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**UNITED STATES' TRUST TERRITORY IN THE PACIFIC ISLANDS**  
**A POTENTIAL SEA-STATE**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THE**  
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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The United States Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands<sup>1</sup> encompasses more than 2,000 islands which have a total land area of about 687 square miles. The islands are concentrated in three groups--the Marianas, Marshalls and Carolines. The fragmentation of this single political entity over a 3,000,000 square mile water area makes it one of the most geographically dispersed political units in the world, with an unparalleled land to water ratio of 1:4,300.<sup>2</sup> The Territory extends over 2,700 miles from west to east (130 E. Long. to 170 E. Long.)--a distance greater than that from Seattle to Boston. The north to south dispersal of islands is only about twenty degrees of latitude (from the equator to 20 north latitude).

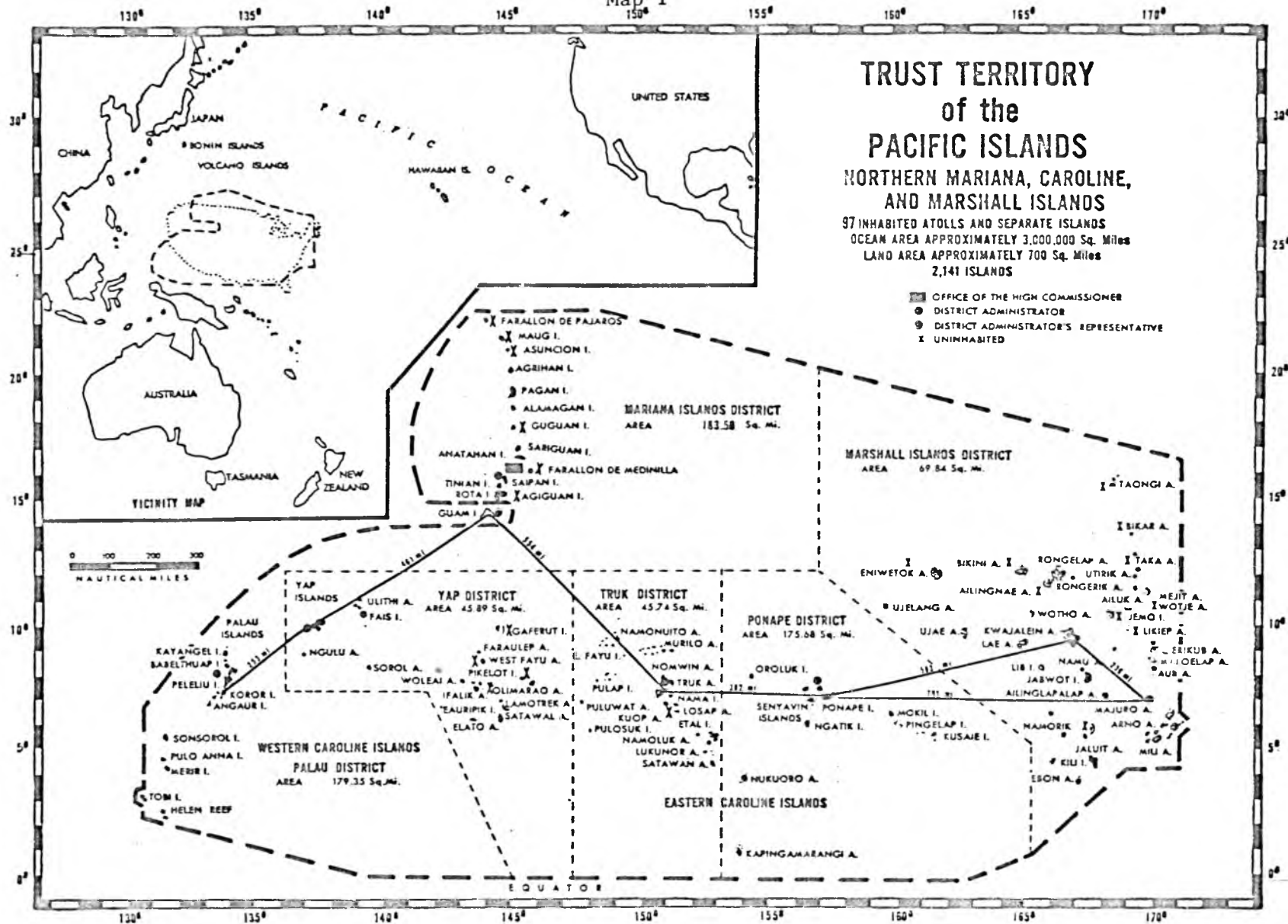
The Trust Territory is divided into six administrative districts. The Marianas (excluding Guam--a United States territory) and the Marshall islands groups are administered in two separate districts, while the Caroline Islands have been subdivided to form four administrative districts. Saipan has been the provisional capital of the Territory since 1962 (Map 1).

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<sup>1</sup> Henceforth to be referred to as the 'Trust Territory', 'Territory' or 'Micronesia'. The Territory does not include the Gilbert and Ellice Islands and Guam which are a part of the region generally called Micronesia. But the Territory includes the Polynesian islands of Kapingamarangi and Nukuoro.

<sup>2</sup> N. M. Bowers, "Political Geography of the Trust Territory," in Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands - Basic Information, (Honolulu, 1951), p. 31.

Map 1



Some ninety thousand people live on these islands. There are only two islands which have over 4,000 people (Saipan - 8,151, Koror - 4,296); three islands have more than 3,000 (Majuro - 3,950, Moen - 3,829, Kusaie - 3,060); twenty-three have between 500 and 1,000, while sixty-one islands in the Territory have a population between 100 and 500.<sup>3</sup> The fragmentation of the small land area into thousands of islands with a small number of people have made interaction among the islanders a very difficult task. The following table shows the distances (in nautical miles) between the six administrative headquarters in the Territory and Guam.<sup>4</sup>

|      |        |       |      |      |        |        |
|------|--------|-------|------|------|--------|--------|
| Guam |        |       |      |      |        |        |
| 125  | Saipan |       |      |      |        |        |
| 709  | 822    | Palau |      |      |        |        |
| 451  | 565    | 258   | Yap  |      |        |        |
| 568  | 598    | 1045  | 832  | Truk |        |        |
| 904  | 897    | 1430  | 1215 | 305  | Ponape |        |
| 1624 | 1584   | 2204  | 1982 | 1160 | 776    | Majuro |

The present administration of the Trust Territory is in the hands of the United States who took over this responsibility after the Second World War under the United Nations Charter. According to the Trusteeship Agreement for the Territory, the United States agreed to promote the political, social and educational advancement of the islanders, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the circumstances and the freely-

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<sup>3</sup> United Nations, Report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, (New York, 1964), p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> U. S. Navy Department, Handbook on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, (Washington, 1948), p. 4.



expressed wishes of the people concerned.<sup>5</sup> After twenty years of the present administration, the people of the Trust Territory have a democratically elected Congress of Micronesia. The Congress is in a way an expression of the growth of political unification in Micronesia. But all the administrators at the policy-making level are Americans. More than nine-tenths of the annual budget of the Territory is subsidized by the administering authority.

#### The Problem:

The United Nations Visiting Mission to the Territory in 1964 observed that, "if (the) Mission were to sum up its strongest single impression it would be this: that Micronesia once literally a geographic expression is now welding itself into a unified people."<sup>6</sup> The United States, under the obligations of the Trusteeship Agreement, has taken up the responsibility of preparing Micronesians for this eventuality. The present administration in the Territory has been successfully able to treat the Territory as a single political unit. The boundaries of the trusteeship area are internationally recognized. The population of the islands is steadily increasing and the administering authority has kept the economy of the Territory growing by highly subsidizing the costs of transportation, administration, education and other public services. Moreover, in the last twenty of the

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<sup>5</sup> United Nations Charter, Chapter XII, Article 76, Section b. Also see Trusteeship Agreement for the Territory of the Pacific Islands, Article 6.

<sup>6</sup> Report of the United Nations Visiting Mission, 1964, op. cit., p. 37.

present administration there has never been any significant and effective opposition against the administering authority. On the other hand, the Micronesians are participating in the process of democratization as initiated and planned by the administering authority with their cooperation.

The degree of political development in the Territory is manifested in the growth of new political institutions and their operations. With the formation of the democratically elected Congress of Micronesia there is little doubt that Micronesians, in the coming few years, shall be deciding their political future by self-determination. The newly appointed High Commissioner of the Trust Territory, William R. Norwood, told the Trusteeship Council that, "the point is moving perceptibly closer when we (administering authority) will stand aside and say to the Micronesians, 'Now where do you want to go from here? The choice is yours'."<sup>7</sup> The administering authority has given a direction to the political developments in Micronesia. The bases of democratic institutions have been formed at local, regional and inter-regional levels. The Micronesians are expected to move forward as the ways of the past are denied them by their own achievements and world pressures.<sup>8</sup> The present administration is transient. The islanders shall have to decide for themselves the future form of government. The prospects of self-determination carries with it certain questions

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<sup>7</sup> Honolulu Star-Bulletin, June 30, 1966, p. D-7.

<sup>8</sup> Roland W. Force and M. Force, "Political Change in Micronesia," in Induced Political Change in the Pacific, (Honolulu, 1965), p. 11.

which seek explanations and understanding, if not solutions. A most fundamental question is when shall the Micronesians be given the right of self-determination? In other words, what criteria shall be used to measure the readiness of the islanders for deciding their future political status? Secondly, how are the wishes of the Micronesians, the interests of the administering authority, and international politics going to influence the nature of decision when the islanders exercise their right of self-determination? These questions have never been raised and discussed seriously by the political pundits, the administering authority, or the Micronesian elite. Maybe, as Pye has said, "...the development of nation building has been inhibited primarily by the belief that political development is a natural and even automatic phenomenon which cannot be rationally planned or directed."<sup>9</sup>

Political development in this part of the Pacific invites the attention of geographers. The very concept of a unified Micronesia was alien to the Micronesians. The native civilization of these islanders was not in harmony with large and dispersed political units. Therefore, prior to foreign intervention in native affairs, political power was either localized in the individual islands, making 'island states', or at times extending over neighboring islands in the form of 'island empires'.<sup>10</sup> Foreign powers viz., Spain and Germany, superimposed a new political framework on the islands by grouping them into

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<sup>9</sup> Lucian W. Pye, Politics, Personality and Nation Building - Burma's Search for Identity. (New Haven, 1964), p. 7.

<sup>10</sup> 'Social Organization and Government in Micronesia', in Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology, Final Report No. 19.

one political unit. The raison d'etre of this political unit had nothing to do with the imagination, inspiration or expectations of the islanders. These people remained virtually unaware of the significance of this political integration. They continued to live in small and isolated communities of their own with infrequent contacts with fellow Micronesians. Barriers of distance, feelings of exclusiveness, and limited and discrete interests discouraged the growth of any regional feelings among them. Only under the present administration have these people been encouraged and guided to think in terms of Micronesia as their country. As the islanders have yet to decide the form of political framework which they would like to have when the Trusteeship in the area ends, it might be interesting to note how far and in what way the regional feelings geared by the present administration would overcome the physical and cultural barriers, in maintaining or changing the present territorial framework of Micronesia. Therefore, in this discussion an attempt has been made to study the growth of political unification and cohesiveness in the Trust Territory and their future implications. This is done here through an analysis of the process involved in the political, social and economic integration of the Micronesian islands, through the identification and qualification of those physical and human elements of the Territory which reflect on the nature and degree of this integration, and by examining the issues involved in the future of the integrative process that has been going on.

The colonial administrations of Spain, Germany and Japan were not interested in the integration of Micronesians into one people. What-

ever integration was accomplished in Micronesia was a by-product of the colonial policies rather than an intended result. To understand the background of the process of integration that is now going on in the Territory, a short analysis of the policies of foreign administrations in these islands has been made to find links between the diffused past and the integrated present. This analysis also helps us to understand the ability of Micronesians to absorb the cultural ingredients of the alien culture. Their capacity to change or the readiness to accept the foreign patterns of social and cultural behavior are of special importance as further political changes in Micronesia are envisaged.

The policies of the present administration were intended to develop political uniformity and functional coherence in the Territory. Micronesians have responded favorably to the attempts of the administering authority to shape the Territory as one unified political unit. Those policies of the administering authority which have resulted in the social, political and economic integration in the islands are analyzed in this discussion. The identification and qualification of the integrating elements in the Territory has given us some idea of their significance to the Micronesians. Such a consideration has shown the strength of the functional coherence of this political unit.

The formal territorial framework of a political unit is not an end in itself but is only an expression of adjustment in a politically divided world. The territorial framework is not only expected to suit the aspirations of the people immediately concerned with it, but it should also fit into a political pattern which can keep it politically stable and can avoid international conflicts in the region. Any change

in the status of a political unit, therefore, invites regional, national and supranational considerations. Such considerations limit the number of alternatives possible for the territorial reorganization of a political unit. Ideally, any new territorial rearrangement in Micronesia should be in the interest of the islanders and the change should promise a better future than what they have under the present arrangement. The future of the integrative process has been considered in view of achieving stability and progress in the area.

Sea-state:

The future political structure of the Trust Territory is of interest from the point of view of the typology of states. With a population of less than 100,000 and a total land surface of 687 square miles--fragmented in over two thousand pieces and spread over three million square miles of oceanic waters--the Territory is a highly dispersed political unit. But for this fragmentation of its land surface and scattering of its population, the Territory could have been administered like any other small political unit of, for instance, country size. The separating waters are the uncomfortable reality in the spatial distribution of land and people in the area. The physical separation creates great difficulties for human interaction, and the long distances from one island to another put an economic strain on the economy and poor resource base of the Territory. The small but scattered population is administered in six administrative districts and each of them is provided with a district administration and a full complement of administrative heads for parallel agricultural, educational, health, public works and supporting services. The head-

quarters on Saipan is similarly organized along functional lines. For this reason administration and transportation claim a large share of the Territory's annual budget.

The large area over which the islands are spread has increased in significance in international politics. As the Territory covers a large segment of the Western Pacific, it is strategically important to at least three regions--East Asia, Southeast Asia and the Australasia. The United States is directly involved in these areas for containing communism. The United States base at Guam is being effectively used by American B-52 Bombers for attacking Communist targets in South Vietnam. There are other important U. S. military bases located within and near the Territory. The security of these bases is interdependent and needs uniform military control. Since 'supra-state' organizations have been found extremely suitable for collective defense and economic development, the integration of political units has often been encouraged. In these two contexts organizations like the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization and the South Pacific Commission have achieved significance. Thus, paradoxically, the problems created by the large interruptions of oceanic waters in the Territory favor regional integration. Such a need is likely to dominate the policies and politics of the area.

Therefore, in any new territorial framework which may emerge after the islanders exercise their right of self-determination, the important issues like economic development, social cohesiveness, operating costs of administration and strategic importance of the area shall continue to be influenced by the nature of land and water distribution in the

Territory. If the Territory ever becomes a state, which is probable, it may be called a sea-state.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> The term sea-state was used by Darby in his article "The Medieval Sea-state", Scottish Geographical Magazine, XVII, 1939 pp. 136-149. His main argument for the origin of such states in medieval times was that, 'a power on land, expanding by the addition of the neighboring provinces, was forced to decentralize its authority, and the constituent province had but little bond of interest to unite them to the center: becoming more and more autonomous, they claimed and exercised powers that ultimately weakened the whole structure. In distant contrast to this stand the sea-state. By establishing trading ports and strategic colonies at convenient points around the shore, it combines the uses of economic and political power, and united its parts to one another by the strong persuasions of trading facilities.' He further stressed that commerce was the cement of medieval sea-state.

Fisher also used the term sea-state in his essay on "The Malaysian Realm: Indonesia, British Southeast Asia, and the Philippines," in The Changing World, East and Modie (eds.) to emphasize the importance of neighboring waters. Pounds elaborated the idea of sea-state in his Political Geography, pp. 48-49, but like Darby and Fisher he also did not define the term. He only gave reasons for the rise of sea-state.

It is rather difficult to give any general definition of the sea-state as a distinct type in the typology of states. Primarily it is because of a lack of uniformity in various situations, under which, water surface plays a dominant role in politics and policies in an area. However, a functional definition is under consideration when Micronesia is termed as a 'potential sea-state'. A sea-state is a state which, while consisting of discrete parts separated by water, has been able to utilize this intervening water to form a non-contiguous but potentially integrated whole. The inability of such states to overcome the negative influence of the intervening waters and to use them as a bond of union may threaten their very existence. The large distances which separate one part of the sea-state from another create difficulties in its organization and operation. As such, the expenses incurred in administration are high and the process of internal cohesion suffer from a considerable handicap.



