it is only vestigial and in others it has been adapted to alien patterns, it retains in most districts a strong tie to the past and remains a framework within which a wise administrator will work if he is going to be successful. This presents a basic problem. The policy of the Government of the Trust Territory is to encourage the development of democratic self-government and stimulate progressive ideas in the communities. It cannot do this and at the same time afford to perpetuate or actually to enhance the prestige of the inherently conservative and aristocratic hereditary chiefs. This problem has been solved by the American administration, both Navy and Interior, with some success at least at the local level. While hereditary chiefs are given ceremonial recognition, in some communities councils have been elected directly to give expression to the popular will, and the members of these councils, after an initial period when only chiefs are elected, tend to come from all social classes. Likewise community administrative responsibility has been placed in the hands of a competent leader or magistrate, usually elected, without stripping the chief of the traditional dignity of his office. Thus, a dual system of leadership has been created, one social and partly

political and the other frankly political, which gives promise of providing a successful bridge between the tradition of aristocracy and the goal of democratic self-government.

With the emphasis of American administration in favor of indirect rule rather than direct supervision of all political activities, which is of necessity arbitrary and alien, an even greater problem is raised in giving the islanders a voice in their government at the next level, the District. As has been pointed out, there are only limited traditional patterns of self-rule beyond the community or the closely related complex of communities. When for administrative convenience a number of islands or island groups are consolidated into a single District (of which there are now 6 in the Territory) perhaps hundreds of miles across, few historical guides are to be found and many difficulties are encountered. There are obvious transportation problems in getting council members to the seat of government; there are real conflicts of interest and ancient rivalries among communities to be contended with, conflicts which have been settled in the past only by warfare; there is a basic problem of selling the idea of the usefulness of such an institution; in short there is no developed consciousness of a larger community of interest where common problems can be discussed and solved amicably to everyone's mutual benefit. Some progress has been made with such larger incipient legislatures to advise the District Administrator, notably in the Marshalls and

Palaus, but many years of experience will be required before these bodies can assume a large measure of real legislative responsibility.

In view of these difficulties in developing political consciousness at the District level, it is obvious that any popular acceptance of the concept of a united Micronesia and a responsible territorial legislature is a long way off. This means inevitably that the bulk of territory-wide law and all coordination of Trust Territory administration must have its source in the High Commissioner. Because of this absence of legislative surveillance, the Secretary of the Interior will of necessity be required to provide a supervision of territorial affairs here that he does not have to provide in our other territories.

While the concept of a united Micronesia has no popular support from the islanders and is not likely to have for a great many years, this does not mean that such political unity should not figure in plans for the future. Experience in colonial administration clearly indicates that a growing desire for self-government can be expected from the islanders in the near future, although at first it will find its expression at the local and District levels. The most effective method of meeting this challenge is not suppression, tried unsuccessfully so many times by colonial powers, but rather opening new avenues for expression of these legitimate aspirations. The united Micronesia concept, remote as it may be from realization, may be useful in providing a focus of interest and a goal toward which the most

progressive elements, and consequently the most troublesome to a territorial administration if they are suppressed or restrained, can work together.

It should be noted that the District Administrator and his professional staff concerned with the political affairs of the District must be extremely ingenious in providing wise leadership for municipalities with a growing political consciousness. Although a certain amount of leadership can be provided through daily contacts with islanders at the District Center, it is vital that the administrator keep in regular touch with developments in the remoter areas of the District. This requires frequent field trips to observe, along with other matters, the success or failure of new political institutions. This represents both a heavy burden on his time as well as an administrative expense which a less ambitious program would not justify. It should be pointed out, however, that without close attention a policy of indirect rule in remote areas would result in either a reinforcement of the established aristocratic patterns or the substitution of less acceptable administration sponsored autocracies. Experience with unsupervised elections indicates they may in fact be quite undemocratic. Free communication with the administrator is vital to the development of healthy self-government in dependent areas.

A further complex of problems confronts the Government of the Trust Territory in the field of administering justice. Traditionally property rights and codes of acceptable conduct were enforced by the villages through their own councils and chiefs. With the undermining by

foreigners of not only the institutions for enforcement of law and custom but also the laws themselves, uncertainty has arisen which has required the imposition of a system of alien courts and the formalizing of a legal code. Difficulties have inevitably arisen since western concepts of court procedures or the impartiality of justice (justice for a commoner and a chief are very different matters to islanders) are foreign to Micronesia and since, while recognizing wherever possible island law and custom, foreign ideas have been injected into the legal code. These difficulties have been recognized, and the system of judicial procedure which is growing up around the territorial High Court is an attempt to introduce western justice while at the same time to do as little violence as possible to accepted island codes of custom and law.

Where Does Micronesia Fit Into The World Economy?

The world community has for some centuries had an impact on the economy of Micronesia, so that this is not a new question. It has been answered, however, in various ways by Spain, Germany, and Japan, but in these earlier periods Micronesia was a source of wealth only to Japan and then only to a relatively limited extent. The Spanish rulers made no serious attempt to exploit the resources of the islands but were interested mainly in assuring themselves that their ships could make use of the islands as ports of call. British, American, German and other foreign ships engaged in the Pacific trade or in whaling also made free use of Micronesian ports to take on provisions during

the period of Spanish rule.

The incoming Germans were of a very different mind and made every effort to exploit the island resources for the advantage of the mother country. It was during the period of German rule that the privately owned but state sponsored Jaluit Company initiated the copra trade and began developing the phosphate deposits on Angaur in the Palaus. While certain other resources such a guano and pearls were also exploited copra represented about 90 percent of the value of exports at this time.

Following World War I the Japanese with their more favorable geographic relationship to Micronesia went seriously to work to stimulate the growth of the island economy and to bind it closely to the economy of Japan. With the success of their efforts in promoting commercial agriculture (predominantly copra and sugarcane but with other fruit and vegetable products as well), livestock production for both local consumption and export, commercial fisheries, and the mining of the important phosphate deposits, the people of Micronesia grew more and more prosperous. Sugar production in 1940 was valued at nearly $7 million, fish and other marine products in that same year had a value of over $3 million, and during the Japanese period nearly 3 million metric tons of rock phosphate were shipped from the islands to Japan. Although much of the economic activity was carried on with imported Japanese labor or colonists, the islanders waxed prosperous, and an ever increasing flow of trade goods poured into the islands from Japan. By 1938 annual exports were valued at the unprecedented

figure of $11,730,000, of which 96.5 percent went to Japan, while imports were valued at $7,665,000, with 95.3 percent coming from Japan.

With the end of World War II this flourishing trade with Japan vanished along with Japanese managers, colonists, and labor, leaving in its wake serious economic dislocation. Farms and coconut groves had been laid waste by military action and buried by great concrete airfields. Homes and other buildings were devastated, and the people were left homeless and demoralized in many areas, especially the Northern Marianas. In short not only were the markets completely gone but also much of the means of production. Accompanying this was a major shortage in the consumer goods the people had come to require. It has been estimated that the general living conditions of the islanders were set back about 25 years. This was the situation which confronted us at the end of the war when the Navy began its initial program of rehabilitating the island economy.

Before going on with what has been done about the economy of Micronesia since the war, a more complete picture of the prewar economy should be drawn. While it is true that the Japanese trade had a profound effect on the lives of many of the islanders, it should be pointed out that a great part of the population, especially in the more remote areas, never progressed far beyond the subsistence type economy which they had known for centuries.

