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Friends of Micronesia

FALL 1973

NEWSLETTER

VOL 3 NO 4



*STATUS
HIGHLIGHTS*



ROI NAMUR
BATTLE
RAGES

.....

**TINIAN
CLOSED**

**BIKINI STILL DANGEROUS
PEOPLE DEMAND
COMPENSATION**

TOURISM A SPECIAL REPORT

POLITICAL EDUCATION CENSORED



Tinian Closed

90% of
Marianas Held

The U.S. Departments of Defense and Interior have ordered a moratorium on all further land transactions on Tinian and have cancelled all recent land leases. This also ends all homesteading on the island. The information was revealed in early August by Deputy High Commissioner Peter Coleman. No one in the Marianas had been consulted in advance. Both the Tinian Municipal Council and the Marianas District Legislature protested this moratorium vehemently.

This move effectively blocks all new agricultural projects on the island, and halts plans for foreign tourist and industrial investment. It also brings a halt to the increasing amount of land speculation that has been taking place on Tinian. (See box) This will guarantee the U.S. Air Force lower land prices as it seeks to take over the entire island for construction of a major new Asian base.

Haydn Williams, the chief U.S. negotiator, later apologized for not consulting Marianas leaders before making the announcement and assured the people of Tinian that the moratorium was "very temporary." At press time however, the moratorium was still in effect.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE LAND HOLDINGS (in acres)

PUBLIC				PRIVATE	
%	acres	district	total acres	acres	%
90%	106,065	MARIANAS	117,440	11,281	10%
68%	77,828	PALAU	114,336	36,125	32%
66%	74,545	PONAPE	112,435	35,906	32%
17%	4,877	TRUK	29,228	24,283	83%
13%	5,744±	MARSHALLS*	44,698	38,854	10%
4%	1,180	YAP	29,370	28,148	96%
60%	270,239	TOTAL	447,507	174,597	39%
		MICRONESIA			

* Totals for the Marshall Islands are in dispute since there is land which has been occupied and used by the United States military since World War II for which not even token compensation has been paid. In addition, Bikini and Eniwetok, former nuclear weapons test sites, are now being returned to their owners.

(Source: U.S. Department of State, 1970 Annual Report to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.)

From a letter by Pete Tenorio that appeared in the 7 September, 1973 *Marianas Variety*:

"As early as January of this year, less than a month after the first session of the status talks was completed, Vicente N. Santos, a member of the Status Commission the Marianas took steps to take advantage of the moratorium and the future prospect for land exchange or purchase by the military. For \$11,000 he purchased land on Tinian totalling 480,000 square feet. This is less than 3 cents per square foot. Imagine selling this size of land to the military for \$5 a square foot, or even \$1 a square foot!

"In May of this year, two members of the Commission undertook a land transaction that involved a double sale of the property. A piece of land was sold by a Tinian resident for \$15,000. The buyer, Herman M. Manglona, a member of the Commission in turn sold the same land to another Commission member, Olympio Borja in less than a week for an inflated price of \$85,000, an increase of over 350% of the original value! The first transaction was notarized by Mr. Borja, the second by Mayor Vicente D. Sablan. Where did the \$85,000 come from? It was probably a falsified transaction not requiring any cash exchange. All that was needed to be done was to inflate the value of the land and show that it was "legally" done. Now the next thing to do is to sit tight and wait for the military to make a deal.

"Why all this sudden rush to buy land on Tinian? Obviously, these representatives of the people know the inside story of land values and monetary potentials of the military on future land transactions, and despite their awareness of a conflict of interest, as they are intimately involved with all aspects of the status negotiations, and the public trust bestowed upon them to negotiate in good faith, they obviously let their greed overpower what remains of their dignities!"

LAND RIP-OFF



Roi Namur Battle On

5

"The military has blasted, bombed and burned our islands and then tried to avoid the responsibility of paying for the destruction they have caused. . . . If the U.S. is unwilling to compensate the people, then it had better be prepared to move off the land that does not belong to it." Ataji Balos

The Army has formally known since 1965 that the Japanese never paid for their use of the 420 acre Roi-Namur site. But the U.S. ducked the issue until a 1972 resolution by the Congress of Micronesia demanded the U.S. pay compensation and threatened a sail-in.

The negotiations which ensued stalled when the Marshallese, demanding \$4,000 an acre, refused a U.S. offer of \$1,000 an acre. Balos explained the refusal by noting that it would not fairly compensate individuals who had to move to islands where they had no land rights. The U.S. had renegotiated the 99-year lease of Kwajalein island itself for \$1,000 an acre in the mid-1960s, but Balos observed that since 1,000 landowners were involved payment for the 750 acre island worked out to a mere \$7.50 per person a year. The 1973 United Nations Visiting Mission stated that the Roi-Namur settlement should take into account



Repeated threats by Congress of Micronesia Representative Ataji Balos to reoccupy the islands of Roi-Namur have forced the U.S. to reopen negotiations for payment of compensation of military occupation and use of the islands. The talks began in late August after Balos informed the Interior Department that because of U.S. Army refusal to settle the long-standing dispute, he was prepared to lead a fleet of boats to take over the two coral islands which are part of the Army's Kwajalein Missile Range. Balos felt drastic

GLOBAL ASSOCIATES Kwajalein Missile Range

SPECIAL ORDER: RN-12
ORIGINATING AGENCY: Security Department
TITLE: Unauthorized Entry

1. Purpose

1. PURPOSE: To establish procedures for the protection of residents and property, Roi Namur Island, from possible injury and/or damage, resulting from an unauthorized entry of indigenous persons.

4. OBJECTIVE: To contain unauthorized persons at their point of entry, or to move personnel to a designated area pending orders from a higher authority. Every effort must be extended to avoid incidents, confrontations or situations that might cause violence or be the basis of grievances.

The ARM has his work cut out for him as he plans to repel the Micronesian invasion of Roi Namur. Global Associates, which operates Kwajalein for the Army, sent this battle plan to its 'key' employees.

the length of occupation and the rapid rise in living costs since the Kwajalein agreement.

In the current talks, the Micronesian Legal Services Corporation represents the people of Roi-Namur while Roy Markon, a land acquisition lawyer for the Navy, heads the American side. The MLSC lawyers have proposed that all previous offers by the people of Roi-Namur be revoked and that the settlement use as guidelines commercial land leases in Truk and Majuro made by U.S. corporations. As we go to press, the U.S. has not yet responded to this proposal.

It's known that the Defense Department would like to hold down the cost of the Roi-Namur settlement because it fears Micronesians will demand similar payment for much larger parcels of land in the Marianas and Palau, where the U.S. wants to construct new military bases. It has plans for use of over 50,000 acres of land in the two districts.

6. PROCEDURES:

B. ROAD BLOCKS: Road blocks will be established at various points on Roi Namur Islands. These road blocks will designate a restricted area and must be adhered to by all islands residents. Due to the potential fluidity of the situation these road blocks may be moved from time to time.

Initial contact with the unauthorized party will be made at the point of entry, by the ARM Outer Islands or his representative and a party of Micronesian employees living on Roi Namur. If the point of entry is at any location other than the Marina, efforts will be made by the ARM to influence these individuals to voluntarily relocate to the Marina. At that time the ARM will attempt to persuade them to leave the island voluntarily. In the event that the unauthorized persons will not relocate, discussions will be commenced at the existing point of entry. No food or beverages will be supplied to the unauthorized persons, every effort will be made however, to confine them in an area where they will have access to water and toilet facilities.

action was necessary because the Army has used the islands for close to 30 years without paying the 100 or so landowners a single penny.

Roi and Namur, originally two islands, and now joined by landfill, lie at the northeast corner of Kwajalein atoll in the Marshall Islands. Kwajalein, the largest atoll in the world is located some 4500 miles from the West Coast of the U.S. The Japanese used Roi and Namur for an airfield in World War II and the U.S. seized them during fierce battling in 1944. Today, Army contractors including Bell Telephone and Philco-Ford maintain extensive radar facilities there used in tracking missile launches and in testing the multi-billion dollar anti-ballistic missile (ABM) system.



US CENSORS POLITICAL ED.



The United States Government is deliberately withholding a political education program from the people of Micronesia, according to a charge by Senator Lazarus Salii of the Congress of Micronesia.

Salii, who heads the Joint Committee on Future Status, severely criticized Ambassador Franklin Haydn Williams, head of the U.S. Office of Micronesian Status Negotiations (OMSN) which he says has suppressed a booklet and a set of tapes produced by the Trust Territory Department of Public Affairs.

According to Salii, the program was produced by Carl Heine, former staff member of the Joint Status Committee and author of a forthcoming book on Micronesia, who went to work for Public Affairs with the express purpose of creating such a program.

However, Salii has recently learned that before the material was released, it was reviewed by several people in the Administration, including the State Department Liaison Officer, Mary Trent. From her the program was sent to Washington.

[In a later statement to Friends of Micronesia, Heine said the program has received the approval of High Commissioner Edward Johnston who was reportedly unaware of Washington's intent to suppress the program. He was sharply criticized by Williams for having given tentative approval.]

Salii says he has received information that any "further political education efforts would be developed in Washington and that political education is no longer a concern of the Trust Territory Administration."

The U.S. response to Salii's charges is that it is merely reviewing the materials. According to Heine, however, the U.S. has now decided to have a team of U.S. Information Agency specialists design and implement a political education program.

Salii claims the U.S. denial is a "smoothly worded attempt to disarm and mislead the people of Micronesia. It speaks about an 'objective and unbiased' political education program. What that means is anybody's guess. If past experience is any guide, it means a program favorable to the U.S. position."

"The Office of Micronesian Status Negotiations got caught red-handed and they are trying to smooth things over. Like a plain woman, they are trying to use make-up to put forward their best face. I don't think, however, the people of Micronesia are going to be fooled by make-up, they have seen the 'plain face' of the United States too many times."

Despite the highly politicized atmosphere in Micronesia, there has, until now, been no organized political education program. Jesuit missionaries are now engaged in a small scale effort in some districts but this has been opposed by some political leaders who do not want foreigners running such a program. The Congress of Micronesia voted to create a Political Education Commission but it has not yet been put into operation.

This summer members of the Joint Committee on Future Status toured the districts to discuss the future political status. Although no report has been issued, there appeared to be a great need to create closer ties between the people and the Congress. Itor Harris, speaker of the Ponape District Legislature told the visiting status team that "There are many in our district who seriously question whether or not Congress is really authorized to negotiate our future, especially since the question has never really been put before the people of our district."

Bikini Danger?

"In August 1968, President Johnson announced that some of the islands on Bikini atoll would be cleaned up and returned to the people of Bikini for resettlement. Certainly this was a day of rejoicing for the Bikinians, but subsequent events concerning the rehabilitation of their atoll have left them cynical and demoralized. The rehabilitation program has been bungled from the beginning."

from a letter to President Nixon from the people of Bikini, 4 May 1973

The still exiled people of Bikini atoll are seeking \$1 million in compensation from the United States for damage to their islands and for their forced removal from their homes in 1946. From 1946-58, the United States used Bikini for nuclear weapons testing.

The people of Eniwetok, similarly exiled by the United States to make way for H-bomb testing, received \$1 million *ex gratia* payment from the U.S. in 1969.

Bikini is now being rehabilitated by the U.S. but construction of new housing has been halted because of the Bikinian's opposition to the design of the housing being built. Forty houses have been built so far. According to Bikini magistrate Lore, no additional construction will be allowed until the U.S. pays compensation for past damage.

Although the Atomic Energy Commission has declared Bikini safe there is continued danger from radioactivity. At least one noted radiation expert, Arthur Tamplin, questions the A.E.C.'s safety guidelines (see box).

Lingering radioactivity has necessitated extra thick concrete floors in houses and the scraping away of top soil in and around the new housing areas.

There will also be "moderate restrictions" on the Bikinian's diet for the foreseeable future, according to an A.E.C. report. It will be a dozen years before the island is capable of producing sufficient food to begin supporting the population.

Despite assurances that it is completely safe to return to the island, the A.E.C. has already announced that it will do complete medical examinations once the people have been back on the island for a year. Many people have asked why this will be necessary if the A.E.C. is certain the island is safe.

The Bikini people were moved from island to island in the Marshalls following their exile in 1946. They were finally settled on Kili island in the southern Marshalls where they remain today. The Navy attempted to get them to give up their claim to Bikini in return for title to Kili but the people refused to do so. Instead, the U.S. military was given "use rights" to the island and a \$300,000 trust fund was set up to sustain the people on inhospitable Kili island.

As a result of lowering bond prices, the fund now is worth only about \$200,000. Now because of population growth, the fund yields only about \$7 a person each, according to Magistrate Lore.

Micronesian Legal Services is representing the Bikini people in their attempt to secure adequate compensation.

At a recent conference in Tokyo, I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Francisco Uludong and Ms. Florence Mendiola. At that time, I expressed my concern over the radiation exposure of the people of Micronesia who have returned to Bikini and over the possible exposure condition that may exist when Eniwetok is returned to your people.

The information that I have comes from a Draft Environmental Statement on the Pacific Atoll Cratering Experiments that was prepared by the U.S. Air Force and dated April 1972.

That report indicates that the mean background exposure at Bikini Atoll is 0.086 milliroentgen (mr)/hour. Since there are 8,760 hr/yr, this means a yearly exposure of 753 mr. The average background exposure on a worldwide basis is only 120 mr/yr. The Micronesians on Bikini are thus receiving some 620 mr/yr from residual bomb radiation. This can be contrasted with the U.S. radiation protection guidelines which allow an individual to receive 500 mr/yr but restricts population groups to 170 mr/yr.

It has never been felt that these exposure levels are harmless to man. In fact, the guides state that the exposures should be kept as far below these guides as is practicable. Moreover, a committee of the National Academy of Sciences recently stated that these guidelines are unnecessarily high and the Atomic Energy Commission should reduce the allowable exposure from nuclear reactors to 5 mr/yr.

Quite obviously, the people of Micronesia are not being shown the same consideration. Because of contaminated food supplies, the dosage to the people of Bikini is actually larger than stated above.

Since the population of Micronesia is small and since many of the people have already been exposed to substantial dosages from weapons tests, their future exposure should be more restricted than other less affected nations.

I feel that the contamination levels on these islands should be substantially reduced.

This would require the removal and replacement of the surface soil — a major project but one that is possible. It should be remembered that the U.S. stores a large amount of soil brought back from Spain after an H-bomb carrying B-52 crashed there and the U.S. has also brought back a lot of icewater from Iceland after an accident there.

Sincerely yours.

Arthur Tamplin

Natural Resources Defense Council, Washington, D.C. Dr. Tamplin, a Ph.D. in biophysics, is currently on leave from the Lawrence Livermore Radiation Laboratory near San Francisco. He is a nationally known authority on radiation dangers and a persistent critic of Atomic Energy Commission radiation safety guidelines. He was recently in Tokyo to attend the 28th International Conference Against A and H Bombs.

Who Do You Trust?

Senator John Mangefel of Yap District, who is a self-professed advocate of free association with the United States, has begun to have his doubts as to the sincerity of the U.S. in its dealings over Micronesian status.

"The people of Yap District don't believe in a military presence in their district, or for any other district in Micronesia. However, they are also realistic and know that Micronesia's strategic value is the primary interest the United States has in our islands. For this reason, I have many times tried to accommodate the American security interests in Micronesia as talked about during our negotiations," he said.

"However, now, I am beginning to change my mind," he said. "Recent actions taken by the U.S. through the Office of Micronesian Status Negotiation (OMSN), have greatly troubled me."

Senator Mangefel listed these actions as the separate negotiations with the Marianas Islands District, the unilateral moratorium on land and economic development on Tinian, the refusal of OMSN to release certain information on land in Micronesia and the withholding of a political education program for the people of Micronesia. These actions, he indicated, have caused great doubt in his mind as to the "good faith" of the United States.

As to the separate Marianas talks, he said "I have nothing against the people of the Marianas for trying to get a different status. They have that right. I do blame the United States for encouraging and carrying on these talks at this time. It has broken the unity of Micronesia, and things will never be the same again."

"I am forced to point out that it is the **UNITED** States of America we are bargaining with. They fought a civil war over their unity. Now they are encouraging disunity in Micronesia. Apparently they believe in things like the democratic process and unity only for themselves, and not for other peoples and nations."

"The separate negotiations other actions worry me. They have influenced me to change my mind. I have always gone to the bargaining table with the rest of the committee with a clear mind and a clear conscience. I felt I was doing the best job I could for the people of Micronesia, and at the same time trying to understand what America's needs and plans are for the future. I have always thought I was dealing in good faith, honestly, with no tricks up my sleeve, or secret plan to gain advantage," he said.

"Now," he continued, "I am beginning to distrust what the other side is saying — and that is a very bad feeling to have with you when you are at the bargaining table. It affects everything if you feel you can't trust what the other person is saying."

"The U.S. keeps talking about good faith, but recently their actions have undermined their words. Apparently their definition of good faith is different than mine."

The Yap Senator appealed to the U.S. to change its attitudes and to take a more humanitarian approach.



As an example, he used the "alien property custodian" powers of the Trust Territory government where the government holds public lands which formerly belonged to Micronesians.

"The people of Micronesia never had any control or any say. The Spanish, the Germans, the Japanese, and more recently the Americans have all taken our land away. Now we are at the table bargaining over what land the Americans should keep. Micronesians were never a party to these land take-overs, or were we even party to the Trusteeship Agreement. We have always been the victims of the interests of other countries."

Tinian, where U.S. Military requirements may force relocating many if not all of the residents of Tinian he cited as such an example.

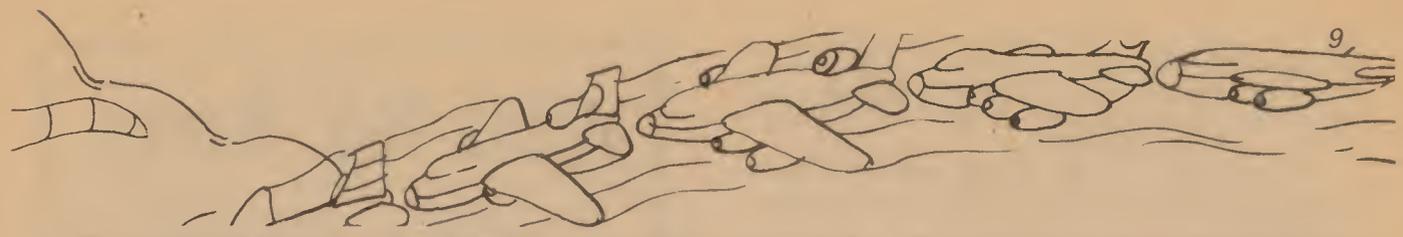
"Some of these people have already been relocated from Yap under the Americans. Now they face being relocated again. It just doesn't seem fair," he commented.

Senator Mangefel, who many times takes a humorous approach to problems discussed in the Congress, indicated that he was "seriously thinking of boycotting" the next round of talks, unless the U.S. changes its approach.

"Perhaps I am wrong," he said, "perhaps I should change my definition of 'good faith' to mean that I should say one thing, and then do the other, that I should have a secret plan to trick the U.S. — perhaps I am just being too honest," he said.

"After all, it was a master craftsman of the American revolution and the American republic that said "It is a maxim founded on the universal experience of mankind that no nation is to be trusted farther than it is bound by its interest."

"George Washington said that. It is a very blunt definition. Perhaps we had better start bargaining with the U.S. on this principle," he concluded.



TOURISM IS MICRONESIA'S FASTEST GROWING INDUSTRY, IN FACT, IT IS MICRONESIA'S ONLY GROWING INDUSTRY. RELIANCE ON A SINGLE INDUSTRY, ESPECIALLY ONE AS FICKLE AS TOURISM, IS DANGEROUS. IN THIS SPECIAL REPORT WE DISCUSS THE IMPACT OF JAPANESE TOURISM AND WHAT MICRONESIANS ARE DOING ABOUT IT.

The Boomerang

Although Americans are the world's leading flagwavers and flag-fetishists, it is the new breed of Japanese tourists who are the world's leading flag-followers.

There is a story about a band of Japanese tourists waiting in a Hong Kong hotel lobby for their tour guide to return from answering nature's call. While he is gone an interloper grabs the tour guide's flag and leads the unsuspecting band around town until he is sure they are lost, and then abandons them.

Usually though, Japanese tourists are well-cared for. Everything is pre-arranged by the large mass-movement tour companies who make their headquarters in Tokyo or Osaka. Virtually every tourist deplaning on Guam from Japan Air Lines' or Pan American's daily 747 from Tokyo is wearing some tour company's badge. Many of them arrive wearing the badge of JALPAK - Japan Air Lines own tour company.

The typical Japanese tourist visiting Guam or Hawaii will fly on quasi-governmental Japan Air Lines, stay in a Japanese owned-and-operated-hotel, eat in its restaurants, be escorted by a Japanese tour company on a bus built in Japan.