## CHAPTER II

### BACKGROUND TO THE PROBLEM

Prior to the entry of Europeans in the early Sixteenth Century, inter-island relationships in Micronesia were restricted by the subsistence economies of the islanders and the distances separating one island from another. However, exchanging of goods was not uncommon between people living in the same island group. In the Marshalls, those people who lived on fertile islands exchanged their surplus foods for tools and utensils produced by neighbors who lived on relatively infertile and less productive islands.<sup>1</sup> In the Western Carolines, some islands specialized in producing certain products which they frequently exchanged. The Yapese produced tumeric and ornaments made of spondylus and conus shells, while the Woleains were famous for building canoes. In the Nagulu and Eauripik islands, local grasses were used to make mats and dance-girdles.<sup>2</sup> In the Marianas islands people carried on barter in foodstuffs and shell.<sup>3</sup>

Politically, Micronesia was divided into various smaller units. Most of these political areas were no larger than a single island. The base of these political units was the kinship community. Although these communities were usually small, politically they were completely

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<sup>1</sup> Military Government Handbook - Marshall Islands, OPNAV P 22-1, (Washington, 1943), p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Civil Affairs Handbook - West Caroline Islands, OPNAV 50E-7, (Washington, 1944), p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> Civil Affairs Handbook - Mandated Marianas Islands, OPNAV P22-8, (Washington, 1944), p. 27.

independent.<sup>4</sup> In some cases one island was inhabited by more than one kinship group and hence was divided into several political units.<sup>5</sup> Political loyalties were confined to the kinship group and thus to a small territorial area. The communities were headed by chiefs who were drawn from the highest classes of noblemen. The Chieftainship was mostly hereditary.

In the Marshalls, succession was along the female line, passing from the senior sibling to all of the surviving brothers and sisters, and then to the eldest sisters' eldest child in the next generation. Headmen among the commoners were called alab. Those in the noble class were iroi. The paramount chiefs were called iroi labalap, and their ancestry was traceable to mythological beginnings of wars. In Ponape, the king (Nanmarki) was at the apex of the kinship community. His executive chief was called Naniken. Both offices were hereditary from royal lines, but holding of titles depended upon more than possession of ascriptive characteristics. In the Truk lineage, chiefs, called Samon, were eldest living males of the clans. The district chief had an aide (itang) selected on the basis of personal competence. In Yap, each village had a chief (Pilung ko binan), and succession to the position of village chief was through the female line. The senior male was headman (rupak) of the households and clans in the Palau islands. The headman of the senior clan was the village chief. The leader of the

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<sup>4</sup> K. P. Emory, "The Original Background of the Micronesians", in Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands - Basic Information, (Honolulu, 1951), p. 67.

<sup>5</sup> Murdock and Goodenough, "Social Organization on Truk," South-Western Journal of Anthropology, 41 (Winter, 1947), pp. 331-343.

most distinguished village was the highest ranking person in a district. The heads of two district federations in Palau were the two top chiefs, with headquarters at Moleokok and Koror. The titles of these top chiefs were Reklai and Aibedul, respectively. In the Marianas, a few old wealthy families dominated the political scene.<sup>6</sup>

It is difficult to reconstruct the extent to which the chiefs in one area exercised political domination over the others, but in each of the island groups, "...there were one or two main islands, usually the largest and the richest (for example, Truk, Yap and Babelthuap), which exercised a kind of cultural suzerainty over the surrounding islands. Truk for instance, was the center of refuge for neighboring low islanders who had to flee occasionally from the devastations of hurricanes; Yap chiefs exacted tribute from surrounding peoples; and Guam was a trade center for all the Marianas."<sup>7</sup> In general it can be said that political power was localized in small territorial units and that trade relations among the islanders were too limited to bring about any regional unity in the area.

#### Spanish Influence in Micronesia

Spain and Portugal were the first two great colonial powers of the Fifteenth Century. These two powers were often in competition and conflict with each other. When the Treaty of Tordesillas was given

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<sup>6</sup> United States Navy Department, Handbook on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, (Washington, 1949), pp. 115-130.

<sup>7</sup> Douglas L. Oliver, The Pacific Islands, rev. ed., (New York, 1961), p. 77.

final shape in 1494, the Pacific Ocean came under Spanish influence.

Spain was interested in the wealth of the Spice Islands. But the Treaty of Tordesillas denied it any access to these islands by way of the east. Therefore, they decided to reach these islands by navigating around South America and crossing the Pacific Ocean. Magellan, in a similar mission, accidentally found Guam and Rota islands in 1521. After Magellan's discovery, the Spanish included these islands in their areas of interests and sent other ships to the area in 1525 and 1527, when they discovered the Marshalls and some other islands of Micronesia. In 1564 Spain formally claimed the Marianas islands as its possession.<sup>8</sup> Within a year Guam became a regular servicing station and a port of call for ships carrying merchandise and soldiers between Acapulco, Mexico, and Manila--the two important Spanish possessions on either side of the Pacific.

There was nothing in these islands for the Spanish colonialist as there were no deposits of gold and silver nor large tracts of fertile lands. Politically, but for the location of Guam in the middle of the Pacific, these islands did not give any hope for an empire. On the basis of this logic, Spain was left only with the mission of spreading the gospel of Christ and saving the islanders from 'arrogant stupidity, backwardness, and wicked immorality.' In 1662 when Diego Luis de Sanvitores, a Jesuit friar, visited Guam and saw the 'nude barbarious

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<sup>8</sup> Tadao Yanaihara, Pacific Islands under Japanese Mandate, (Shanghai, 1939), p. 9.

tribes', his religious soul was hurt.<sup>9</sup> Sanvitores returned to the islands in June, 1668, with three other priests, two novices and a small police guard to assist him in his mission to propagate the Catholic faith.

From 1668 to 1681, Jesuit priests exerted a form of political authority over the islands with the help of the police guard and, through the missionaries, Spanish influence began to assert itself on the islanders. The missionaries started exploring the various neighboring islands and made attempts to convert the natives. Their missionary zeal was further strengthened when they found that, although there were no precious stones or treasure in the islands, there were many infidels who were leading what the Europeans considered a very immoral life.

Religious interference in the lives of the natives and a complete indifference to native customs soon resulted in conflicts between natives and missionaries. There were at least four reasons which made the natives hostile towards the priests and their activities. Firstly, the doctrine of Christianity made no distinction between the commoners and the nobles. This idea of equality was in direct conflict with the highly stratified, caste-ridden society and seriously challenged the existing distribution of power. Secondly, local communities were matrilineally arranged and women enjoyed a privileged position. Succession was through the female line. This custom was not liked by the priests, who felt that the wives in this country have usurped the

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<sup>9</sup> Yanaihara, *ibid.*, p. 9.

rights and privileges which everywhere else belonged to the husbands. The women had the absolute command of the house.<sup>10</sup> According to the traditions of the Church the males were considered as head of families and submission of women was an accepted practice. Thirdly, the native religion was related to the natural environment of the natives and was symbolised by ancestor worship. There were many invisible spirits which were either evil or helpful but most of them were materially manifested in one form or another. It was hard for the natives, who believed that the human race originated in them, to agree that their Gods were inferior to the God in whom the priests wanted them to believe. The fourth area of conflict between natives and priests was related to attitudes toward sex. The natives had young men's clubs where boys and girls used to meet more or less freely. According to the priests those were places of sin. The priests considered the exposure of certain parts of the body as uncivilized behavior while for the islanders such exposure did not mean anything but an adjustment to climatic conditions. In these ways the contacts between natives and priests resulted in conflicts and misunderstandings.

The priests were primarily concerned with uplifting the morals of natives; an aim in which the natives did not find any material benefit. The priests did not consider that the cure of patients was more important for the success of their mission than the conversion of sick infidels before death. This was unfortunate as for the natives 'the

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<sup>10</sup> La Gobin, a contemporary of Sanvitores, quoted in Alice Joseph and Veronica F. Murray, Chamorros and Carilonians of Saipan, (Cambridge, 1951), p. 13.

art of healing the body' was important rather than 'saving the soul'.<sup>11</sup>

Thus the work of the priests did not go smoothly. There were several clashes between natives and the over-zealous priests. Problems of law and order became so acute that to suppress these revolts, the Spanish authorities were forced to move all the people from the different islands of Marianas to Guam. By 1698, resettlement of the Micronesians on Guam was completed.<sup>12</sup>

The administration of the Marianas underwent a change in 1681 when, in order to better the administration, the priests were relieved of their administrative responsibilities and Antonio de Saravia was appointed as the Governor of Marianas under the authority of the Viceroy of Mexico. The new administration brought about many changes of which two were most significant. The Governor realized the importance of the institution of Chiefs in the native communities. He therefore appointed many of them as local administrators and made them responsible for the behavior of their respective kinship groups. This was a definite step towards indirect rule. Secondly, he forced the natives to take a formal oath of allegiance which entitled them to become Spanish citizens.

In 1793 the administration changed its policy of appointing only Chiefs for local administration. Orders were issued to give the post of local administrator to any native who could speak the Spanish

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<sup>11</sup> A. A. Kosiknen, Missionary Influence as a Political Factor, (Helsinki, 1953), p. 28.

<sup>12</sup> Yanaihara, op. cit., pp. 9-10.

language. This new policy weakened the social system of the native communities as education and not heredity became important in determining status. Accordingly, the people of the lower classes were appointed to offices which had previously been reserved for the nobles.

In the early nineteenth century the islands began to suffer from the indifference of the administrators. The Marianas were placed under the jurisdiction of the Governor of the Philippines, and with that change the annual grant was reduced from 8,000 pesos to about 2,000 pesos, and by 1855 it was discontinued altogether. The administration was financed by a poll tax and by church tithes collected from the natives. The natives were also required to do labor on public projects for a specified number of days. In some cases this was as much as three days a week.<sup>13</sup>

Spanish influence was mostly confined to the Marianas islands. Though the Caroline and Marshall islands were considered to belong to Spain, there were no attempts made by Spain to bring them under effective control. Only in 1710 and 1731 were efforts made to open missions in Sonsorol and Ulithi islands in the Western Carolines, but in each case the missionaries were slain by the natives. In the eighteenthies, when the whaling and copra industries became commercially prominent and the Germans were extending their trade activities from the Marshalls to Palau and Yap islands, Spain became alarmed and demanded that all foreign ships entering the Caroline islands should

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<sup>13</sup> A summary of the historical details may be found in Civil Affairs Handbook - Marianas Islands, op. cit., pp. 23-25.



first call at ports in the Philippines to obtain licenses and to pay customs duties for doing trade in these islands. In 1875 Britain established British High Commission in Fiji which was to look after the interests of British subjects doing trade in the Marshalls and Caroline Islands. This all resulted in a dispute, involving Spain on the one side and Great Britain and Germany on the other, about the right to trade in these islands. In 1877 Spain, Germany, and Great Britain agreed to complete freedom of trade in all the island areas not actually occupied by these powers. This resulted in competition between Spain and Germany in the occupation of the islands and, instead of solving the existing problems, this competition led to more serious conflicts. The dispute was finally referred to Pope Leo XIII. The Pope, in a decree of December 17, 1885, proclaimed that "Spain had the rights to the Carolines and Palau Islands, provided she accepted the responsibility of maintaining an orderly form of government in the islands; guaranteed full protection to Western merchants who traded in the area; and assured the German people complete freedom of trade in the islands and the right of fishery, plantation and establishment of settlements, together with the right of the German Navy to call on any port and have coaling stations in the islands."<sup>14</sup> According to these terms Germany was to give up its claim over the Palau and Caroline Islands.

Spain tried to establish an administrative system in the Caroline islands after the settlement of the dispute. In 1886 Spanish authori-

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<sup>14</sup> Yanaihara, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

ties in the Marianas sent nine monks and priests of the Capuchin order to found missions on Yap and Palau and to establish an administrative headquarters at Yap for the Western Carolines. The missionary work helped to break down the strong conservatism of the natives. Ponape was made the administrative center for the Eastern Carolines and they established a town 'Colonia de Santiago'. In Ponape American missionaries (Protestants) had been doing work since 1852. Conflicts soon arose between Catholics and Protestants and, as a result, the American missionaries were expelled from the islands. But Spanish influence was of a short duration outside the Marianas. In 1898 the United States occupied the island of Guam at the end of its war with Spain and within a year Spain sold the rest of her possessions in Micronesia to Germany for about \$4.5 Million (25 Million pesos).<sup>15</sup>

To summarize the impact of Spanish influence in Micronesia, we may make the following observation: Since Spanish interests in Micronesia were limited to facilitating communication between Mexico and the Philippines and to civilizing and catholicizing the natives, it did little for the economic development of the islands. Spanish influence was mostly felt in the social and religious life of the islanders. The islanders came in contact with people who were cultur-

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<sup>15</sup> During the Spanish-American War, Germany proposed that she be given certain privileges and rights in the Pacific Ocean, including the possession of Samoa and the Caroline Islands, and the facilities to establish naval stations in the Philippines. In return for these concessions, it was prepared to support the American policy of Philippines' annexation. When no encouragement was given by the United States, Germany bought these islands secretly from Spain. For detail see an interesting article by Paul H. Clyde, "Germany's former colonies V: The Marianas, Caroline and Marshall Islands," Geographical Magazine, VIII (No. 3, 1939), pp. 215-224.

ally and ethnically different from them. Interaction was not smooth and new ideas and ways of life were not always desired by the Micronesians. However, because of the long association with Spanish priests, administrators, and soldiers, many of the islanders accepted some elements of the Catholic faith. Spanish people also introduced useful animals like cattle and hogs and encouraged the cultivation of vegetables on Guam. The forced migration of some people from one island to another, the infusion of Spanish and Filipino blood in the Micronesians and the centralized administrative system helped to break the rigid framework of local kinship groups, but these changes were primarily limited to the Marianas.

#### German Influence in Micronesia

Germany's imperialistic ambitions and colonial possessions in the Pacific were not limited to Micronesia. Its Pacific colonies included the eastern half of New Guinea, Samoa (Upolu and Savaii islands), and the Bismarck Archipelago. But the German colonial empire lasted for only a brief period in comparison to the duration of the empires of other European nations. Germany made a beginning in empire-building in 1884 when Bismarck placed under imperial protections the establishments set up by Luderitz at Angra Pequena (South-West Africa).<sup>16</sup> It was formally deprived of all of its colonies when the Treaty of Versailles was signed in 1919.

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<sup>16</sup> W. O. Henderson, Studies in German Colonial History, (London, 1962), p. ix.

German commercial firms and trading companies prepared the way for colonization. In 1864 a German firm with its headquarters in Honolulu opened a branch office at Ebon to trade in copra. That was the first commercial enterprise in the islands. The manager of the branch office was very enterprising. He trained the natives in raising and processing copra. A few years later a new branch office was opened at Jaluit, and Leikeb island was bought to plant new palm groves. Since the copra trade was proving very profitable, two other German firms opened their offices. Godeffroy and Sons, which had been doing business in Samoa since 1857, established offices at Ebon in 1873, while HERNSHEIM and Company set up headquarters at Jaluit in 1876. Soon thereafter branch offices were opened in several islands including Kusaie, Ponape, Losap, Mokil, Pingelap, Satawan, and Truk.<sup>17</sup>

As German firms extended their business in the Marshalls, Germany felt the need to protect the interests of its nationals. In 1878 Germany concluded a treaty with a native chief which gave them exclusive rights to use Jaluit harbor and also guaranteed protection for the German companies. This local treaty was followed by nineteen separate treaties with other local chiefs which made the Marshall islands a German Protectorate in 1885.<sup>18</sup>

#### Nature of Administration:

For three years the German Imperial Administrator in the Marshall

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<sup>17</sup> Civil Affairs Handbook, Eastern Carolines, OPNAV P22-5, (Washington, 1944), p. 25.

<sup>18</sup> Handbook on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, op. cit., p. 74.

Islands was without any staff or budget. In 1888 the problem of administration was solved when the German government sponsored the formation of a joint-stock company which, in return for certain privileges, promised to defray the expenses of the administration of the islands by imperial officials. The Jaluit Company was founded by merging the three German firms which were already trading in the area and this new Company was given the privilege of appropriating unoccupied land and monopolizing the exploitation of pearl fisheries and guano deposits. The Government also promised that the Imperial Administrator would consult the Company before making important decisions, particularly those concerning the imposition of taxes or duties.<sup>19</sup>

The main purpose of the administration was to insure a regular supply of copra and to increase German commercial interests in the islands. Therefore the Germans established a simple administration to maintain law and order. The Government followed the policy of 'indirect rule' and as such it appointed Marshallese Chiefs as local administrators. This enabled the government to avoid direct contact with the people and to thus reduce friction. The only important work for the administration was to settle the differences between Chiefs.

When the Germans bought the Caroline and Marshall Islands from Spain in 1899, they followed a similar administrative policy. The Jaluit Company assumed the dominant role and government activities were subordinated to the interests of the Company. However, the privileged position of the Jaluit Company was brought to an end by the German

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<sup>19</sup> Henderson, op. cit., p. 26.

Government in 1906 when the Australian government challenged the right of the Jaluit Company to impose taxes and restriction on the Australian ships using German harbors in these islands. The status of the Jaluit Company was reduced by the German government to a commercial company only, though it retained its rights for the exploitation of guano and phosphate deposits. Later on these islands were governed as a dependency of German New Guinea.

#### Political Influence:

##### Political Structure:

It was under the German administration that, for the first time, all the islands which now constitute the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, were administered as one political unit. The international boundaries of this German colony, though not precisely demarcated, were recognized by all the major powers of the world. These islands did represent one political unit and were governed as such. This was a major event which has continued to determine the political structure of these islands. Guam remained separate from the rest of the Marianas Islands and it has remained under the control of the United States.