This subsistence economy is characterized principally by an abundance of food directly procured by the consumers, though with a certain lack of variety particularly on the low islands. Some of the most important items of island diet are breadfruit, coconut, yams, sweet potatoes, taro, bananas, papaya, mangoes, citrus fruits, and pandanus, as well as fish and some meats such as pork, poultry, and on a few islands beef. To these native foods have been added a variety of foreign canned foods, mostly fish, in more recent years. In the main the supply of food which can be locally produced is plentiful for the present needs of the people, though it is less diverse than might be expected and has a few nutritional shortcomings which, however, are not serious.

Not only have the islanders normally provided themselves with an abundant food supply, but they have also developed systems of work and exchange which have made possible a reasonably fair distribution of economic goods. While it is impossible to elaborate on these systems here, it is important to note a few of their characteristics.

The patterns of property rights vary widely throughout the islands, particularly with the degree of culture contact with foreigners. However, in general the indigenous pattern is a complex of clan ownership, involving supervision and a measure of control by the chiefs, but with intricate use rights on the part of commoners. To some extent these patterns have broken down with the growth of private ownership in the western sense and the assumption of title

by the Japanese over certain unused lands. Since there has never been an adequate land survey and since many Japanese land records have been lost, the present status of land titles, quite aside from an understanding of the traditional ownership patterns, is confused in the extreme and the source of much anxiety. It cannot be emphasized too strongly that land titles must be clearly established throughout Micronesia as a prerequisite of any sound program of economic development.

Work in the islands is inclined to be less of a burden than in western countries though it is by no means true that the people are lazy or improvident. However, the distinction between work and play is not always clear and relaxation is a well cultivated accomplishment. Much island work is done in cooperative groups and frequently with a minimum of sex specialization. Increasingly islanders have been willing to work for wages, and several types of cooperative groups have been organized to make this possible, since individual initiative of the western stamp is not frequently an island characteristic. However, because of the growth of wage work, there are more and more people who must buy their food and clothing and who are therefore especially affected by any economic maladjustments.

In the main the clans have traditionally provided for their own needs in cooperative fashion. However, a certain amount of exchange has always taken place both with other islanders and foreigners. While barter has figured strongly in this exchange, shell and stone

money was used in the Marianas and Carolines long before the arrival of the Spanish and is still used in local exchange on Yap. Western money is now common throughout the territory although the practice of barter is still widespread.

With the post-war economic dislocation referred to above, it has become the responsibility of the United States to restore the islands to a state of economic health. Although serious consideration has been given to retying the broken threads of world trade, there has been a lack of clear thinking as to just what degree of foreign commerce can realistically be maintained. In fact more emphasis has been placed on stimulating a more abundant subsistence economy with greater interchange within the territory.

The basic policy of the Trust Territory Government has been to achieve the "highest possible level of economic independence." To this end programs have been geared toward (1) developing a balanced economy through full utilization of natural resources, consistent with sound conservation principles and the needs of the islanders, (2) getting islanders to accept responsibility for their own economy and preventing foreign exploitation, (3) reestablishing a standard of living at least equal to that enjoyed under the Japanese, (4) teaching skills of particular use in island life, and (5) providing trade channels temporarily where normal distribution is inadequate but at the same time encouraging reestablishment of the old channels. These policies which were first used as a guide for Navy administration have

been in general adopted by Interior.

In effecting these policies the Navy was first instrumental in having established the United States Commercial Company (USCC) as a subsidiary of RFC. The USCC provided a remedy for some of the more immediate problems, particularly in the matter of reopening the flow of trade goods, and also performed some work of long term value in the form of resource surveys. USCC was replaced in 1948 by the Island Trading Company(ITC) which was organized under the laws of Guam as a creature of the Government of the Trust Territory. ITC has carried forward the USCC work both of providing trade channels where they are needed and of surveying, encouraging, and assisting the growth of island enterprise.

The developmental side of the work USCC and ITC have done has been to some extent supplemented by the staff economists of the government itself. While comparatively little has been done by these people in the Districts thus far, work is progressing on experimental demonstration farms on Ponape and Saipan, a poultry project on Truk, a cacao project in the Palaus, and the rehabilitation of a large coconut plantation on Ponape. The bulk of this work has been pointed in the direction generally of encouraging a more abundant subsistence economy.

Little enough is known about the island resources which might be exploited reasonably in an effort to increase the ability of islanders to buy and sell in world markets. Copra at present is almost the only significant item of export and this is unfortunate for world

copra markets are notoriously unstable. In an attempt to support the price paid to the producer a stabilization fund has been established. ITC, which for good reasons has a copra marketing monopoly, pays a bounty when prices are high and copra prices are subsidized when prices are low.

Another export item of lesser importance at present is phosphate ore from the mines at Angaur in the Palaus. Royalties from this enterprise, carried out under contract with a Japanese company, are paid into a trust fund to be used for the benefit of the Angaurese. It is important that mining here and elsewhere in the territory be carefully supervised to prevent any large scale despoilment of scarce agricultural lands.

Additional minor items of export include some beautiful island handicrafts for which there is only a limited market, trochus shells used for buttons, and a small amount of fruits and vegetables. Other island products which have some export potential include fish and sea food, sugar cane, additional fruits and vegetables, cattle, cacao, tapioca, some tropical hardwoods, and some bauxite from deposits in the Palaus.

In evaluating the commerce which might be expected to develop from these products it must be kept in mind that these islands are remote and not on the major sea routes, that in view of their limited population and land area they can produce relatively little of anything, that at present island labor is relatively unproductive by western

standards, and that there are for most of these products other nations more productive and more favorably situated to established world trade routes with whom they must compete. It is doubtless true that some small demand can be discovered for some of these products in the near future, particularly for food items, from Guam and the few military establishments in Micronesia, and these demands should be supplied where possible. These markets might in fact become comparatively important to the islanders, but they can never induce the sort of economic prosperity enjoyed in Japanese times.

As has been indicated above experts on Micronesia do not agree that the islands can compete successfully in stable world markets. It is vital that goals for resource development be set as soon as possible so that programs can be directed on the basis of an intelligent set of priorities. My own opinion is that for the present, until resource studies are more complete, projects to encourage production for local consumption should take precedence over those designed to stimulate production for world markets. The subsistence economy of abundance is a known and attainable goal. It would be unfortunate to direct valuable resources and money in the pursuit of unproven goals when proven goals remain unrealized. When the level of island subsistence has been raised significantly it will then be time to begin working toward competing in world markets. However, this is not to say that planning and experimentation in production for world trade should not be started

immediately, especially where it is incidental to production for local consumption.

Education for What?

There is a major question of educational objectives in the Trust Territory, a question which not only relates to the role of the individual islander in his society but also involves the political and economic role of Micronesia in the modern world. Some educational objectives have already been discussed. For example the policies of the Trust Territory Government in encouraging democratic self-government and in stimulating the economic self-sufficiency of the islands have already indicated the direction toward which education must be pointed. But there still remains a question of the extent to which island children and adults should be introduced to the culture of the modern world community.

The Spanish and German rulers of Micronesia concerned themselves very little about education. They were content in the main to leave this matter to the mission schools. These schools, while providing a certain introduction to fields outside of island experience, had rather limited objectives since they were designed principally to christianize the islanders. Some of these schools were and are still more ambitious in their goals and followed a rather respectable curriculum.