On Guam especially, he will probably do most of his shopping in stores owned by Japanese corporations. Much of what he purchases will be Japanese too. There are cheap tourist trinkets with Guam's name tacked on and made expressly for the Japan tourist to carry back to Tokyo with him. And because of Japanese currency and tax regulations, it is often less expensive to purchase a Japanese-made camera or cassette recorder in Guam than it is in Tokyo.

While it is true that every purchase made by a tourist leads to the circulation of more money in the economy, it is not true that this increased circulation is necessarily beneficial to the local community. In the case of Japanese tourism, in particular, this is so.

What happens is that virtually all the profits of tourism are returned to Tokyo, New York, San Francisco and other major financial centers which have loaned money to start tourist projects and which own them.

Most important, very little of the Japanese tourist's money ever leaves Tokyo since most tours are pre-paid. The typical Japanese tourist even receives coupons to pay for meals and other expenses. This means that, in effect, the local economy can make virtually no money directly from the tourists themselves. The amount tourists spend on the purchase of gifts is a very small part of the total tourist dollar.

The only significant way the local economy can benefit from tourism then is through purchases made by hotels, tour operators and the airlines, and through the employment of local people.

Even this leads to comparatively little since, as in the case of the Continental Airlines hotels in Truk and Palau, as much as 90% of the food and supplies is imported from the United States, Australia, or Japan. Importing is usually done directly without reliance on local wholesalers.

Hotels provide some employment but because of a small

TOURISM

A SPECIAL REPORT

local labor market and lack of training, much higher-paid foreign workers are imported. In a hotel with four or five foreign management personnel and 20 or so local employees, combined foreign salaries will come close to equaling those of all local employees combined.

Hotel construction too is done by foreign laborers from the Philippines and South Korea under the tutelage of foreign-owned firms.

Japanese tourism, has become the nemesis of tourism promoters in the Pacific. Not only does the construction and maintenance of hotels do little to aid the economy, the tourists themselves do less than those of most other nations toward supporting the economy of their temporary hosts.

Even the most ardent supporters of tourism now realize that the proverbial "multiplier" does not always work as expected when dealing with Japanese tourism. When tourist money never reaches the "tourist paradise" in the first place, there is no way for it to pass through the economy progressively multiplying in value as it passes through many hands.

Instead, as Hawaii and Guam are discovering, the cost of government services and capital improvements necessary to support the burgeoning tourist industry may border on outweighing any economic "boom" tourism was thought to bring about. In effect, the tourists live in an enclave — a Waikiki or a Tumon Bay — a place which has little positive effect on the community around it but which alters the landscape and commercializes the culture of the subject people.

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“ . . . despite the growing importance of the tourist business in the Micronesian economy . . . the territorial authorities must not be diverted from the major task of encouraging viable, permanent and balanced growth in the economy as a whole, particularly in agriculture and fisheries. In this sense, the earnings from tourism should be regarded as a bonus, not as a first objective.”

Report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Micronesia, 1973

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The Australians call the Japanese style of tourism the "boom-erang technique" since almost all of what is spent by Japanese on tour winds up back in Tokyo. Others have less polite terms for what is becoming a world-wide Japanese Tourist Imperium. The yen being so strong at present only makes the problem worse since it is more profitable than ever for Japanese to travel abroad and for Japanese corporations to invest.

The Japanese in Micronesia

Under U.S. Government rules, it is not legal for Japanese to invest in Micronesia. But through Micronesians who act as fronts for Japanese money, choice hotel sites are now being held in reserve for Japanese investors, and the amount of illicit investment is increasing rapidly. Both the United Nations Visiting Mission to Micronesia and the Bank of America have reported on the existence of these front operations. And numerous people in Palau and Saipan can attest to having been contacted by Japanese bearing large cash gifts of \$100,000 or more.

It has recently been learned, for example, that a Japanese developer gave a \$200,000 "gift" to a Micronesian builder of the South Park Hotel in Ponape (see Summer 1973 *Newsletter*). This deal was uncovered when a team of Japanese carpenters, who had entered Micronesia illegally, were found working at the hotel construction site.

In addition, through a complex lease-back arrangement with Bank of Hawaii's San Francisco subsidiary RAMPAC, the Pan American Intercontinental Hotel being built on Saipan will eventually be controlled by two Japanese hotel chains (see Spring 1973 *Newsletter*). Now the U.S. Department of the Interior has given the Bank of Hawaii permission to sell part

Yap No Snap



Here is a list of 16 points in the "official guidelines for the growth of tourism in Yap," as suggested by the Yap District Tourist Commission to the Yap District Legislature.

1. Tourism development must be designed so that it will renew, strengthen and preserve the culture of Yap.
2. Tourism must share Yap's economic development with other forms such as agriculture and marine resources.
3. The development of tourism should be in gradual stages so that each level will offer complete, high quality tourism before setting out on a higher level.
4. Tourism should concentrate visitors' accommodations and activities in limited areas so that a minimum of foreign influence is exerted on residents.
5. Recognizing that there are all kinds of tourists. Yap tourism development will concentrate on attracting specific types of visitors who are compatible with Yap culture.
6. No visitor attractions shall be imported that will be in conflict with Yapese culture.
7. The district must inventory and protect its historic, cultural and scenic sites and must restrict commercial development of these sites.
8. The business of tourism must be of maximum benefit to the people of Yap.
9. The business of tourism must be spread among as many people as possible.
10. All commercial buildings must have an appearance in keeping with Yapese environment.
11. The maximum height of all construction must be limited to no higher than the tallest traditional men's house.
12. Commercial development must be limited to specific, zoned areas.
13. The use of local materials and food must be encouraged for all possible construction and operation of tourism businesses.
14. All activities must consider their environmental impact.
15. The practice of tipping must be discouraged; services and goods must be fairly priced so that tipping is not necessary.
16. Both visitor and residents must be well-educated regarding the business of tourism and respect for Yap culture.

of the mortgage in the hotel to these firms although they will not, under present U.S. interpretation of the rules, be allowed to convert this equity into stock until a later date.

Even the United States Government, which has been encouraging Japanese Imperial expansion in Asia is worried about the rapid growth of Japanese tourist investment in Micronesia. To counter it, the Navy sponsored a tour of Micronesia by major American corporation executives and financial promoters (see Spring 1973 Newsletter).

Nevertheless, despite American investment in certain vital infrastructural areas — banking, transportation and petroleum distribution, there seems to be little interest among American investors in what will for the foreseeable future be a small remote market for American business.

Geography, past history and the present world economic situation all lead to the conclusion that Micronesia's next century will almost certainly be characterized by a return of Japanese economic control — unless steps are taken now to stop it.

The tourist is the advanced guard of the Japanese economic juggernaut. Because of this, it is important to take steps to control the entrance of Japanese capital which will support tourism.

Mass tourism can be held off a little longer — until airports in Micronesia are lengthened and improved. Continental Airlines, which operates Air Micronesia, provides the only air service within the islands at present. Its two Boeing 727s have

a normal seating capacity of 77; bigger jets could bring in as many as 350 passengers.

A fierce battle is now being waged between Continental



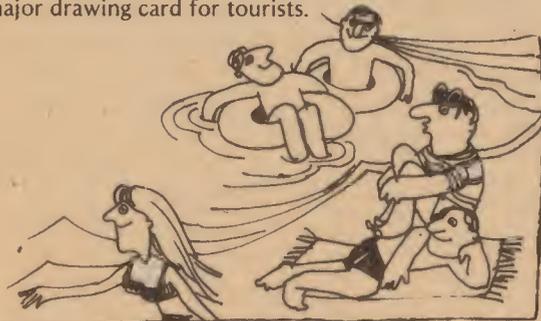
The business card of one new locally incorporated tourist promotion business in Palau. There are numerous reports of Japanese-front operations in the islands.

and Pan Am over rights to the lucrative Japan-Saipan route which will open Micronesia to direct international service. The next round of hearings on the route case is now scheduled for November. Pan Am has been busy preparing for the hearings by offering prominent Micronesians free round-the-world trips. For some time now prominent Micronesians have received

Forbidden Fruits

At the same time the U.S. military is attempting to take-over huge chunks of Micronesian land and Japanese investors are setting up fronts to control additional land throughout the islands, two Americans are proposing the creation of a Micronesia-wide system of parks, historical sites and recreation areas. One proposal is by Robert Wenkam of Friends of the Earth, an internationally known environmental protection group. The other is by Russell Apple of the Honolulu office of the U.S. National Park Service.*

Not only would a park system alienate additional land from the people's control — land that could be used for vital agricultural development — it would also be a major drawing card for tourists.



Some of the parks would be built around World War II battle sites like Saipan's Suicide Cliff and Peleliu's Bloody Ridge. Other parks would commemorate important Micronesian historical sites like the ancient stone ruins of Nan Madol in Ponape. There would also be beach parks where rich but pale-skinned people from around the world could descend on their jets for purposes of acquiring a quick tan.

As this is written, a \$25 photobook entitled *Micronesia: Pacific Wilderness* is about to be published by Wenkam and Friends of the Earth. The book has cost nearly \$200,000 to print. Like many other books pub-

lished by environmental groups, it is like a bowl full of forbidden fruit for the upper middle-class American. It pictorially presents Micronesia as a virgin wilderness which mechanical man is now attempting to tame but which ought to be put under the protection of ecologists so that the world can preserve at least one uncorrupted "paradise." Only a few well-heeled tourists will be invited to visit this "natural preserve." What these people forget is that Micronesia belongs to Micronesians, not to Friends of the Earth and other environmental groups. In a letter Wenkam wrote to Ken Brower, the author of the book's text, his desire to control the future of Micronesia is laid out. In part he says, "We must be unashamedly prejudiced towards Micronesians and read no wrong in our text. (there will be plenty of other opportunities to straighten things out *after* we get our foot in the door.) We want the Micronesians to embrace us without reservation as we embrace them — without question or accusation. For only then will our ideas, coming as they do from white, imperialistic lackeys, be accepted as a way to follow."

Friends of the Earth and other like-minded groups, just like their unknown compatriots — the Japanese tourist promoters, are trying to control Micronesia's future. Despite their good intentions, books like *Micronesia: Pacific Wilderness* will only popularize Micronesia as a tourist destination and, contrary to the Friends of the Earth's intentions, lead to the uncontrolled destruction of the environment they are attempting to save. Tourism, if it comes, must be controlled by the people and be of direct benefit to them. As the recent United Nations Visiting Mission report points out, tourism should be thought of as a bonus, not the *sine qua non* of development. The alienation of huge tracts of land that Wenkam proposes would destroy the possibility of any kind of economic self-reliance.

*Robert Wenkam, "Micronesian Parks: A Proposal," in *Micronesian Reporter*, Third Quarter 1971, pp. 9-36. And Russell Apple, "Historical Properties Policy and Program in Micronesia".

Who Said Yes?

The key to tourist development in Micronesia is the construction of new, enlarged airfields capable of handling long-range jet aircraft that can make Micronesia a stop-over point on major trans-Pacific routes and that can bring tourists direct from Tokyo.

In Truk, however, there is opposition to Trust Territory plans to expand the airport. What follows is part of a 91-page brief opposing present airport construction plans. It was written by Sionag MacMeekin, an attorney for Micronesian Legal Services Corporation in Truk and counsel for the people of Iras who would be displaced by the new airport.

The report includes an excellent example of the control bureaucracies have assumed over our lives. Technocratic planners employed by the bureaucracy make value-laden decisions disguised as technical ones — ones which change the fate of a whole people.

The report deals with a number of major tourist-related issues. Two issues, however, are of major importance: (1) Does the people of Truk ever decided they want tourism?, (2) Does the Trust Territory Government have the right to move the people of Iras, to make way for the new airport?

What follows is an excerpt dealing with the first of those questions.

Development of a tourist industry is given as one of the primary purposes, if not the only purpose, for the Truk Airport project.

The Preliminary Environmental Impact Study (PEIS) prepared by the Trust Territory Government begins with the assumption that Truk District has committed itself to develop-

continued on next page

**THE POOR COUNTRIES
ARE BURDENED WITH
UNJUST TERMS OF TRADE.**



CORRECTION: We erroneously credited a story on converting capital into working stock for the Pan Am Inter-continental Hotel on Saipan; it is the *Marianas Variety* which originally carried the article, not *I Gasetta*.

first-class service and free limosines when flying Pan Am. There are even rumors of substantial pay-offs to unidentified Micronesian leaders.

DOING BUSINESS IN MICRONESIA? SO ARE WE.



Join us next time you're in the Trust Territory. You'll find excellent new accommodations on Guam, Truk and Palau. And fast, dependable

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**CONTINENTAL TRAVEL LODGE
CONTINENTAL/AIR MICRONESIA**

Wall Street Journal

Meanwhile, Japan Air Lines, which has already been awarded rights to the new route quietly awaits the opening of Saipan's new airfield.

The contract for rebuilding the Saipan airfield has just been let and construction is slated to start soon. When completed in 1975, the joint Trust Territory-U.S. Air Force field will be capable of handling the largest commercial aircraft in existence.

Only one airport in Micronesia is now capable of handling large four engine jets but Majuro's hotel facilities are not adequate for large numbers of tourists, nor is it likely to develop as a major tourist stop-over. People in Yap and Truk are now involved in a protracted struggle to fight off attempts to rebuild the airports there. But as Sionag MacMeekin points out in an accompanying article, the cards are stacked against the people of Micronesia.

On Guam tourism came by surprise but, unlike Micronesia there was already an adequate airport, operated by the Navy. Without any decisions being made by the people, without their permission, and with virtually no planning, the number of hotel rooms on Guam has grown 3000% in five years.

Many Micronesians, having Guam's history in mind, are attempting to control tourism. The Yap Tourist Commission has adopted a set of guidelines to control development in that district (see box). The people of Yap have also successfully fought off a hotel scheme by Nanyo Boeki Kaisha, the Japanese firm that once controlled the entire economy of Micronesia.

In Ponape, local hotel builders have designed popular idyllic thatched cottages for tourists and so far have kept out unwanted foreign capital. They have been so successful that Continental Airlines now plans to rely on local hotels there rather than build one of its own as originally planned. But even in Ponape there is illegal infiltration as the South Park Hotel case shows.

Micronesia needs a comprehensive set of guidelines like those adopted by Yap if it is to control tourism. Most important though, Micronesians will have to control their own nation and have the right to make decisions for themselves about what is best for them, not what is best for foreigner investors and tourists.

ment of tourism as the primary means of economic development. The PEIS states the "Federal Aviation Administration, Pacific-Asia Region believes that Truk could become one of the most popular resort areas in Micronesia. This is coincidental with the desires of the Congress of Micronesia and the Trukese." It also states that "the Trust Territory Government, Congress of Micronesia and Truk District Legislature have made basic policy decisions to promote the development of tourism in Micronesia and Truk."

"Tourism is of little value to Micronesia, and, indeed, may have a generally negative effect, unless a substantial proportion of the expenditures generated by the tourists flows into Micronesian hands and the majority of the jobs created are occupied by Micronesians. Formally, only five of the existing 36 hotels and three of the seven hotels under construction, have any non-Micronesian ownership, although it should be added that these eight include most of the principle hotels in the Territory. Similarly, most of the principal tourist-related service enterprises appear to have a substantial proportion of Micronesian ownership, although with these, as with the hotels, there appear to be cases where Micronesian shareholders are fronting for outside interests."

Report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Micronesia, 1973

The PEIS cites no reference to support the statements that the Congress of Micronesia, the Truk District Legislature and the Trukese people are committed to tourism as a means of economic development. This is because such commitments have not been made.

The definitive document on economic development in Micronesia is the 1972 report, *Economic Development in the Trust Territory: A Micronesian View*, prepared by the Committee on Resources and Development of the House of Representatives, Congress of Micronesia. That report makes no basic decisions in favor of tourism, in fact it states:

"Development of tourism in Micronesia is fraught with hazards. The potential impact on the environment and on other characteristics that now make Micronesia attractive to tourists, is serious. The effect of tourism on Micronesians and their culture is even more serious.

"In view of the diversity among the districts in their attitudes toward tourism, the approach to planning and programming must be the responsibility of each individual district. No one at the level of Headquarters or the general government should presume to act on behalf of the districts individually or collectively in the area of tourism."

Thus, far from making the basic policy to promote tourism . . . it urges that any development of tourism be first carefully studied . . . It is of note that the Chairman of the Committee that prepared this report is Sasauo Haruo who represents Moen, Truk in the Congress of Micronesia — the island on which the airport is to be built.

Nor has the Truk District Legislature made a commitment to tourism as a means of economic development. At its regular session in 1972, the Legislature created a Tourist Commission. Among the powers and duties of it are: "to investigate, study, determine, and evaluate the advantages and disadvantages of tourism in Truk District . . ." The Commission has not distributed any publications recommending the pursuit of tourism as a means of economic development.

Therefore, the Trust Territory's justification for building a new airport is based only on its own decision to push tourism. And the Preliminary Environmental Impact Statement is in error when it assumes that the Congress of Micronesia, and the people of Truk are on the record in favor of tourism.

THE RAPID GROWTH OF TOURISM IN MICRONESIA

Number of tourists:

1969	14,700
1970	26,700
1971	33,600
1972	38,800
1973 first quarter	49% increase over same period 1972
1974 projection	86,000
1975	132,000

Expenditures:

Tourist expenditures were \$2,912,400 in 1972, up from \$646,300 in 1969. Figures on how much of this spending remained in Micronesia are unavailable.

Number of hotel rooms

1972: 610

Under construction: about 500 (mainly the disputed Continental hotel and the Pan Am Inter-Continental, both on Saipan)

Projected: over 1500

Origin of tourists:

(Figures are inaccurate since they include many persons traveling as tourists who are actually on business)

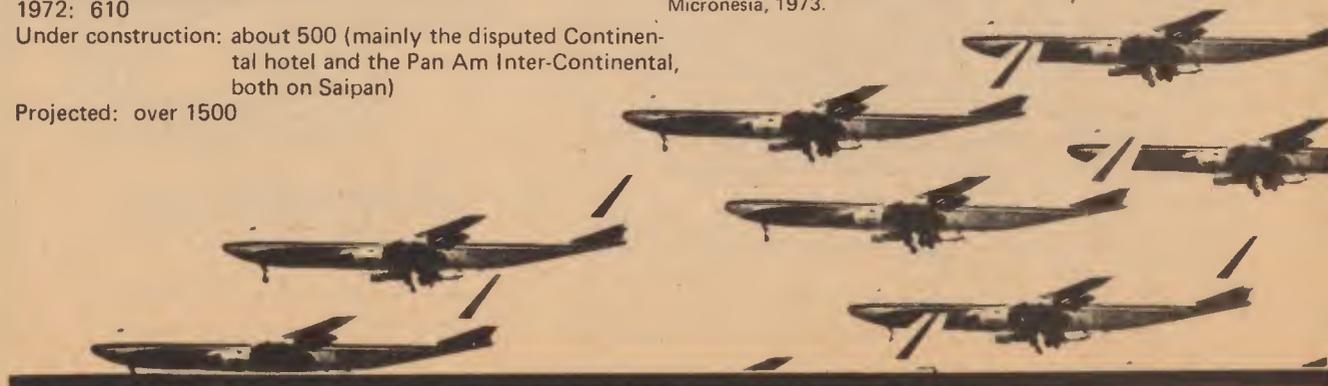
From the United States: 59% in 1972 (includes a high number of tourists from Guam)

From Japan: 33% in 1972

Destination of tourists in Micronesia:

In 1972 68% of the entries were to the Marianas but as a percentage share this figure has been dropping. The Marshalls and Yap had the fewest tourists.

(Sources: U.S. Department of State, 25th Annual Report to the United Nations on the Administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, 1972; and Report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Micronesia, 1973.)



Contempt Charges

A dispute with potentially serious effects on both the future status negotiations and the relationship between the Congress of Micronesia and the U.S. Government erupted on Saipan in July. The Joint Committee on Future Status of the Congress of Micronesia filed charges of contempt against 3 members of the Trust Territory administration who gave information concerning Micronesian land to the U.S. Office of Micronesian Status Negotiations in Washington but refused to present the documents to the Micronesian Congress.

The three men, including the chief of the Division of Lands and Surveys, Kozo Yamada, were summoned to Washington by order of Interior Department Assistant Secretary Stanley Carpenter and Haydn Williams, head U.S. negotiator. They supplied details on controversial land issues and helped write a summary of the meeting. When the COM Future Status Committee learned of the trip, it asked the men to testify before it and explain the information given to the American negotiators. Trust Territory High Commissioner Edward Johnston replied that "certain documents used or prepared by the men were being kept confidential and couldn't be released." The 3 men did finally meet with the Committee but refused to testify about their Washington meeting. The members of the Committee then voted to cite them for contempt of Congress.