In the beginning, the Germans administered these islands by dividing them into four administrative districts viz; Northern Marianas, Eastern Carolines, Western Carolines and the Marshall Islands districts. The centers of administration for these districts were Saipan, Yap, Ponape and Jaluit respectively. The headquarters of the Imperial Administrator were located at Jaluit. This internal division of the islands was determined by the geographical location of the island groups. But when the Jaluit Company was relieved of its respon-

sibilities, the administrative divisions underwent further changes. Eventually there were only two administration districts. The Northern Marianas and Western Carolines were grouped in one district with Yap as its administrative center, while Ponape was made the seat of administration of the new district which included Eastern Carolines and Marshall Islands. Branch offices were also maintained at Saipan, Koror and at Angaur.<sup>20</sup> (Map 2)

#### Native Leadership:

Germany administered these islands with the help of traditional leaders. Like the Spanish administrators, the Germans also realized the importance of these local elites. In the Marshalls and Caroline Islands, hereditary chiefs were recognized and were given the places of responsibility in local administration. But in the Marianas the posts of the chiefs were appointive rather than semi-elective as they were under Spanish rule. However, before making such appointments or giving recognition to the authority or chief, the German administrators always took into consideration the opinion of the people concerned to insure their cooperation.<sup>21</sup> This policy made chiefs more responsive to the needs of common people in their area.

#### Economic and Social Changes:

##### Economic Changes:

Since the basic policy of the Germans in these islands was to develop those resources which were desired by their country or which

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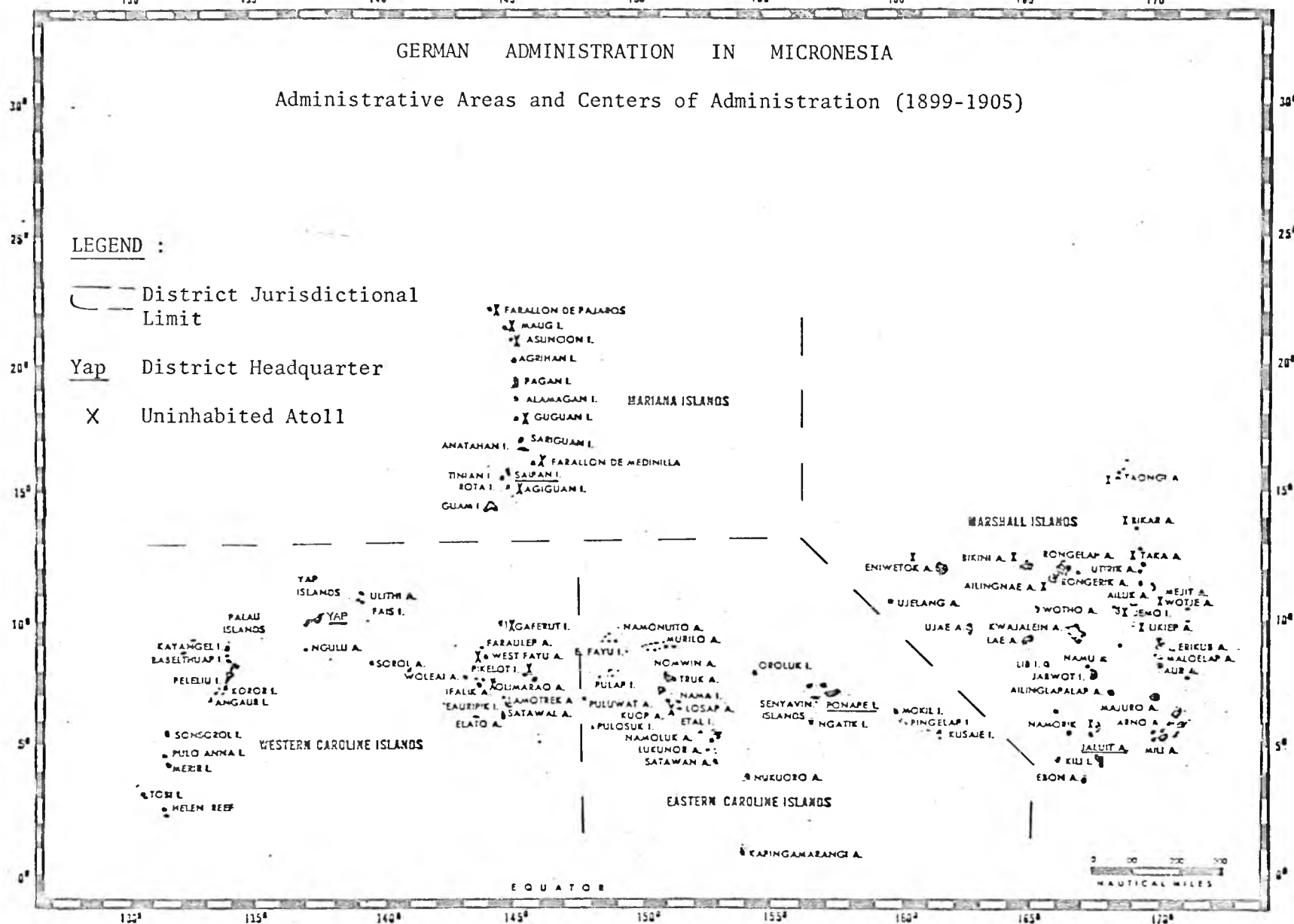
<sup>20</sup> Civil Affairs Handbook - Western Carolines, op. cit., pp. 24-25.

<sup>21</sup> Civil Affairs Handbook - Marianas, op. cit., p. 25.

## Administrative Areas and Centers of Administration (1899-1905)

--- District Jurisdictional  
Limit

X Uninhabited Atoll





could earn foreign exchange for them, they brought about certain economic changes in the islands which influenced the lives of the natives. Such changes included development of mineral and agricultural resources, which in turn strengthened the money economy in the islands. Soon after getting possession of these islands, the Germans carried out a systematic search for mineral resources. Mining of phosphate was started at Angaur and Fais islands by the German South Sea Phosphate Company. In 1912 and 1913, about 60,000 and 90,000 tons of phosphate was exported from the islands.<sup>22</sup>

Germany adopted various measures to increase the production of copra in the islands. They taught the Micronesians ways to increase their yields. The administration also made certain rules which encouraged or forced the natives to maintain a regular supply of copra. Local chiefs were asked to see that their people maintained the groves in good conditions. The increase in the acreage under coconut palms was appreciable and the lands of those natives who neglected to keep a certain proportion of their acreage under cultivation were confiscated. In the Marshall Islands a system was devised to encourage copra production. According to this system, the produce of each plantation during the first six months of the year was given to the chief. From this he paid a levy to the government but was allowed to retain a considerable share for his own profit. The commoners who were producing the copra

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<sup>22</sup> R. W. Robson, The Pacific Islands Year Book and Who is Who, (Sidney, 1944), pp. 99-100.

kept the produce, and the profits, of the second six months.<sup>23</sup> In this way the cultivators were interested in growing more to earn profit, the chiefs were doing a good job of supervision to increase their own shares, and the government was getting adequate levy. In 1912 the Germans and the chiefs, after many conferences, decided that each family who cultivated land on Ponape should have some land registered under its own name. The rights of the chiefs to receive gifts from the commoners were retained. Thus the efforts made by the Germans to increase production of copra subsequently changed certain aspects of indigenous life in the islands.

#### Introduction of Money Economy:

The Germans, by introducing a money-tax system, stimulated the need and use of cash in the colony. Germans imported goods from their country and kept the prices relatively high so that the Micronesians, who were fascinated by these articles, worked hard to get enough money to purchase them. The administration also levied poll taxes. In the Marianas every able bodied male from 15 to 50 years of age was required to pay a poll tax of 3 German Marks a year. In addition to this about 12 to 20 Marks were also realized in the form of labor for about 12 days a year for married men and 20 days a year for bachelors on public projects.<sup>24</sup> Conscripted labor was utilized on government plantations and in building facilities for the islanders. In the Marshall Islands the Germans, taking into account the local custom of

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<sup>23</sup> Military Government Handbook - Marianas, op. cit., p. 15.

<sup>24</sup> Civil Affairs Handbook - Marianas, op. cit., p. 26.

the people of paying a portion of whatever they produced to the chiefs was considered useful and therefore it was maintained. A fixed quantity of copra was levied from each atoll, and the chiefs were made responsible for this collection. The chiefs were allowed to keep a part of the collection as a payment for the services they rendered in the collection of the copra.<sup>25</sup> The commoners and the chiefs used to sell their share of production in order to buy European clothes, building material, food, tools, and utensils. In this way the Germans carried on their commercial activities successfully without much disturbing the local land tenure system. Extension of the commercial activities in the islands during the German administration led to the growth of money economy in the islands.

#### Communication:

Means of transport and communications were given special importance in the islands as these were essential for commercial exploitation of copra and phosphate. All the copra collecting centers, the centers of administration and the mining centers were connected with the regular steamship services and were provided with post and telegraph offices. The harbors of Jaluit, Kusaie, Ponape, Truk, Koror, Yap, Anguar, Fais and Saipan were regularly visited by ships.<sup>26</sup> The islands were also linked with shipping lines which maintained regular communications with other Pacific colonies of Germany, as well as with Australia, the Philippines, and Hongkong.

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<sup>25</sup> Civil Affairs Handbook - Marshalls, op. cit., p. 14.

<sup>26</sup> Great Britain, Foreign Office, Former German Possessions in Oceania, (London, 1920), p. 32.

In 1905, a German firm completed the laying of a Pacific cable with connections at Yap Island. The cable connected Yap with Manado (Dutch Celebes), Guam, and Shanghai. This was one of the outstanding accomplishments during the German administration.<sup>27</sup> It increased the international significance of the colony as it was the first trans-Pacific cable line. The Germans also started the South Seas Radio Company with radio transmitters at Yap and Anguar. This inter-island and international system of communication reduced the isolation of this colony from the rest of the world. It no longer remained such a neglected and obscure area.

Language:

After 1906 the German language was made compulsory in all the schools of the colony. Schools were established at all the important administrative and commercial centers. Attendance was made obligatory for children of 7 to 13 years of age. Fines were imposed for non-attendance. Though the German language was originally taught to facilitate the administration of the area, it also began to become the common language with which Micronesians living in different islands could communicate. In a way this was another step towards the integration of Micronesia into one unit.

The Germans did not inter-marry or mix socially with the indigenous people. In fact their number was so small that social interaction

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<sup>27</sup> C. A. Manchester, "The Caroline Islands," in Otis W. Freeman, Geography of the Pacific, (New York, 1956), p. 244.

between them and the Micronesians could not have been significant.<sup>28</sup> In spite of a very small number of German administrators, the Germans had little difficulty in administering the islands. Perhaps the administrators used restraint and farsightedness in implementing their policies. The indigenous people were usually encouraged and persuaded to obey orders. But when persuasion was ineffective and the economic interests of the Germans suffered, force was used. Resettlement of the local people from infertile atolls to bigger islands and to the islands where mining operations were in progress was often carried out through force.<sup>29</sup> In general the process of change in the islands was peaceful.

#### Japanese Influence in Micronesia

Though Japan's formal political association with Micronesia began in 1914, there are stories and legends which suggest that Japanese and Micronesians were carried by storms to each others' islands earlier than this. In 1884, a Japanese warship cruising in the South Seas touched the island of Kusaie. A few years after that a businessman from Tokyo organized the South Sea Trading Company (Nanto Shokai) and sent a commercial ship to Micronesia in May, 1890. This trading party visited the islands of Guam, Yap, Palau and Ponape. After doing a good business the party returned to Japan in December of the same year.

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<sup>28</sup> Handbook on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, op. cit., p. 76.

<sup>29</sup> Civil Affairs Handbook - West Carolines, op. cit., p. 29.

<sup>30</sup> Yanaihara, op. cit., p. 25.

Though this company was dissolved after the first venture, other Japanese companies were organized to carry on trade in Micronesia. These companies opened branch offices in the Marianas and Caroline Islands. Japanese commercial activities increased so much that by 1912 Japanese traders had captured the trade of the Marianas and Palau Islands, though the Germans continued to wield political power.<sup>31</sup>

In 1914, after the outbreak of the First World War, a squadron of the Japanese Navy, patrolling in the area, placed these islands under their control. They justified this action as an Allied Power by saying it had been taken to safeguard the trade interests of Japanese nationals and to protect Japanese property. There was no resistance whatsoever on the part of the German administrators. These islands remained under the military control of Japan until 1920, when the League of Nations classified them under category 'C' of the Mandated Territories and officially entrusted their administration to the Japanese government.<sup>32</sup> In handing over these islands to Japan, the League of Nations observed that "the islands over which a mandate is conferred upon his Majesty, the Emperor of Japan, (hereinafter called the Mandatory) comprise all the former German islands situated in the Pacific Ocean and lying north of Equator. The Mandatory shall

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<sup>31</sup> Civil Affairs Handbook - Western Carolines, op. cit., p. 29.

<sup>32</sup> Under Article 22 of the covenant of the League, all the territories detached from the enemy states as a result of the First World War were made Mandated Territories and were placed under the administration of the Allied Powers. The Mandate was classified into three categories according to their stage of development. Those territories were placed under category 'C' which were on the very low level of political and economic development.

have full power of administration and legislation over the territory subject to the present mandate as an integral portion of the Empire of Japan, and may apply the laws of the Empire of Japan to the territory, subject to such legal modification as circumstances may require."<sup>33</sup>

Soon after receiving this mandate, Japan organized a South Sea Bureau to govern the islands and, by imperial ordinance dated March 30, 1922, it established a civil administration in the mandated territory. The civil administration continued until 1935 when Japan withdrew from the League of Nations and garrisoned the islands.

#### Nature of Administration:

It may be observed that while the principal objective of Spanish administration was to propagate the Catholic faith and that of the Germans was to gain commercial benefits, the basic policy of the Japanese was to colonize the islands and to use them for commercial and political ends. While the number of German government officials in these islands was only 25 or 30, the Japanese government officials numbered over 900. From the point of view of administration, the mandate of the South Sea Islands was an integrated unit. Now, for the first time, a full government controlled the affairs of the islands and it functioned in a systematic and coordinated manner. The South Sea Islands were under a Governor who was appointed by the Emperor of Japan and who worked under the supervision of the Prime Minister of Japan.

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<sup>33</sup> League of Nations - Official Journal, (January-February, 1921), pp. 87-88.

### Political Influences:

#### Political Structure:

No territorial changes were involved when the administration of these islands passed from German to Japanese hands. The South Sea Bureau included the same islands as had been under the German colonial administration. However, the political status of the islands changed. The South Sea Islands were administered by Japan as a mandatory power. Legally the colonial status of these islands came to an end, but Japan treated them as a colony.