The Japanese took a more direct interest in education than their predecessors, but their schools, which provided a free non-compulsory 5 year course of training, were concerned mainly with the Japanization

of island children and adults as well. The mission schools were permitted to continue during this period, although they were reportedly carefully supervised.

The schools provided by the Americans since the war have undergone a transition from a more or less formal approach to the three R's to a program designed to accomplish the more general objectives of the Trusteeship Agreement as well as the objective of developing the inherent capacities and personalities of individuals. These objectives are still being examined in their more detailed ramifications, and a great deal remains to be accomplished in actually putting them into operation.

At present a system of voluntary elementary school education has been established which provides a six year course with a goal of a limited bilinqualism, reasonable competence in arithmetic, some introduction to social studies and natural science, and a little gardening and creative activity thrown in. These locally financed elementary schools, about 140 of them, are distributed rather evenly throughout the territory and are taught by island teachers almost exclusively. The principal shortcoming of these schools, aside from their very limited plant, is the inadequacy of the teachers who in most cases have had a very limited education and are particularly lacking in English. In addition to this there is a hopeless lack of any textual material in the island tongues on which the earliest classroom work is based, and there are very few good English primers designed for use by island children, though a few of these have recently been prepared. These conditions must be expected

to persist for some time until the teacher training program catches up to the demand for teachers. Nonetheless, it is important to maintain this system even without first-rate teachers, since it represents for the islanders an important vehicle for achievement of their aspirations toward self-government and economic improvement and since it is vastly superior to no education. About 6600 students were enrolled in public elementary schools during the last full school year. (1950-1951)

The present administration further maintains a three year intermediate school in each of the six Districts to provide the equivalent of our junior high school education. These schools carry the student a little further in his English language competence, social studies, arithmetic, and natural science, and in addition provide a considerable amount of vocational training in such fields as carpentry, masonry, seamanship, boatbuilding, fishing, and farming, as well as some commercial subjects, domestic science, and handicrafts. These schools also attempt to encourage a certain amount of pre-professional training, especially in the directions of medicine and teaching.

The intermediate schools are on the whole much better staffed than the elementary schools since most of the teachers are Americans, though they have too few teachers for the student loads. The buildings in which these schools are housed are mainly of quonset construction in an advanced state of deterioration, though some permanent Japanese constructed buildings are used to supplement these, and in both Yap and Ponape a new permanent building contains a few of the classrooms.

It is important that more satisfactory buildings be provided for classrooms and student dormitories both to reduce the impossibly high maintenance costs and to increase the effectiveness of the program. At present only 700 or 800 students are going to intermediate schools, whereas this number should probably be increased several fold.

A third level of education is now available, corresponding roughly to our high schools, in the Pacific Island Central School (PICS) at Truk with an enrollment of about 100. The principal emphasis at PICS is in the direction of teacher training and pre-professional education with a curriculum very similar to that of the American high school. It is extremely important that more and more teachers be trained in Micronesia to raise the level of the elementary school education and to substitute island teachers for Americans at the intermediate schools and at PICS. This goal will require a number of years and PICS can provide the means of its realization.

It is of equal importance that islanders be trained in medicine and nursing, in more advanced commercial activities, and that teachers be given more than a high school education. It will probably not be feasible for the Trust Territory to support a college for many years, though a junior college operated in cooperation with Guam may not be an unrealistic goal. At present a number of avenues toward higher education are open to PICS graduates. Medical and dental training is available at the Central Medical School at Suva in the Fijis on a scholarship basis, and in the school year ending in June 1951 about

65 Micronesian students were enrolled at Suva. Nurses training is now carried on at the District hospitals but American nurses are badly needed to assist in this work. In addition a few scholarships are offered to promising students for work at universities in the United States and in Hawaii. These are all important beginnings.

From the preceding discussion it should be apparent that some rather forbidding problems face the education administrators in the Trust Territory. A few of them should be discussed further.

Education is certainly a keystone in the structure of any culture, and it is therefore vital to the success of our programs in the territory that the system of education be employed to further rather than defeat them. If our goal is democratic self-government it is essential that this concept be taught in the schools. If our aim is economic self-sufficiency at a subsistence level this must not be undermined by encouraging an aggressive attitude toward world competition. There is a tendency for educators in the territory to attempt to state and achieve goals which may be bolder than those of the administrators. Without passing any judgment as to the correctness of either view such inconsistency cannot be permitted without doing a disservice to the islanders.

A rather basic objective of the education program has as yet not been entirely resolved. While it appears to be recognized that individual personality and intellectual growth should be encouraged in the schools, there are differences among educators as to how abrupt

the transition between the island culture and western civilization should be. In fact there is no agreement as to whether or not islanders should be made in the foreseeable future what Margaret Meade calls "world-mobile", i.e., having a degree of sophistication which would permit them to move with relative freedom anywhere in the civilized world. Some Trust Territory educators, for example, express anxiety about the desirability of culture contacts in Guam and are even concerned about locating intermediate schools in the vicinity of the District Centers. Others would press promising students as much as possible in the direction of world mobility. A balance needs to be struck between these conflicting attitudes very soon if all programs are not to suffer.

The amount of adult education in the territory is rather limited, about 253 having attended classes last year. A great deal in the way of progress in communication with islanders, selling government programs, and improving living conditions can be accomplished by this means, and it appears that it should be given more emphasis.

In addition to these problems a host of others might be mentioned. Teachers are improperly and inadequately trained, good text materials are lacking, school buildings are in poor condition and have insufficient space, the diversity of languages is a barrier to centralized schools, and teaching methods must be adapted to island customs (e.g., culture conflicts are invited where island children who are traditionally taught to be reserved are encouraged in school to express themselves freely).

In spite of all these and other difficulties a creditable beginning has been made and progress thus far gives promise of a successful future.

Improving Health

Perhaps the most tangible contribution of American administration in the territory thus far has been in the field of public health. The goals of a sound program of public health are no longer controversial, although much remains to be accomplished before the islanders are prepared to accept western standards of hygiene and sanitation to the exclusion of their own. While both the Germans and the Japanese were active in establishing a measure of popular acceptance of modern standards of public health, much work remained to be done by American doctors and in fact still remains to be done.

Following the war the new American administrators found the health of islanders to be generally poor, probably largely a result of the privations suffered during the war years. Navy medical officers went to work immediately to establish hospitals in each of the six District Centers and, using a well equipped medical survey ship, to conduct health surveys of as much of the remote island population as possible. Inoculation and vaccination programs were carried on widely, clean up and sanitation controls were established, training for nurses aides and midwives was organized at each of the main hospitals, education of medical and dental practitioners and nurses at Guam was encouraged and scholarships granted, subdispensaries and first aid stations were established at selected centers of population, education of islanders

in hygiene and sanitation was carried on through the schools, and markets and food handlers were inspected and certificated. As might be expected the effect of this ambitious program has been a widespread improvement of health conditions, although much remains to be accomplished.

Probably the most serious disease problem in the territory is tuberculosis, with about 1.5 persons in every hundred reportedly infected. A major program of treatment and isolation will be required over an extended period of time to control this disease. Very little effective work is now being done on tuberculosis because of an extreme shortage of hospital beds and a lack of understanding by islanders of the importance of isolating infected people from others, especially children. Island homes are unfortunately too crowded usually so that the disease spreads rapidly.