In an exchange of dispatches Williams noted that the U.S. has expressed its willingness to return government land to the people of Micronesia but that this would involve studies such as the three TT employees had undertaken.

The Committee responded that while it recognized

the need for Williams to use such people, they and all other employees and officials of the TT were people over whom the Congress of Micronesia has "full and complete authority," and that it was essential to the interests and security of Micronesia that such employees be responsible to the Congress, not the U.S. Government. The dispatch also stated that the Micronesians would be at a significant disadvantage in the coming status talks if denied the same information on lands available to the U.S. side.

As we go to press, however, the TT Attorney-General Richard Miyamoto, has taken no action to respond to the contempt charges. Sen. Lazarus Salii, chairman of the Status Committee has accused Miyamoto of "stalling". He added that the actions taken by the TT in this case "... are completely opposite the professions made by the U.S. that it intends to deal with Micronesia and the status negotiations in good faith. This is the worst kind of bad faith."

Salii and Williams met in early September, but according to reports, Williams refused to budge on the issue of passing on the land information to the Congress.

Should Salii and the Congress choose to push the case it could develop into Micronesia's own version of the Watergate Battle of the Tapes. The power of the Congress to enforce its belief that it has "full and complete authority" over all TT employees is admittedly weak, but Williams is losing what little credibility he ever had among Micronesians. Because the U.S. is attempting to stall the status talks, however, there is little incentive for Williams to reach a rapid settlement. The case serves as a reminder to Micronesians of how little control they have over the affairs of their nation.

- *Micronesian Status Committee visits all the districts to hear the people's opinions on the future*
- *U.S. Office of Micronesian Status Negotiations violates an agreement with the Micronesian Status Committee by conducting hearings on public lands in all the districts*
- *The Congress of Micronesia charges three Trust Territory employees with contempt for refusing to tell the Congress what information they provided the U.S. Office of Micronesian Status Negotiations*
- *U.S. blocks political education program in Micronesia*
- *Marianas-U.S. position papers leaked showing more disagreement than previously expressed in joint communiques*
- *Haydn Williams, chief U.S. negotiator, meets members of the Micronesian and Marianas negotiating teams*
- *Military teams visit Tinian to do base planning*
- *U.S. halts all land transactions on Tinian; people bitterly opposed to this moratorium; Williams apologizes; moratorium still in effect.*
- *Amata Kabua, member of the Senate, businessman and traditional leader in the Marshalls, resigns from the Status Committee after conflict with chairman Lazarus Salii, over attempts by the Marshalls to withdraw from participation in the talks; replaced by aggressive independence leader Ataji Balos.*



Status Highlights

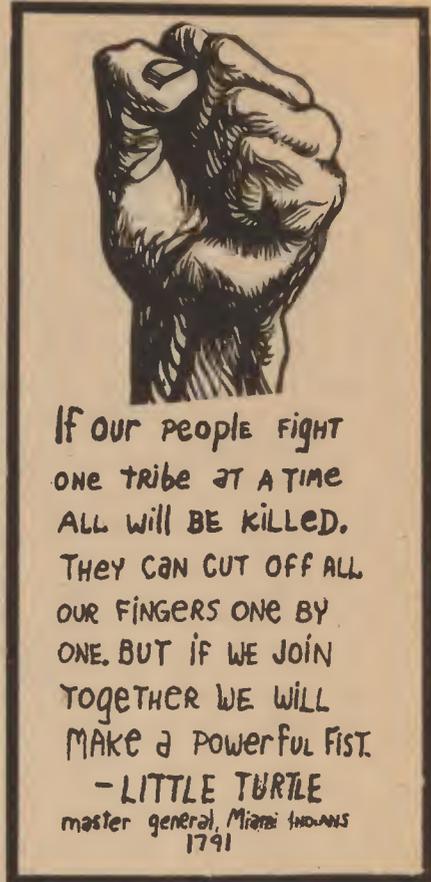
LAND: THE PRIME ISSUE

Twenty-three landowners from Dublon Island in Truk District have filed an action in the Trust Territory High Court to quiet title to twenty-five parcels of land claimed by the Trust Territory government.

According to the complaint, the landowners have always been in possession of the lands in question. Despite this possession, the complaint asserts, the Trust Territory government has claimed ownership of the lands in a 1971 "Certification of Title to Real Property." The government has also marked the areas on official maps as "public land."

One of the counsel for plaintiffs, Han Wiliander of Micronesian Legal Services Corp., explained that the decision in the case will involve at least three important factual issues. One of these is whether the lands were ever below the high tide mark. (The Trust Territory claims ownership of all lands below the high tide mark, including lands created by fill.) A second issue turns on whether the Japanese government, which occupied the area, compensated the landowners for their property. Third, he stated, is whether the landowners were ever given the opportunity to assert their claims under the Trust Territory's Land Management Regulation No. 1, a 1953 directive establishing procedures for contesting government claims of ownership. Wiliander noted that because the government had never used or occupied the lands in question, the landowners were never aware that it claimed ownership.

Dublon was a center of Japanese military activity in World War II. Many of the lands used by the Japanese at that time are now claimed by the Trust Territory government under its alien property laws. These claims were the subject of a petition presented by Truk legislator Hayashi Naka to the United Nations Visiting Mission in February 1973.



IF OUR PEOPLE FIGHT
ONE TRIBE AT A TIME
ALL WILL BE KILLED.
THEY CAN CUT OFF ALL
OUR FINGERS ONE BY
ONE. BUT IF WE JOIN
TOGETHER WE WILL
MAKE A POWERFUL FIST.

- LITTLE TURTLE
master general, MIAMI INDIANS
1791

Our long-awaited pamphlet, *By the People*, is now available. It contains articles on major issues by Micronesian spokesmen. It also contains 16 outstanding photographs. It will be especially useful for students learning about Micronesia. Ten or more copies are 50¢ each, single copies are 75¢. Special reduced rates are available to Micronesian students and teachers.

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ALL THE FRIENDS
WE CAN GET



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Green Berets in Micronesia

At least 1000 U.S. Army Special Forces troops are now in the vicinity of Mindanao in the southern Philippines where civil war is raging against the Marcos dictatorship. They are from the First Special Forces Group (better known as the Green Berets) — the same group of Green Berets now doing “civic action” work in Micronesia’s Marshall Islands.

The role of American “civic action” teams is to create both a physical and psychological infrastructure for future military operations. Their first use was in Latin America where the U.S. Army trained local soldiers in rural pacification techniques. The Green Berets were sent to Vietnam prior to the introduction of large numbers of ground troops in the mid-1960s. As was the case in Vietnam, Teams in the Philippines and Micronesia are now engaged in building roads, small airports and utility systems. In addition, they are building classrooms, and athletic facilities which are directly of use by the people.

Often civic action teams are fronts for CIA-directed intelligence activities or for communications facilities. Their use in the Philippines is reminiscent of their first deployment in Vietnam during the Kennedy Administration. This does not appear to be the case in Micronesia, however, where, until now, the “civic action” teams have been used solely for construction projects which will win the support of Micronesians and create an acceptance of a military presence in the islands.

Although there are no announced plans for new military facilities in the Marshalls, there is continuing opposition to the U.S. Army’s occupation of Kwajalein, the world’s largest atoll. (See Roi Namur story in this issue).

The Army teams in the Marshalls have engaged in a number of construction projects including the rebuilding of a World War II airfield on Wotje atoll. Because it runs against the prevailing wind the airfield can only be used by military aircraft. Although there is no evidence of military plans for the island, it has been noted that the island is near the incoming trajectory for missile shots into Kwajalein.

In Palau, where the U.S. has announced plans for a major Marine guerrilla training base and a port facility, the presence of the small group of 13 Navy Seabees is made apparent by



hundreds of “Navy Seabee Can Do” bumper stickers on cars and walls and by the white Seabee flags which wave from the Navy’s camouflaged dump trucks.

Unfortunately, the white flags are not signs of surrender. Palau, located only 500 miles from Mindanao, is likely to play a major role if, as some observers suspect, the southern Philippines becomes the next Vietnam war.

Civic action teams have been in Micronesia since 1969. Each of the military services has at least one team at work in the area in which it has the most strategic interest. The Army has its team in the Marshalls where it operates the Kwajalein missile range where the ABM system is being developed. The Navy has teams in the Carolines (Ponape, Truk, Yap and Palau) where it has plans for facilities. And the Air Force has what it calls its PRIME BEEF team in the Marianas where plans have already been announced for a \$150 million Air Force base.

The logistics base for these teams is on Guam where another Seabee group has just returned from the island of Diego Garcia where they built a new secret communication station, the first major U.S. installation in the Indian Ocean.

AIR FORCE SYSTEMS COMMAND PROJECT

An Air Force Systems Command project, which will include the launching of Athena rockets from Wake Island to Kwajalein’s impact area in the Marshall Islands is scheduled to be held sometime in the near future, according to information made available by the Air Force and published in the July 9 edition of Majuro’s *Micronitor* newspaper.

The Athena rockets, according to an official assessment paper on the proposed project, will be launched on a trajectory that will simulate inter-continental ballistic missile conditions for the purpose of evaluating a terminal ballistic missile defense system being developed by the U.S. Army Advanced Ballistics Missile Defense Agency.

It was implied in the assessment paper that eventually

payloads including radioactive elements, such as radioactive sensors, may be employed in the future, but the *Micronitor* reports that such conditions will warrant completely separate assessments.

An environmental impact statement was not prepared on the project, called “Have Mill”, because it had been determined that the project would not cause a significant effect on the environment.

The project will begin with the launching of an Athena booster from a 30-foot rail at Wake Island. The missile will be pre-set before launching, which means that wind and missile performance guidelines will be determined before the missile begins its 600-mile trip to Kwajalein. The safety feature is a destruct control which would blow the missile apart if there was a malfunction of equipment or a sudden change in the wind which would radically turn aside the missile from its intended impact area.

Wake Island, just north of the Northern Marshall Islands which lie within the TT, is a U.S. possession now under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Air Force. Kwajalein is a U.S. Army missile range, although several thousand Marshallese live on some islands in the atoll.

MORE 2ND INVASION NEWS ON NEXT PAGE

2nd Invasion News

アメリカ政府は土地投機を止めるためにティニアシ島においての土地の売買を禁止しました。

5月以後、アメリカ政府がティニアシ島の核基地化を正式に決定してから、すでに2組の軍関係者達が来ました。

1946年から追放されているジャニ島の人々がアメリカ政府に百万ドルの補償金を出さないかぎり帰島しないと要求しています。

原子物理学者アーサー タレブリン氏は前の水爆実験による汚染度が人の帰って来れる程度まで低下したかどうか疑問をはかっています。

ワシントン政府関係者によってサイパン島の中で組立てられた政治教育のプログラムの施行が止められました。

ワシントンの正式な否定にもかかわらずサイパン島での政治教育はアメリカ政府の手で行われる模様です。

陸軍によってコントロールされているクワジャリン環礁の北部のローナムルの人々は30年間の軍の使用に対する補償金を支払わないかぎり島を占領すると主張しています。

戦争で荒廃した南フィリピンで市民活動を行っている沖縄を基地とした特別ゲリラ戦部隊が現在マーシャル群島で行動しています。

マイクロネシアの国会がアメリカ政府をアメリカの業者にわたした土地に関する資料を帰す事を拒絶した事に関して侮辱的な行為であると非難しています。

日本人旅行者に関する特別レポートでマイクロネシアの人々が日本人の旅行者が余り多くの利益を得ていない事が話されています。

元日本の野球選手であった会沢進氏、現在はマイクロネシアの政治的指導者として活躍している、が第二次世界大戦の追加補償を要求した二度目の手紙を田中首相に送りました。

最近日本の遺骨収集団がトラック島で残りの焼けた遺骨を沈んだ日本の潜水艦から引き上げました。

その他の遺骨収集団もマイクロネシアのいたるところで行動しています。

2nd Invasion News

•The U.S. Navy has opened bids for 2 major new military facilities on Guam. At the Naval Magazine there are plans for a "torpedo overhaul shop" which will cost close to \$1 million. At the Naval Communications Station, the master coordination operation for the entire Pacific-Asian area, the Navy has plans for a top secret "SISS ZULU Special Operations Facility" which will cost about \$5 million.

•Col. Robert L. Russell assumed command of the Army's Kwajalein Missile Range in June. He replaces Col. Jesse Fishback and comes from duty as Assistant for Rest and Evaluation, SAFEGUARD Systems Office, at the Pentagon.

•Three high-speed Navy patrol boats from Guam recently arrived in Palau's Malakal Harbor where the U.S. has announced its intention to construct a ship repair facility. According to a government news release, the ships were enroute to Southeast Asia on "a routine patrol" and were to refuel in Palau before proceeding on to their assignment. Palau, in the southwestern part of Micronesia, is the closest U.S. controlled territory to Southeast Asia, and is only about 500 miles from the war-torn southern Philippines.

According to Trust Territory military liaison officer Lt. Cmdr. Alan Pendleton, the ships were to stay in Palau overnight. They are the USS Ashville, Gallup, and Canon. Each carries a crew of 34 and can cruise at speeds up to 40 knots. The ships have the highest firepower to weight ratio of any U.S. naval vessel. They were originally built for river duty in Vietnam.

Papers Leaked

A member of the Marianas State Commission has leaked copies of the position papers used by the U.S. and the Marianas Political Status Commission (MPSC) in their May 1973 talks. We print below a short summary of these position papers that shed light on the prepared positions, bargaining, and occasional strong differences between negotiators that were masked by the bland American authored joint communiques released following the talks.

- Both sides agreed to a *commonwealth arrangement* in which the U.S. would have sovereignty but the Marianas government would control internal affairs. The people of the Marianas would write a constitution which would be subject to limitations established by the compact agreement, the U.S. constitution, and federal legislation applicable to U.S. territories. The Marianas delegation expressed their intent to form a republican government with a tripartite separation of powers and a bill of rights. Basic changes in the compact, it was agreed, could be made only by mutual consent.

- The MPSC recognized American responsibility in *foreign affairs* and matters of defense, but the delegation asked for the "fullest possible consultation" by the U.S. regarding such matters. The U.S. replied though that it would keep the Marianas informed of pertinent international developments, but that America must have "unqualified authority" in foreign affairs.

"... The Commission believes that the United States requests for land on Saipan for military purposes are unreasonable."

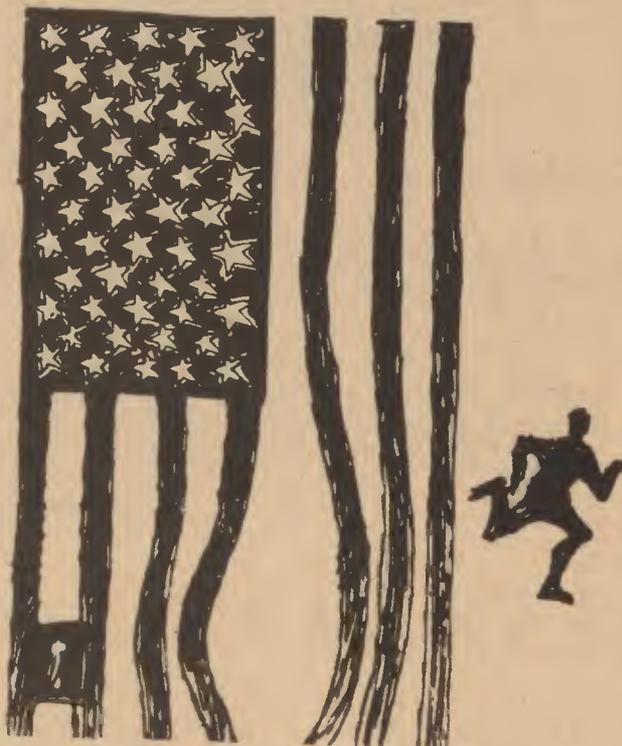
Marianas Position Paper

- The Marianas negotiators also asked for a *non-voting representative to the U.S. Congress* who would eventually be allowed to vote. Haydn Williams replied for the Americans that he doubted the Congress would allow this because of the small population of the Marianas.

- Concerned with establishing a *self-supporting economy* in the islands, the MPSC offered a three-phase plan aimed at creating an economic base by 1981 that could end the need for outside aid by the end of this century. But the size of the grants requested from the U.S. to finance this development didn't sit well with Williams. Despite the desire of the Marianas side that the aid not be tied to uncertain levels of military spending in the islands, Williams presented his own estimates of the income the Marianas could expect from the proposed Tinian base — and the figures must have impressed the Marianas delegation: \$10 to \$12 million per year to flow into the local economy for each of the coming six years of base construction; \$15 million per year in operations after that; and up to \$4 million annually from taxes paid by base personnel. Note that these figures don't even consider income from land leased or purchased for the base site. Although Williams feels that these sums should reduce the amounts further needed from the U.S. as direct grants, he did agree to ask the U.S. Congress to guarantee fixed levels of grants up to 1981.

- Significant differences appeared when the U.S. revealed its *land requirements*. The general position of the Marianas was to give up as little land as necessary and then to do so only by lease, not outright sale. The U.S. maintained, inaccurately, that it was U.S. "custom" to purchase land for bases rather than lease it. This important disagreement hasn't yet been resolved.

- When the U.S. announced that it really wanted *all of Tinian* the MPSC demurred somewhat, saying it was "not inclined to agree" to lease the entire island to the military and then sublease back the southern one-third for civilian use. The MPSC's members from Saipan showed much more unhappiness over American requests for Saipanese land, dubbing them "unreasonable." They put up less resistance to the Tinian land requirements, merely expressing concern for the dislocation of San Jose village.



"We recognize the United States preference for outright purchase of the required land but are unable to honor it. Prevailing practice in the United States has little relevance to the Mariana Islands, where land is scarce and has a special cultural significance to the people. Regardless of the guarantees which the United States might make, the members of the Commission could not possibly justify or explain to their constituents or families the seemingly *permanent* transfer of so much of the Marianas limited land to the United States for military purposes."

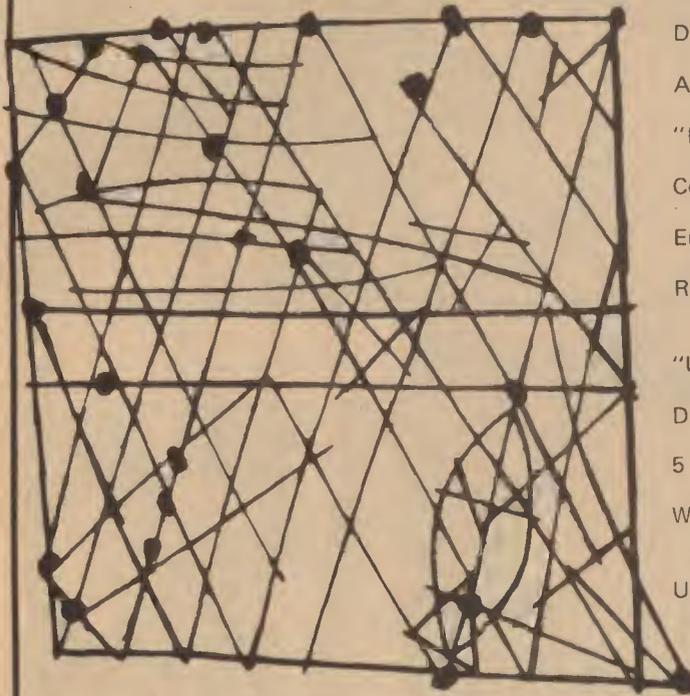
Marianas Position Paper

NOTE: It has become customary for the U.S. to insist on the issuance of a joint communique at the conclusion of each round of talks between the U.S. and Micronesia. These communiques are always drafted by the U.S., most often by an employee of the U.S. Information Agency. The joint communique on which the Summer 1973 *Newsletter* was partially based was especially inaccurate, as the accompanying story shows. Because of this, Friends of Micronesia recommends that readers exercise extreme caution when reading any communiques drafted by the U.S.

US-MARIANA TALKS ON TINIAN TAKE-OVER

KEEP ON READIN'.....

KEEP ON



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FOM

Palau FOM Conference

Development Corporation, Francisco Uludong, manager of the Palau Fishing Authority; and Johnson Toriobiog, an attorney and expert of the law of the sea. Many people from the community also participated.

The keynote speech was given by Sen. Tmetuchl. He said three realities dominated the present scene.

First, "our present form of government was not designed by us, or indeed for us. I will grant that there are more and more Micronesians now in the executive branch. However, because of the way they are selected and trained and because it is a government in which everything flows from the top down, never from the people upward, no matter how many Micronesians are in positions of authority the government will still look first to the United States for its policy, not to the interests and needs of the Micronesians it governs. It is the form and philosophy of government which has to be changed, not just the color of the people behind the desks."