Internally, Japanese administration brought about many changes. The islands were divided into six administrative units, called Branch Bureaus: the Saipan, Palau, Yap, Truk, Ponape, and Jaluit Branch Bureaus. This division of the South Sea Islands was accomplished by making the Marianas and Marshall Islands separate districts. During the German administration the former had been a part of the East Carolines administrative region and the latter a part of the West Carolines region. The Japanese also divided the West and East Carolines into four districts. Each of the Branch Bureaus had an administrative center. They were Saipan, Yap, Koror, Truk, Ponape and Jaluit. In this way Japanese accomplished the internal territorial organization. (Map 3)

#### Local Leadership:

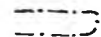
Though Japanese claimed in their Annual Reports to the League of Nations that they were governing the islands in the same manner as the Germans before them, they in no way followed a method of indirect rule. At the end of June, 1935 there were about 944 government officials in



## SOUTH SEA ISLANDS UNDER THE JAPANESE MANDATE

Administrative Areas and Centers of Administration (1921-1942)

## LEGEND :



Branch Bureau Jurisdictional Limit

Yap

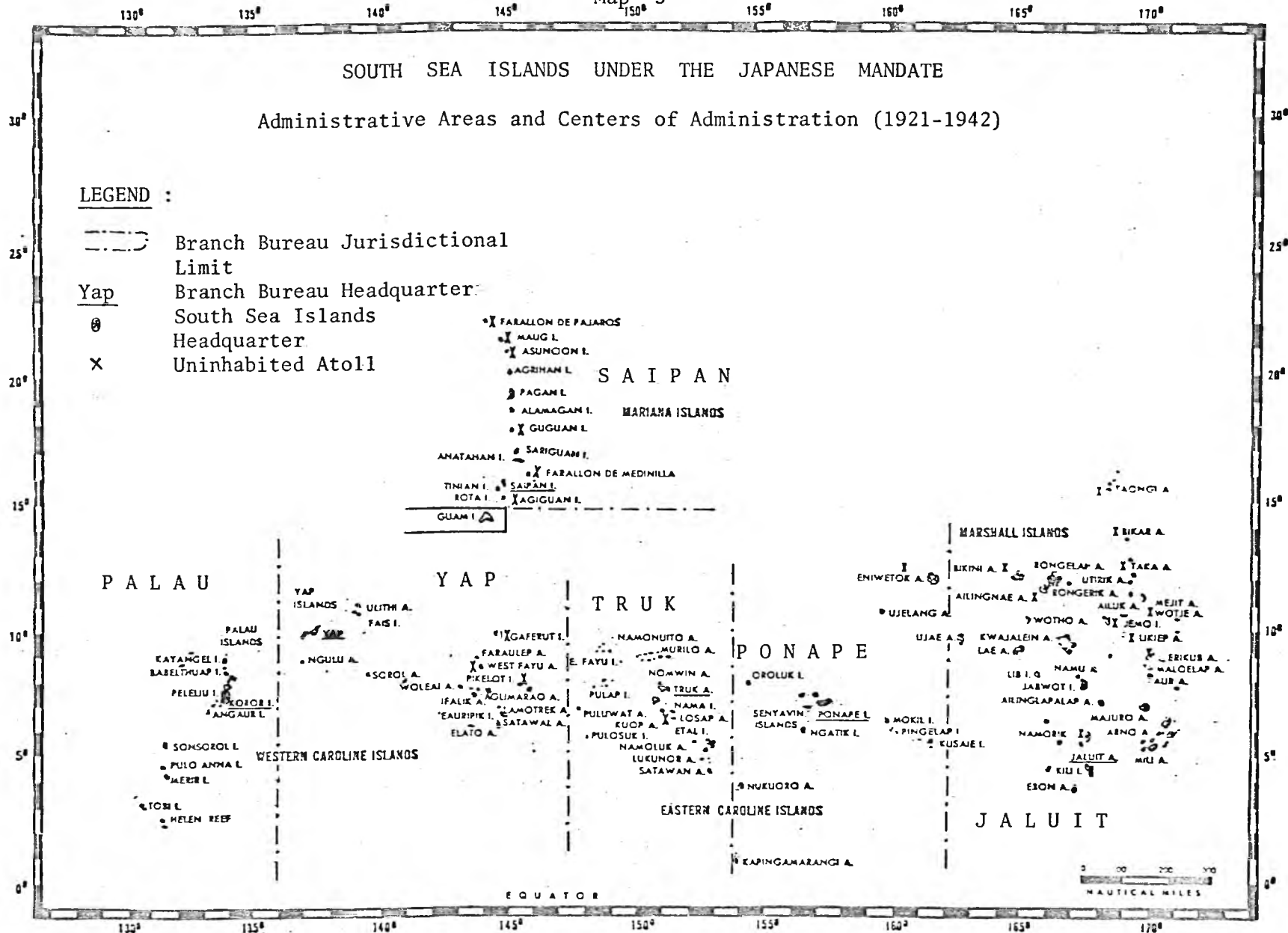
Branch Bureau Headquarter



South Sea Islands Headquarter



Uninhabited Atoll



the South Sea Bureau administration of which only 76 were Micronesians. Among these 76 officials, 50 were policemen, 25 were employed as school teachers and one was an interpreter in the judicial court.<sup>34</sup>

For the convenience of the administration rather than for inviting local participation in the government, people were appointed as village officials by the Branch Bureaus in districts. The local village officials were required to perform three functions. Firstly, they were responsible for disseminating knowledge of government rules and regulation to the villagers. Secondly, they were to forward reports and applications submitted by the natives to the appropriate governmental authorities and, finally, they were required to submit, at least twice a year, reports about changes in population and general conditions in their respective villages.<sup>35</sup>

The number and the classes of local Village Officials changed from time to time. For example, in 1924 Report to the League of Nations four classes of Village Officials were reported. They were those of: A. Senior Village Chief; B. Vice Senior Village Chief; C. Village Chief; and D. Assistant Village Chief. But in 1930's Report only two classes of Village Officials were reported, viz: Village Chief and that of Assistant Village Chief. The following table gives the changes in number of these Village Officials and their distribution in the various districts.

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<sup>34</sup> Yanaihara, op. cit., p. 259.

<sup>35</sup> Annual Report to the League of Nations on the Administration of the South Sea Islands under Japanese Mandate, (Tokyo, 1930), p. 13.

<sup>36</sup> Op. cit., 1924, 1930, p. 16, p. 13.

| Branch Bureaus | Year 1924<br>Classes of<br>Officials |   |    |   | Year 1930<br>Classes of<br>Officials |    |
|----------------|--------------------------------------|---|----|---|--------------------------------------|----|
|                | A                                    | B | C  | D | A                                    | B  |
| Saipan         | -                                    | 3 | -  | 7 | 2                                    | 6  |
| Yap            | 10                                   | - | 2  | - | 11                                   | -  |
| Palau          | 2                                    | - | 13 | - | 2                                    | 12 |
| Truk           | 6                                    | - | 23 | - | 6                                    | 23 |
| Ponape         | 13                                   | - | 22 | - | 13                                   | 14 |
| Jaluit         | 2                                    | - | 16 | - | 1                                    | 16 |
| Total          | 33                                   | 3 | 74 | 7 | 35                                   | 71 |

The offices of the Village Officials were not reserved for traditional chiefs nor did the Village Officials enjoy the same privileges and power as they had during the German administration. The position of these Village Officials became progressively that of petty bureaucratic officials. For instance, of the 16 village headmen in the Jaluit administrative area only 6 were chiefs. Even in case of the appointment of a chief on the position of a village chief, his jurisdiction as a village chief could have been larger or smaller in relation to his area of influence as a chief. In other words, the office of the village chief retained none of the significance of the chief in a kin-oriented society. It was only a subordinate administrative position.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Yanaihara, op. cit., p. 264.

### Economic and Social Effects:

From the very beginning the whole economy of the islands was oriented to Japan and was developed in the interests of those Japanese who made their homes in the islands. The Japanese made no attempt for a balanced development of the islands or to make them an integrated economic unit by themselves, but rather they, "...followed a policy of economic development that was intended eventually to make the islands pay for themselves and supplement the Japanese economy by the production of tropical commodities that could not be produced in Japan, by the development of such minerals as were present and by securing fish that play an important part in the Japanese diet."<sup>38</sup> Therefore, though a rapid development was witnessed in the islands, it had little relevance to the improvement of the lives of the natives. In 1935, the chief items of the exports from the islands were sugar (¥ 12,381,000), dried bonito (¥ 1,811,000), phosphate (¥ 1, 391,000), and copra (¥ 1,076,000), almost all of which were exported to Japan. Among the imports, the main items were rice and foodstuffs, liquor, tobacco, clothes and articles made of cloth, timber, wooden articles, oilwax fat and machinery. But as regards the condition of the natives, the annual report which Japan submitted to the League of Nations made such observations; "After having come into frequent contacts with civilised people, however, many of them began to wear some kind of cloths. Especially notable has been the spread of the habit of wearing cloths among natives since Japan undertook the administration of the islands.",

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<sup>38</sup> Manchester, op. cit., pp. 244-245.

and at another place the report stated that, "The natives live chiefly on wild fruits and vegetables, occasionally taking fish and meat. .... The staple food of the natives are breadfruit, taro, yam, and palm fruit, while 'hose' and tapioca are consumed as subsidiary food. Of those who came into frequent contact with Japanese, some eat rice."<sup>39</sup> It seems that the rapid economic development in the islands was not of much relevance to the economic welfare of the islanders.

#### Indirect Influences of Economic Development:

The rapid expansion of sugarcane cultivation,<sup>40</sup> the phosphate industry, and commercial fishing created a labor shortage. To overcome these difficulties, a large number of Japanese workers, the majority of whom came from the Ryukyu, (or Luchu), Islands, immigrated to the islands.<sup>41</sup> While in 1922 there were only 3,406 Japanese in the islands in comparison to 48,481 natives, in 1935 the number of Japanese increased to 58,980, the native population was only 50,750. On Saipan the ratio of Japanese and natives was 7 to 1 while on Koror it was 5 to 1. In those islands where Japanese were in majority, the administration established municipalities. The organisation of these municipal administrations was similar to that in Japan. Such municipalities operated at Garapan, Chalan Kanoa and three incorporated rural

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<sup>39</sup> Annual Report to the League of Nations, op. cit., 1935, pp. 34-35.

<sup>40</sup> According to 1930's report to the League, the total area under sugarcane cultivation was only 20 hectares in 1916. In 1919 it increased to 459 hectares and in 1929-30 it was as high as 6,225 hectares.

<sup>41</sup> W. P. Harris, "The South Sea Islands under Japanese Mandate," Foreign Affairs, X (July, 1932), p. 1693.

districts on Saipan.

Tinian town, Koror, Dublon (Truk) and Colonia, also had municipalities.<sup>42</sup> These municipal towns and some other centers of population with large numbers of Japanese nationals became modern centers with glamorous shops stocked with Japanese goods, restaurants selling Japanese delicacies, beauty parlors, geisha houses and other places of entertainment. The rapid economic growth in the islands caused mobilization of the indigenous people. They were hired, whenever that was in the interest of the administration, at wages which were on the average of one-third the amount paid to the Japanese laborers.<sup>43</sup> The phosphate mines at Anguar and Fais employed hundreds of Micronesians who were brought in from the other islands. It is correct to say that though the benefits of the economic development in the islands went mainly to the Japanese, the local people could not escape from influences of the economic activities.

#### Communications:

The Japanese paid great attention to communications in the islands. This was necessary for the development of resources in the area. Since these resources were developed so as to coordinate with the industries in Japan, communications were regularly maintained with Japan. There was a regular steamer service between Japan and principal islands. Popular ports of call were Saipan, Tinian, Yap, Palau, Truk, Ponape and Kusaie. The islands with large copra plantations and mining operations

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<sup>42</sup> Handbook on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, op. cit., p. 82.

<sup>43</sup> Annual Reports to the League of Nations, op. cit., 1935, p. 40.

were also regularly called by ships.<sup>44</sup>

Post offices and wireless stations for inter-island communication were operating at all the six administrative headquarters as well as on the other commercially important islands like Tinian and Anguar where mining was in progress. There were radio stations on most of the major islands where Japanese were living.

Japan took extensive measures to improve harbor facilities in the islands. In its 1932 report to the League of Nations, it had shown \$450,000 in expenditures on harbor improvement. Many people interpreted this as the preparation for military build-up. But Clyde, who visited the islands two years later (1934), found that the expenditure was made to improve the harbor facilities needed for the growing sugar industry.<sup>45</sup> Similar views were expressed by another visitor to the islands who inspected all of Saipan in 1932.<sup>46</sup> Whatever might have been the motive of the Japanese in improving the communication facilities in the islands, it cannot be denied that these facilities increased during Japanese administration and interaction increased among the principal islands and between these islands and Japan. In other words, communications coordinated activities in the islands and served as links.

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid., pp. 81-82.

<sup>45</sup> Paul H. Clyde, Japan's Pacific Mandate, (New York, 1935), p. 219.

<sup>46</sup> R. V. C. Bodley, The Drama of the Pacific, (Tokyo, 1934), p. 106.

### Languages:

As early as the 1920's, the Japanese administration opened new schools in the islands. There were separate schools (Public Schools) for the Micronesian children and there were Primary Schools for the Japanese children. Old missionary schools were allowed to continue. There were 26 schools in 1922, of which 3 were Primary, 17 Public and 6 run by missionaries. In 1935, the total number of schools increased to 55. Public Schools were 24, while the number of Primary and Missionary schools were 18 and 13, respectively. Three of these schools were of a professional nature. There was a small Catholic school in Palau for religious education. The other professional school at Koror was for the training of woodworkers, while the industrial school at Truk gave instruction for Japanese children. Primary education was made compulsory in 1935. A very significant influence of these schools was the teaching of the Japanese language, which was the medium of instruction. Because of a heavy emphasis on the learning of Japanese in schools, this language replaced German as the medium of inter-island communication.<sup>47</sup>

Under Japanese influence, the islanders were losing their identity. They were being overshadowed by the Japanese activities. The South Sea Islands functioned as a political and economic unit. There

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<sup>47</sup> According to the Census Report (1958), the number of islanders who can speak and write Japanese is still very high. In the age group of 5 to 14 years only 2.4% of the islanders can speak Japanese and 1.2% can write it. But in the age groups of 15 to 24 years and 25 to 44 years the percentages of the people who can read and write Japanese are 11.9% and 9.4%, and 59.8% and 48.2% respectively. See Census Report - Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, (Guam, 1959), p. 33.



was an integration of the various islands, but, seemingly, that integration had little meaning for the Micronesians. Japanese never tried to develop any regional feeling among them. On the other hand, their policy was to 'Japanize' those, as Oliver said, "who could be so transformed and to allow the rest to die out: no ruthless policy of extermination or even calculated program of oppression, but rather a long-range concept of assimilation devoid of the customary sentimental regard for the native people."<sup>48</sup>

It may be concluded that neither Spain, Germany or Japan were interested in welding together the Micronesians. We have seen that each of the foreign administrations was busy in furthering its own national interests. Spain was interested in facilitating communication between Mexico and the Philippines and to civilize (Catholicize) the islanders. The Germans wanted to make the best use of natural resources (copra and phosphate) in the islands and to satisfy their colonial ambitions. Nearness and easy accessibility tempted Japan to take these islands in its colonial fold. Japanese developed resources in the islands to produce raw materials needed for home industries. When the opportunity came, the islands were used as stepping stones to extend the ever-changing boundaries of the Japanese Empire. But the policies of each of these foreign powers indirectly worked for the political and social integration in the islands. Uniform political control over all these islands, maintenance of law and order, social mobility of people, commercial exploitation of the local resources,

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<sup>48</sup> Douglas Oliver, op. cit., p. 243.

inter-island communications and introduction of common cultural and political institutions--all worked for the integration of heterogenous elements in the Micronesian societies. The integrative process, once started, began to produce a regional coherence in Micronesia.

### CHAPTER III

#### UNITED STATES' ADMINISTRATION AND PROBLEMS OF INTEGRATION

##### United States' Involvement in Micronesia

United States' contacts with Micronesia were mostly casual in the beginning. In the early nineteenth century, whalers from New England used to stop at the port of Lot on Aru island in the Ponape group.<sup>1</sup> In 1804 an American, Captain Crozer of the ship 'Nancy', discovered Kusaie island and, after some time, Port Lale on Kusaie and Port Kiti on Ponape became the bases of operation for American and British whalers.<sup>2</sup> In order to supply these whaling vessels, a few Americans and Hawaiians started plantations on Saipan, but the Spanish soldiers uprooted them.<sup>3</sup> Only in 1838 did the government of the United States take some interest in this area and authorize a scientific expedition to the South Seas.<sup>4</sup> But even those who were concerned about the 'Manifest Destiny' of the United States failed to find any reason for knowing of the area beyond the Hawaiian islands. When the United States occupied Guam as a result of the Spanish-American War in 1898, even the American expert on historical, naval and diplomatic affairs thought that his country was also in possession of the other nearby

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<sup>1</sup> United States Consular Reports, Vol. CCXVI (September, 1898), p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Yanaihara, op. cit., p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Bowers, "The Marianas, Volcano and Bonin Islands", op. cit., p. 227.

<sup>4</sup> S. E. Morrison, "Historical Notes on the Gilbert and Marshall Islands," The American Neptune, Vol. IV (1944), p. 105.

islands.<sup>5</sup> The First World War and the Japanese occupation of the Micronesian islands created no special interest or concern in the minds of general public in America. The United States had objection to the Japanese taking over the former German islands in the Pacific (north of the equator), but it could not do anything because a secret agreement had already been made between Great Britain, France and Japan.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, the only interest of the United States in Micronesia was to use the network of cables which was centered at Yap to maintain communication with the Philippines and Guam. For that the United States signed a treaty with Japan in December, 1921 by which it shared equal rights with Japan in using the Pacific cables. Except for this the United States showed little interest.

On December 12, 1941, five days after the Pearl Harbor attack, two years after the commencement of the Second World War and fifty-two years after the American possession of Guam, the Japanese forces had no difficulty in taking over Guam from Captain McMillins and his 350 soldiers and marines. It took the United States a few months to be able to challenge the Japanese in the Pacific. From December, 1943 to October, 1944, the United States fought a very dirty war with a heavily armed and a very well fortified Japanese force. It reoccupied Guam after dislodging the deeply entrenched enemy.<sup>7</sup> Under the condi-

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<sup>5</sup> E. S. Pomeroy, Pacific Out-Post - American Strategy in Guam and Micronesia, (Stanford, 1951), p. 17.

<sup>6</sup> Yanaihara, op. cit., p. 22.

<sup>7</sup> Since 1952 Guam is an organized territory of the United States.

tions of surrender Japan ceded the sovereignty of the mandated islands to the Allied powers on September 2, 1945, and these islands remained under the military occupation of the United States. Perhaps at that time the United States decision to keep Micronesia under its control rested more on 38,503 American casualties suffered in its capture, than on calculation of its strategic importance.<sup>8</sup> On July 18, 1947, the United States assumed the responsibility of a Trustee of these former mandated islands under the United Nations Charter and organized a civilian government under its Navy Department.

#### Nature of United States Involvement

The United States is the administering authority of all the former Japanese area in Micronesia. It governs the islands under the provisions of the United Nations Trusteeship agreement which gives it full powers of administration, legislation and jurisdiction over the area. This trusteeship agreement, with these broad powers, has been the guide for the United States activities in Micronesia in carrying out its responsibilities as an administering authority and its obligations as the Trustee.