Intestinal parasites were an almost universal affliction among islanders at the end of the war. Although a general deworming program was carried on, island sanitary conditions being what they are, reinfestation is inevitable. A much more active job of sanitation control is required if any real improvement is to be expected.

Other important and relatively common diseases of the islanders include dengue fever, typhoid fever, a variety of respiratory diseases, amoebic dysentery, yaws, filariasis, leprosy, gonorrhea, and a number of skin diseases. Generally these diseases can be attacked most effectively through better sanitation, pest control, education, and a general improvement in the living conditions of the islanders.

For the present, however, it is important that these diseases be given proper medical treatment.

The sanitation programs thus far has emphasized the need for proper disposal of trash, garbage, and human waste, penning of domestic animals, getting rid of stagnant water pools, improving domestic water supplies, trapping rats, and keeping homes clean. Village chiefs and trained island health aides are made responsible for these activities, but probably a greater measure of supervision is required until the people themselves have learned to appreciate the need for better sanitation. Money spent on this program will pay long term dividends in reduced needs for hospital facilities and greater island productivity.

It is important that the program of training islanders for medical, dental, and nursing work be encouraged. Islanders trained in these fields can spread modern medical treatment over a much wider area than can the limited numbers of western doctors, of which there are only two in each hospital. In addition they can ultimately replace some of these western doctors, leaving others more free for administrative duties and supervision. More important still, they can sell modern medicine more convincingly to the islanders. Although the island medical practitioners are not qualified physicians in the American sense, they are nonetheless well equipped after a four year program to diagnose the majority of minor ailments and to send serious cases to the hospitals, to perform minor operations, to carry on under supervision at the hospitals the vast bulk of in and out patient work, and after

internship to practice medicine in isolated areas with surprising competence. The doctors with whom I talked about these medical practitioners universally praised their work.

A serious question yet exists as to how much medical service should be brought to the remote islands. At present a medical officer usually accompanies the regular field trips. However, the visits are so infrequent and of such short duration, at most a day or two every two or three months, that little can be accomplished except to survey the general health conditions and treat a few of the more obvious cases which come to the doctor's attention. As health aides become more numerous, some screening of cases can be done in advance of the arrival of the field trip, but until enough island medical practitioners and nurses are trained, a day or two will remain too short a time for the amount of treatment frequently needed. Furthermore, it is obvious that such intermittent medical attention can be useful only in chronic cases, and only then if a followup is unnecessary, so that obviously nothing in the way of emergency medical attention or long term treatment is available to these remoter settlements.

It is quite impossible to expect to increase the medical staff to a point where American or European doctors could be stationed in remote areas without increasing public health costs many fold, even if it were possible, which it probably is not, to recruit enough trained physicians who would be willing to accept such distasteful assignments. Furthermore, as has been suggested, little immediate relief can be expected from the

training of islanders to do at least the more routine medical work in these areas. It has been proposed, however, that the government acquire two or three medical ships which would be used exclusively for a regular schedule of more frequent and longer visits to most of the remote settlements. This would not provide all of the medical service it might be desirable to have, but it would make a great deal more available than islanders now have and without very much additional cost. An alternative suggestion, which must also be considered seriously because it is much less costly, would involve a more limited use of the station vessel for logistics, thus freeing it for longer and more frequent visits at outer islands. This latter alternative would require that the District supply line be supplemented by another large ship (only one AK is now in operation) and that the District motorships be replaced by schooners. This plan will be discussed in more detail below, but it is apparent that to improve public health for a great part of the island population, a better medical field trip program is necessary.

No review of territory public health would be complete without reference to the deplorable state of island hospitals. While in most cases they are adequately staffed with western physicians and dentists they are badly understaffed by trained nurses. This condition will doubtless persist until the island nurses training program catches up to the need. The physical plant of all of these hospitals is in from fair to poor condition. The best hospitals are housed in relatively well preserved quonsets, but it will be only a very few years before

these will require replacement, and even today they are less than adequate because of their poor layout. Perhaps most needed are good isolation wards, particularly for tuberculosis patients, and only half of the hospitals have satisfactory operating room and laboratory facilities. This applies not only to the six hospitals at the District Centers but also to the Leprosarium on Tinian.

A satisfactory beginning has been made in attacking public health problems in the territory. However, permanent hospital construction is badly needed, the training of island medical and dental practitioners and nurses must be accelerated, some improvement in medical field trip visits must be made, increased efforts must be made to improve island sanitary conditions, water supplies must be improved and this may involve some expensive construction, and the people of Micronesia must be sold the fundamentals of good hygiene and the value of medical science.

## III ON KEEPING AMERICANS ALIVE

It is characteristic of any territorial administration in a backward area that an inordinate amount of time and money must go into the business of just keeping the administering people and their families alive and happy. While it would appear on the face of it that some corners might reasonably be cut here, such cutting must be done with rare discrimination for, if overdone, it may easily result in completely defeating the aims and purposes of the administration.

### Morale

It is unfortunate perhaps but true that Americans in the tropics do not adapt themselves to living in grass shacks without plumbing or electricity, to subsisting on fish and breadfruit, and to patiently walking or paddling canoes from one place to another. Instead they require reasonably comfortable quarters with most modern conveniences (not presently available), a great variety of fresh and canned foods, at least a minimum of the luxuries which go to make up the American standard of living, and a considerable amount of motor transportation - trucks, boats, jeeps. All of these things require an extended and costly system of supplies and a sizeable plant consisting of modern buildings and equipment which must be constantly protected from the ravages of the tropical climate.

It is important to know why it is necessary to go to the lengths and expense we do in order to keep our American administrators happy

in the Trust Territory. To begin with life in an island paradise, although it has appeared attractive enough to a variety of American and European expatriates, missionaries, and misanthropes, holds a limited charm in its natural state for the average well adjusted American and his family today. True it may satisfy for a time the individual's normal longing for adventure and new experience, but tropical living has a deadening monotony all its own which may very soon transform novelty into ennui and inactivity.

There are many elements which when combined can produce a situation in which an American in the territory may find it impossible to work effectively. The climate, with its lack of seasonal variety, its incessant heat and oppressive humidity, and its unending rains are especially burdensome to any creature of the temperate zones. The sense of isolation from all of the familiar aspects of modern civilized life - the radio, friends and families, the opportunity to travel, cultural activities, the march of world events - adds to the difficulty of the American's life in the territory. The prevalence of strange tropical diseases, the lack of good teachers and schools for American children, the shortage of familiar fresh foods particularly meat, the discomforts of living in poorly maintained and cramped quarters, the lack of the profusion of all the consumer goods on which Americans have come to thrive, the inadequacy of the tools for doing the job, the schools, hospitals, warehouses, equipment, all these things adversely affect the morale of Americans.

It by no means follows from what has been said that Americans can function satisfactorily in the Trust Territory only in an atmosphere of supermarkets, movie threatres, expensive housing, and a constant barrage of synthetic diversions such as they are accustomed to at home. Rather, it is vital to the success of the program in Micronesia that personnel be recruited very selectively to assure that only those who are capable of making a good adjustment to tropical life are employed (it has been proposed that recruiting efforts be concentrated in Hawaii for this reason) and that those who do go are told honestly not only of the limitations of what they may expect to find but also of the challenging quality of their prospective jobs. Much of the present difficulty with disaffected American personnel can be traced to shortcomings in recruitment and indoctrination.