The second reality is that "the primary purpose of the U.S. . . . in wishing to retain control over our islands is to make them available for . . . military use. As a Palauan and as an individual I am strongly and lastingly opposed to any United States military

presence in our islands."

Finally, we have not given enough consideration to the possibilities of national unity. "We must not keep on thinking and planning only in terms of a nation necessarily embracing all Micronesians. If we do we will not be able to listen with open minds to what our own people in each district tell us they want and need now and in the future."

Joshua Koshiba, who contributed largely to the relaxed atmosphere of the conference, addressed his introductory remarks to the non-Micronesians in the audience. He said, "We shall always welcome advice from friends. But it must not be mere advice. Too many friends have made this mistake with good intentions in the name of Micronesia. But we feel it is about time that we Micronesians risk making mistakes for ourselves. After all, it is we who will have to live with these problems."

During the week there were sessions on economic self-reliance, the military, education and political status. Copies of a series of reports on the conference by Pacific Daily News Reporter Ronn Ronck are available on request.

“... We took care to show nothing but kindness to the natives and tried to please them in every way, for, after all, these nude barbarians were our customers and deserved to be treated as such.”

Inoue, H., *Nanyo-Junko-ki (A Voyage Around the South Sea Islands)*, 1893, p. 105 as quoted in Tadao Yanaihara, *Pacific Islands Under Japanese Mandate*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1940, p. 302.



Boston Phoenix

NEWS

LEGAL SERVICES REFUNDED

After months of struggle, the controversial Micronesian Legal Services Corporation has been refunded for another year by the U.S. Government's Office of Economic Opportunity. Its budget will remain at \$600,000, and it will retain its 60 employees including 15 American lawyers. High Commissioner Edward Johnston, a long-time foe of Legal Services flew to Washington to kill the program but did not succeed in doing so. He still could have vetoed the funding but chose not to, apparently because of the program's popularity among Micronesians. Legal Services has received a great deal of support from independence advocates, some of whom are currently employed in Legal Services offices. Legal Services also received strong backing from a number of U.S. Congressmen in its bid for refunding. According to one Legal Services attorney though one reason for the delay in refunding was a Navy Intelligence report claiming Legal Services was a "threat to the national security of the U.S."

Legal Services has represented Micronesians in a number of landmark cases including a successful case to halt Air Force simulated H-bomb tests on Eniwetok atoll. A major case, now pending in San Francisco Circuit Court, may open American courts to Micronesian plaintiffs. Even though they are under American control, Micronesians have not, until now, been able to sue the U.S. Government in American courts.

Free Micronesia!

"The U.S. Talks about self-determination, what it really means is self-termination."

American Indian Movement

TRANSPAC WOES

Trouble continues to plague Micronesia's monopoly shipping line, Transpac. According to Congress of Micronesia Representative Sasuo Haruo whose Resources and Development Committee recently held hearings on the shipping situation, "we have seen a steady decrease of service and a steady increase in shipping costs in Micronesia. This fact, together with other factors such as the decrease in the buying power of the U.S. dollar has resulted in a severe blow to the average Micronesian consumer."

Representative Polycarp Basilius of Palau, another member of the Committee, said, "The Palau District Legislature has already adopted a resolution expressing its dissatisfaction with Transpac's service. According to the information I now have, it would appear that in order to protect the best interests of all the people of Micronesia, Transpac should be dissolved... The present situation is more than a 'crisis' — it is a disaster."

NEXT CONGRESS SESSION IN SAIPAN

The next session of the Congress of Micronesia is scheduled for January in Saipan. The Congress previously planned to meet in Majuro but adequate accommodations are lacking there.

DOUBLE DIPPING

Oh, to be a double-dipper!

If you are a consultant, a researcher, or a visiting dignitary and are in the good graces of the Trust Territory Administration, you may qualify for *per diem* pay, travel money and other goodies at the expense of the U.S. taxpayer. According to the Trust Territory Manual of Administration, Part 213.2, persons who in the eyes of the Trust Territory fit into one of the above categories of human being can "travel at Trust Territory Government expense."

Since most consultants, researchers and visiting dignitaries already receive travel expenses and per diem pay from other government agencies and sponsors, one wonders how many of them engage in the art of double-dipping — making the government pay twice for the same trip?

LETTERS

TANAKA: ARE YOU LISTENING?

Dear Mr. Premier,

Your writer is a citizen of the Truk District of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, also known as Micronesia. I am the Magistrate of Tol Municipality, and was Chairman of the 1972 Truk District Magistrate's Conference. However, I do not write this letter only on behalf of the citizens of Truk District. The concerns I express are, I think, shared by all the people of Micronesia.

This is the second time that I am writing to you on the subject of Micronesian War Claims. On March 26, 1973, I sent an open letter on this same subject to yourself and to Mr. Richard Nixon, President of the United States. To date, I have received no response from you to this letter. I would like to remind you of my prior letter, and ask that you not forget the concerns I raised in that letter.

It is perhaps timely that I remind you now of my letter of March 26, 1973. At this time, the Japanese Government is sponsoring a Japanese salvage crew on one of the ships in Truk Lagoon. The purpose of this salvaging is to remove the bones of Japanese soldiers who died in World War II, and to take these bones back to Japan. It has been reported to us that this salvage expedition is costing Japan \$115,000.

It is therefore apparent to us living here that the Japanese are still thinking of their dead relatives, even after 30 years. Your concern for the Japanese who died on this ship is so strong that Japan is willing to go to great expense and effort to remove these bones from the place where they have been lying peacefully all this time.

It is admirable that Japan is still thinking of its own casualties during World War II after all these years. But I must ask you to consider the Micronesians who also suffered, and yet who were in no way responsible for the devastation brought to these islands during the war. There are many persons alive today who lost their loved ones too. There are many persons alive here today who themselves suffered horribly during the

war.

If the concern of Japan over its war dead is so strong that it is willing to go to such expense and effort to recover their remains, then I would ask you now to show the same concern towards those of us who have also suffered severe losses. The Japanese Government has contributed 5 million dollars towards the Micronesian claims procedure for compensation for losses arising during the hostilities between Japan and the United States. The United States has matched that with an additional 5 million dollars. Yet 10 million dollars cannot possibly fully compensate all of our losses.

I think it appropriate at this time, when the salvaging is still going on, to ask you to review the amount of Japan's contribution for compensation of Micronesian war claims.

I do not wish to create hard feelings between your own country and Micronesians. I do not wish to revive harsh feelings which may have existed in the past. But I am asking that your Government give consideration to our losses, just as it so obviously has to the losses of the Japanese. This is the only way that I feel that our two governments can enjoy good relations in the future.

Again, I would remind you that we too have suffered. Our sufferings have gone unrecognized by your country and the United States for many years. It is not enough for the Japanese Government to make a token payment for settlement of our claims, and then forget about our sufferings during the war for all times to come. No amount of money can fully compensate us for our losses. But a recognition by you as well as the United States that you must share the responsibility of our losses and attempt to compensate them as much as is possible would go a long way towards helping us forget the past hardships, as well as towards improving the relations between your country and ours.

Respectfully,
Susumu Aizawa

Dear Friends,

Thank you for your Summer 1973 issue which I have read with interest and I am sharing with some of my colleagues. We would appreciate if you could continue sending future issues.

Dwain C. Epps
Executive Director
Commission of the Churches on International Affairs
The World Council of Churches, Geneva

Dear Friends,

The FOM Newsletter is even better than ever; keep up the good work. I lend it around considerably.

L.R.B. Mann
Biochemistry Department
The University of Auckland
New Zealand

Dear Friends,

Regarding your organization, I am familiar with only one thing — your name. Could you fill me in on the rest? I am a friend of Micronesia, so I must fit your qualifications.

Jerry Myers
Huntington Beach, California

Dear Friends:

I would like to suggest to those who have heard, but haven't got a chance to visit Micronesia that it might be a good start to read FRIENDS OF MICRONESIA if you are interested in any news concerning Micronesia's present and future political status. Nowadays, negotiations between the two delegates from Congress of Micronesia and the United States concerning Micronesia's Future Political Status are still underway. In fact, there is always little difficulty in getting complete information when something happens separately. As a Micronesian, I've proved it myself that FRIENDS OF MICRONESIA has more and complete information even though things are happened separately — like in two different districts. By reading FRIENDS OF MICRONESIA, I've learned a lot about my own country. Therefore I want to say, keep up the good work as we keep our interest in your publication.
GOOD LUCK

Bremant Kemlan
Marshall Islands 96960



THE DEATH OF LEKOJ ANJAIN

[Ed.: The following letter is an account of the life of Leko Anjain, one of over 200 victims of radioactive fallout from a March 1, 1954 H-bomb blast on Bikini atoll. Leko died November 15, 1972 of radiation-induced leukemia. He is survived by his parents and four brothers. The letter, written by Leko Anjain's father, is published at his request.]

Dear Friends,

Leko Anjain was born on the island of Rongelap, February 21, 1953. Leko was my fifth child. He celebrated his first birthday just ten days before the Fall-out on Rongelap. He was the youngest person on the island at that time.

Leko was the only one of my children who stayed with me while he was growing up. All of my other children were adopted by my relatives. This is a very common Marshallese custom. Therefore, I considered Leko my number one child. He brought me so much joy and happiness; Joy and Happiness the world had never given me before. He grew up so strong and healthy that I thought nothing could ever happen to him.

In June of 1968 came the time when Leko started to have hospital treatment. I myself did not understand why, but off he went to Boston and New York. At this time he had an operation on his thyroid gland. He was the first islander from Rongelap to have a thyroid operation. We both left Rongelap to go to Ebeye; but then came the message that I had to stay on Ebeye to wait my turn. There we separated. I stayed on Ebeye and Leko went on to New York. When Leko returned that time, he brought good news. He said he was well and healthy.

In September of 1968, Leko was accepted and admitted to Marshalls Christian High School on the small island of Rongrong in the Majuro Lagoon. At that time I moved from Ebeye to Majuro where I stayed until 1972, when Leko graduated from high school.

While Leko was still in high school, I began to realize something was bothering him. It first started in 1970. Bruises began appearing all over his body. At times, he was hospitalized for two to three weeks at one time. It was not until July of 1972, a month after graduation) that the bruises on Leko's body started getting worse. This time they were more abundant and you could see blood freeze inside the bruises. Not only that, but down at his scrotum there seemed to be swelling. Swelling so bad that it took three weeks to cure. For this I did not take Leko to the hospital. Instead, I allowed an old Marshallese woman to treat him with some Marshallese medicine.

Leko seemed healthy and strong when the Atomic Energy Commission came in September 1972. He moved with them (A.E.C.) from Majuro to Rongelap where they checked him and also other fallout victims. This time, they found that his white blood count was very low. Upon returning to Majuro, they informed me that Leko was going to Hawaii to be further examined and promised he would be returned to Majuro in two weeks. This I believed because when Leko left, he

seemed very strong and healthy. Although, I sometimes had fear for him for he frequently would go to bed without hesitation: he seemed to tire easily.

Then in October 1972, about one month later, I received a telegram informing me that Leko was being moved from Hawaii to Washington, D.C. and I too was to go meet him there. On October 3, 1972, Leko



John Anjain.

FOM

arrived in Washington, D.C. Two days later I arrived and at that time I was informed that Leko's condition was serious; he had Leukemia. His doctor told me that Leukemia was a very dangerous disease and hard to cure. In spite of all of this and worrying, deep in my heart I believed that both Leko and I would return home in good condition.

The doctor told me that after fifteen days he would give Leko treatment to see if he could heal his blood cells. Right after the treatment, Leko seemed to be in serious condition. Bleeding started in his ears, mouth and nose and he seemed to be losing his mind. When I would ask him questions he gave me no answer except "Bad Luck."

I recall one day before he lost his mind he said to me, "Perhaps I will never return home." I did not say a word in response to this.

Someday later I read an article that a Japanese Doctor wrote. He said in his article "Leko Anjain will surely return to his home, but may not play on the white sands of his home again." His prediction turned into truth. Leko did return home, but not to see his parents, friends, and home but to a grave that was prepared for him.

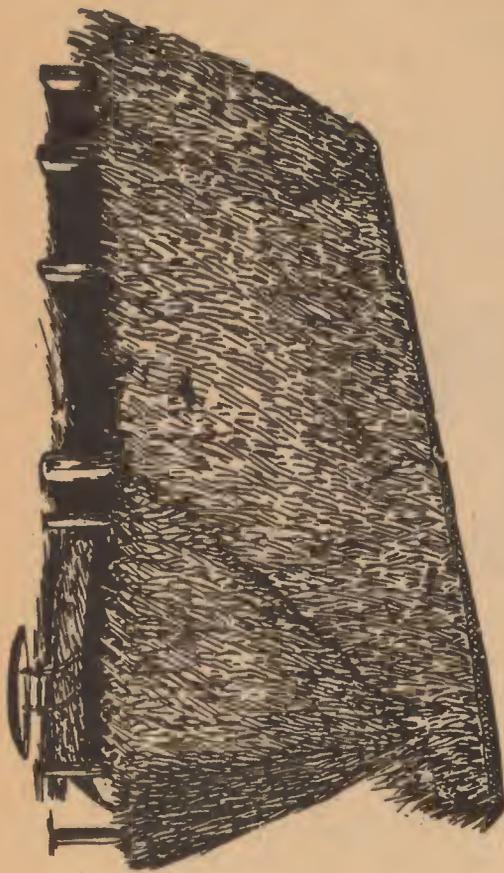
I don't really know for sure when Leko's disease started, but I saw symptoms of his illness somewhere between 1970-71. Of course I have no evidence to prove this, but as a father I know the situation that Leko and I went through. His death surprised me so much that till this moment my whole life is in confusion.

- This issue of the Newsletter could easily have been twice as long but because of postal rate increases and a worldwide shortage of newsprint, we've reluctantly had to cut a great deal of valuable news.

- Micronesia has a new press in Majuro run by the weekly newspaper, the *Micronitor*. For the first time now, Micronesia has the potential for a nation-wide free press, not dependent on the U.S. Government for supplies and equipment as has been the case until now. The *Micronitor* is already doing some printing work for Friends of Micronesia.

Friends of Micronesia

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 - 1. Solomon Report, the official U.S. blueprint for colonizing Micronesia, 50¢
 - 2. Thomas Gladwin, "Self-Reliance for Micronesia," 75¢
 - 3. Steve Murray, "The Americanization of Micronesia; Paradise Lost," (from *Ramparts*, February 1971), 20¢
 - 4. Eric Treisman, "Micronesian Memories: Paving Over Paradise," (from *Ramparts*, June 1972), 25¢
 - 5. Roger Gale, "No One Warned the Micronesians," (from *The Nation*, 5 February 1973), 20¢
 - 6. _____, "U.S., Japan and Micronesia," (on economic take-over), 5¢
 - 7. _____, "Large Coconut Sale to U.S.," (on military), 5¢
 - 8. Francis Hezel, "The School Industry," 20¢
- Available individually or in a packet which includes a bibliography and a copy of the FOM Fact-sheet, all for \$2.50.
- A Micronesian Chronology*, from 1942-70, prepared by Alex Phillip, \$2.

.....

Copies of an excellent article by FOM workers David and Doreen Labby, "Old Glory and the New Yap", which recently appeared in *Natural History Magazine* are available from FOM for 40¢.

.....

"Free Micronesia" bumperstickers and buttons are available, a button and sticker for \$1.



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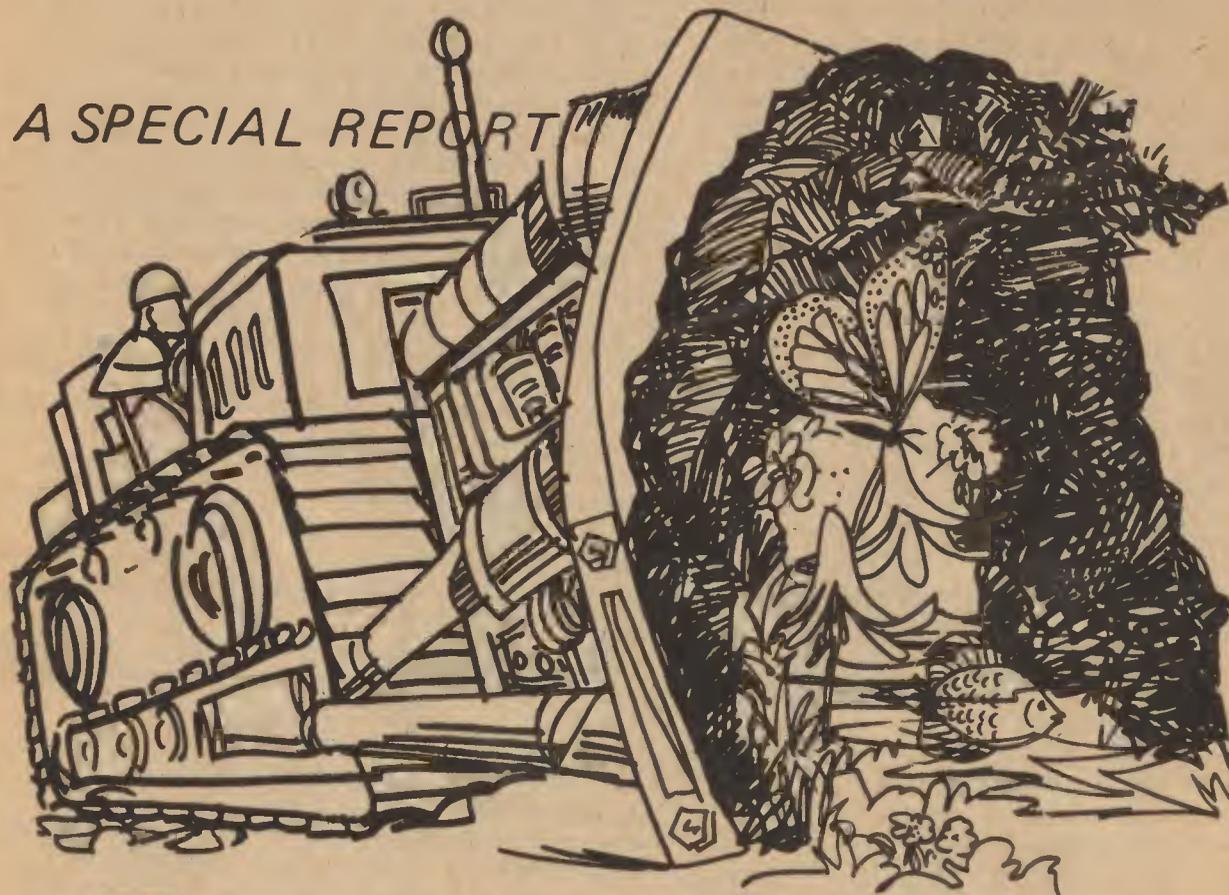
Friends of Micronesia

WINTER 1974

NEWSLETTER

VOL 4 NO 1

A SPECIAL REPORT



The Micronesian Economy

EXPANDED ISSUE

DEADLOCK IN TALKS
∞
PUBLIC LAND RETURNED

**LONELY
TOKYO
VIGIL FOR
PROTESTER**

GUAM BEAUTY
SLEEPING

TINIAN *What's It All About?*

UP Front

Happy New Year!

There is good cause for celebration. 1973 was a year of victory in Micronesia's continuing struggle for self-determination. A number of major battles were won, and precedents set. Everywhere in Micronesia are signs of a new vitality and a new optimistic grass-roots belief that the people rule their own lives once more. American ideas are no longer sacrosanct and American officials are no longer accorded the respect they have grown to depend on for maintaining their power. Nineteen seventy-three was the year the Congress of Micronesia, the District Legislatures and the people of Micronesia began to express their long repressed opposition to foreign rule. It was the year in which the people of Micronesia have awakened!

There is a long string of victories:

- the U.S. was forced to return all government held land in Micronesia to the people
- the military was stopped dead when it attempted to conduct a series of destructive simulated H-bomb tests on Eniwetok
- the Congress of Micronesia declared that all the waters within the outermost islands in Micronesia are the territorial waters of Micronesia making Micronesia potentially one of the largest, most prosperous nations in the world
- fishing authorities have started creating a self-reliant nation living off its rich sea resources
- the Congress of Micronesia's Future Status Committee refused to compromise its demands for a just financial settlement from the U.S.
- a movement was begun in Japan to pay additional compensation for World War II damages

The battles were fought and won by Micronesians but the growing number of Friends of Micronesia around the world played a part too. It was a year of victory for all of us.

The old "Mike Who?" joke is almost dead. Although Micronesia has not yet become a household word, we've come a long way in the past year.

But the struggle is far from over. Micronesia is still a colony of the United States. Large corporations are moving in to exploit Micronesia's resources and the U.S. military has firm intent to begin construction of the Tinian base next year.