There are a few provisions in the Trusteeship agreement for the Pacific Islands which spell out, indirectly or directly, the prospects and problems of integration of the heterogenous elements in Micronesia. The whole area under the trusteeship of the United States was referred to in the agreement as 'the territory of the Pacific Islands', which implied that this area was to be taken as one political unit for

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<sup>8</sup> Pomeroy, op. cit., p. xix.

political, social and economic development.<sup>9</sup> This Trust Territory was classified as a 'strategic' territory which meant that the United States as an administering authority could take defensive measure for collective security, including such measures as fortification of the islands and declaring all or certain parts of the territory closed areas for the other United Nations' members.<sup>10</sup> For this reason, this territory was unique as none of the other trust territories were granted this privilege.<sup>11</sup> The United States has established and maintained military bases in the Marshalls and Marianas districts which have provided various jobs to the Micronesians, facilitated transportation and communication in the area, and at the same time made the administering authority interested in the future of the territory.

Though the United States was given full powers of administration, legislation and jurisdiction over the trust territory, there was no provision in the trusteeship agreement declaring the Territory could be treated as an integral part of the United States.<sup>12</sup> Apart from certain laws of the United States which were considered applicable to the local conditions and requirement of the territory, a Code of the

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<sup>9</sup> See Article 1 of the Trusteeship Agreement for the Territory of the Pacific Islands.

<sup>10</sup> Article 5, loc. cit.

<sup>11</sup> As an administering authority of a 'strategic' trust territory the United States was obligated to submit an annual progress report of the territory to the Security Council instead of the General Assembly. However, the Security Council delegated to the Trusteeship Council the supervision of these progress reports.

<sup>12</sup> The phrase "as an integral part of the United States" was deleted from the Trusteeship Agreement on the suggestion of the Soviet Representative. Congress of Micronesia - Manual (Saipan, 1965), p. 2.

Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands was made to provide basic laws and regulations applicable to all residents of the territory.<sup>13</sup> The Code of the Trust Territory provided a uniform status to all Micronesians in terms of law, justice and citizenship.

Under Article 6 of the Trusteeship Agreement the administering authority was obliged to develop such political institutions as were suited to the area and to promote the political development of the Micronesians 'towards self-government or independence' depending on their freely expressed wishes.<sup>14</sup> Therefore, according to this agreement the Micronesians could even opt for independence if they so like. But this whole issue of self-government or independence was to be decided for the whole of the territory by all of its inhabitants. In other words, the different island groups in the trust territory were not supposed to decide their future political status individually, but such decision was to be a collective decision by all inhabitants representing the territory and deciding its future form of government. As such, the administering authority was required to treat this territory as a single political unit and was obligated to prepare its citizens so that they could decide its future form of government.

Under such provisions in the Trusteeship Agreement for the trust territory, the United States as trustee of the territory undertook the

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<sup>13</sup> The Code was approved by the High Commissioner of the territory on December 22, 1952.

<sup>14</sup> On the Soviet Representative's proposal, the words 'or independence' were added after the words 'towards self-government'. Congress of Micronesia - Manual, op. cit., p. 3.

task of promoting political, economic and social advancement of the Micronesians. The principal objective of the administering authority was to prepare the Micronesians so that they could make their own decisions on their political status when the present trusteeship arrangement came to an end. In this manner the United States administration has been different from that of the past colonial powers in Micronesia. The United States did not enter Micronesia for economic gains through political means nor has it made an economic conquest of this area to realize selfish political ends. Therefore, United States presence in Micronesia has been neither 'colonial' nor 'neo-colonial'. But the continued presence of the United States in the area do correspond to some of the motives of a colonial power.

#### Problems and Process of Integration

The United States had little orientation for governing an area like Micronesia with all its physical and cultural complexities. But at the same time it was put in charge of the reconstruction of an area which was partially destroyed by its own armed forces. This fact added another psychological dimension in the formulation of administrative policies. The administrative policies of the United States took shape slowly and painfully since the objectives were difficult to realize and means were unchartered and untried. The administering authority followed three basic principles for evolving its policies: to encourage and assist the Micronesians to assume the management of their own affairs to the extent they were capable of; to develop the Micronesian economy at least to the subsistence level by providing



assistance and guidance through the efforts of Micronesians themselves; and to develop democratic institutions so that the Micronesians might evolve a democratic form of government of their own.<sup>15</sup> These principles were kept in mind in formulating political, economic and social policies for the Micronesians. The nature of United States administration, its obligations to the Micronesians as an administering authority, and the policies which it implemented to achieve progress in the area worked for the political and cultural integration of the inhabitants of the trust territory. Though the central theme of the administration was progress on all fronts, that progress was not possible without achieving some sort of uniformity in the political, economic and social life of the people.

#### Political Integration:

Micronesia has achieved significant political unification under the United States administration. The administering authority has provided a centralized and uniform administration in the territory, it has organized the whole territory into administrative districts, and it has helped the Micronesians in forming district and territory-wide political institutions which were previously unknown in the area. All of these administrative and institutional developments have helped Micronesians to develop regional and national feelings. As observed earlier, Micronesia, which was only a geographical expression, has moved towards becoming an organised political unit.

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<sup>15</sup> J. W. Coulter, The Pacific Dependencies of the United States, (New York, 1957), p. 363.

**Administrative Framework:**

By August, 1944, the United States military forces were in control of most of the islands which now constitute the trust territory. When, on September 2, 1945, the Japanese unconditionally surrendered, the islands remained under United States military control in accordance with the international law of belligerent occupation until July, 1947. In July, 1947 the islands became a United Nations Trust Territory with the United States as the Trustee. Immediately after that a civil administration was organized on an interim basis under the United States Navy Department which continued until July 1, 1951. After that the responsibility for the administration in the Trust Territory was delegated to the Department of Interior. In spite of all these changes in the nature of administration, the whole Trust Territory continued to be under one administrative control. But, in 1952, the Navy Department was again given the responsibility for civil administration of Saipan and Tinian islands and, within a year, the administrative responsibility for the rest of the Northern Marianas, with the exception of Rota, was also given to the Navy Department.<sup>16</sup> This transfer of administration of the Northern Marianas, with the exception of Rota, from Interior Department to Navy Department introduced a pattern of dual administrative control in the Trust Territory. The administration of Rota island in the Marianas and that of the Caroline and Marshall islands remained a responsibility of the Interior Department.

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<sup>16</sup> This transfer was accompanied by the installation of an important naval training center at Saipan. Rota island was not transferred to the Navy Department because, unlike the rest of the other smaller islands in Northern Marianas, it was considered economically independent.

This pattern of dual administrative control in the Trust Territory was unfavorable to the development of a Micronesian "self" in the area. It encouraged separatist tendencies among Micronesians. The people of Saipan district, which was under the administration of the Navy and which was the most developed area in Micronesia, began to feel that their future political status could be decided independently from the rest of the Trust Territory. The United Nations Mission to the Trust Territory in 1961 was alarmed by such developments which the Mission felt were against the objectives of the Trusteeship agreement.<sup>17</sup> This system of dual administrative control continued until July 1, 1962, when on the orders of President Kennedy, the Department of the Navy was relieved of its administrative responsibilities in the Northern Marianas and all the Trust Territory was consolidated again under the Department of Interior. Since then the Trust Territory has been under uniform administrative control. It is administered by the High Commissioner of the Territory who is appointed by the President of the United States and is subject to the direction of the Secretary of the Interior Department. The High Commissioner is the supreme legislative and executive authority in the Territory. The High Commissioner's staff at the central and district level helps in the administration of the Territory.

#### Internal Subdivisions:

Presently the Trust Territory is divided into six administrative

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<sup>17</sup> Report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, (New York, 1961), p. 3.

districts. These are Saipan District, which includes all the islands of the Marianas (except Guam); Yap and Palau Districts in the Western Caroline Islands; Truk and Ponape Districts in the Eastern Caroline Islands; and the Marshall Islands District which includes all the islands of the Marshall group. The present internal divisions were preceded by many changes. Until 1948 the Marshalls were divided into two districts--Kwajalein and Majuro. At that time the Western Caroline Islands were also divided into the two districts of Yap and Palau. But, in 1949, the divisions in the Marshall and Western Caroline Islands were abolished. Palau District represented all the Caroline Islands, while Marshall Islands District included all the islands of the Marshall group. When Saipan District was administered by the Navy Department, Rota island was a separate administrative district. (Map 4) Since July, 1962 the administrative districts have not undergone any changes.

Generally speaking, the administrative districts in Micronesia are historic. During the Spanish period the Marianas formed one administrative district. The Marshall Islands were included in one administrative division by the Germans. The division between the Western and Eastern Caroline Islands dates back to German times when the Germans followed 148° East Longitude as the dividing line between the East and West Caroline Islands. The present six districts in the Territory are almost the same as they were before the Japanese fortified and garrisoned the islands. This historical grouping of these islands into administrative districts does not mean that the people living in the same districts have similar feelings. But it does convey the continued importance of the administrative centers in these districts which have



been the epicenters of the waves of integration. Saipan, Yap, Koror, Truk, Ponape and Majuro have continued to hold considerable influence on the neighboring islands as centers of education and modernization.

**Capital:**

Honolulu was the first headquarters for the administration of the islands. Although the interim administration by the Navy Department ended in 1951 and administrative responsibility for the Trust Territory was transferred to the Interior Department, Honolulu continued to serve as the central administrative center for the territory until 1953. The Interior Department considered Saipan as the best place for the capital of the Trust Territory in spite of the fact that it was not the geographic center of the Territory. This was because Saipan was close to the trans-Pacific sea and air transportation services center (Guam); it was conveniently located in reference to the routes which were followed by American military transport planes; and it had superior housing, communication and utility facilities.<sup>18</sup> But when Saipan District was declared a closed area and became an important naval training center, the Territory's headquarters were transferred from Honolulu to Guam. The location of the headquarters outside the Territory created many problems for the administrators and at the same time the distance between the administration and the islanders restricted political cohesion. For a number of years the United Nations Visiting Missions

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<sup>18</sup> Annual Report of the High Commissioner of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands to the Secretary of the Interior, (Washington, 1952), p. 3.

recommended location of the headquarters within the territory.<sup>19</sup> Finally, in 1962, when all the Trust Territory was consolidated under the Interior Department, Saipan was made the first provisional capital of the Territory. On the occasion of the transfer of headquarters, the High Commissioner of the Territory said that the location of the capital within the Territory would facilitate the growth of self-government and this would permit Micronesians to select a permanent capital through the principle of self-determination.<sup>20</sup> Saipan has become the nerve center of the Territory, beginning to perform the functions of the capital of a state. It contains the central executive and legislative organs of the Territory.

#### Growth of Political Institutions:

Perhaps the greatest contribution of the United States administration in the Trust Territory is the introduction of Western-form democratic institutions to prepare Micronesians for self-government. No other foreign power in the area tried this before. In spite of all the activities of colonization during the Japanese administration, the life of the islanders was still regulated to a large extent by their communal or tribal organizations.<sup>21</sup> When the United States took over the responsibility of administering these islands, it faced the problem of introducing democratic institutions in a highly stratified society dominated by hereditary positions. This appeared to the Micronesians

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<sup>19</sup> United Nations Visiting Mission Report, 1961, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>20</sup> Micronesian Reporter, X (March-April, 1962), p. 1.

<sup>21</sup> Paul H. Clyde, Japan's Pacific Mandate, (New York, 1935), p. 78.

to be an attempt to introduce 'equality' among 'unequals'. Even in the Palau District, which was looked upon as a progressive area as far as the process of democratisation was concerned, the traditional hierarchy was fairly strong. An eye-witness account of a dedication ceremony of a new public elementary school perhaps illustrates the problem of political change in the early part of the United States administration in the Territory:

The hereditary chiefs and the second chiefs--some fifteen of them--came in twos and threes and took the places of honor in the first two rows. Chief Aibedul, the highest Chief on Koror, sat at one end of the front row and next to him Chief Reklai of Melekeiok District on Babelthuap. The former belongs to the Idid clan and the latter to the Udes clan, traditionally the two most powerful clans in Palau. The members of the Congress of Palau, elected by the people, took their seats behind the hereditary chiefs, respectfully leaving a vacant row in between. Behind the congressmen, leaving another vacant space, the commoners gathered, men, women and children.<sup>22</sup>

The political influence of the chiefs did undergo a change--as we have noted earlier--because of the colonial administration in the islands, but they retained a considerable influence on the social life of the people. The kind of change and its implications are significant if we recall the position of chiefs as it was a hundred and fifty years ago.

At Pelew (Palau) the King was the first person in the government. ...

Upon all occurrences of moment, he convened the Rupacks (chiefs) and officers of state, their council was always held in the open air, upon the square pavements which have so frequently been mentioned in the foregoing narrative, when the King first stated the business upon which he had assembled them, and submitted it to their consideration; each Rupak

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<sup>22</sup> Coulter, *op. cit.*, p. 201.



present delivered his opinion, but without rising from his seat; when the matter before them settled, the King, standing up, put end to the council.<sup>23</sup>

Realising the importance of the extended family system, clan organisation, and position of the hereditary chiefs, the United States administration did not attempt a violent or dramatic change in the existing order. The new Western-style political institutions were not suddenly imposed on the old traditional institutions. Rather, an attempt was made to promote the understanding of new ideas and practices among Micronesians so that they could work out themselves the ways and extent to which they could accept them.<sup>24</sup> This policy on the part of the administering authority did slow down the rate of change in the institutional framework, but it laid down the foundation of democratic process which slowly but definitely enabled the Micronesians to form even territory-wide organizations.

In 1955 there was only one district-wide elective and legislative body--the Palau congress functioning under a charter. It was a unicameral body composed of elected magistrates (equivalent to mayors) of the sixteen municipalities in the Palau District.<sup>25</sup> In other districts of the Trust Territory, there were either no district-wide organizations or, if there were, they were not elective bodies. In the Marshall

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<sup>23</sup> Keate George, An Account of the Pelew Islands situated in the Western Part of the Pacific Ocean, (London, 1803), pp. 286-288.

<sup>24</sup> See High Commissioner Midkiff's reply to the criticism levelled in the Trusteeship Council in Micronesian Monthly, II (May-June, 1953), p. 4.

<sup>25</sup> Annual Report of the High Commissioner of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands to the Secretary of Interior, (Washington, 1956), p. 26.

Islands there was a Marshall Islands Congress--a bicameral body composed of the House of Iroiĵ with membership granted to those who had the rank of 'iroiĵ laplap' in accordance with Marshallese custom. The House of Assembly was an elective body of the members elected from each of the established municipalities.<sup>26</sup> Yap's Council of Magistrates and the Truk Atoll Council were not district-wide organizations. The Ponape Island Congress was also a non-district-wide body, but it was a bicameral body like that of the Marshall Islands Congress. It consisted of a House of Soupeidi (nobles) and Peoples' House. Representatives of the other islands of the Ponape District participated in the deliberations of these Houses but without any voting rights.<sup>27</sup> Therefore in 1955 there were not many district-wide political institutions which could express in some measure the political cohesion of the Territory. Institutions like 'House of Iroiĵ' and 'House of Soupeidi' did suggest the consideration of the administering authority for local traditions.

In August, 1957, the Truk Congress was chartered and it became the second elective, district-wide, political organization in the Territory. By 1959, the Ponape Island Congress, which was a local body representing Ponape Island only, was dissolved and a unicameral Ponape District Congress was formed. This new district-wide congress also eliminated the institution of 'House of Soupeidi' which was undemocratic in

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<sup>26</sup> See Norman Maller, "Political Changes in American Pacific Dependencies," Far Eastern Survey, XXIX (July, 1960), p. 100.

<sup>27</sup> Annual Report to the Secretary of Interior, 1952, op. cit., p. 12.

character. Similarly, the Marshall Islands Congress also adopted a new constitution which abolished the 'House of Iroij' and made it a unicameral body. However, in the new congress only eighty percent of the members were to be elected and, the remaining twenty percent were drawn from hereditary chiefs.<sup>28</sup> The new charter granted by the High Commissioner to the Yap Islands Congress in 1959 made it a representative body of the Yap Islands only and not of Yap District. When the Northern Marianas Islands were consolidated with the rest of the Trust Territory, a new charter was adopted for the Marianas Islands District which provided a district-wide unicameral legislature.<sup>29</sup>

At present in the Marianas, Palau, Truk, Ponape and Marshall districts--five out of the six administrative districts in the Trust Territory--the District Congresses embrace the entire districts. However, in Yap District, the elected Yap Islands Congress serves only the ten municipalities in the Yap Islands area. The people living in the outer islands are not represented in the Congress.

The district-wide elective bodies are a definite step towards political integration at the district level. This does not necessarily mean that political cohesion at the district level has been achieved. But it does indicate that the isolation of the communities is breaking down and the democratic process has gradually started for the formation of regional political organizations which are likely to lead the

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<sup>28</sup> Annual Report to the Secretary of Interior, 1959, p. 27.