These problems have, however, been recognized and in the main are being reduced to a minimum. This remedy will not alone produce a community of happy well adjusted Americans. Even the most adventurous of present generation Americans will expect reasonably comfortable quarters, a moderate supply of American style foods, medicine and education for their families up to American standards, and a physical plant with which a good professional job can be done. It must be emphasized particularly that not only should employees' morale be considered but also that of families, for a man with a bored, dissatisfied wife will not long remain useful, and few men of the kind who are good for work in the territory can be expected to live voluntarily for long without their families.

Thus, a great deal must be done for Americans which may appear somewhat extravagant, unless it is determined that the whole business of providing the people of Micronesia with an enlightened administration is an absurdity we can ill afford at the present time. And it must be clearly understood that when we are speaking of the minimum sort of extravagance required here we are thinking of something much less elaborate than we have come to think of as being essential to our own standard of living in America or than we have felt compelled to provide for our far flung military and other foreign outposts, for these modern territorial administrators and their families are prepared to sacrifice a great deal in accepting the challenge of their work.

Tools for Doing a Job

It may perhaps startle Americans who have given any thought at all to our role in the Trust Territory to learn that the islanders, who have seen colonial powers come and go, are not convinced that Americans are there to stay. The islanders point particularly at the decaying buildings and the worn out equipment as evidence of the temporary character of the present administration of the territory. How, they ask, can we be expected to take seriously the Americans' claims that a new deal has come to Micronesia? They compare our corroded quonset huts and our jeeps and trucks rebuilt for the third time with the many monolithic concrete structures and fine machinery erected by the Japanese and we suffer badly in the comparison.

Indeed the physical plant for administering the territory is in an alarming state of disrepair and requires an inordinate amount of maintenance. Without this plant - the schools, the hospitals, the generators, the reefers (walk in refrigerators), the water systems, the warehouses, the docks, the houses, the airfields, the motor vehicles, the boats - some of which are required merely to keep the American community functioning, the job of bringing government services to the islanders could simply not be done in anything like an effective manner. The principal reason for the present condition of this necessary plant is simple enough. Although it was designed for relatively short term military use, much of it has been continued in use for many years beyond its expected life. Of course some categories of plant are much worse than others.

The schools are particularly unimpressive. The classrooms and dormitory buildings for the six intermediate schools and PICS are mostly temporary metal type construction, usually quonsets, which deteriorates rapidly in the moist salt air of tropical islands. Some classrooms on Saipan and Koror are housed in permanent buildings built by the Japanese, and in Yap and Ponape permanent buildings have been erected since the war. While these few permanent buildings are satisfactory for classrooms, they house only a small part of the school facilities in each case.

The hospitals are somewhat better off than the schools, although only Koror, Yap, and Ponape have any permanent hospital buildings. As

with the few permanent school buildings, these house only a part of the necessary hospital facilities. The remaining hospital buildings are of quonset construction usually newer and in better repair than most such buildings in the territory. But even these newer quonsets are deteriorating rapidly and will require replacement within about five years. Most of them are over crowded and lack good isolation wards and surgical and laboratory facilities.

Housing is uniformly of temporary quonset construction with the exception of a few extremely small concrete buildings of Japanese origin on Yap. While there are some houses which are in fair condition, most housing is badly deteriorated so that leaks are frequent, utility interruptions routine, and even collapsed floors and fires not unusual. In addition much housing is cramped, with some families living in a single room, and some bachelors being obliged to live three or four to a room.

Warehouses are in general of quonset construction, though a few of the sturdier Butler Buildings provide more satisfactory storage. While these buildings will doubtless have to be replaced along with others in the near future they can probably be used for a few years yet without excessive maintenance. Where bad deterioration has taken place, however, it will be uneconomical to continue using them and run the risk of damage to valuable stores. Shop buildings are perhaps in somewhat worse condition, and in view of the expensive equipment which they house, replacement should be made in the near future.

Reefers and generators are of the high speed, advance base variety and have long since served their useful lives. As a result of the condition of these units frequent interruptions of service and consequent food spoilage and other inconvenience are experienced, and the costs of maintenance are prohibitive.

Generally dock and aircraft facilities are in satisfactory condition. Some work must be done to repair the action of the seas on both docks and sea plane ramps and to put airplane runways in better shape, but in the main they are sound.

Motor vehicles, small boats, power tools, and heavy motor equipment are in most cases very nearly worn out. Much time is wasted and unnecessary costs incurred in keeping this type of equipment running. Junk yards are carefully hoarded for the spare parts they may sometimes yield and valuable men are kept busy repairing equipment which will inevitably run for only a short while. One man on Ponape, for example, spends all of his time doing nothing but patching worn out tubes and vulcanizing tires which have only relatively little mileage left.

The Trust Territory estimates that it will cost about $15 million to replace worn out plant. It is proposed to replace the existing temporary buildings with permanent structures usually built with concrete block walls and transite (corrugated asbestos sheets) roofs. This type of construction is particularly well suited to Micronesia, since it reduces to a minimum the use of metal, which corrodes rapidly, and wood, which is

subject to dry rot and termites. It is relatively fire proof, provides good protection from typhoons, and can be built with unskilled island labor. Furthermore, coral aggregates which can be used in the manufacture of concrete blocks are plentiful, and a considerable amount of lumber and transite has been salvaged from abandoned military warehouses on Saipan. Thus, the only major material which will have to be imported is cement.

It is proposed to carry this construction program forward over a period of years at each District Center. Island labor will be generally used. In addition to reducing maintenance costs materially this transformation from temporary to permanent buildings will also increase the effectiveness of program activities by providing space properly designed for its purpose and by eliminating some of the inefficiencies resulting from a District Center community which was never planned but "just growed."

Much costly maintenance can also be eliminated by replacing advance base type equipment such as reefers and generators with slower speed equipment designed for long term operation. Motor vehicle needs should be carefully surveyed to reduce trucks and jeeps to a minimum, and present worn out vehicles should be replaced.

These needs are all evident to even the superficial observer, and it is important that government in the territory be made to run at minimum cost and with greater effectiveness. It is important not only because of the obvious essentiality of economy, but also because of the need to assure both the American administrator and the people of Micronesia that

the United States is serious in its intention to carry on a long term program in the Trust Territory.

The Supply Line

As has been said before Americans in the territory require great quantities of things which are not native to Micronesia and which must be brought in from the United States or perhaps elsewhere in the civilized world. This necessitates a far flung supply line which is kept flowing by a fleet of seven former military transport vessels, one 7400 ton AK and six 935 ton AKL, and by four converted PBY amphibian type airplanes. The cost of operating these surface and air fleets under contract is estimated to be just under $2 million annually, and this does not include any of the costs of maintaining docks, airfields, warehouses, reefers, and other facilities required to keep this supply line moving. However, it should be noted that some of the costs of operating the ships must be charged to field trips which take the program activities to the remote islands and that a large part of these costs are recoverable through payment of fares and transportation costs of consumer goods.

The supply line works in something like the following manner. The larger AK vessel plus the equivalent of two of the six AKL's, all operated under contract with Pacific Far East Lines, are required to take care of all of the shipping requirements in and out of the territory. (The total cost of all surface transportation is about $1,500,000.) What this means is that the AKL attached to each of the District Centers spends better than one-third of its time supplying the logistic needs of the District.