We have four goals for 1974:

- we will endeavor to stop the U.S. Air Force from building a base on Tinian
- we will endeavor to guarantee that radiation levels on Bikini and Eniwetok are low enough for the people to safely return home
- we will continue to act as the American media contacts for the movement to halt French tests and toward creating a de-nuclearized, de-militarized Pacific Ocean
- we will continue our attempt to provide news about Micronesia to our audience in the United States, Asia

and Europe

We will also continue to count on our readers for support. Please do what you can to help.

* * * * *

It's often revealing to know what people are saying behind your back. A case in point is a recent speech delivered in Auckland, New Zealand by Chalmers Wood, the acting American ambassador. Wood gave the speech on November 29 a day after returning from a meeting in Tokyo with Henry Kissinger. Henry apparently does give at least a little damn about Micronesia, despite Walter Hickel's comments to the contrary, because Micronesia was on the agenda of the meeting. Somewhere along the line though, whether in Henry's jet-fatigued synapses or in Wood's reception equipment, a lot got lost. Wood had just bought himself a new \$300 Hewlett-Packard pocket calculator and figured out that people in Micronesia live 30 miles away from each other on the average. If he'd ever seen Majuro, he'd have calculated differently. He also told his audience in Auckland that Truk was desirous of closer ties with the U.S. I hope he has by now told people in Truk that too. On the subject of military bases he mentioned the retention of Kwajalein and the option to build a base in Palau, but there was no mention of Tinian where construction is slated to begin next year (if the U.S. has its way). Finally, he told people that the Congress of Micronesia is "beginning to function". Neither the U.S. which touts its role as bearer of democracy to the world, nor the members of the Congress would go for that.

It makes you wonder what else the U.S. Government is saying about Micronesia in various far-off corners of the earth.

* * * * *

The money-rich Carnegie Endowment for International Peace is engaged in a project to study the future of Micronesia. According to former State Department official Don McHenry, who heads the project (as part of Carnegie's "Humanitarian Policy Studies"), the project will tie together a "whole series of foreign policy question" relating to the U.S. role in the Pacific.

McHenry says, "we deliberately excluded people who had any experience in Micronesia" from participation in the study. Instead, "we wanted people who have not formed opinions . . ."

The comment prompted Joe Murphy, editor of the Guam-based Pacific Daily News to editorialize:

"How can people, sitting behind a desk in Washington, begin to comprehend the beauty of the islands, spread across vast areas of the Pacific? How can they see through the smog of Washington to the glories of a single sunset on a Micronesian beach?

"Americans should realize they aren't dealing with an abstract concept but with a group of islanders who breath, laugh and love. They should be dealt with on a people-to-people basis, as equals, not as something in a "think tank."

* * * * *

It looked for awhile as if Legal Services might be dead and along with it any chance of Micronesians winning battles in the courts. But because of a well-orchestrated

protest by Micronesians the people of Micronesia will have effective support for at least one more year.

One of the most important cases of all is coming up in San Francisco Circuit court in mid-January. It will probably decide once and for all whether Micronesians, as subjects of the U.S., have the right to sue in American courts. Until now that right has not been guaranteed. So long as Micronesians remain under U.S. dominance, they have a right to decent legal services. In the process of securing this right, they have already stopped dead Air Force plans to conduct a series of simulated H-bomb tests, and they have finally forced the government to turn over land to homesteaders. The San Francisco case will decide whether Micronesians can control the economic development of their own islands.

There are limits to legal remedies, but for now they are the most effective means for guaranteeing the eventual freedom of Micronesia.

* * * * *

Although we haven't said much about it in the *Newsletter*, needless to say we are in favor of the rapid demise of Nixon. It is intolerable to us that he should remain in office. We suggest that we follow in his footsteps, however, and refuse to pay income taxes this April. Only the united refusal of all the people can change the corrupt, militaristic system in which we live. Impeachment is only the beginning. We must say No before we can create a more tolerable world.

* * * * *

KNOW THE ENEMY
and know yourself;
in 100 battles
you will never
be imperiled.
sun tzu

recon

Monthly newsletter on military affairs:
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GI Movement, 3rd World Struggles, CBW.
\$3/year to P.O. Box 14602, Phila., PA.

FOM program

1. We support the Micronesian struggle for self-determination and have pledged ourselves to support the Micronesian people in any way possible.
2. We provide information to create a public awareness on the part of the American people concerning Micronesia and the exploitative administration of Micronesia by the United States Government.
3. We work to prevent the destruction of Micronesia by "developers" who have no sensitivity to Micronesian needs nor to the adaptability of traditional economic and political ways.
4. We work to prevent the resurgence of American militarism in Micronesia and support attempts to end American aggression in other parts of Asia.
5. We work against American racist policies as exhibited in the destruction of Micronesian islands, the forced removal of populations, the radioactive contamination of Marshallese and the discriminatory economic and political power of American officials.
6. We work with many international groups who seek a peaceful world free of armed aggression and nuclear weapons.
7. We do **not** attempt to dictate policy to the Micronesian people nor do we prescribe solutions to the problem of Micronesian "development."
8. We do **not** believe that anthropologists, political scientists, economists and other academics are specially qualified to dictate policy or evaluate events but we do believe that academics, especially those who have profited from their work in Micronesia, have an obligation to support Micronesian desires and to provide information and services when requested.

Those who helped put this issue together include Steve Murray, John Lyons, Judith Kerr, Marjorie Smith, Shin-Ichi Yoshifuku, Jane Croke (Berkeley) David and Doreen Labby (Portland); Mary Bye (Philadelphia) Bob Mauri, Toni Barila (Washington) Bruce Karolle, Caroline Gerhold, Carl Young, Florence Mendiola, Guam Ymal Uludong, Tia Belau (Palau) Derson Ramon, Mike Malone and Joe Murphy, Micronesian Independent (Ponape and Majuro) Abd Younis, Marianas Variety (Saipan) and many members of the Congress of Micronesia and its staff.
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Roger W. Gale, Editor
With the Help of a lot of Friends
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U.S. FORCED TO GIVE UP OCCUPIED LANDS

The United States has agreed to return to Micronesia all public lands it now holds except land now used by the military or slated for future use. The U.S. currently controls 60% of the total land area of Micronesia.

This is a major victory for Micronesia. U.S. control of so much land has been a major bargaining lever in the status talks to date. As a precondition for renewing the stalled talks, the Congress of Micronesia demanded the return of all land. This demand was initiated last year by leaders in Palau who refused to allow the Congress of Micronesia to represent it in the talks until the land issue was resolved to its satisfaction.

Before the abortive November round of talks began the U.S. presented a policy paper offering to return the contested land. A delegation of Palauan leaders who travelled to Washington tentatively accepted the U.S. offer.

Public land in Palau, which totals 68% of the district, will be returned to the traditional leaders of the islands. There is still some question, however, whether the military's already announced intent to maintain control 28% of Palau for a submarine base and a guerrilla training site will be included in the return.

Mary Trent, the U.S. State Department officer in Saipan, claims that prospective military land is included in the offer. However, the wording of the U.S. land policy contradicts this. (See box)

U.S. POLICY STATEMENT

(Source: Highlights, 15 November 1973)

The United States has now concluded that if it is the desire of the people in a district that public lands in that district be turned over to the district now before the termination of the Trusteeship the United States is willing to accede to their wishes and to facilitate the transfer of title. This transfer, however, must be subject to certain limitations and safeguards set forth below designed to protect those individuals who have acquired property interests in public lands under the Trusteeship and to meet the continuing land needs of the Trust Territory Government for public use. These limitations and safeguards will apply until the Trusteeship ends, at which time the new government will be free to modify them as it chooses.

BUT

5. Where public land is to be used to meet defense needs under the terms of proposed future status agreements with the United States, title to such land will pass simultaneously with the prospective titleholder's formal commitment to accommodate those needs in good faith on terms to be mutually agreed with United States authorities.

CASE IN POINT

Although the United States is now openly committed to returning public land in Micronesia, a variety of well-concealed legal tricks may still be up the sleeves of the U.S. negotiators which may either delay or water-down U.S. promises. It is instructive to look at what the military did to the people of Guam in 1950 when it claimed to be turning over power to the new civilian Government of Guam.

While the Organic Act, which created the Government of Guam was being prepared, the Navy initiated a series of 43 condemnation proceedings that led to Navy title to all major water and electrical facilities on the island. The Navy already controlled the roads.

Then on July 31, 1950, just one day before the enactment of the Organic Act, when all facilities were to be turned over to the new civilian government, Carlton Skinner, the Truman-appointed governor, (and now a San Francisco based lobbyist for Continental Airlines), signed a Quitclaim Deed transferring all the condemned properties, plus all titles, rights, interests and claims to the highway, sewer, water, power and telephone systems to the U.S. Government "for its own uses."

Thus the next day, when the Organic Act became law, the Navy "discovered" it had nothing left to transfer to the civilian government except one or two telephone poles and subsidiary water pipes. And so, the Government of Guam started out with practically nothing.

It wasn't until 1968 that the transfer of the road system to civilian control began and even now major portions of the power system remain under Navy control. The Navy continues to use its control of the main Piti power plant as a lever for getting permission to build a widely-opposed \$200 million ammunition wharf on the island. The main reservoir on the island is smack in the middle of the Naval Magazine and ringed by H-bomb storage bunkers. Altogether, just over 33% of Guam's total land acreage remains in military hands.

Thus, 25 years after Guam was to become a civilian regime the biggest part of its land and its major resources are still in military hands. What can Micronesia expect from the U.S. declaration that it will return Micronesian land to its rightful owners and that the future government of Micronesia will be free?

HOMESTEADING SPEED-UP FOR SOME

In an unprecedented ruling, the American controlled High Court recently ordered High Commissioner Edward Johnston to turn over long stalled homesteading land on Saipan to 180 *bona fide* applicants who have never received title to land. The case, fought by Micronesian Legal Services Corp. was bitterly contested by the Trust Territory which claims that the delay in awarding deeds is due to lack of adequate surveying of land.

Homesteading on neighboring Tinian, however, has been halted because of Air Force construction plans.

Lonely Tokyo Vigil

AN EXCLUSIVE REPORT

TOKYO:

Daniel Lopez is waging a one-man battle in Tokyo for his father and 16 fellow islanders who died fighting for the Japanese Army in World War II.

Until now the Japanese Government has turned a deaf ear to his demand for compensation but at least 600 Japanese have come to his aid giving financial assistance during his year and a half stay in Tokyo. Now Friends of Micronesia in Tokyo and other sympa-

paced discussions, first with the Health and Welfare Ministry and, later, with the Foreign Ministry.

When discussions failed, Lopez began a one-man vigil outside the Foreign Ministry carrying a sign and talking to passersby. He speaks fluent Japanese (as well as English). He also manages to hand out about 1000 handbills a day.

He got some media coverage but it was not until he was bribed

"I have been fighting against the Government of Japan since I left my home in 1971. I will not return to Ponape until the Japanese Government recognizes that it must treat Micronesians as human beings. The present ruling Liberal Democratic Party has completely abandoned me.

I have suffered a great deal in Japan and have constantly had to struggle to survive in such an expensive country. I have been bribed by the Foreign Ministry, threatened and often ignored. Nevertheless, I am not discouraged and will continue to fight for the rights of the Micronesian people. I am alone but know that victory is on my side."

Daniel Lopez

(From a statement to Friends of Micronesia)



Daniel Lopez handing out leaflets to passersby in front of the Foreign Ministry in Tokyo. His banner reads: "What will you do for the blood shed by Micronesians for the Japanese people?"

thetic groups are organizing a movement to secure compensation not only for his father but for all Micronesians who suffered losses as a result of Japanese actions during World War II.

Lopez, a 42 year old Ponapean, represents relatives of 17 people "who died for Japan and the Emperor" 31 years ago while fighting in the Japanese Army.

The story dates back to July 1942 when 20 islanders were "chosen" by the Imperial Army as members of *kesshitai* (suicide corps) to make a feint operation of attacking Port Moresby in New Guinea.

Lopez's father, Valentine, then 31, was one of those chosen to make the attack.

Only three of them survived the operation returning to Ponape in 1943 with the remains of their 17 dead compatriots. Lopez's father was among the dead.

Under Japanese colonial rule, Micronesians were taught the "spirit of Imperial Japan" in school and some Micronesians fought for the Japanese thinking they were Japanese citizens. But the Japanese Government has refused to pay compensation to the families of Micronesians who fought in the war.

The recent revival of Japanese war-dead bone collecting missions to Micronesia has not led to an increased concern for Micronesian dead. Nor has the increased attention paid to the dead enshrined in Tokyo's Yasukuni Shrine led to increased concern for non-Japanese killed in the war.

Since September 1972, Lopez has been in Japan pursuing slow

by a Foreign Ministry official that the media really began paying attention to him

Lopez accepted 100,000 yen from a Foreign Ministry official who "suggested" that he leave Japan, then called the news media. With TV cameras whirling Lopez returned the money to the official denouncing it as a bribe.

Visa problems have caused Lopez to leave Japan briefly on two occasions. The Foreign Ministry made arrangements for him to fly back to Ponape but instead Lopez took the ferry to Korea where after a couple of days he got a new visa and returned to his vigil much to the chagrin of government officials who thought they had seen the last of him.

The First North American Division of the Foreign Ministry, which is dealing with the issue, holds the view that the issue has already been settled by the Japanese-U.S. war claims agreement signed in 1969.

Under the agreement, the U.S. and Japan are obliged to pay \$20 million in war claims and, in the U.S. case, in "post-secure" damages. The Japanese have to pay \$5 million in "goods and services" to Micronesians in return for which the U.S. has granted them port servicing rights for their fishing ships in Micronesia.

The Foreign Ministry claims the Lopez case can be counted as war damage falling within the war claims agreement. There has been no public verification of this, however, from the U.S. State

Department.

Another problem is total claims filed by Micronesians far exceed U.S. and Japanese expectations. Unless additional compensation is provided no Micronesians including Lopez will get an adequate settlement.

His movement still centers on his demands for compensation for his father and the other 16 Ponapeans killed in New Guinea but Lopez's persistence in the struggle has led to the reopening of the entire war claims issue.

In November, Hideo Den, a prominent member of the Japanese Parliament, host of a popular nation-wide TV program, and one of Japan's major opponents of involvement in the Vietnam war, visited Palau in the company of other Parliament officials to see first hand the remnants of World War II's destructiveness. As a result of this, Den has promised to push for additional compensation from the Japanese Government.

Neither the U.S. nor the Japanese Government is anxious to reopen the war claims issue despite bitter dissatisfaction everywhere in Micronesia about present arrangements. Payments are being made on an "ex gratia" basis, neither nation admitting any guilt in having virtually destroyed many Micronesian islands and in killing an untold number of Micronesians.

Claims are being paid at 1930's prices, and deaths being calculated on an unrealistic assumption that men are worth more than women and that payments decline for deaths after the age of 21. The first payments offered by the American-controlled Claims Commission in Saipan have been appealed but the Claims Commission has upheld them. Under provisions of the law no further appeal is allowed and there is no access to the courts in any event.

Lopez has a 115,000 allies in Micronesia and an increasing number of allies in Japan. He will not give up until he is satisfied that a moral victory has been won and the Japanese Government forced to admit that, although colonial subjects of Japan, his father and the other 16 warriors deserve compensation. It is tragic that almost 30 years after the war, when a whole host of new conflicts have arisen, that the U.S. and Japan, the two nations that virtually destroyed Micronesia, can not bring themselves to admit their guilt and pay adequate compensation.



Daniel Lopez at a recent Tokyo support meeting.

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DANIEL LOPEZ NEEDS YOUR SUPPORT.



LEGAL SERVICES WINS FUNDING BATTLE

"If I haven't heard from a congressman or senator I don't know who he is."

These are the words of Alvin Arnett, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) in issuing an order to override the veto of U.S. government funding for Micronesian Legal Services Corporation. Legal Services has represented Micronesians in all major cases against the U.S. government.

Shortly after the Fall 1973 issue of the *Newsletter* went to press, High Commissioner Edward Johnston vetoed the program. His veto was ordered by Secretary of Interior Rogers Morton because of Defense Department pressure. The Nixon Administration is attempting to dismember OEO programs but has been at least temporarily stopped by the courts which have declared Nixon's acts unconstitutional.

Hundreds of letters and petitions were sent to Washington from Micronesians. And Theodore Mitchell, director of the program, succeeded in organizing widespread support among members of the U.S. Congress, in support of Legal Services' refunding.

KEEP ON READIN'..... KEEPON

Paul W. Tibbetts, "Training the 509th for Hiroshima," *Air Force*, August 1973.

Moll, K.L., "The Bikini A-Bomb Tests," *Air Force*, July 1971.

"Micronesia Invaded Again," *SPACIFIC* (New Zealand), October 1973.

Neal Engledow, "A Compact of Free Association?," *UNISPAC* (Fiji), October 1973.

"From Bikini to Rongerik", *Akwesasne Notes*, Early Autumn 1973.

Roger Gale, "New Military Bastion Slated for Tinian," *Chicago Sun-Times*, 14 November 1973 and other newspapers and radio stations.

Francis X. Hezel, "The Beginnings of Foreign Contact with Truk," *Journal of Pacific History*, vol. 8, 1973.

"Guam Gets Silent Treatment on Navy Plans for Idle Land," *Armed Forces Journal International*, November 1973.

Do us a favor? Send us newspaper and magazine clippings you come across.





U.S. Army Map

by Roger Gale

TINIAN, MICRONESIA:

Tinian, the small island in Micronesia from which the U.S. launched its atom bomb attacks on Japan at the close of WW II, will soon become another link in the chain of American military bases in Asia.

Sometime in the next two years, the Air Force is expected to ask Congress for the first installment on a \$150 million "replacement" airbase on the island from which the B-29 *Enola Gay* lifted off on August 6, 1945 to drop the bomb which killed 200,000 Japanese in Hiroshima.

Once controlled by Japan, taken over by the U.S. during the war in the Pacific, and essentially abandoned by the great powers during the past 25 years, much of Tinian is now covered by a thick mantle of tropical vegetation. As part of a "fallback" defense perimeter in the Pacific, Tinian with Guam is slated to replace Okinawa as the "Keystone of the Pacific" in the event the U.S. is forced to abandon bases in Japan, the Philippines, or on the Asian mainland.

Tinian and Guam are part of a 2000 mile long arc of volcanic islands stretching from Japan's Mt. Fuji to within 400 miles of Indonesia and the Philippines. The Air Force now plans to turn this 40 square mile Manhattan-shaped island into a major forward supply depot and weapons storage base.

Two small stone pedestals, marking the pits where the atom bombs were once stored, are the only remembrances of Tinian's past. But the new airbase will soon be a potent symbol of America's military might in Asia. And Tinian's people want neither to remember the past invasions nor to face the current resurgence of the U.S. Air Force on their land.

Although there are only about 800 full-time residents on the island (including 236 school children in grades 1-9), Tinian could be a home for thousands of people. There are many miles of still functioning hardtop roads built 30 years ago by the Army Air Force.

As you drive up "Broadway," a four lane divided highway left over from the war, you see that Tinian is a lush and productive island. There are hundreds of acres of watermelon, cantaloupe, eggplant and other crops along with thousands of head of cattle and pigs which supply the food-hungry Guam market 120 miles away. And as far as the eye can see on the eastern side of the island are productive fields and pastures with threads of irrigation

The MILITARY GRABS TINIAN

"Japanese pressure on Okinawa, and on American bases in Japan herself, has forced the United States to consider alternative location [for military bases]. South Korea and Taiwan are the two most suitable areas, but with both (and especially) Taiwan there are political problems. The Caroline and Mariana Islands offer additional alternatives . . ."

T.B. Millar, *The Indian and Pacific Oceans: Some Strategic Considerations*. London: Institute For Strategic Studies, May 1969, (Adelphi Papers #57).

Even as this was written in 1969, Guam-based B-52s were dropping murderous bomb loads over Indochina. Neither Japan nor the Philippines would allow bombing from their territory. Because of the growing rapprochement with China, Taiwan could not be used as a staging ground either. Only Thailand allowed B-52s on its territory. Now even Thailand may be off-limits if the revolutionary movement there continues to grow.

As a result, Micronesia is now considered the future keystone of the Pacific, eventually replacing Okinawa as Asia's main military bastion. It is the only area where the United States still maintains the upper hand.

Along with new communications and weapons storage facilities on Guam, Tinian is the major focus of U.S. military plans for the coming decades. In Summer 1973, the U.S. announced plans to take-over the entire 40 square mile island of Tinian for an air base, supply base and training area. According to an announcement made at the time, construction is slated to begin next year.

pipes passing through them.
For at least two or three years now, civilian clad U.S. military officers have been visting the island. Nowadays, however, the military comes in uniform. Two teams have visited since May when a tentative agreement was reached between the Mariana Islands District of Micronesia and the United States to allow the airbase development in spite of the opposition of most of the people on Tinian.