<sup>29</sup> Annual Report to the Secretary of Interior, 1963, p. 17.

islanders towards self-government. The democratization of political institutions also indicates the elimination of traditional leadership by hereditary chiefs. In the early years of United States administration, the hereditary chiefs were automatically elected to office. The situation has changed now and, consequently, the hereditary or traditional leaders who run for elective offices no longer rely on their rank in the social ladder of society.<sup>30</sup>

Inter-district integration has also been attempted by the Micronesians under United States leadership. In August, 1956, an inter-district conference of Micronesians was held at Guam--the then Trust Territory headquarters. Two delegates from each of the districts in the Territory, selected by their respective congresses or councils, met to discuss common problems.<sup>31</sup> Emphasis in the discussion was particularly on education and economic problems in the Territory. From then on this inter-district advisory conference became an annual feature and it included in its scope the consideration of economic, political, and social problems of the Trust Territory. In 1958, the members of the inter-district conference voted to call themselves the Inter-District Advisory Committee. Within three years the Advisory Committee changed its name and became the Council of Micronesia. When the Council of Micronesia held its first session in September, 1961, it elected its own Chairman and for the first time, instead of having the High

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<sup>30</sup> Annual Report to the United Nations on the Administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, (Washington, 1964), p. 29.

<sup>31</sup> "History is in the Making", Micronesian Reporter, VI (September-October, 1956), p. 1.

Commissioner of the Trust Territory preside over such meetings, the elected Chairman of the Council presided over all of its meetings.<sup>32</sup> By 1962 it was decided that the district delegates to the Council should be elected by universal adult suffrage in each of the districts. It was reported consequently that out of six districts had popularly elected delegates in the 1962 meetings.<sup>33</sup> In 1963, the Council requested that the High Commissioner give favorable consideration to the creation of a Territorial legislature. The Council requested a bicameral legislature since in its opinion that system was more desirable in consideration of the Micronesians' social system.<sup>34</sup>

In 1965, the Council of Micronesia was abolished and a new organisation--the Congress of Micronesia was formed. At its inauguration on July 12, 1965, the High Commissioner of the Territory said that

...the Congress, by its dedication to duty and its straightforward approach to the outstanding problems before it, served notice to the world that the spirit of political growth is indeed strong among the people of these islands, and that Micronesians, through their duly elected leaders, have begun, with confidence and demonstrated ability, the long voyage toward self-determination.<sup>35</sup>

The Congress is a bicameral body of two houses--the upper is now

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<sup>32</sup> Annual Report to the Secretary of Interior, 1962, p. 52.

<sup>33</sup> High Commissioner, Trust Territory, Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands - Basic Information, (Saipan, 1964), p. 7.

<sup>34</sup> Micronesian Reporter, XI (January-February-March-April, 1963), p. 8.

<sup>35</sup> Micronesian Reporter, XIII (July-August, 1965), p. 6.

called the Senate and the lower body the House of Representatives. Each of the six districts of the Territory has two delegates in the Senate, while in the House of Representatives representation is based on the population of the districts. As such, the Senate has twelve Delegates whereas the House of Representatives has twenty-one Representatives.<sup>36</sup>

The first official act of the Congress of Micronesia to become law was the 'icon' of Micronesian identity--the flag of the Trust Territory.<sup>37</sup> The Congress of Micronesia as a territory-wide elected body and the flag of Micronesia are symbols of growing unity among the people of the Trust Territory and they suggest the direction and extent of political integration in Micronesia.

It is interesting to recall the views of the United Nations Visiting Mission about the characteristics of Micronesians. The Mission was of the opinion that

...a characteristic of the islanders is the placing of local interest ahead of wider ones. Natural loyalties are to the family or clan, then to the home village. Rarely do these extend beyond the individual island. ...Even the highly westernised Chamorros betray no recognition of any relationship with the Carolinians and, what is more important, no interest in developing such ties.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> For details about the Congress of Micronesia see Congress of Micronesia, Manual, (Saipan, 1965), p. 95. Until July 1, 1966, the two houses of the Micronesian Congress were called House of Delegates and the General Assembly. In accordance with a vote of the Congress amending its charter, the Secretary of Interior signed the order to change the names. See Honolulu Advertiser, July 2, 1966, p. C-16.

<sup>37</sup> It is Public Law 1-1. The design of the flag is the same as that adopted in the second session of the Council of Micronesia in 1962.

<sup>38</sup> United Nations Visiting Mission Report, 1953, op. cit., pp. 3-4.

When we compare the achievements of Micronesians in unifying their islands, even if only at the formal, institutional level, with the views expressed above, we cannot but feel hopeful about the future of cooperation among Micronesians for further political cohesion. There is little doubt that political changes in Micronesia have been quite significant. Democratic concepts and procedures have been introduced in Micronesia and the way they have been adopted by these people strongly indicates that the Trust Territory as a unit is heading toward self-government.<sup>39</sup>

#### Political Consciousness:

The question of nationalism, as it is commonly understood, does not arise as there has never been a nation in these islands. There are no organized political activities comparable to the nationalistic movements in other countries. At the same time, mass revolts or resistance against the United States administration have not occurred in the Territory. The causes for the absence of such activities might have been the lack of communication among the islanders. Communication and transportation have been the real problems in the area.

Parochial feelings in the various parts of the territory have been expressed now and then in different forms. In 1953 the Marshallese submitted a petition to the United Nations Visiting Mission expressing their differences with those of their neighbors--Ponapeans, in culture, custom and language. They said that they had no desire to merge with

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<sup>39</sup> See Force and Force, op. cit., p. 15.

the rest of the Trust Territory, much as the French and Chinese did not wish to merge with German and Japan.<sup>40</sup> The keenness of the people of the Marianas to have political union with Guam is well known. The Popular party of Marianas District has called for the integration of Guam and the Marianas.<sup>41</sup> But such parochial feelings cannot be taken as consensus or the expression of 'political will'. The reason being that these protests and petitions are perhaps the expressions of dissatisfaction with the economic development in the Trust Territory. It has been mentioned that the desire of Saipanese to separate from the rest of the Trust Territory was not because of 'Chomorro Brotherhood'. Their separatist attitude was perhaps motivated by the feeling that the dead weight of an inert territory was the main reason for slow progress in their district.<sup>42</sup> If integration of the island groups can be made profitable to the people, such separatist tendencies are likely to decrease. With an overall economic development in the Trust Territory, political consciousness will also grow.

#### Economic Integration:

The success or failure of a government or political system in the underdeveloped political units can be defined in terms of its ability to satisfy the economic and social demands made on it by the population. The economically sound and progressive societies are also, in general, politically stable. Generally, political development occurs when it is

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<sup>40</sup> See Maller, op. cit., p. 99.

<sup>41</sup> United Nations Visiting Missions Report, 1964, op. cit., p. 55.

<sup>42</sup> Loc. cit.



sion of the territory and its isolation from world markets would constitute tremendous obstacles to development even if there existed valuable resources which the Territory does not possess."<sup>46</sup>

The government of the Trust Territory continued to maintain that the principal objective of its economic policy was to bring a relatively high degree of sufficiency in food production and the basic necessities of life. But the subsistence economy of the islands remained an economy of poverty. The administering authority did not formulate any long-term economic plan. To save Micronesians from possible exploitation, investments by foreigners, including Americans, were not allowed in the Territory. The government did not invest sufficient money in developing resources in the area and the islanders did not have sufficient capital to make any significant investments. Stringent restrictions on imports, particularly from Japan, restricted the import of cheaper material goods. On the other hand, contacts with economically advanced people created desires and needs for more material goods, but Micronesians did not possess the required cash to buy them. This created more frustration and confusion.

The unsatisfactory economic conditions in Micronesia brought the United States under criticism at home and abroad. "It would be irony," as one American said, "in view of our own self proclaimed anti-colonial tradition and oft-repeated concern for the colonial practices of our allies if, at the end of colonialism our own 'imperial' policies came

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<sup>46</sup> United Nations Visiting Missions Report, 1953, op. cit., p. 9.

under harsh criticism."<sup>47</sup> In the Trusteeship Council, the United States was subjected to the annual criticism that it had neglected economic development in the area. The United Nations Visiting Mission in 1961 made several recommendations for improving economic conditions in the Territory. These included establishment of a long-term and well-defined economic plan, a separate machinery for economic planning, a development fund for financing the local enterprises and organization of a Handicraft Board. The Mission also found the need for introduction of cash crops like coffee and other tropical crops and commercial cultivation of fruits and vegetables. Special attention was drawn to the development of fisheries, opening of Vocational Educational Centers, and the need for developing cheaper inter-island transportation. The Mission also recommended that services of experts should be made available to the Micronesians, particularly in the field of marketing.<sup>48</sup> The very nature of these recommendations suggested that there was much to be done for economic development.

Sharp criticism of the poor economic conditions in the Territory was too much of an embarrassment for the United States. President Kennedy paid special attention to the problems of the Trust Territory. As a definite attempt to deal with the problems of the Territory, he signed a new law which authorized an increase in the funds made available by the United States for administration of the Trust Territory.

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<sup>47</sup> H. K. Jacobson, "Our 'Colonial' Problem in the Pacific," Foreign Affairs, XXXIX (October, 1960), p. 56.

<sup>48</sup> The United Nations Visiting Missions Report, 1961, op. cit., pp. 20-21.

The new law, which came in force in July, 1962, raised the former ceiling of seven and one-half million dollars to a ceiling of seventeen and one-half million dollars. At that occasion he said:

We have great and challenging responsibility for the development of the people and resources of the Trust Territory and, by the passage of this legislation, the Congress has taken the first step toward providing the means whereby a new and vital phase of development may be instituted. This administration has recognised the fundamental changes that are taking place in the outlook of the people in the area and we intend to meet the challenge with accelerated economic and social programs commensurate with the responsibilities of our stewardship.<sup>49</sup>

President Kennedy also opened the Territory for capital investments by Americans. This was to stimulate economic growth in the area. But all outside investment was subject to controls by the High Commissioner of the Territory for safeguarding the natural resources and for ensuring maximum participation by Micronesians. He also appointed a Commission to make a firsthand study of the needs and difficulties of the Micronesians. The contents of the Solomon Report were never made public, reputedly because it was very critical of the work done by the United States in the Trust Territory. But the main recommendations of the Commission in the economic field were similar to those which had been made by the United Nations Visiting Mission in 1961. The Solomon Commission called for establishment of a development loan fund to provide capital for new industries, for introducing new cash crops in the area, and to stimulate the growth of copra and other crops which were important to the economy of the islands. It also recommended a

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<sup>49</sup> Annual Report to the Secretary of Interior, 1963, op. cit., p. 1.

substantial cattle raising program in the Trust Territory.<sup>50</sup>

The 'heart' of the Solomon Report was said to be the recommendation for an early decision on the future status of the Trust Territory by conducting a plebiscite in the area. The decision of the Micronesians for independence or continued affiliation with the United States was considered important.<sup>51</sup> Perhaps the uncertainty about future political developments in Micronesia was one of the important reasons restricting the interest of the administering authority in the area. But, since 1962, economic activity in Micronesia has increased. The entire area of economic development has been reassessed. New programs have been launched, including the establishment of credit facilities for Micronesian entrepreneurs. Outside investments from United States citizens are now beginning to play an important part in the long-range projects designed to boost the economy of the Territory. Recently the Interior Department was reported to be asking Congress to authorize a \$172 million five-year capital improvement program for the Trust Territory. In addition to this program, the Interior Secretary said that if Congressional approval is received, the United States plans to spend \$167 million over the next five years for operation of the civil government in the Territory. This total proposed program will be three times as large as the \$121.9 million the Interior Department had spent in the fifteen years since it began administering the islands.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> 'Report criticises U. S. Job on Trust Territory care', Honolulu Star-Bulletin, December 2, 1963, p. 1.

<sup>51</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>52</sup> Honolulu Advertiser, May 21, 1966, p. A-3.

The new economic policy and plans give an indication of the growing economic activity in the islands. At the same time, the change in the attitude of the administering authority indicates its confidence in the future political development of the area. It will be interesting to observe whether or not the islanders do reach the pre-war economic standards--an objective which, for the last twenty years, the administering authority has promised to achieve.

#### Nature of Economy:

The sources of internal revenue and nature of export and import of the Territory may give a good indication of economic patterns in the area. A comparison of these patterns as they were in the early Fifties with those of the Sixties may give an idea of the economic progress in the islands during these years. The way in which money from the annual budget is appropriated for various activities in the Trust Territory can also reveal the soundness of the economy and the direction in which the Territory is heading. A short summary of these economic indicators is presented here.

#### Internal Revenue:

In the following table some important sources of internal revenue in the Territory are listed. The items suggest the nature of economic activities in the area and their relative importance. Figures for the fiscal year 1951-1952 indicate the post-war economy of the islands. There were not many sources of revenue at that time. Scrap metal resulting from the war was the major source of local revenue collection.

At that time phosphate mining was still in progress.<sup>53</sup> Eleven years later the revenue collection was still small, but the number of sources had grown in number. The figures for the fiscal year 1963-1964 also indicate that the economy of the islands (except revenue sales) has not undergone major change. Most of the sources relate to the facilities and utilities provided by the administering authority. But for copra, the other resources are still not in a stage of development whereby they could make a major contribution to the revenue of the Territory.

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<sup>53</sup> The phosphate mining operations ceased in 1955 when deposits were exhausted.

TABLE I  
MAJOR SOURCES OF REVENUE<sup>54</sup>

1951-52 and 1963-64  
(in percentages of total)

| 1951-1952                                    |        | 1963-1964                             |        |
|--|--------|---------------------------------------|--------|
| 1. Scrap sales                               | 49.6%  | 1. Copra processing tax               | 18.4%  |
| 2. Processing tax <sup>a</sup>               | 32.2%  | 2. Building and dwelling rentals      | 11.1%  |
| 3. Internal revenue and<br>trochus royalties | 10.1%  | 3. Stevedoring                        | 8.7%   |
| 4. Others                                    | 8.1%   | 4. Interest and discount earned       | 7.7%   |
|  |        | 5. Medical and dental fees            | 7.5%   |
|  |        | 6. Radio dispatch revenue             | 6.2%   |
|  |        | 7. Utility charges                    | 5.7%   |
|  |        | 8. Cargo handling                     | 4.9%   |
|  |        | 9. Others                             | 29.8%  |
| Total Revenue: \$602.241                     | 100.0% | Total Revenue: \$799,206 <sup>b</sup> | 100.0% |

a. Includes copra as well as phosphate processing tax.

b. Total revenues in the fiscal years ending 1962 and 1963 were about \$1.67 and \$1.66 millions. In the 1963-64 fiscal year, the revenues from freight and passenger (sea and air) traffic and from sales of petroleum products were not given.

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<sup>54</sup> The percentages were calculated from the figures given in Annual Reports submitted to the United Nations, op. cit., 1952, p. 72 and 1964, p. 230. As there was no intention of comparing the same services of revenue over a period of time, the listing of figures is according to their rank.

**Annual Expenditure:**

The amount the government of the Territory spends annually may indicate the present necessities of the people and their future aspirations. A brief summary of the major governmental expenditures in the fiscal years 1951-1952 and 1963-1964 is given in the following table. For a comparison, the major expenditure incurred by the Japanese administration in 1935, is also included in Table II. While recognizing the fact that there exist great distinctions between the Japanese and American administrations as far as the nature of the activities listed in Table II, the categories of activities and their accompanying expenditure percentages do afford a worthwhile comparison of the general form of disbursement under each administration and in different periods of time.



TABLE II

GOVERNMENTAL EXPENDITURE -- 1935, 1952, 1964<sup>55</sup>  
 (on selected activities, in percentage of total)

| <u>Activities</u>                     | <u>1935</u>       | <u>1952</u>      | <u>1964</u>         |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| 1. General administration             | 19.1%             | 21.0%            | 10.8%               |
| 2. Construction                       | -                 | 23.0             | 8.8                 |
| 3. Economic and political development | 24.6 <sup>a</sup> | 6.3 <sup>b</sup> | 6.4                 |
| 4. Legal and public safety            | 5.8               | 2.8              | 2.2                 |
| 5. Education                          | 7.8               | 7.7 <sup>c</sup> | 10.6                |
| 6. Health                             | 5.4               | 12.8             | 7.7                 |
| 7. Operation and maintenance of plant | -                 | -                | 14.9                |
| 8. Transportation services            | 33.8 <sup>d</sup> | 13.6             | 6.7                 |
| 9. Others                             | 3.5               | 2.8              | 31.9                |
| Total                                 | 100.0             | 100.0            | 100.0               |
| Total expenditure in million dollars  | \$1.74            | \$5.06           | \$18.2 <sup>e</sup> |

a. Classified as industrial only, including phosphate mining.

b. Refers only to economic development. No funds were classified as spent for political development.

c. In 1952, the responsibility for primary education rested with the local communities and as such no governmental money was spent.

d. Included harbor construction.

e. Due to the increase in the annual subsidy by United States Government.

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<sup>55</sup> Figures for 1935 from Yanaihara, op. cit., p. 272. Figures for 1952 and 1964, Annual Reports, op. cit., 1952, p. 72, 1964, p. 231.