Although it was not intended that the station ships, the AKL's, would be required to support the District supply line, except in the Marianas and Palaus, it has developed that one large steamer is not enough for the entire territory. It is essential that each District Center receive supplies once every two months to avoid excessive spoilage and to hold the need for warehouse and reefer space to a minimum. But it is also essential that a station ship be available full time at each District for field trips and intra-District trade.

Thus, it has become imperative that an additional AK be put into operation to keep the supply line full and to free the station ships for program duties. A recent survey has been made which recommends that one more AK be added to the surface fleet, but in addition that the present AKL station ships be replaced with more economical schooners. It is estimated in this report that six 150 ton schooners and one medical ship can be operated for $236,000 annually as compared with $574,000 for operating six AKL's and that the operating cost of the additional AK would only be about $211,000. This modification, which would save about $140,000 yearly, is still under consideration. It should be mentioned that there is some disagreement as to whether or not schooners can be used effectively, present channel and harbor facilities being what they are, or whether they can be used to pick up copra, but in any case it is apparent that some supplemental tonnage is necessary.

Another feature of the present supply system which adds to its cost is the necessity for transhipment at Guam between Trust Territory ships

and ships which reach U. S. and other world ports. At present it is estimated that nearly $400,000 is paid annually for transhipment at Guam. The transportation report referred to above argues that a direct supply line from the United States and other world ports could eliminate not only this cost but also another $500,000 of transportation costs resulting from diverting cargoes through Guam rather than carrying them directly via the shortest route. This would, according to the report, leave freight charges of about $900,000 annually, or about half of present costs. These savings may be somewhat overestimated, particularly since handling charges on Guam have been significantly reduced recently. Furthermore, even if these modifications are considered feasible, they can be made only over an extended period to avoid any serious interruption in present service.

Although the pattern of the surface supply system is at present in somewhat of a fluid state it is obvious that under the best of circumstances it will remain a costly undertaking. Some savings can be foreseen as small vessels owned by islanders begin to take over some of the inter-island copra trade, but this cannot be looked for in the immediate future.

Another unique characteristic of the supply system is that because of the distance from sources of supply procurement needs must be anticipated by at least three months. This means that a three month long pipeline must always be kept flowing. Funds have been insufficient this year to fill this pipeline so that many of the present difficulties in the territory can be traced directly to the delays which result from not

being able to anticipate needs.

Air service is now maintained between Guam and each of the District Centers on a weekly basis. Four converted PBY amphibians are being efficiently operated under contract with Trans-Ocean Airlines at a cost of $450,000 annually. These planes are required to provide transportation of headquarters personnel on frequent field trips throughout the territory, for air freight and emergency supplies, for mail, and for island businessmen and others travelling within the territory. It is estimated that this service returns about half its cost in annual revenues.

There appear to be good reasons for operating an air transport system for purposes mentioned above, and, at least for the present, weekly service to each District is probably necessary. However, after the High Commissioner's offices are moved from Honolulu to some location within the territory and the operation of the government becomes more established and routine in character, this service could doubtless be reduced to once every other week to each District so far as administrative needs are concerned. However, as commerce within the territory grows, the slack caused by reduced administrative use of air transport may well be taken up, and weekly service may continue to be justified.

The supply line is obviously a long one and extremely costly to maintain. While certain economies may be introduced as a greater familiarity with Micronesian problems is gained, it must be accepted as an axiom that as long as the territory depends for its administration on Americans, this supply line must be provided for.

## IV HOW THE GOVERNMENT WORKS

The Government of the Trust Territory is under the general supervision of the Secretary of the Interior through the Office of Territories, although in fact responsibility for most local affairs has been delegated to the High Commissioner. The authority for administration of the territory is contained in the Trusteeship Agreement with the United Nations, which was ratified by Congress and approved by the President on July 18, 1947, and in Executive Order 10265 dated June 29, 1951, transferring administration from the Secretary of the Navy to the Secretary of the Interior. Organic legislation for the territory has not yet been enacted and probably will not be enacted this year, although at present such legislation is under consideration in the Congress. In view of the stricture in the 1953 Interior Appropriation Bill concerning organic legislation, some form of interim legislation will probably be approved in the near future.

### Organization

The Offices of the High Commissioner are now situated in two rather comfortable wartime frame buildings within Fort Reuger in Honolulu. While these buildings are entirely satisfactory so far as space is concerned they are simply in the wrong part of the world. It is virtually impossible for the High Commissioner and his staff to keep abreast of activities in the territory from a point over 4,200 nautical miles from the most remote island in Micronesia and about 1,800 miles from the closest island.

The High Commissioner and the Interior Department officially favor location of headquarters at Saipan because it is close to the center of the territory from a communication point of view, because there are enough wartime buildings and other facilities, particularly utilities, docks, and warehouses, which with comparatively little effort or cost could be converted for the use of the High Commissioner and his staff, and because the climate is more favorable than anywhere else in the territory outside the Marianas. Military authorities, especially Navy, object to using Saipan on security grounds and advocate in its place Truk in view of its location at the geographical center of the territory. It is clear, however, that to leave headquarters in Honolulu is very wasteful in terms of increased travel and communications costs and in terms of the inadequate attention which the High Commissioner and his staff can give the program in the field. Although this is recognized by the Department there appears to be little disposition to force a decision on the location of headquarters. This waste cannot be permitted to continue much longer.

The Office of the High Commissioner consists of eight staff departments as indicated on the organization chart in Appendix C. Most of these departments do not have direct line responsibility, although the Public Works Department will plan and supervise the construction program, and at present, due to an acute shortage of funds, budgetary controls are exercised directly by the Finance and Supply Department. Instead, these staff departments play an advisory and coordinating role.

Line responsibility is delegated directly from the High Commissioner to the District Administrators, who in turn attempt to keep their various programs in balance and at levels appropriate for the peculiar needs of their Districts. Each District Administrator has a small staff of people (see Appendix D) who correspond roughly to those at the High Commissioner level. These line people look to the District Administrator for direction and leadership, but they are nonetheless to a large extent dependent upon their counterparts with the High Commissioner for an overall knowledge and understanding of the problems in their field of work and for a considerable amount of inspiration and leadership. This latter is exemplified by a recent conference of District education administrators to discuss common problems and to work out some detailed educational objectives.

On the whole the staffs both with the High Commissioner and in the Districts give an impression of unusual competence and devotion to their work. There is still a need for distinguishing more clearly between staff and line since there is a tendency for the High Commissioner's staff people to inject themselves into situations which are line in character. For example, it was only recently that agricultural projects in three of the Districts were withdrawn from direct supervision of the High Commissioner's staff and put under the District Administrators. However, to a large extent this can be attributed to the remoteness of these people from the scene of action, and their consequent lack of first hand knowledge of how the Districts are equipped to solve their own problems.

At a level below the District Administrator and his staff are found the island municipal governments. These are as yet rather rudimentary in form, usually with an elected island magistrate and perhaps a secretary or treasurer to perform the more routine duties such as tax collecting. Principal responsibilities at this level include the financing of local elementary schools and in some cases the maintenance of a constabulary and first aid station. These beginnings in self-government, while exceedingly restricted for the present, show promise of a growing island political responsibility.