MORE ON NEXT PAGE

To date there has been no official announcement of plans for Tinian in the U.S. But in a June 1, 1973 radio address to the people of Tinian and its neighboring islands, Ambassador Haydn Williams, the Nixon Administration's chief military negotiator for Micronesia, announced plans for the take-over of the island. He told the people, "U.S. land needs are extensive . . . so much so that we feel we should acquire the northern two-thirds of the island for military purposes. We feel we should also ask to acquire the southern third . . ."

Public reaction on Tinian was immediate when people learned that they would be moved from their homes. Thirty-four year old ex-Mayor Vicente Manglona summed up many people's feelings. "We feel we are just getting going. This week we are sending over 40,000 pounds of watermelon to Guam. If the military comes and takes away our best land, all we will be able to export is bombs and that will neither put money in my pocket nor do anything to help the rest of the world."



The Hiroshima A-Bomb Pit

Despite this local opposition the Air Force remains committed to its plans. For the United States, this new island based strategy will guarantee the U.S. a string of bases under complete American political control. There will be no need for leases, no evictions, and no Okinawa-type "reversions."

Guam, a U.S. colony since 1898, is probably the most secure installation in Asia. Tinian and the other Micronesian islands, legacies of WW II conquest, are now negotiating for greater self-government from the United States. But despite a growing independence movement, the U.S. intends to maintain control of vital land on Tinian and the other islands.

To forestall the possibility of major congressional opposition to the base, the Air Force plans to set up what it calls a "Bare Base" — a portable base made up of modular components now stored at bases in New Mexico and California. This Bare Base approach will allow the Tinian airfield to become operational years before it could otherwise and with a reduced need for congressional appropriations.

But the Air Force's "development" plans for Tinian are still far from modest. Construction, slated to end in 1982, will have seven phases. Phase III, formally entitled "Bare Base Capability,"

includes plans for "airfield pavements, port facilities, fuel storage, and transfer and utility systems." This part of the program will involve 1000 laborers and will cost \$30,353,000.

According to informed sources, construction plans for Phase IV include facilities for "limited flight operations, port warehousing, material storage." In U.S. military terminology "material storage" usually refers to ammunition and nuclear weapons.

When completed, the U.S. plans to have 2600 military personnel on Tinian even though much of the base support will be provided by Guam-based technicians.

Other strategic interests affect the longer range military thinking of U.S. policy makers. Lawrence Griswold, editor of *Sea Power*, considers the new base on Tinian a necessary hedge against Japan's own "strategic interest" in regaining control of the Micronesian islands. And many high-ranking military officers have a lingering fear of the resurgence of Japanese militarism.

Similarly, Japanese officials are concerned that there be sufficient room for Japan's military in the Pacific. Already possessing the largest air force and navy in Asia, Japan for the first time since its defeat in WW II will construct, in 1977, an overseas base on Iwo Jima, an island until recently under U.S. control and midway between Tinian and Tokyo.

Coupled with this military planning, a growing number of observers predict serious antagonisms between the two giant Asian trading partners as economic rivalry becomes more intense and American economic hegemony is threatened. A strategic base like Tinian, located only 1400 miles from Japan's heartland, will be a reminder to the Japanese that although the dollar may be weak, the U.S. military is still a factor to be reckoned with.

But it is the people of Tinian who will feel the effects of the base most. Felipe Mendiola, a 59 year old farmer and local political leader, says, "I can see it all happening to us again. The Americans will build a base here and in ten or twenty years some other country will destroy our island like the Americans did when they took it from Japan in WW II."

(Copyright Pacific News Service)
(Reprinted from *Chicago Sun-Times*, 14 November 1973)

1975-1982 Phases	Tinian Base Development — Airfield, Port, Logistics Complex, Training Area, Support Facilities	Costs	Labor Force
I	Planning and Land Acquisition		
II	Site Preparation — Harbor, Airfield, Construction Camp	\$ 6,539,000	250
III	Bare Base Capability — Airfield Pavement, Port Facilities, Fuel Storage and Transfer, Utility System	30,353,000	1000
IV	Dispersal Base — Limited Flight Operations, Communications, Limited Personnel Support, Port Warehousing, Material Storage [Defense Department euphemism for nuclear weapons storage]	36,785,000	1000
V	Main Base — Maintenance, Administration, Personnel Support	31,322,000	1000
VI	Logistical Support Base — Equipment Storage, Material Storage, Vehicle Maintenance	24,306,000	600
VII	Dependent Support — Family Housing, Recreation, Schools, Exchange and Commissary	15,274,000	1000
		Total	\$144,579,000
		Relocation costs for Tinian residents	13,537,500
		Inflation and under calculation of costs, approximately 20%	30,000,000
		TOTAL COST	\$188,116,500

TOTAL COST Figures do not include aircraft, vehicles, equipment, weapons, etc. Nor do they include cost of facilities on Saipan Island or bombing range on Farallon de Medinilla.

(Source: The Future Political Status of the Mariana Islands District, Report of the Marianas Political Status Commission on the Second Session of Status Negotiations in Saipan, Mariana Islands, 15 May - 4 June 1973, pp. 67-111.)

Base Plans

"U.S. land needs are extensive . . . so much so that we feel we should acquire the northern two-thirds of the island for military purposes. We feel we should also ask to acquire the southern third . . ."

F. Haydn Williams, Nixon Administration's negotiator for Micronesia

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PRO-MILITARY MAYOR CHARGED

The pro-military mayor of Tinian, Antonio C. Borja, has been charged with 13 counts of embezzlement, conspiracy, grand larceny and cheating.

Borja is accused of taking money belonging to the Tinian Municipal Council for his own use. Some of the alleged mis-use of money was for an official trip by Marianas leaders to U.S. military installations in the Far East.

NAVY JUMPS THE GUN

Sailor attempts rape.

Invited to Tinian to celebrate Navy day, the high speed gunship Rocket and a sister ship spent Saturday, October 20 on the island, about 100 miles north of their home base on Guam.

During the visit, hosted by the people of Tinian, the crews of the ships were given a traditional Chamorro feast and were in return treated to movies on board one of the Navy vessels.

During the movies, Mr. Jose Pangelinan and his family returned to their house in order to let their girls retire while Mr. Pangelinan returned to the festivities.

Upon entering their house, the girls were attacked by a man who was already hiding inside. He was later identified as a crew-member from one of the ships. The sailor, who already had taken his shoes off attacked the first girl who entered, knocking her to the floor and leaving her temporarily unconscious. He left to pursue her sister who had fled outside shouting.

When their father noticed the commotion and heard the screams, he returned to the house and after a brief chase apprehended the assailant. By this time he had already "knocked the second girl over the rocks." Meanwhile the police were called by Mrs. Pangelinan and the man was arrested.

Later, with assurances from the ship's captain that the matter would be dealt with by the Navy, Mr. Pangelinan agreed to release the prisoner and dropped the charge of attempted rape.

Pangelinan told the Marianas Variety that at one point he had been ready to kill the intruder. But he felt that the assurances by the authorities were sufficient to see that fair justice was done.

During the chase around the house a neighbor was also knocked down by the attempted rapist and suffered mild injuries to her leg.

In other news concerning the visit, the sailors donated a refrigerator to the Tinian Headstart program. The two ships departed Tinian on Sunday afternoon.

(From the Marianas Variety and News, 9 November 1973).

by Senator Frank C. Lujan, Chairman Guam Political Status Commission

The tragedy of Guam is that many of our citizens do not recognize that Guam remains a classic example of an exploited colony. It is tragic because time is rapidly passing Guam by. Many other colonial communities today are confronting reality, and are years ahead of Guam in their thinking. When we on Guam finally awake, we may find either that we have lost yet another generation of political and economic opportunities under the restrictions of American rule, or that our land, business and political leadership has passed into the hands of well-heeled aliens. Guam slept fifty years dreaming that American citizenship was the long awaited kiss of liberty, when, as the years since 1950 have proved, it was not.

American citizenship, glamorous as it may seem, is no more a passport to political growth than the granting of Spanish, Japanese or German citizenship in the past was a step in the direction of superior political status. Citizenship has frequently been offered colonial communities in the manner that hooked bait is offered hungry fish — and still colonies remain colonies, and citizenship has been changed overnight.

The definition of a colony is simple. According to Webster's Dictionary, a colony is a body of people living in a territory but retaining ties with the parent state. Another definition is that a colony is a state ruled by external powers. Whichever definition is preferred, Guam qualifies as a colony.

Colonies are born out of weakness and strength, characteristics which are exploited by countries anxious to extend their powers. Their weaknesses are under-development and vulnerability to attack. Their strengths are untapped natural resources or strategic location. Guam in the past was vulnerable to attack. At the same time her strength was her strategic location. The United States took Guam by force in 1898 (the firing of a few shots in Apra Harbor) because of her strategic location which is still being exploited by the military.

Guam is a non-selfgoverning territory. Between 1898 and 1949 Guam was ruled by nothing more than proclamations and executive orders issued at random by Naval governors, who possessed unlimited authority. At the same time, by 1950, there were 231 federal laws on the books applicable to Guam. They permeated and affected every aspect of life on Guam, ranging from agriculture, to health, to education and commerce. After the Organic Act was passed in August, 1950, 211 of these laws were retained, and others were added. The exact number of federal laws applicable to Guam in 1973 has not recently been computed, but the number may have doubled to more than 500 since 1949. The point is, never were the citizens of Guam themselves allowed to vote on the issues at stake when those laws were enacted.

Although the Guam Legislature now enacts its own legislation within a limited framework, federal laws affecting Guam are still passed without Guam's voting consent. Some of those laws which govern Guam's everyday life include the draft law; foreign relations; immigration; the government and judicial system; communications, customs and tariff; import quotas; foreign trade; maritime laws; air routes; citizenship; travel; banking; currency; bonding; insurance; housing; food and drugs; agriculture; quarantine; navigable waters; highways; submerged lands; trade treaties; coast guard; labor; minimum wages; postal services; military activities; health standards; education; harbor; and airport laws — to mention only a very few. There is no facet of economic, social, financial or political life on Guam which is not determined or influenced by federal law.

Some federal laws governing Guam are good. Some are not. Some are totally inappropriate to a small island community. Some laws restrict Guam's economic growth in certain areas; while others over-stimulate her development. And some laws are just plain immoral. One example of an immoral law is the draft law which permits the federal government to draft Guamanians into the U.S. armed forces. Voluntary service is fine and many Guamanians have gladly volunteered to join the U.S. Navy. But as long as the people of Guam are not granted rights in the Congress of the United States which declares war, the mandatory involvement of the people of Guam in America's military activities is a gross injustice, and is contrary to international law. Moreover, all federal

laws imposed on Guam without consulting the will of the people are undemocratic.

Additionally, to underscore the fact that Guam is a dependent colony, although the Organic Act of Guam appears to grant Guam a measure of internal self-government. Section 19 of the Organic Act refutes any pretense to autonomy. It reserves the unrestricted

GUAM

BEAUTY
SLEEPING

INDEPENDENCE FOR GUAM?

The United Nations General Assembly has called on the United States to set a specific time table to bring independence to Guam. The vote was 110 to none in favor of the resolution.

The resolution "calls upon the administering powers to take all necessary steps without further delay, to establish in consultations with the freely elected representatives a specific timetable for the free exercise by the people of the territories of their right to self-determination and independence."

The Guam Legislature has already created a Political Status Commission to consider new forms of relationship with the United States. Although not tied to the UN resolution, a Department of Interior committee has been established to review U.S. policy toward Guam. The chairman is Stanley Carpenter, deputy assistant secretary of the Interior. Under pressure from the Governor of Guam, the committee now has Guamanian representation.

The United Nations did not call for the independence of Micronesia in the resolution because as a trust territory it is considered already incumbent upon the United States to be prepared to grant independence. Micronesia is now the only remaining trust territory in the world.

right of the U.S. Congress to annul any law passed by the Guam Legislature: "All laws enacted by the legislature shall be reported by the Governor to the head of the department or agency designated by the President under Section 3 of this Act, and by him to the Congress of the United States, which reserves the power and authority to annul the same."

Colonial status by definition is undesirable. The relationship of child to mother is intended by nature to be brief and temporary.

MORE ON PAGE 26

Independence for Palau?

In a rally held in Koror on November 2, Senator Roman Tmetuchl told an assembled crowd of high school students that "God did not create us to be under some other people. Now we have the opportunity to liberate ourselves and you must do it. . . . In this world you have to struggle to survive and unless we fight we will be overwhelmed by selfish foreigners. We should not be like death fish being swayed by the tide in any direction it takes us."

On the future of Palau, the pro-independence senator charged the crowd with "responsibility of controlling the destiny of Palau. This land is yours and you must own it, and if someday you are again colonized like our ancestors and like us today, it will be by your choice because you have the chance now to be free and rule your country."

"I know the United States is using some of us to divide and make us fight among ourselves so they can continue to rule us," said the senator, "but we have to unite and be strong to fight for what is ours and what we want."

"You have to learn to stand on your own feet even if it means you have to be hungry today in order for you to learn to fish, farm and work with your hands. Tomorrow and for the rest of your lives you will be self-ruling."

"We should have pride in ourselves, not be servants but be masters of our lands and our lives."



Senator Roman Tmetuchl

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SEE RELATED STORY ON LAND ON PAGE 4

INDEPENDENCE DAY NEXT YEAR?

United Nations Day is usually the cause for the biggest celebrations of the year in Micronesia. This year though the celebration took a new twist in Palau. Although the Navy sent a band, the highlight of the occasion was a speech by Senator Roman Tmetuchl. He told over 3,000 Palauans gathered around the Legislature Building that next year "we should be celebrating Palau Day, marking our independence and sovereignty." He asked why we should continue spending our energy, money and time to celebrate the day the United Nations handed us over to the United States as a colony. "Now is the time to rule ourselves and to have our own identity."

—Ymal Uludong
(from *Tia Belau*)

PALAU CHIEF DIES

One of Palau's highest ranking chiefs, Rengulbai Mesechol, died in early September. His successor will be chosen by the women of his clan.

AMERICAN HANG-OUT BURNED IN PALAU

Palau's Community Club was seriously damaged by arsonists on October 23 in a pre-dawn blaze. The club is a favorite hang-out for Americans and high ranking Micronesian officials.

Earlier in the year the office of the Micronesian Occupational Center in Palau was seriously damaged by arsonists. No one has been charged in either case.



PLEASE HELP PLEASE HELP PLEASE HELP PLEASE HELP PLEASE HELP

1. **Be informed.** Subscribe to one of the papers in Micronesia, send for some of our publications.

2. **Tell other people** about what is happening in Micronesia. You can do this by word of mouth, by passing out copies of the FOM Fact-sheet and, by trying to get local libraries to subscribe to the *Newsletter*. We will soon have a slide show available, which you can borrow or buy. Contact local groups about showing it to them.

3. **Send us names and addresses** of individuals and groups who might be interested in getting the *Newsletter*. Send us copies of mailing lists you come across. We'll send sample copies.

4. **Write letters to newspapers** when they do articles on Micronesia. Write letters to congressmen and government officials. In addition to your own congressman, write to:

Hon. Phillip Burton
Chairman, Subcommittee of Territorial and
Insular Affairs
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Hon. J. William Fulbright
Chairman, Foreign Relations Committee
U.S. Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Hon. J. Bennett Johnston
Chairman, Interior Subcommittee on
Territorial Affairs
U.S. Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Hon. Ronald Dellums
Armed Services Committee
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

5. **Write articles for newspapers** and magazines.

6. **Local groups need to become a** more active force. Contact people in your area about having regular meetings and about undertaking local informational projects.

7. **Work with us.** We always need writers, editors, etc. We also need your ideas and your criticisms. Feedback is important if we are going to continue providing a useful service. We do pay attention to your comments and criticisms.

8. **Support us.** Our expenses keep climbing. Postage and printing increases have taken their toll. We exist on your support. Our last appeal letter said prices have gone up 20%, now they have increased 30-40% above what they were last year. Please continue to help us out as often as you are able.

Bon Apetit, Tourist!

Dear Editor,

Our first visit to Saipan and unspoiled Paradise! We stayed only one day.

We understood why our rented car was so dilapidated when we left the black hardtop road and jounced over ruts and rocks down a dark tunnel of a lane, branches scratching the sides and top of the jalopy. We cannot understand why the car rental agencies don't get together and force the authorities to repair the approaches to beaches.

Emerging from the tunnel, a spectacular dramatic view made us gasp. The white waves rose high in the air and pounded against the reef. All the beaches we saw on Saipan were beautiful from a distance.

Walking along Marine Beach to view a pillbox, we stumbled over decaying, fly-infested animal intestines. Plastic bags spilled their foul garbage on the sand. We were horrified to see, as we passed a group around a fire, two men raise a black dog by its four feet and drop it in the fire, hack it with machetes and then repeat this over and over. We hope the animal was dead. The gruesome sight caused us to turn and flee. What had been a lovely day became dark and ugly. Being animal lovers, we were disturbed. We had heard that dog eating was common in Micronesia, but why could this not be confined to private areas rather than public? Are there regulations controlling this sort of action?

Instead of remaining on Saipan for our proposed stay, we took the first available plane out. We were disillusioned, disgusted and left vowing never to return. We will instruct our friends to travel elsewhere. If Micronesia wishes tourists, we suggest more attention be paid to better roads, cleanliness of beach areas and restricting dog-roasting to homes of the eaters of dog flesh.

I hope your officials will take some action.

Mrs. A. B. Goge
Arlington, Virginia

(Reprinted from the *Marianas Variety and News* (Saipan), 5 October 1973)



THE MICRONESIAN ECONOMY

THE FLOODGATES ARE NOW OPENING AND MICRONESIA IS BEING DELUGED BY FOREIGN MONEY. SOME IMPEDIMENTS STILL KEEP THE GATES FROM OPENING WIDER BUT SAIPAN IS GETTING THE BRUNT OF IT NOW. IN THIS SPECIAL REPORT, WE DISCUSS THE MICRONESIAN ECONOMY AND THE IMPACT OF FOREIGN INVESTMENT.

"The political future of Micronesia must be resolved if the islands are to become more attractive to outside investment," says a recent Bank of America report to potential investors. Nevertheless, there is a constant stream of pilgrimages by business men from Tokyo, Taipei, Hong Kong, San Francisco and New York, some of them leaving behind yen and dollars as bait, rest of them seriously eyeing future investment possibilities. In the Marianas though, where it now seems a permanent colonial relationship is in the offing, investment is growing rapidly.

Under present U.S. policy only Americans can invest in the islands. But despite the urgings of the U.S. Department of the Interior and the Navy, few American firms have taken the leap. In April 1973 the Navy sponsored a tour of Micronesia for 8 prominent American businessmen. But said one of them while in Palau, "These islands are so small, it doesn't pay to invest. It's the Japanese who will find it profitable to spend money here, not us."

Nevertheless, American investors now control most of the financial and physical infrastructure in the islands. Transportation is the monopoly of Continental Airlines and a quasi-governmental, thoroughly incompetent American shipping line. Petroleum is the monopoly of American-controlled Mobil Oil. And banking is in the hands of the Bank of America, the world's largest bank, and the Bank of Hawaii. New York-based First National City Bank has plans to open its first branch soon; Chase Manhattan is not far behind. The Bank of Tokyo, through its San Francisco-based subsidiary will soon open its first branch on Guam in what must be the world's most roundabout financial arrangement since Tokyo is only 1500 miles away.

WHO CONTROLS LAND?

But all of these require little land and little permanent investment in physical structures. Mobil refines all of its oil in the Philippines and has only modest sized tank farms in Micronesia. The other American firms are dependent only on small offices in the district centers for their operations. Most of their logistical support comes from Guam, Honolulu and Tokyo.

According to the Bank of America report, "the restriction on the sale of land has been perhaps the greatest obstacle to foreign investment in Micronesia." Until recently foreigners even had difficulty leasing land. A legacy of the military rule of Micronesia, when Navy authorities didn't want a lot of people wandering around their "preserve" arousing the "natives," this policy more than any other has kept out not only investments that require land but also loans which normally use land as collateral in case of default.

Under new regulations, foreigners can lease land and can make loans secured by "leaseholds" which allow creditors to control land for a pre-specified period of time in the event of default. There are also numerous private deals among Japanese investors and Micronesian "partners" for the all but registered sale of land to Japanese hotel corporations. Statistics on these deals are impossible to find but stories about them are not.

JAPANESE CONSUMERISM

Everywhere in Micronesia now, but especially in Saipan and Palau, Japanese visitors come bearing gifts. One Palauan describes

how one night there was a knock on his door by a prospective Japanese investor who left behind an expensive 35 mm camera as a gift. Other Palauans tell the same stories.