Under the Japanese administration the islands attained an independent financial position by 1932. They had stabilized internal revenue to the extent that they could create a reserve of over ¥ 3,000,000 in the annual account without any subsidy from the imperial treasury.<sup>56</sup> This was possible because of the development of the internal resources of the islands by heavy investments in industrial, transportation and agricultural sectors with the help of Japanese labor. Under United States administration an emphasis was given to development by Micronesians and for Micronesians. The effort of the administering authority were, as the pattern of expenditure suggests, on the overall development of the islanders. Only a small proportion of the annual expenditure was incurred for economic development. In a way, the development of internal resources of the territory was not emphasized. This becomes clearer when we look at the export and import patterns of the Territory's trade.

#### Imports and Exports:

The imports of the Territory in 1964 were more than twice the value of the goods it exported. In exports, copra was the single most important commodity. Food items dominated the imports. When one makes a comparison of the goods which were exported during Japanese administration with the ones which became important export items under the present administration, we see that the whole orientation of the economy is different. The following tables summarize the nature and

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<sup>56</sup> Yanaihara, op. cit., pp. 267-268.

trend of the overseas trade of the Territory.

Major Items of Export - 1940, 1952, 1964<sup>57</sup>  
(in percentage of total)

| <u>Items</u>                    | <u>1940</u> | <u>1952</u>    | <u>1964</u> |
|---------------------------------|-------------|----------------|-------------|
| 1. Sugar                        | 45.0%       | nil            | nil         |
| 2. Minerals                     | 19.0        | 28.6%          | nil         |
| 3. Dried bonito                 | 19.0        | nil            | nil         |
| 4. Copra                        | 4.5         | 62.9           | 86.2%       |
| 5. Trochus                      | -           | 4.6            | 1.2         |
| 6. Scrap metal                  | nil         | - <sup>a</sup> | 4.1         |
| 7. Others                       |             | 4.9            | 8.5         |
| Total export in million dollars | \$1.37      | \$1.75         | \$2.66      |

- a. Though scrap sales were a major source of revenue in 1952 (49.6%), scrap material was not reported in any significant quantity. However, in the following years it was an important export item.

Under Japanese administration both sugar and fish were the most important items of export. As both of these were managed by Japanese, they became unimportant when the Japanese left. After 1960 efforts were made to grow some commercial crops in the islands. Under the government subsidy plan cacao seeds were planted in Ponape and Truk. Pepper seedlings were introduced in Ponape and experiments were made to grow ramie in Palau. A commercial tuna-packing operation was started in Palau in 1963. Cattle raising has been started in Tinian Island. It will be some time before these developments result in an increase in the exportable commodities from the islands. Copra still continues to be the most important export item.

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<sup>57</sup> 1940 figures in Douglas L. Oliver, ed., Planning Micronesia's Future, (Cambridge, 1951), p. 33. 1952 and 1964 figures in Annual Reports, op. cit., pp. 73 and 250.

Major Items of Imports - 1952, 1964<sup>58</sup>  
(in percentage of total)

| <u>Items</u>                     | <u>1952</u> | <u>1964</u>          |
|----------------------------------|-------------|----------------------|
| 1. Food (including beverages)    | 61.0%       | 55.5%                |
| 2. Clothing                      | 16.0        | 12.2                 |
| 3. Building material             | 5.0         | 7.8                  |
| 4. Tobacco and tobacco products  | 5.0         | 7.3                  |
| 5. Boats and machinery           | 2.0         | 6.5                  |
| 6. Others                        | 11.0        | 10.7                 |
| Total imports in million dollars | \$1,848     | \$5.685 <sup>a</sup> |

- a. Threefold increase in the imports perhaps resulted from increasing consumer sophistication of the islanders. Increase in the commercial activities in the islands have made money available to the people, and their contacts with Americans have created more demands for foreign goods. During the period under consideration the subsidy from the administering authority has also increased threefold.

The import figures indicate that the policy of the administering authority to make the islands self-supporting has not been realized. The Territory imports large quantities of rice, flour, sugar, canned meat, fish and other food. But for a small proportion of imports of boats and machinery there are no other indicators in import items which could suggest that imports are future-oriented. The import figures when considered in combination with the annual governmental expenditures, give an even darker picture for the future improvement of the economy of the Territory.

The export and import patterns make an interesting point about the trade relationships of the Territory with the United States and

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<sup>58</sup> Annual Report to the United Nations, 1952, op. cit., p. 73.  
Annual Report to the United Nations, 1964, op. cit., p. 250.

Japan. In 1964, while the United States was the source of 68.6% of the total imports of the Territory, it received less than 8% of the total exports from the Territory. On the other hand, Japan alone received 91.6% of the total exports from the Territory while only 23.6% of the imports of the Territory came from Japan.<sup>59</sup> The United States imported copra from the Philippines where it was cheaper than in the Territory. On the contrary, imports of cheaper Japanese goods were restricted in the islands and American goods which were expensive were imported.

In conclusion two observations may be made. First, if economic progress and a high degree of self-sufficiency are taken as one of the important criteria by means of which to judge Micronesia's maturity and readiness for independence or self-government, then this Territory has a long way to go to achieve them. Second, the economic development that has taken place in the Territory has brought the United States and the islands nearer to each other. The economy of the islands is completely dependent on the annual subsidies from the administering authority which have been ten to seventeen times larger than the annual revenue collections in the islands. What has become important in the Territory is not the economic association of islanders with one another but their political relations with the United States. This trend has not perhaps helped in development of the Micronesian 'self' in the islands. The political relationship of the islanders of one group of islands with the others has so far not been economically profitable. Perhaps this is the reason, as we have noted earlier, for the outbursts

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid., loc. cit.

of centrifugal tendencies in the economically progressive islands. Although the islands are not rich in resources, the pace of economic interaction can be increased to a much higher level than it has been so far. The problem of keeping the islanders' increasing sophistication in demands in proportion to the increase in the level of their productivity is, of course, a difficult problem for the administering authority. But political development in Micronesia which has so far been quite significant, might create more problems than it would solve. For unity among Micronesians, a self-sufficient economy is not essential--but rapid economic development is.

#### Cultural Integration:

As we have noticed earlier, foreign administrations and power politics of the interested nations imposed political boundaries on Micronesia without giving any consideration to the people involved. There were no spontaneous or cultivated feelings to unite the Micronesians. People with diverse cultural characteristics were included in one political unit without their knowing what it meant to them. Although this political grouping of the islands had been subjected for a long time to adjustments in the world's political patterns, internal cohesion among the islanders was ignored until recently. In this way the Territory was born into a system of world, rather than a regional, political values and institutions. Under the present administration an attempt was made to make the Territory a cohesive political unit and to give it a regional self-identity.

Culturally, the Micronesians living in the Trust Territory represent as many as thirteen cultural groups.<sup>60</sup> In spite of the differences which divide them, they have many things in common. These common characteristics (excluding those of the polynesian Kapingamarangi and Nukuoro atolls) are related to the economic and social life of the islanders. The settlement pattern is of the scattered farmstead and hamlet type with a horticulture-fishing economy. The basic residential and subsistence units are the extended family and the lineage clan. The clans are usually exogamous and matrilineal with strong rank and caste orderings (except in Sonsorol, Pulo Anna, Merir and Tobi islands in the South-Western Carolines).<sup>61</sup> Among the differences in cultural groups, the most important impediment in cross cultural relations has probably been the variety of languages spoken. Anthropologists have found at least nine language groups in the Trust Territory (Map 5). The lack of a common media of communication magnified the cultural differences and restricted the growth of regional feelings among the islanders.

Under the present administration a common culture is emerging in the Trust Territory. As there was no pre-existent unity among the islanders, it appears that this emergence of a common culture in the Territory is a consequence of the achievements in attaining national

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<sup>60</sup> G. P. Murdock, "Anthropology in Micronesia", Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences, Sr. 11, No. 1 (November, 1948), pp. 10-11.

<sup>61</sup> Douglas L. Oliver, op. cit., pp. 76-80.

Map 5

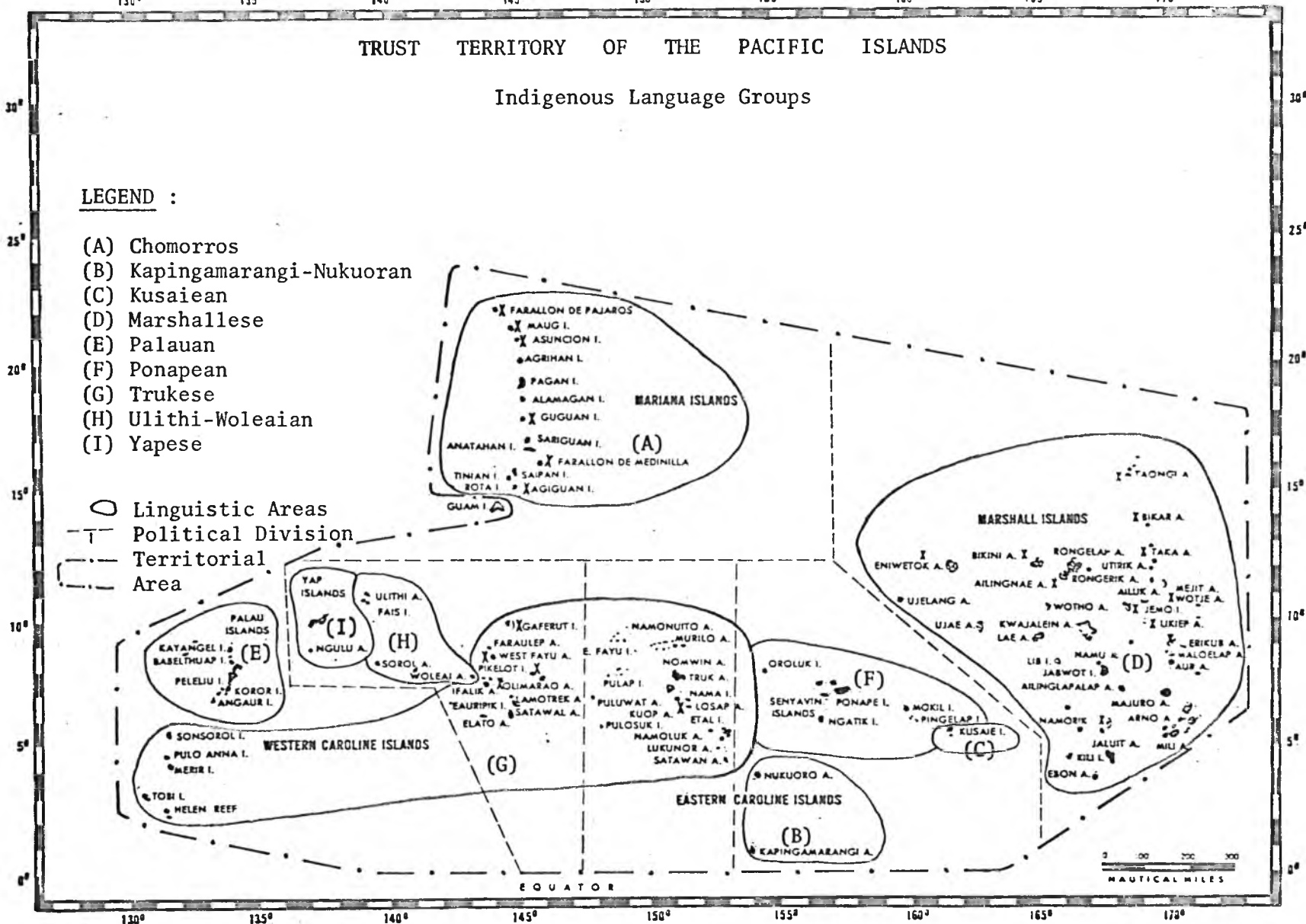
## TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

## Indigenous Language Groups

## LEGEND :

- (A) Chomorroos
- (B) Kapingamarangi-Nukuoran
- (C) Kusaiean
- (D) Marshallese
- (E) Palauan
- (F) Ponapean
- (G) Trukese
- (H) Ulithi-Woleaian
- (I) Yapese

- Linguistic Areas
- Political Division
- Territorial Area





identity.<sup>62</sup> The roots of national identity and so of this common culture have yet to penetrate deeply into the social organization of the Territory. As national identity is a recent phenomenon in Micronesia, its process of development should be considered more important than its present achievements.

For the evolution of a common culture in Micronesia, the policies of the United States administration on education and languages have been instrumental. Education, as Coleman points out, is both a requisite of economic development and an important determinant for any meaningful political development.<sup>63</sup> The pre-literate Micronesia was a region with several cultural areas and no effective integrative process. Under the present administration a literate Micronesian society is taking shape with a common media of communication which seems to be a definite step towards cultural integration of the islanders. A brief analysis of this process is presented here.

The problems of language communication and education were considered basic by the United States administration to foster understanding and progress in the Trust Territory. The necessity of a lingua franca for the Micronesians was realized. It was also maintained that the Micronesians were to be trained to take up the responsibilities of running the machinery of government and society after the political

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<sup>62</sup> Emerson argues that the common culture is likely to be as much a resultant of the achievement of the national identity in new states as a creative cause of it. See Rupert Emerson, op. cit., p. 150.

<sup>63</sup> James Coleman (ed.), Education and Political Development, (Princeton, 1965), p. 3.

status of the Territory changed.<sup>64</sup> But the basic dilemma of the administering authority was perhaps in deciding the degree of modernization needed for achieving the objectives of the trusteeship agreement. The administering authority was afraid of creating a gulf between generations. Therefore, a considerable emphasis was given, as we will see, on native languages, local history, art, crafts and other elements of local culture. But this well-intended policy was found unpracticable. Political and social development in the Territory was not possible without having what Geertz called 'the Integrative Revolution'.<sup>65</sup>

The objectives of educational policies of the administration in the early fifties were: (a) to provide every child with six years of elementary schooling; (b) to provide secondary school education to only those children who had the potentialities of leadership; and (c) to encourage the Micronesians to assume full responsibilities for educational activities.<sup>66</sup> It will be interesting to note how the administering authority tried to integrate these objectives with local cultural characteristics:

In short-range plans, there is an active attempt to re-gear the curriculum, course of study, and learning experience into the various cultures encountered in Micronesia. This is

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<sup>64</sup> A summary of various opinions expressed on problems of education and language may be found in Handbook on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, op. cit., pp. 217-230.

<sup>65</sup> Clifford Geertz, "The Integrative Revolution", in C. Geertz (ed.), Old Societies and New States - The Quest for Modernity in Asia and Africa. (London, 1963), p. 109.

<sup>66</sup> Annual Report to the United Nations, 1952, op. cit., p. 64.

manifested by efforts to make the language of instruction in the elementary schools the vernacular and further efforts to prepare teaching materials in the vernacular. ...In other aspects of the curriculum, its responsiveness to the local culture is being observed throughout Micronesia.

At the intermediate level, an attempt is being made to minimize progressively those acculturating influences of Western culture which are poorly adapted to Micronesia and other values more indigenous to the culture are being introduced to the culture. In some districts, for example, beds and mattresses have been removed from dormitories and students bring their own mats from home. The diet in dining rooms are being geared to a more realistic Micronesian one, instead of importing foods. Students are no longer provided scholarship stipends for allowances, but must work for spending money. Greater emphasis is being placed on the agricultural and vocational skills as canoe making, handicrafts, boat repairing, carpentry, care and raising of stock and plant life are being developed.<sup>67</sup>

Accordingly, the local communities were given the responsibilities for elementary education. Each community was expected to build and maintain its own school building and raise money for its teachers' salaries.

This philosophy of education was highly unsuitable for the Trust Territory. The Micronesians were in the initial stage of development with little money and no experience in running educational institutions. Their cultural heritage and historical experience were not sufficient to gear them to the new attitudes and values necessary for future political and socio-economic development. It was not possible to break the islanders' feelings of isolation and exclusiveness when the medium of instruction was different from district to district in the Territory. The local communities were not able to carry out their responsibilities for providing educational facilities satisfactorily. The standards of instruction differed throughout the Territory.

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<sup>67</sup> Annual Report to the United Nations, 1952, op. cit., p. 65.

Sometimes they varied within the same district. The quality of teachers was poor and building and furniture facilities were inadequate. Poor communities had to be content with what they could afford and there were many poor communities.

Public education in the Territory supported by territorial funds began with intermediate schools which provided three years of schooling after six years of elementary education. They were located at all the district centers and also at Rota and Kusaie. Their operation was better than the elementary schools. The medium of instruction was local languages but English was increasingly introduced in the curriculum. In 1952, there were about 8,655 students enrolled in elementary and intermediate schools in the Territory.<sup>68</sup> Higher education, which was of secondary level as far as the Territory was concerned, was provided at the Pacific Islands Central School located at Truk.<sup>69</sup> In 1952, it had about 101 students from all over the Territory. The medium of instruction was of necessity English and therefore this was the only educational institution where an overall territorial consciousness could develop. Some students also had the opportunity to study at educational institutions outside the Territory with government assistance. There were about seventy-two students studying in Guam in 1952. In the same year there were fifty-one students enrolled in the Medical and Dental School in Suva, thirteen in Manila High School, eight in Hawaii and five students were studying on the United States

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<sup>68</sup> United Nations Visiting Mission Report, 1961, op. cit., p. 25.