The judiciary of the Trust Territory is in the main independent of the High Commissioner. The Chief Justice and an Associate Justice are appointed by the Secretary of the Interior although island judges are appointed by the High Commissioner. The system of courts consists of a Court of Appeals of three members selected from a panel including the Trust Territory justice from whose court the case was not appealed, two travelling High Courts, District Courts with island judges in each District, and a variety of community courts. The jurisdiction of each is carefully limited depending on the types of offenses and the amounts at issue in civil cases. At present the organization of the judiciary is being studied with consideration being given to establishment of a supreme court using both Trust Territory and Guam justices.

Court procedure also is in the process of development, although in the main it follows Anglo-Saxon precedents. A public defender who travels with the High Courts is available as counsel for islanders as

needed. Islanders are being used as judges in the lower courts exclusively and appear to be serving satisfactorily.

Whose Government?

The present Interior administration of the Trust Territory is probably a government for the people of Micronesia in the highest sense of the meaning of that phrase, but to only a very limited degree is it a government of or by those people. The extent to which this is a government of and by the people is indicated by the amount of island participation in the three branches of the government.

In the absence of a territorial legislature, the legislative authority is probably vested in the United States Congress, although that authority has not yet been exercised except through the appropriations process and in approving the Trusteeship Agreement. In fact most of the detailed law making ordinarily associated with the legislative function is done by the High Commissioner under the general supervision of the Secretary of the Interior. Certain popularly elected councils have been referred to above, but their role is as yet only advisory and not territorial in scope. Organic legislation introduced recently in both the House of Representatives and the Senate would provide for the formalizing of District legislative bodies as they are prepared to accept this new responsibility and would provide ultimately for an elected territorial legislature. These developments will doubtless take a great many years so that for the immediate future legislation for the territory will be an American

product springing from either the Congress or the High Commissioner depending upon the degree of high policy which is involved.

The executive responsibility so far as the territory is concerned rests exclusively with the High Commissioner. In the exercise of that responsibility he will depend to an ever increasing extent on islanders as their professional competence grows and is demonstrated. A limited number of islanders are already found who are properly qualified in education administration and medicine and many more are becoming valuable as nurses, elementary school teachers, policemen, clerks, and journeymen. At the municipal level islanders are serving as magistrates very satisfactorily. However, his top administrators and staff people will continue to be Americans for many years to come.

The judiciary too is administered by Americans, but here a much greater measure of islander participation has been established. Over 140 islanders are now members of all but the two highest courts, the Court of Appeals and the High Court. With a heavy emphasis on administration of justice in accordance with island custom this reliance on the people to supply judges is natural, but island membership on the two highest courts will probably have to await the formalizing of judicial procedures and the availability of men with sound legal training and experience.

Although formal participation of islanders in legislation and administration is limited, it would be a mistake to conclude that their voices are not heard in the councils of the mighty. While the several

councils found in the Districts are only advisory, the District Administrator will consult with his island advisors regularly on all matters of importance to the people and only rarely will he act in opposition to their expressed views. It is unfortunately true, however, that many island councils have not yet learned to express their views clearly and in a forthright manner as a result of past experiences with imposed governments. Consequently, the District Administrator will not have great difficulty in gaining an expressed acceptance of his plans if that is what he wants. However, as the awe of Americans wears off and as islanders learn that no penalty is attached to a difference of opinion with the Americans, more candor from islanders can be expected. At present an administrator must be extremely circumspect in his method of presenting a proposal if he wants more than a mirror image of his own views. As these councils gain confidence and an awareness of their responsibility both to the people and the government, greater legislative authority can gradually be vested in them until at some time in the not too distant future they can assume the full legislative burden at the District level. All of this is, of course, considerably short of popular participation in the legislative affairs of the territory as a whole. As has been previously indicated, there is little likelihood of a territory-wide legislature in the foreseeable future.

Another means by which islanders may exert pressure on the Government is through the appeals machinery established by the Trusteeship Agreement. Under this Agreement they are specifically permitted to

petition the United Nations directly on any matters which have not been treated to their satisfaction by the Government. A few petitions have been sent to the United Nations but as yet this procedure has not been widely used and probably will not be so long as relationships between the islanders and their Government remain reasonably harmonious. This is a weapon, however, of considerable importance though, for the United States is annually called to give an accounting of its stewardship before the United Nations Trusteeship Council, and unsettled grievances can be particularly embarrassing.

## V WHAT THE FUTURE HOLDS

It is not the purpose of this report to recommend detailed policies for the Trust Territory. As I have indicated there are too many questions which can be answered only after much more knowledge and experience has been acquired. These answers will come slowly and only after years of hard work and close observation in the territory. However, a few guide lines for policy can be seen and they may be conveniently summarized here.

It is clear that democratic self-government must be adapted to island institutions and that the incipient aspirations toward self-government of the more progressive elements of the communities must not be stultified but rather provided with a sympathetic leadership and a political climate in which they can flourish. While a measure of restraint cannot be avoided, it is vital that the islanders be permitted to work out as much as possible for themselves what they conceive to be the necessary innovations in their political and social institutions, at first under American guidance, but as they grow more experienced and confident without interference from Americans. They must even be permitted the luxury of making some of their own mistakes. Without the freedom to make mistakes political maturity is impossible. This will require policies of patience, forbearance, and infinite wisdom on the part of administrators, but however difficult of realization such policies may be they must be kept sight of.

It is also apparent that these people must be encouraged to become as self-sufficient as possible in order that their economy may be founded on the realities of their own natural and human resources and

that they may not suffer the ignominy of becoming permanent wards of the United States. This policy requires an intelligent and exhaustive appraisal of what the resource potential of Micronesia really is and a cautious but enlightened program of technical assistance and training. The United States must not shrink from some capital investments in the territory, but these must be wisely planned and calculated to produce a stable indigenous prosperity. Investments which cannot ultimately be maintained by the island economy alone should not be made. Goals should be measured not in terms of volume of world trade but in terms of a standard of island living which can reasonably be maintained. This standard of living should be only gradually advanced without untimely or alien stimulation. It should not be our purpose to encourage prosperity at the expense of the economic freedom of the islanders.

The program of education in the territory should be calculated to complement all of our other aims and purposes as well as to create individuals who can live in harmony with themselves and their environment. These are not platitudes, for there is a real danger that in introducing individuals to western civilization we can make them unfit for their own culture. We must seek to inculcate not our material values for which islanders can probably never find satisfaction in their relatively poor island homes but rather the values of American freedom. We should play up the challenge to the educated Micronesian of leadership in the development of his land and his people.

We must bring health to the people of the territory through doctors and hospitals, but we must be careful not to develop tastes which cannot be supported by Micronesians. Here too the people must be encouraged to take this program to themselves. Islanders are being trained as doctors, dentists, nurses, and health aides, and this program should be accelerated. However, it is important that in our zeal to improve the health of the islanders we do not lose sight of the consequences of unrestricted population growth. The resources of these islands cannot support an indefinite expansion in population, so this problem must be carefully studied.

Finally, we must be prepared to support our American administrators in the territory adequately. For many years, probably decades, Americans will have to bear most of the burden of leadership in the development of Micronesia. If this job is to be done by competent men and women we must expect to pay the costs of providing them with the things they need to minimize the shock of an alien environment.

The present program in the Trust Territory is in my opinion below the minimum required to carry into operation the policies I have outlined here. There is no room here for false economy. If we are really going to do for Micronesia what we have committed ourselves to do in the Trusteeship Agreement with the United Nations, we must pay the bill. If we do not we will be forever burdened by the cost of literally supporting the dependent and growing population of Micronesia and by a complex of problems which will grow progressively more vexatious.