Front men are already in place in most of the districts, usually Micronesian citizens of Japanese ancestry (from when Japan controlled the islands before defeat in World War II).

Most of the Japanese interest is in tourism, (the subject of a special report in the Fall 1973 *Newsletter*). But, unlike American consumer salesmen who usually find the market too small, Japanese consumer goods are now in the predominance. In Majuro, where there are direct shipping ties with Australia, there are many Australian goods on market shelves and a couple of small American firms help stock shelves in the other districts. The bulk of the staples, however, like fish, are supplied by the Japanese.

It makes an interesting story. One large Japanese combine, Mitsui, is already in-and-around Micronesia engaged in construction work (in partnership with South Korean firms) and in fishing off Micronesian waters. It cans its Micronesian-caught tuna in Japan and sells it back to Micronesians via the Japanese trading firm that in Japanese days ran the whole economy of Micronesia — *Nanyo Boeki Kaisha*. NBK is again angling for control of Micro-

SOUTH KOREAN PAY-OFF

At the height of the Vietnam war, South Korean construction firms had millions of dollars in contract to build military facilities and South Korean soldiers were engaged in the fighting. To avoid a recession when this lucrative source of income dried up, the U.S. has turned over almost all major construction in Micronesia to Korean firms. A recent headcount among Koreans in Palau showed that almost half of them formerly worked in Vietnam.

Their living conditions are terrible and there are constant legal battles to get them backpay illegally deducted by greedy employers. By cutting corners they have been able to replace American and Philippines based companies who formerly did most of the construction work in Guam and Micronesia.

The American tax-payer subsidizes this practice through foreign aid to South Korea which, directly or indirectly, allows South Korean firms to underbid almost any other contractor for any job. American construction firms, often virtual slavemasters for Filipino workers themselves, are furious.

In addition, the Trust Territory Government does most of its shiprepair work in South Korea now and just dedicated the first

2 Cases

This writer, while on Saipan recently, witnessed the actual turnover of a large sum of money to a local Saipanese "front-man" as partial operating expenses for a hotel now under construction.

Another official, a member of the Marianas Political Status Commission, secretly holds land under his name on Tinian for two Guamanian businessmen. This writer knows of this first hand. And it is surely only the tip of the iceberg.

ne: an trade, by gathering up as many distributorships as it can. It already has permanently based agents in Micronesia. (To give you an example of what kind of company Mitsui is: in the last three months the cost of toilet paper in Japan has gone from about \$1-\$3 because Mitsui refused to sell toilet paper in its warehouses until it drove the price up to almost unpurchasable levels.)

Because Micronesia is exceptionally dependent on imports at this stage, trading firms can gain a virtual strangle-hold on Micronesia if they choose to do so. Imports increased at an average yearly rate of about 25% between 1966 and 1971. Food was the largest single import item in 1971, amounting to 30% of the \$25 million import total. Micronesia need not continue to develop as a consumer oriented society but because of its small labor force and scattered setting will be somewhat more dependent on foreign imports than many other nations.

There are alternatives to reliance on the major capitalist nations — there is the potential for ties with other South Pacific nations and with socialist nations like China, and Tanzania. But in the short run Japanese firms are doing what they can to grab the bulk of the business.

SCARED TAIWANESE MONEY

A new phenomenon on Guam that is now spreading to Micronesia is Taiwanese money scared away from Formosa by Nixon's overtures to China. A once retiring ex-CIA employee who teaches at the University of Guam is now head of a burgeoning Chinese-American Chamber of Commerce on Guam. Its tentacles have now spread to Saipan and beyond. Little is known about this new link but a Taipei bank has just opened a representative office on Guam. In Guam its practices have been called "unsavory" by more than a few people. Two mysterious fires in shops on either side of a new Taiwanese building on Guam remained unsolved. It appears that the owners would not sell to the expanding Taiwanese firm which owned the building.

Government officials on the local level are remarkably oblivious to such goings on, despite the new wave of economic imperialism. One such official, ironically a member of the Congress of Micronesia, told me, "Don't you realize we can become the Miami of Japan?" And such wide-eyed eagerness seems to be the rule on Saipan rather than the exception.

Mike Malone

(from the *Micronesian Independent*, 28 Dec. 1973).

new boat ever built for service in Micronesia — built, of course, in South Korea.

(The military is cooperating in this "help the South Korean dictatorship" program too. Much of the dirty work formerly done by Filipinos on Guam has now been turned over to Koreans, especially at the huge Andersen Air Force Base).

THERE IS STILL TIME

Put it all together — the Americans, Japanese, Chinese and South Koreans — and you have a Micronesia run by foreigners. The energy crisis and the revaluation of the dollar though are having the providential effect of slowing down development and creating a shortage of consumer goods. Dan Neblett, a long time San Francisco based trader predicts Micronesia will be virtually unable to buy fuel or food in the future. Investment is more definitely risky than in the past. NBK has reportedly lost over \$600,000 in its Micronesia trade as a result of being caught unprepared by the revaluation of the dollar and the yen.

Sometimes instability can be beneficial, as the Chinese have tried to show the world. So long as the political situation in Micronesia remains unsettled and so long as the energy shortage continues to worry the world, Micronesia still has the time to plan its own economic future. Should the energy shortage become a permanent phenomenon, as some people now predict, Micronesians may yet get to rule their own nation.



The Pocket Calculator Crowd

Anti-Japanese riots recently led to the downfall of Thailand's government. Student riots against the South Korean dictatorship are demanding the end to Japanese control of their economy and an end to prostitution spawned by Japanese tourism. Anti-Japanese feeling is running so high in Indonesia that Toyota, Sanyo and other Japanese giants have turned off their rooftop neon signs in Jakarta.

In an article reprinted from the Los Angeles Times, foreign correspondent Jack Foisie describes the Japanese invasion of Guam, the gateway to Micronesia exploitation.

GUAM—Even on this American island in the Western Pacific, where hate for the Japanese has lingered, the adage that “time heals all wounds” is true—especially if the passage of time also brings an economic advantage.

The Japanese are back—and welcomed. The suffering of Guamanians — American nationals — during two and a half years of harsh Japanese occupation in World War II seems to have faded in the minds of even those who were victims and still bear scars of beatings or slashing by swords.

Nor does the threat of eventual economic domination by the men of Nippon, who arrive now as salesmen with pocket computers rather than as soldiers with bayonets, seem to disturb Guamanians of which there are some 50,000 on this island.

Liberated 29 years ago, they still celebrate the day—July 21—when American Marines stormed ashore. This year at the formal ceremonies the Japanese flag flew alongside those of the United States and Guam.

“It seemed the courteous thing to do,” a Guamanian senator explained.

The advertising director of the Pacific Daily News on Guam was a bit irked because this gesture was not always reciprocated; some Japanese firms on the island declined to put ads in the paper's Liberation Day issue.

Japanese tourists—who arrive at the rate of about 600 daily, and the small colony of Japanese residents, carefully display correct manners toward the island people they formerly considered social inferiors. And, of course, there is no mention of the Japanese occupation era, when the “chammos” of Guam and dark-skinned inhabitants of other Micronesian atolls were forcibly entered as peons into Japan's grandiose plans for a “co-prosperity sphere” in Asia after the defeat of the United States and other “colonial” powers.

Occasionally there is an insensitive slip, however. At the Japanese-owned Guam Dai Ichi hotel, one of the stretches of its miniature golf course is named the “bamboo torture.”

The receptive attitude shown the Japanese by the people of Guam—which includes a potpourri of well-off Chinese immigrants



A Guam Beach . . . behind it a row of Japanese owned highrise hotels.

UnHoly Mackerel & the Almighty Buck

By Fran Hezel

There are two ways of looking at the main goal of economic development —

1) a “better life” — more abundant and efficient goods and services made available to as many people as possible — and at any price!

or, it can mean

2) an increased capability of the people to provide for themselves what they see as desirable in their development. Along with this goes the freedom to make decisions affecting the course of their own development and the power to control this development.

I see the first view as that which until now has been implicitly adopted by most authorities in Micronesia.

Everything that follows presupposes the second view of development however, and should be read in that light. It presumes that economic self-reliance is both realistic and desirable.

There are four critical areas of economic development: migration into towns, exports and imports, salaries in the government and private sectors and employment levels.

MIGRATION INTO TOWNS

Population trends show a considerable rise in the annual rate of growth in “towns” since 1966 — in most cases well above that between 1963 and 1966, the years in which Micronesia felt the first effects of increased government spending in the TT. (See Table A)

MORE ON PAGE 20

MORE ON NEXT PAGE

As population is drawn into the towns, economists and planners often welcome the expanded potential labor force as a source of future productivity. Actually, however, the vast majority of those who obtain wage employment in the towns either are employed by the government — thus further bloating the government payroll and expanding the costly bureaucracy — or they find jobs in the service industries, as storekeepers, waiters, construction workers, that feed off the consumerism rampant in such localities. Some of those who migrate into towns never find employment

**TABLE A
POPULATION TRENDS**

	1963	1966	Ave. annual growth rate 1963-1966	1972	Avg. annual growth rate 1966-1972
T.T.	84,777	92,373	3.5%	114,645	3.5%
Kolonia	1,273	1,674	10%	3,989	23%
Koror	4,296	4,975	5%	6,032	4%
Ebeye	2,388	2,879	7%	5,604	15%
Majuro	3,940	5,187	9%	9,059	12%
Moen	3,829	4,380	5%	6,580	8%

and become hangers-on, living off the paychecks of relatives who have steady employment. Often unskilled, they are able to make only a minimal contribution to basic economic development, if any contribution is made at all. In the first place, they usually relinquish the role of food-producers that they assumed when they were living in rural areas.

The population of Kolonia Town, for example, grew by 1000 between 1971 and 1972, while the population of Ponape island as a whole increased by only 1,400. This leaves a net gain of 400 persons for all of Ponape island outside of Kolonia (two of the municipalities actually lost population during the past year). But there were slightly over 400 infants born in these areas during the same period — and infants do not produce food! Hence, we might expect that the local food production relative to the rural population actually decreased on Ponape last year.

Furthermore, those who move into towns are an easy prey for the consumption-gone-wild where retail stores, bars and car dealers proliferate. Not only are they consumers in the private sphere, saving little of what they earn and setting patterns of consumption for their rural cousins that Micronesia can ill-afford at this time, but they make demands for more expensive, "better" community services — roads, hospitals, schools, — that absorb an ever greater share of the national resources which might have been used more productively in stimulating basic economic development projects.

It is because of its deleterious effect on baseline economic development in rural areas that some countries, such as China, have found it necessary to take steps to restrict migration into the towns and cities. The Trust Territory Administration, even if it has rejected the Nathan Plan proposal to expressly work towards migration of outer-islanders into concentrated population centers, has in effect espoused policies that encourage the same result. Educational and economic policies have worked hand-in-glove to lead the people where the jobs are — and this can only be in the "towns"! As long as the stated goal of economic development remains "to allow as many families in Micronesia as possible to share in development by providing them with dependable dollar incomes," we may expect the urban drift to continue.

Establishment of sub-district centers with their own post-elementary schools, limited job opportunities, and some of the other trappings of the district-center towns, may have been conceived partially in the hopes that this would forestall the exodus from rural areas. But there is little hope that this will happen. The sub-district centers may in time become towns themselves, in which case we can expect them to become the destination of emigres from still further outlying areas. If this happens, we can

anticipate a greater decline in utilization of land and sea resources. The result would then be yet another step away from self-reliance.

The over-all effect of migration into towns, therefore, is to diminish the productivity from land and sea, while expanding the consumption of money-bought goods and services. In the present order of things, large-scale migration can only create a wider gap between productivity and consumption.

IMPORTS VS. EXPORTS

Over-all, the Trust Territory consumption of foreign-bought goods has tripled in the last six years. This shows up in the increase in imported goods from \$8.9 million in 1966 to \$26.3 in 1972. (See Table B). The same rate of increase is reflected in imports of particular commodities: for instance.

- a) Tobacco Products: \$0.5 million in 1966 to \$1.4 million in 1972.
- b) Alcohol: \$0.45 million to \$1.7 million.
- c) Canned fish: \$0.4 million to \$1.3 million.

In the same period, the total production of goods and services in the TT has undoubtedly increased, even if it is difficult to estimate the increase in dollar terms. What is significant, though, is that this increase in production has occurred in educational, health, and administrative services. One might ask whether this represents a real economic gain at all. Meanwhile, the value of exports has remained about what it was in 1966 and, for that matter, in 1961. This is discouraging, because exports are the "barter" that a nation uses in exchange for foreign-made goods

TABLE B

YEAR	IMPORTS — EXPORTS			YEAR	IMPORTS — EXPORTS		
	IMPORTS (millions)	EXPORTS (millions)	RATIO		IMPORTS (millions)	EXPORTS (millions)	RATIO
1961	4.5	2.13	1:2	1967	9.8	2.32	1:4
1962	4.1	2.12	1:2	1968	13.6	3.03	1:4.5
1963	5.0	2.16	1:2.3	1969	16.0	2.8	1:5.3
1964	5.7	2.6	1:2.2	1970	20.9	4.18	1:5
1965	7.1	3.15	1:2.3	1971	26.2	3.0	1:8.7
1966	8.9	3.0	1:3	1972	26.3	2.6	1:10

NOTES: [1] In Fiscal Year 1972, Micronesia exported fish valued at \$900,000 while importing \$1,300,000 worth of fish.

[2] Imports of selected items:

	Tobacco	Alcohol & Beer	Canned Fish
1966	\$ 500,000	450,000	390,000
1968	680,000	600,000	560,000
1970	940,000	1,000,000	950,000
1972	1,400,000	1,700,000	1,300,000

[3] Export figures do not include revenue from tourism, which is becoming a growing source of income in Micronesia.

that it must import to satisfy the needs of its people. The ratio of value of exports to imports last year was 1 to 10. In other words, for every dollar's worth of copra, fish, etc., that Micronesia sold abroad, it bought ten dollars worth of canned food, steel, cement, and other items.

The major economic development problem in Micronesia is to bring consumption in line with productivity by increasing the latter and curtailing the former. It is possible to suggest measures that could be taken to control imports and stimulate exports — measures such as heavy luxury taxes, legislation to limit the types and amount of goods that could be exported, the radical reorientation of the school system towards productive skills, and the like. But a society that has acquired a taste for canned mackerel and Shasta and has become accustomed to living well beyond the range of its ability to produce is not likely to show enthusiastic support for such measures. This is all the more true when consumption of foreign goods has come to be regarded in the eyes of many Micronesians as a measure of progress and dignity: "We know we have arrived when we too can afford canned hams and frozen foods!"

Must Micronesia to the limits in the direction of wasteful consumption before it can rally itself and redirect its resources towards increasing its ability to produce?

SALARIES

In the Congress of Micronesia's last session, a single-pay plan was passed and later signed by High Commissioner. The effects of this law are:

- 1) to establish a single base salary for Micronesians and expatriates who work for the TT government;
- 2) to raise the minimum government salary to 61¢ an hour (in 1969 it had been raised from 33¢ to 50¢);
- 3) to adjust government employees salary from 1-10% higher than previously.

Implementation of this new law through salary increments will cost an estimated \$2.3 million this present year. Total salaries paid to government employees this year will reach \$22 million.



The Single Pay Plan would appear to be nothing short of economic folly, given the nature of the problems that Micronesia faces now. It will further inflate government salaries which have doubled in the last five years. From an average of \$1,300 in 1967, they have risen to \$2,600 last year. Higher government salaries can, in turn, be expected to exert pressure on the private sector for similar increases.

Although the average wage in the private sector has been increasing yearly, Table C shows that it is not able to keep pace with the government average; and it is projected that the gap between them will widen even more in the next few years. (The difference between government and private salaries noted in Table C

would be even greater except for the fact that the Marshallese who work on Kwajalein — private employees — are paid according to the minimum U.S. wage standards.)

The issue here is not simply inequality between the salaries of the clerk at the Supply Department and the clerk in a retail store. What is at stake is the capacity of a nation to produce enough to provide for the needs of its people. Salaries in the private sector, after all, can't be fixed at the will of a legislative body; they are subject to market conditions and the laws of supply and demand. It is unreasonable to expect that a copra-cutter who averaged 12¢ an hour before the drop in copra prices, or even the commercial farmer who is taught the most efficient methods of agriculture will ever be able to match the lucrative remuneration of the government employee. Their salaries, after all, depend on how much they can produce and what people will pay for it. As the wage gap widens, employment in productive industries — such as



farming and fishing — will become even more undesirable by contrast with government employment.

TABLE C
SALARIES & EMPLOYMENT

Year	Total \$ (millions)	No. Gov't Employees	No. Private Employees	Avg. Gov't Salary	Avg. Private Salary
1961	3,346	2,762	1,445	\$ 900	\$ 580
1964	5,584	4,437	2,183	1,000	520
1967	9,048	5,235	2,987	1,300	740
1970	20,550	7,254	5,182	2,050	1,100
1972	28,912	7,910	5,744	2,600	1,500

NOTES: [1] There is a close correlation between the increase in the U.S. budget and the number of government jobs. Can further growth in government employment be projected, unless the budget continues to rise as spectacularly as during the last decade?

[2] From 1961 to 1967, the ratio of full private employment to government jobs was 1:2. Since 1969, with the development of tourism as a major industry, the ratio is close to 3:

[3] Despite the increase in salaries in both the government and private sectors, the wage gap between the two sectors continues to grow.

There exists in Micronesia a strong need, especially among educated Micronesians, to destroy the inequalities that have typified the colonial situation here and to affirm Micronesians' own equality with Americans of similar background before both God and the Finance Officer. A single salary schedule is a token of recognition in this regard. "Equal qualifications, equal work, equal pay!" is a legitimate psychological plea from a people that is struggling for acceptance, even if it does not make very much economic sense in Micronesia today. But the new pay plan, like other recent pay increases, will only more sharply accentuate class differences within Micronesia, even as it diminished on those Micronesians who are not employed how "poor" they are in contrast to the salaried consumers of canned, bottled, and packaged goods of all



sorts.

Other countries that have had large segments of their population unemployed for wages, like Micronesia, have chosen to maintain low wage rates to encourage extensive use of more labor than intensive use of few workers. This has the effect of allowing more people to participate, although on a smaller scale, in the cash economy. The effect is to distribute income more widely.

At the present time, however, Micronesian wage employment is an all-or-none situation. From earning next to nothing (in dollar terms) on the land, a Micronesian government employee goes to a minimum salary of \$1,250 a year. The social problems inherent in this kind of a transition are enormous for the individual. And this is quite apart from the broader social problem created by the widening of the chasm between the "haves" and "have-nots" in Micronesia.

MANPOWER AND EMPLOYMENT

Table D shows the percentage of the total potential work force that was actually employed for a salary during 1972. (Total potential work force is composed of all those persons over 15 years of age).

As is evident from the figures, those who have jobs represent only a small percentage of all those who are theoretically employable. This is the case in all districts except the Marianas. When some people speak of economic development, they suppose that

the major goal is to secure salaried jobs for as many of the unemployed as possible. Economic development would mean increasing, in whatever way this could be done, the percentages in the last column of Table D. The goal would, in this case, simply be to get jobs for as many people as possible.

But if self-reliance is accepted as a fundamental national goal, it matters greatly what kind of jobs these are. Some types of employment contribute a good deal to economic development; others hinder it. To raise the percentage of employed persons in, say, Ponape by starting a large retail store could well impede rather than help genuine economic development, even if Ponape

TABLE D

PERCENT OF WORK FORCE EMPLOYED 1972		Potential	Micronesians	Percent
		Work Force	Employed	Employed
	MARIANAS	5,700	3,450	61%
	MARSHALLS	11,500	2,730	24%
	PALAU	6,400	2,030	32%
	PONAPE	12,000	2,150	18%
	TRUK	17,300	2,170	12%
	YAP	4,100	1,120	27%

were to show a higher rate of employed the following year.

The number of jobs available — and the percentage of population employed — is not an index of authentic economic development in a dependency such as Micronesia. It says nothing of the self-reliance achieved — the ability of the people to produce what they need. Increase in full-time employment may suggest that there are more dollars in the society — this and little more — although it may not even be a sure measure of this! Surely the presence of more dollars is not an infallible indicator of even



economic development, to say nothing of over-all human development.

Jobs are all too often used as the barometer of economic growth in Micronesia. A rapid increase in number of people employed is taken as a sign of progress. This is a strange view indeed when one considers that in the past decade a large jump in employment has almost always been the result of a large U.S. budget increase and the secondary effects of government spending on the private sector. Employment figures jumped by 3000 or 33% in 1970, for instance, as the U.S. budget was raised from \$40 million to \$50 million.