<sup>69</sup> The School was shifted to Ponape in 1959.

Mainland.<sup>70</sup> Although the number of students receiving High School education was not large, it was significant as that was the first group of Micronesians to receive high school education.

In the early 1960's when the United States administration re-examined its overall policies in the Trust Territory, a complete reassessment of the educational needs of the islanders was also carried out. Significant changes were introduced in the educational pattern and since then the educational system has become even more of an investment for future developments in the Territory.

English was directed to be the only medium of instruction in the Trust Territory at the elementary school level. This was done on the recommendation of the then Council of Micronesia and on desires expressed by teachers and students. A Literature Production Center was established to produce teaching materials in English for the elementary school students. The government of the Territory began subsidizing elementary school teachers' salaries. A decision was taken to provide a full secondary school program in all the districts by upgrading the Junior High Schools into Senior High Schools. Plans were made to construct new classroom buildings and houses for about 140 American teachers who were expected to be employed by the administration to teach English.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Annual Report to the Secretary of Interior, 1952, op. cit.,  
pp. 13-16.

<sup>71</sup> Annual Report to the Secretary of Interior, 1962, op. cit.,  
pp. 79-81.

In 1963 about \$1.3 million were spent under the education improvement program. Over two hundred American teachers were employed to improve standards in English language. During that year 234 classrooms were constructed and 104 teachers' houses were built. Plans were ready to build an additional 175 new classrooms and 105 teachers' houses. A Micronesian Teachers Education Center was established on the new campus of the Pacific Islands Central School at Ponape. In 1964, the recurring expenditure for education in the Territory reached a figure of nearly twice the value of exports from the Territory and eight times the total district and municipal taxes.<sup>72</sup>

Education is spreading widely in Micronesia. The enrollment of students in elementary and Junior High Schools in 1963 was about three times what it was in 1952. The number of Micronesians getting high school education within the Territory increased almost eight times during the same period. More and more students from the Territory are going abroad for higher education.<sup>73</sup> English is fast becoming the lingua franca of the younger generation. The influence of education and having a common language of communication on the islanders was best noticeable at the Pacific Islands Central School. The United Nations Visiting Mission in 1964 reported that:

In its short but varied history Pacific Islands Central School had made a great contribution to Micronesia, not only

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<sup>72</sup> United Nations Visiting Mission Report, 1964, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

<sup>73</sup> See Annual Report to the United Nations, 1964, op. cit., p. 281. The total enrollment in elementary--intermediate schools, and high schools were 22,972 and 823 respectively. In 1963, 210 students were studying abroad.

scholastically, but also as an influence towards unifying Micronesia. ...The people who had come together to this common meeting ground from all over the Territory for three years secondary education, were free of the prejudice and rivalries that are said to be barriers to Micronesian Unity; the friendships and habits of cooperation they formed at PICS went deep.<sup>74</sup>

Micronesians are involved in the process of modernization in their quest for economic, social and political development.<sup>75</sup> With their success in each of these fields they are heading towards a social framework where cultural integration of the islands will increasingly depend on the new values and attitudes of allegiance to a civil state. Their primordial attachments to kinship and local languages were good for the times when the ways of doing things were simple and their area of operation was limited. Educational developments and the growth of a lingua franca in the Territory will enable the Micronesians to adjust to the new society that is in the making. When the new society comes into being, it will not be 'an undissolved residue of traditionalism, as Geertz has said about new states, but an earmark of modernity.'

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<sup>74</sup> United Nations Visiting Mission Report, 1964, op. cit., p. 10.

<sup>75</sup> By modern we mean dynamic, democratic, and economically advanced.

## CHAPTER IV

### FUTURE OF INTEGRATION AND ASSOCIATION

The history of Micronesia, like that of many other areas of the world, has been a record of social conflicts and progress. Our study of the social and political changes which took place during the Spanish and German administrations and of the integrative process that is now going on in Micronesia, does not lead us to speculate about future developments in the area. It only tells us of what has happened and not of what is to happen. Therefore, in considering the future of the integrative process in Micronesia, we shall try to identify some basic questions concerning the process rather than to offer a solution to the islands' problems of political, social and economic integration. Many of the problems of integration exist because of the short range outlook on the part of those who have guided the life of the Micronesians.

#### Internal Integration and External Association

Micronesian history suggests that the process of political integration in the islands started with the intrusion of foreigners into the area. Prior to foreign intervention in the islands, political units were small and were separated from each other by frontier zones rather than sharp boundaries. Each kinship community, however, had its own territory over which it held certain rights. War was not uncommon when the rights of a particular kinship group in its territory were challenged by outsiders. The communities were politically organized in the sense that their members were protected from enemies



and internal law and order were maintained. There were some people in each kinship group who had the right and responsibility to make decisions on behalf of their group and such decisions, once taken, were usually accepted by the common people. These political units and their political organizations functioned in their own way like 'state' and 'government'.<sup>1</sup>

The foreigners who came to the islands were in a different stage of development. Their needs, interests and ways of doing things were different than those of the indigenous people. Since the organization, power and skill of the foreigners were stronger than those of islanders, in the interaction between the two groups the islanders were obliged to accept the new pattern of organization. Under the foreign administrations the size of the political area under a uniform political control increased with the interest and ambition of the administering authority. The form of political organization in the islands changed with the transfer of administration from one foreign power to another-- this also changed their political status.

As it stands today, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands includes most of the Micronesian islands scattered over three million square miles. It is in the process of political development under the guidance of the United States. Although it has a territorial legislative body representing all parts of the territory, the process of political development is still in its earlier stages. The administer-

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<sup>1</sup> See Lucy Mair, Primitive Government, (Baltimore, 1964), p. 16.

ing authority aims at establishing a popular democratic form of government in the islands. At this stage of development, there are no territory-wide political parties. The executive powers are lodged with the administering authority and there are only a few Micronesians at the policy-making level in the administration. There is an administrative machinery of government employees which executes and implements governmental policies; however, without the coordination and guidance of the American administrators it could hardly survive. The institutions of public opinion, so necessary for the successful operation of popular democracy, hardly exist in the Territory. If we agree with Shils, then, at this stage of political development the Territory does not have the preconditions so essential for the successful operation of popular democracy.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, the Territory in its present stage of political development can hardly function as a self-governed or independent political unit. But political questions are not always answered by reason or common sense. The Territory can achieve self-government or independence without having any of the preconditions necessary for the functioning of a democratic form of government. Neither do the Micronesians have to have democracy in their islands. Therefore, the important question in decisions about the future of the Territory would not be the preparedness of Micronesians for self-government or independence (though superficially it may seem so) but more important would be its relationship with the administering authority.

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<sup>2</sup> Edward A. Shils, "Political Development in the New States (II)," Comparative Studies in Society and History, II (1960), pp. 382-389.

In August, 1965, United States Senator Fong (R. Hawaii) introduced a concurrent resolution in the Congress of the United States for including the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands in the State of Hawaii. He gave three reasons for taking such an action. He thought the Territory was moving at "an accelerated pace toward political maturity and self-government and a greatly strengthened socio-economic structure" and, therefore, the question of the Territory's political future was compelling. He also drew attention to the fact that the world's other colonies and Trust Territories were fast moving towards self-government and if the United States, in view of its self-proclaimed anti-colonial tradition, delayed in taking action on the future political status of the Territory it would be subject to the harsh criticism of world opinion. Finally he pointed out the strategic importance of these islands to the United States and warned that the United States could not afford to give away these islands to a hostile or a potentially hostile power.<sup>3</sup> Senator Fong's estimate of the political and economic progress in the Territory was rather optimistic. What was more important in his analysis was the stress on the need of an early settlement of the issue. According to him the urgency of the matter was primarily due to the strategic importance of the islands. Relatively, world opinion might have some influence on the nature of the decision. However, the Great Powers have often ignored world opinion if that was in conflict with the realization of their vital interests.

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<sup>3</sup> Congressional Record, 89th Congress, First Session, Washington, 1965, pp. 20065-20068.

The United States is a 'Pacific Power' and the Territory is strategically important.

The basic questions involved in the future of the political association of the Territory is the question of the United States' continued interest in the area. Because of the strategic importance of the Territory, the United States is likely to remain in the area, and for this very reason the question of an independent Micronesia does not seem to be the foremost possibility. As for self-government in the Territory, it appears that 'outsiders' are more interested than the Micronesians themselves. An editorial in a Micronesian newspaper, commenting on Senator Fong's idea of a Pacific state, observed that (perhaps) the Micronesian leaders desire it (the Territory) to be a territory of the United States. But it pointed out that there had never been a public discussion in Micronesia on the issue "and that is where the problem lies. For until there is a public discussion of this area's political future, there can be no public decision of what its people want."<sup>4</sup>

If we agree that because of strategic reasons United States would continue to remain in the Territory, then a second problem arises. The United States is the administering authority in the islands under the Trusteeship Agreement. This arrangement cannot last indefinitely according to the terms of Trusteeship Agreement. Moreover, it is in the interest of the Micronesians as well as the United States for

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<sup>4</sup> Micronesian Times, (Saipan), August 12, 1965, p. 1.

relations between the two to be redefined. The decision about the future relationship between the Territory and the United States will introduce an element of certainty, with all its social, psychological and economic implications for the islands. Now the important question is whether or not a change in the present territorial framework of the Territory is necessary for a change in its political association with the United States. The answer should be negative since these two questions concern basically different matters.

The issue concerning the future of political integration in the Trust Territory should not revolve around the independence or association of the Territory with other United States territories or states. There are no possibilities for the emergence of an independent Micronesia. Association of the Territory with other United States territories in the Pacific is a possibility fraught with many complications.<sup>5</sup> The best alternative would be an association of the Territory with the United States which can be advantageous to both. The United States can continue to remain in the area for strategic purposes and at the same time can give a helping hand and provide leadership to the Micronesians to continue with political development.

Micronesian leaders have not yet considered self-government to be a door on the other side of which lies paradise. But, like other people, they would like to participate as much as possible in their own government. Systematic training of Micronesians to shoulder the

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<sup>5</sup> Norman Meller, 'Obstacles to Pacific state goal cited', Honolulu Star-Bulletin, December 8, 1965, p. C-9.

executive and legislative responsibilities of the Territory's government and progressive transfer of administration to these trained personnel are desirable. This can take place without any change in the present territorial framework.

### Internal Economic Integration

The precontact Micronesian economy was invariably a subsistence economy. The elements of a commercial economy producing for exports were introduced in the islands by foreigners. Germans exploited the mineral and copra resources. Japanese vigorously pursued commercial and industrial activities. They made extraordinary progress between 1922 and 1939. During this period the islands' trade increased twenty times; copra production trebled; phosphate output grew five-fold. The fishing industry made tremendous progress and revenues from sugar alone exceeded that of all other industries combined.<sup>6</sup>

For a long time the present administration very nearly ignored economic development in the islands. An economic survey was conducted in Micronesia as early as 1946. Several recommendations were made for improving economic standards, most of these recommendations were never implemented. It was only after 1960 that the administering authority paid major attention to economic development. As we have earlier mentioned, the plans for a capital improvement program in the islands are in progress. The present economic conditions in the islands have been

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<sup>6</sup> John D. Bradbury, Japan's Economic Development in Micronesia, 1922-1937; a re-evaluation, (Honolulu, 1965), p. 28. (Typescript, University of Hawaii Library).

very well summed up by the High Commissioner of the Territory, William R. Norwood, in his State of the Territory Message at a joint session of the Congress of Micronesia held on July 12, 1966. He said:

A growing sense of political unity is clearly evident in Micronesia. But the economic facilities and services required to sustain the life and growth of this political unity are just now beginning to form a cohesive pattern. Much yet remains to be done before Micronesia can be said to have a solid, cohesive, durable economic foundation. The programs in being--those in process and those planned--should serve to establish this economic base. Although we are well on the way in our search for development possibilities we have yet to identify clearly and agree on the economic potential. ...Natural resources of the area--with the exception of the ocean, a great economic area of the future--are very limited.<sup>7</sup>

The economic problems of Micronesia are enormous. The resources of the Territory are scarce. Copra, tourist and fishing industries are the greatest resources of the islands. But all of these are highly competitive industries. Copra is already the biggest foreign exchange earner. The fishing industry today has importance only in the internal economy of the islands. The tourist industry is almost non-existent at the present time. It will take time, money and considerable efforts to increase their importance to Micronesian economy.

The economic development in the islands is taking place and is likely to continue to take place with the help of American dollars. Within a few years, if private investment by Americans continue to grow, the administering authority will be under even greater obligation to protect these American economic interests in the Territory. As we mentioned earlier, economic development of the islands will create new

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<sup>7</sup> Marianas Panorama. (Saipan), July 15, 1966, p. 2.

bonds of relationship between the United States and the Micronesians. The Territory's economic dependence on the United States will severely limit the alternatives available to Micronesians when they finally exercise their right of self-determination. At the same time the United States will, perhaps, also give some consideration to its own economic interests in the area. Economic self-sufficiency will not be a precondition for the Micronesians for self-determination. But the absence of a basic economic foundation is likely to inhibit their thinking about an independent Micronesia. It is unlikely that in the near future the Territory could become a viable economic unit. More important than these problems is a long-range development program geared to the natural and human resources of the Territory which could make integration and association profitable to Micronesians.

#### Internal Cultural Integration

The precontact Micronesian society was a pre-literate society. The ways of doing things were simple. The desire to change and the need to change were limited. The isolation of these oceanic communities enabled them to retain their cultural characteristics. When the foreigners came to these islands they brought with them new techniques of production and new concepts about life. Spanish priests branded the islanders as uncivilized, Germans thought of them as lazy, Japanese exploited their resources and hoped for the days when the islanders would be Japanized. The present administering authority has taken measures to improve social, economic and political life with due respect to the indigenous customs. In other words, all foreign



administrations found that change was imperative in the islands. Each of them did something or other which changed the islanders' way of life. The Micronesian society has been a transitional society and, therefore, it has experienced problems which other transitional societies also encountered.

There has been considerable retention of old traditions in the islands. To some extent this is due to the lack of intense contact with the foreigners. In some cases the foreigners thought that the islanders were living a happy life and refrained from any direct efforts to change them. This philosophy of non-involvement in the life of indigenous people only delayed the process of modernization and at times had unwanted ill effects on the indigenous society. Skinner made an extreme and forceful, but rather true, observation on this policy of non-involvement. He said that,

there is an obnoxious, insulting and inaccurate phrase which has in the past been used to justify neglect of economic, social and political advancement. It is 'happy native people'. Administrators in many cases imposed a do-nothing program, ostensibly so that the 'happy native people' would not change. This is more properly known as the 'zoo' theory of colonial administration. It was a theory which professed to guarantee that native cultures would not be blurred or extinguished. It required that native peoples should be kept exactly as they were when first discovered. It would have provided endless doctoral theses. It took no account of human desires and justified hopes and ambitions. It ignored the practical condition that once a land is entered by trade, traffic, exploration or naval or military bases, change is inevitable; the question is what kind and to what end. The people of the Pacific Islands rapidly acquired respect and desire for machines, roads, electric lights, medical care, schools,

libraries, piers, motorboats, tractors, trucks and pumps. Equally they wanted the education and skills to operate them.<sup>8</sup>

But for the Spanish administration, when the emphasis of the administrators was on saving the soul of islanders rather than healing their bodies, the other foreign administrations in the islands, in one way or another and on one pretext or another, ignored the necessity of change in the islanders' way of life. Even the attitude of the present administering authority until recently was that of non-involvement in indigenous ways of life.

But, as we have noticed, the policies of the administering authorities as well as their activities and practices brought various changes in the Micronesian society with sometimes unhappy results. The processes involved in bringing changes to the Micronesian society were varied and the changes resulting from them were diverse. Growth of political and economic centers changed the rural life, acculturation helped in breaking the isolation of island communities, modernization in the ways of doing things increased interaction--widening the levels and increasing the areas of human understanding. But neither the administering authorities nor the islanders appreciated the fact that these changes were necessary to make the future more promising and satisfying. The administrators were not sure of their intentions about the welfare of the indigenous people and the local people could not perceive the implication of modernization.

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<sup>8</sup> Carlton Skinner, "Self-Government in South Pacific", Foreign Affairs, XXXXII (October, 1963), p. 143.

The present administering authority feels sure as to what it has to do to raise the lot of Micronesians. Its policies on political, economic and social development--particularly education--are realistic, provided economic progress can sufficiently mollify the pressures created by the expanding number of persons benefitting from secondary and higher education. If these policies become practices, then there is every hope that the Micronesians will not only find many things in common with each other but with the rest of humanity, too. Even in the Yap district, which was said to be the most traditional in the Territory, the 1964 United Nations Visiting Mission found an urge and enthusiasm to actively participate in the process of modernization.

But, as experience suggests, a common culture cannot be evolved in the Territory in a random fashion. The introduction of the democratic process, the application of science and technology, and the rising expectations of the Micronesians must fit together to constitute a coherent Micronesian society.

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