## Appendix A

### Trust Territory Statistics, 1951
### (High Commissioner's Report of June 1951)

| | |
|---|---|
| Overall area (square miles) | 3,000,000 |
| Land area (square miles) | 687 |
| Number of island units | 96 |
| Number of inhabited island units | 64 |
| Native population | 55,730 |
| Non-native population | 448 |
| Population per square mile (U.S. '50) | 81 |
| Birth rate per 1000 | 31.3 |
| Death rate per 1000 | 9.3 |
| Infant mortality per 1000 (in 1st year) | 42.5 |
| Life expectancy | 50-55 |
| Annual population increase (percent) | 2.7 |
| Average temperature ($^{o}$F) | 78-81 |
| Average rainfall (inches) | 82-158 |
| Imports | $2,223,174 |
| Exports | $2,213,622 |
| Value of copra export | $1,296,082 |
| Copra harvest (short tons) | 15,420 |
| Breadfruit harvest (short tons) | 7,500 |
| Average hourly wages except Saipan | $.05-$.17 |
| Average hourly wages, Saipan | $.19-$1.12 |
| Number of schools | 165 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Number of teachers | 386 |
| Number of students | 9,286 |
| Number of doctors | 8 |
| Number of native medical practitioners | 12 |
| Number of native nurses | 23 |
| Number of hospitals | 7 |
| Number of hospital beds | 465 |
| Number of in and out patients | 126,200 |
| Average number prison inmates | 67 |

## Appendix B

### Articles 6 and 7 of the Trusteeship Agreement

### Article 6

"In discharging its obligations under article 76(b) of the Charter, the administering authority shall:

1. Foster the development of such political institutions as are suited to the trust territory and shall promote the development of the inhabitants of the trust territory toward self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of the trust territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned; and to this end shall give to the inhabitants of the trust territory a progressively increasing share in the administrative services in the territory; shall develop their participation in government; shall give due recognition to the customs of the inhabitants in providing a system of law for the territory; and shall take other appropriate measures toward these ends;

2. Promote the economic advancement and self-sufficiency of the inhabitants, and to this end shall regulate the use of natural resources; encourage the development of fisheries, agriculture, and industries; protect the inhabitants against the loss of their lands and resources; and improve the means of transportation and communication;

3. Promote the social advancement of the inhabitants and to this end shall protect the rights and fundamental freedoms of all elements of the population without discrimination; protect the health of the

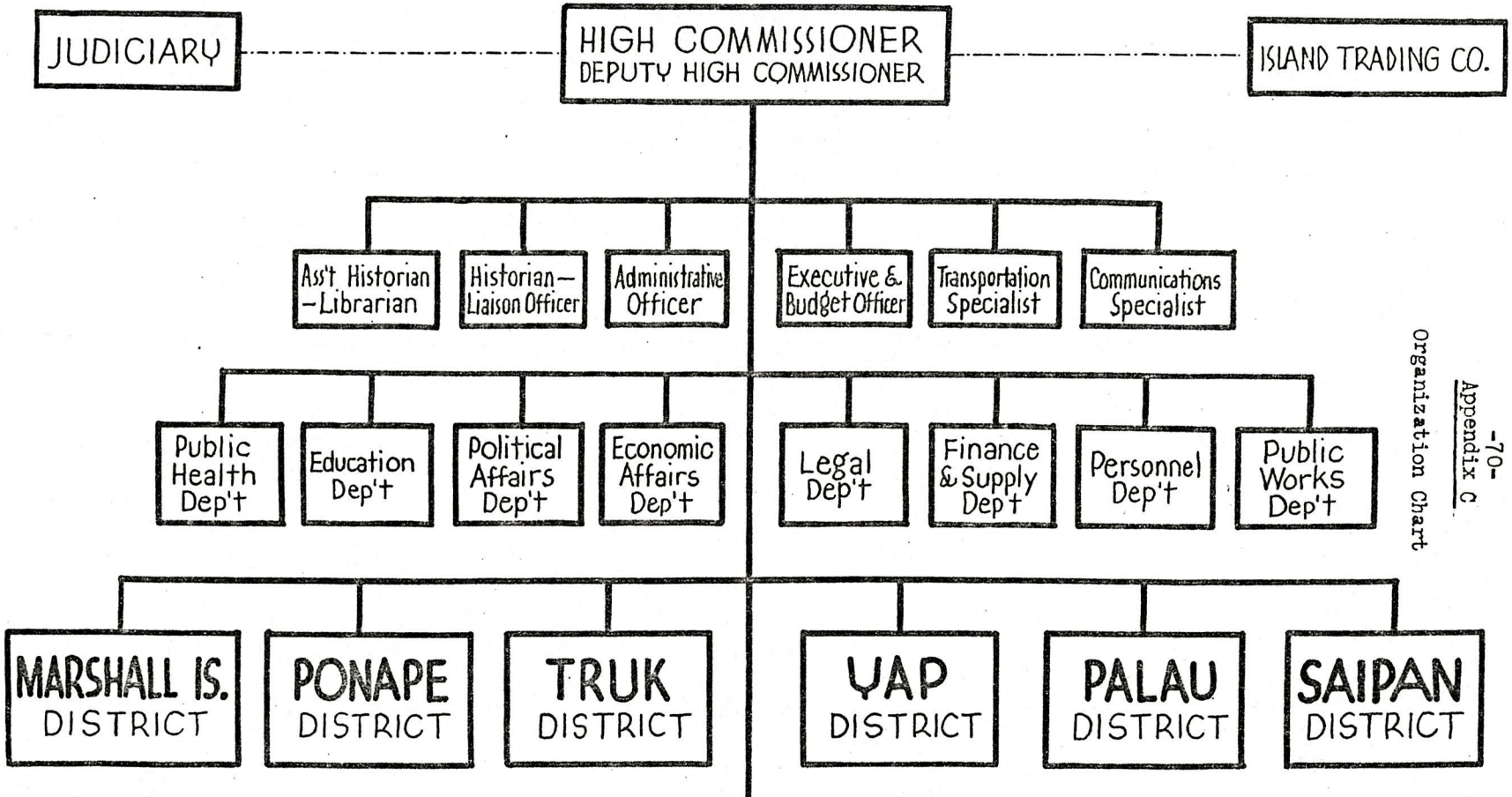
inhabitants; control the traffic in arms and ammunition, opium and other dangerous drugs, and alcohol and other spiritous beverages; and institute such other regulations as may be necessary to protect the inhabitants against social abuses; and

4. Promote the educational advancement of the inhabitants, and to this end shall take steps toward the establishment of a general system of elementary education; facilitate the vocational and cultural advancement of the population; and shall encourage qualified students to pursue higher education, including training on the professional level."

Article 7

"In discharging its obligations under article 76(c), of the Charter, the administering authority shall guarantee to the inhabitants of the trust territory freedom of conscience, and, subject only to the requirements of public order and security, freedom of speech, of the press, and of assembly; freedom of worship, and of religious teaching; and freedom of migration and movement."

# TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS
## OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER




Organization Chart

HONOLULU, HAWAII,
JANUARY 1, 1952

APPROVED –
Elbert D. Thomas
HIGH COMMISSIONER

Appendix D

Map of the Trust Territory