Is a society any the better off economically if it spends \$6,000 per child to send him through 12 grades so that he can attain a job, only to have him discover at the end of this struggle that it will cost the society another \$12,000 to finance 4 years of college

TABLE E
COMPARISON OF HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES
AND SALARIED JOBS

Year	(Single Year) High School Graduates	(3-Year Period) High School Graduates	Increase in No. of Jobs
1961	109		
1964	135	370	+2,400
1967	511	1000	+1,600
1970	931	2100	+4,200
1973	1200	3000	+1,200
1976	2000	5000	

NOTE: At present there are 2000 expatriates employed in the TT, of whom some 600 work for the government. These are jobs which, of course, would become available for Micronesians with necessary skills.

if he hopes to be able to compete successfully for the job? It is all the worse if, after his college education, the young man finds that he cannot return to Micronesia because of new and greater aspirations that he has picked up along the line. Education can prove to be a very unsound economic investment at times.

Table E shows the prospective plight of an educational investment that is designed to turn out potential employees. Until within the last year or two, the increase in number of salaried jobs always exceeded the number of high school graduates from the T.T. It is clear of late, however, that the private sector will not be able to absorb the growing number of high school graduates seeking employment. Within 3 years, 1500-2000 persons yearly will enter the labor market. Will our tremendous outlay for education be wasted?

It is clear that we must not deny full-time salaried employment a role in economic development. In the past too much effort may have been spent in trying to provide more jobs for those who lived off the land. Greater attention must now be given the question of how economic development can be fostered without necessarily putting people on the payroll — either government or private. How can productivity among those leading a semi-subsistence life be stimulated while these people continue to live off the land and the sea?



INVESTMENT FIGURES

What statistics there are are sketchy and often unreliable. There is little detailed information on the operation of foreign firms in Micronesia because (1) fewer than half the legally licensed American firms bother to file required annual reports describing their activities, (2) there is a growing amount of illegal undercover Japanese and Taiwanese investment, and (3) the Trust Territory Economic Development Division is not capable of keeping track of business developments and has assumed no enforcement or investigative role.

There has been a 265% increase in American corporate investment in the Marianas, where most American firms are headquartered, in the past two fiscal years. Overall investment in Micronesia has increased 70%.

There are 102 legally licensed active American corporations in Micronesia. In Fiscal Year 1973, there were 64 business applications. Twenty of them were approved, 9 rejected, 1 withdrawn and 32 still pending (despite a rule requiring decisions within 60 days).

Continental Airlines is the largest investor in Micronesia with \$35.5 million tied up in the operation of Air Micronesia and its hotel chain. This comes to 72% of the \$49 million known to be invested by Americans. Other large operations are the Bank of America, the Bank of Hawaii, Van Camp Fishing, Coca Cola Bottling, Del Monte, Dillingham Construction, and a number of large insurance companies.

Percentage of Micronesian ownership varies from zero to 51% (one case). The mode average is 20% Micronesian shares.

(Source: Economic Development Division, Department of Resources and Development, Trust Territory, Report on Administration of Foreign Investors Business Permit Act, Fiscal Year 1973, September 1973.)

The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development has recently issued an excellent report on island economies entitled *Special Measures in Favour of the Least Developed Among Developing Countries*, Report of the Panel of Experts on Developing Island Countries (TD/B/44.3), 18 June 1973.

from Hong Kong and Taiwan as well as Hawaiian islanders and mainland Americans—quite possibly stems from the fallout of jobs and money for the locals.

Distance a Factor

“The Japanese are here to make money, and they do,” a local banker said. “And we are closer by air to Japan than to the mainland, or even Hawaii. So we must consider that our economic future relates to theirs. Already we are profiting off their profit.”

It is a curious give-and-take. With Tokyo-arranged package tours, and with devalued dollars, the tourists and honeymooners from Japan are cutting Guam’s American prices down to pennies. They are packing primarily the six Japanese-run hotels on the island.

But still the influx of the Japanese is proving a windfall, providing Guamanians with almost full-employment in the service industries.

And Pan-American Airways, even though competing with Japanese Air Lines on the five-hour Tokyo-Guam flight, has a new, profitable Pacific route to replace its former business to Saigon.

The average tourist stays four days on Guam; there are some 4,000 visitors at a time. Three out of four are Japanese.

Each day a dozen Japanese couples wed. The fee for the license is \$10; the clerk who presents it is a Guamanian and he pronounces you man-and-wife in Japanese.

There is another kind of special Japanese visitor. He is a member of the Nippon Izokukai Seineubu (Youth Division of Japan War-Bereaved Families). They arrive in groups to gather the bones of imperial soldiers who died fighting the Americans. Hundreds of skeletons are collected for the cremation bonfire. The ashes then are returned home as “symbolic remains” of those who died for the emperor.

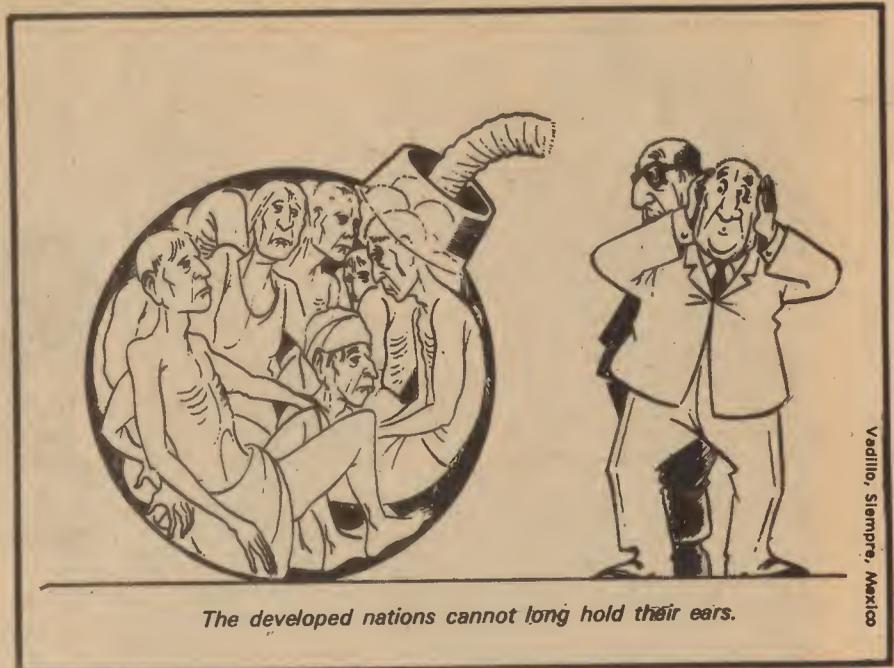
Purchasing Land

The arrivals with briefcases are Japanese investors. Their land purchases on Guam doubled during the past 12 months. Down payments often are paid with U.S. greenbacks.

And the number of Japanese firms has increased five-fold in the past two years, according to Guam tax officials.

Guamanians are out to discover ways to attract even more Oriental guests, particularly “big spenders.” Legislation to legalize casino gambling was vetoed by the Guam governor. So instead a “super country club of the Pacific” is being carved out of the Guam jungle for the Nipponese who want to golf.

All is not euphoria in Guam, however. Tourism will return about \$80 million to the islanders this year. But it is almost the only “industry.” Guam’s biggest export is scrap metal. The corrosive effects of salt air, heavy humidity, glowering sun and coral roads makes the island an automobile graveyard; American and Japanese-import cars become rust buckets within three years.



Vadillo, Siempre, Mexico

The developed nations cannot long hold their ears.

Defense Spending Vital

So although Guamanians would like to shake its dependence on the U.S. Navy and Air Force presence on the island, defense spending is the mainstay of the economy.

Needing to import almost everything, including food, living in Guam is as expensive as in a big stateside city. There was a steady shift from American purchases to cheaper and closer Asian goods. But with the yen revalued upward, and the dollar downward, trade with Japan has slowed.

Still the Japanese investments on Guam continue.

This is because of Guam’s location. It is the “big island” in the vast spread of atolls of Micronesia, where the Japanese are also becoming aggressive speculators.

Never before, or since, has Micronesia enjoyed such prosperity as during the quarter-century Nippon rule. Despite bad treatment by their former rulers, many natives of Yap, Truk, Saipan and Tinian seem ready to take back the Japanese.

After almost 30 years of Washington’s lackluster administration of the trust islands, American investors are just starting to “discover” them as potential sources of great fisheries and minerals. It has turned into a race between the Japanese and Americans as to which will ultimately dominate Micronesia.

(Reprinted from the *Los Angeles Times*, 12 August 1973).

Friends of Micronesia is not necessarily in agreement with all the opinions and sentiments expressed by the author of this article.

A NOTE ON CONTRIBUTORS

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Reprints of this Special Report, *The Micronesian Economy*, are available. 1-10 copies are 35¢ each, 10 or more are 25¢ each.



Friends of Micronesia

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Berkeley, California 94703

BUSINESS NOOSE

DON'T BANK ON BANKS

The Bank of Hawaii's branch in Palau has been ordered to repay excess interest it collected from its borrowers. According to a ruling of the High Court, the bank made more than 1,200 usurious loans between 1965 and June 1972. It is not known how much interest the bank will have to repay.

The bank argued that there was no usury involved because there was no intent to overcharge and because under Trust Territory law there is no right to recover over-paid back interest.

Bank of Hawaii has branches throughout Micronesia. It is the only bank in Palau, although representatives of the Bank of America and First National City Bank have recently been on the island.

BEING A CONSUMER DOESN'T PAY

It's now going to cost Micronesians more than ever to buy imported goods. Transpac, the monopoly shipping line, has raised its charges by 12%. This is the third rate hike in a year's time. Shipping increases have a multiplier effect on consumer prices since most merchants use rate increases as a convenient means of raising profits too.

Quasi-governmental Transpac continues to verge on death but has recently acquired two surplus World War II Liberty ships. It is also scrapping one ship.

Complaints about poor service continue. According to Congress of Micronesia representative Sasauo Haruo, the service should "either be improved or somebody else should be allowed to come in to provide . . . service for the people of Micronesia."

Nauru Lines, which serves Majuro, has recently made arrangements with Tonga Lines to create a South Pacific people's owned and operated shipping service. Nauru Lines has also expressed an interest in taking over Micronesian shipping. Nauru, an independent Micronesian island, is one of the smallest independent nations. It is also one of the wealthiest nations in the world as a result of rich phosphate deposits.

FOREIGN HOTELS TOLD TO STAY OUT OF PALAU

In an important decision, the Palau District Economic Development Board has turned down a license application to build a 100-room hotel in Palau. The Board said the decision was meant to be precedent setting establishing that "it is in the best interest of the Micronesian people that total ownership of any hotel development be in Micronesian hands." It said that it was concerned that the proposed hotel, to be built by a corporation composed of both Micronesians and foreigners, would "force local owners to . . . seek foreign assistance" and would "unfavorably encourage dependence upon an outside power."

According to Palau's newspaper *Tia Belau*, the hotel would be controlled by a Japanese corporation.

COPRA PRICE HIGHEST EVER



A whopping 50% hike was announced in the price of Micronesia's only real export — copra. This is the highest price ever paid to Micronesian producers. Producers will now get \$182.50 a ton.

In recent years prices have been so low that production has declined. The increase in demand is tied to the shortage of various petroleum and vegetable oils. Copra is the dried meat from coconuts from which oil is squeezed. It is used in many industrial settings and in food products and body lotions. All of the Micronesian production goes to Japan. It is marketed by a government stabilization board.

FISHING INDUSTRY DOWN THE DRAIN?

Plans by Del Monte to begin tuna fishing in the Marshalls have been delayed — and perhaps abandoned, according to word from Majuro. The last meeting between Marshallese leaders and Del Monte officials in San Francisco was abortive. Del Monte has promised Marshallese it would eventually set up a cannery and complete tuna fishing industry but at the same time has announced plans to set up an operation in South Korea that would use the Marshalls only for replenishing its ships. Ships and a cannery are already under construction there. (See *Summer 1973 Newsletter*.)

In another development, the Trust Territory has cancelled the permit of California promoter Gunther Mothes to set up a fishing business in Yap. His permit to fish in the Marshalls was previously cancelled. According to the *Micronitor*, because of Mothes interference, a fishing boat owned by the large U.S. food processor Hunt and Wesson has returned to California.

The only bright sign in the fishing industry was the awarding of the Palau Fishing Authority's first loan to a local fisherman. The loan was for \$5,000.

MOVING?

LET US KNOW IF YOU ARE
MOVING

P.S. Be sure to include your old zip
code.



Round & Round They Go.....

During a visit to Micronesia not too long ago, a foreign news correspondent commented that 25 years ago the United States probably believed that its own strategic interests in the area would have been long phased out before Micronesia reached the stage of demanding home rule.

If this statement is anywhere near accurate, then Washington's reluctance in the past to deal with the realities of rapid political development in the islands since the creation of the Congress of Micronesia eight years ago is understandable. Yet political cross-currents, marked by disunity and unrest among the districts, climaxed by the mysterious burning of the Congress meeting chambers three years ago, has forced the U.S. to quit dragging its feet on the Micronesian status question.

Needless to say, the Congress itself has also demonstrated a desire to settle the issue quickly, and the subject promises to dominate the upcoming session scheduled to convene on Saipan January 14.

Here is a summary of events to date:

- In 1967 the Congress of Micronesia petitioned President Lyndon Johnson to appoint a commission to investigate the status issue. But Johnson lacked the needed U.S. congressional support and the effort fizzled.
- Tired of waiting, the Congress of Micronesia appointed its own status commission, performed its own studies, and wrote a report opting for a "Free Association" status with the United States.

By Mike Malone

the recommendation was in line with the infamous and still classified "Solomon Report" of 1963, a plan to increase U.S. handouts to the islands shortly before plebiscite time, and effectively neutralizing the islands in preparation for annexation. But this part of the plan is still in effect, and many Micronesian proponents of independence claim Washington's scheme is working.

- Yet the critical moment came when arsonists set fire to the meeting chambers of the Congress of Micronesia in February 1971. The incident followed threats of secession by the Mariana Islands in protest to rejection of the U.S. Commonwealth offer and passage of a bill by the Micronesian Congress established the TT's first territorial income tax law.
- These developments all but forced Washington to take new initiatives. Nixon's predecessor to Kissinger, David Kennedy, Ambassador At Large, was ordered to Saipan on a diplomatic call and arrived to find a still much heated political thermometer. Marianas leaders bluntly told him in private meetings that they simply wanted out of the Trust Territory political arrangement and into a commonwealth arrangement with the U.S.

Political differences in Micronesia had polarized sharply now, and in a grandstand play, the Marianas delegation to the Micronesian Congress attempted to boycott a special session held on Truk — the first ever held away from Saipan. Yet before that

the Status Talks To Date

- Perhaps a bit startled by the move, the U.S. appointed an under secretary of the Department of Interior, Harrison Loesch, to bargain with the Micronesian Congress.

Loesch, noted for his friendly and personable home-town style, proposed on behalf of President Nixon, that the islands become an American Commonwealth, similar to Puerto Rico, which would have given Washington permanent control.

It was so unlike the Micronesian proposal of "Free Association" which called for full internal control over land, laws, and the right to opt for complete independence, that the Micronesian status commission headed by Sen. Lazarus Salii of Palau flatly rejected the commonwealth plan labeling it a "... camouflaged offer of out-right territorial status."

- Obviously, the commonwealth proposal genuinely irked everybody in the Micronesian Congress, except the Mariana Islands delegation which had long advocated — like its sister island Guam — closer ties with the U.S. and they were prepared to offer the American military land to close the deal.

Yet the rest of the Congress, to show further disgust for the U.S. offer, invited the United Nations committee on decolonization to visit the territory and investigate Washington's apparent unwillingness to consider Micronesian aspirations for home rule.

- At this point, interestingly enough, the U.S. Department of State stepped in and asked Interior to back off and in efforts to uphold America's somewhat tarnished "cradle of democracy" image, urged an immediate appraisal of its politics in Micronesia.

The first move to relieve these strained U.S.-Micronesian relations came almost immediately with the assignment of a State Department specialist on Pacific affairs to the territorial headquarters on Saipan. The second move, which came that same week, was U.S. congressional approval of \$300 million to be spent in Micronesia during the following five year period.

Astute Micronesian leaders, however, noted publically that

session ended, the boycott failed and the other five districts formed an Independence Coalition within the Congress.

- President Nixon, in efforts to give the Micronesian status question an air of greater importance, took the task of negotiating out of the Interior Department's hands and into more experienced ones. He appointed the head of the CIA — affiliated Asia Foundation, F. Haydn Williams, as his "personal representative," and he promptly toured the territory.

- The stage was now set.

Since William's first meeting with the Congress of Micronesia's Joint Committee on Future Status in October 1972 in Hawaii, no less than five full rounds of negotiations have been held. Micronesian demands of full internal self government have been met, despite some concern over aspects of Micronesian sovereignty. And for the first time, the American delegation outlined its military needs in the islands.

- With all the frankness, relations eased somewhat. But no sooner had this been accomplished, the United States agreed — without the consent of the Congress of Micronesia — to begin separate negotiations with the Mariana Islands leading to "... membership in the U.S. political family."

Ironically, the U.S. delegation then agreed to the Micronesian proposal for the right to opt for independence or end the "Free Association" arrangement unilaterally, but not until after agreeing to separate negotiations with the Marianas.

- Since that agreement in April 1972, it is difficult to say exactly what effect subsequent talks between the U.S. and Marianas has had on the Congress of Micronesia negotiations.

Now, however, talks between Williams and the Congress have reached an impasse for the second time in a year. The first time was over the U.S.'s alleged unwillingness to again consider independence as an alternative for Micronesia; the second time was over

MORE ON NEXT PAGE

Talks Still Blocked

Micronesian and American negotiators met again in November but the talks ended abruptly and the deadlock which has existed for the past year was reinforced. The issue discussed was future financial arrangements. Not only is the U.S. offer (\$40 million a year) less than half of what Micronesia has been asking (\$100 million), there is a difference in philosophy about what the payment represents. The Micronesia side ties its financial demands to U.S. strategic interests. The Micronesians demand the U.S. pay for making Micronesia a target in war. The American side, however, refuses to deal with this subject.

Another major obstacle is the Micronesian insistence that it still represents all of Micronesia — including the Marianas which are now negotiating separately with the U.S. The U.S. does not recognize this any longer now that it has encouraged divisiveness.

After the abortive talks, which took place in Washington, Lazarus Salii, chairman of the Micronesian delegation, still expressed some hope that another round of talks could be held after the Congress of Micronesia session which begins in January. The talks were held in Washington because many Micronesian members of the delegation were in Washington at the expense of Pan Am or Continental to lobby for the new Saipan-Japan air route.

NOTHING ACCOMPLISHED

Yap's senator John Mangefel says that he feels "nothing" was accomplished by the Washington talks. In particular, he is upset about separate negotiations with the Marianas. "Only the leaders in the Marianas have expressed their opinion in [favor] of separation, but this is not official — and this should not give the U.S. the notion that the Marianas be excluded from the talks."

Mangefel has been a supporter of free association but has recently become critical of the prospects of honest treatment of Micronesia by the U.S.

The Ponape district legislature has created a "Commission on Future Government". The Speaker of the Ponape Legislature, Itor Harris, has recently been critical of the Congress of Micronesia for ignoring the desires of the people of Ponape.

ROUND & ROUND, continued

money.

Most observers feel that Williams is negotiating from a position of strength with the rest of Micronesia, with the Mariana Islands in his back pocket. Plans are already in progress to build a huge military facility on the island of Tinian and local politicians there are scrambling for their own financial vantage points. For example, while the Marianas talks were in progress earlier this year, one commission member purchased land adjacent to the proposed U.S. military base on Tinian. At least one other member holds land in his name purchased by wealthy Guam businessmen.

Exactly where Washington's "divide and conquer" tactics will lead Micronesia five years from now is anybody's guess. Perhaps Marshall Island Congressman Ataji Balos has come closest to identifying the real problem in Micronesia today when he said: "Micronesians have the trust, and the Americans have the territory."

For sure, as long as Washington controls the purse strings, this will continue to be the case.

(from the Micronesian Independent, 28 December 1973)



LAZARUS SALII



HAYDN WILLIAMS

MARIANAS TALKS CONTINUE

Soon after the abortive U.S.-Micronesian talks, the U.S. negotiators travelled to Saipan in December for a major round of talks with the break-away Marianas Status Commission. The talks were described as "technical" dealing with U.S. citizenship, land, the military and future financial arrangements. Technical discussions will continue on an on-going basis. The December talks were described as "amiable" and "progressive".

The U.S. still insists on outright purchase of Tinian, whereas the Marianas delegation continues to suggest leasing the island to the Air Force.

THIS IS YOUR LAND?

Despite assurances to the contrary, the United States has permanently halted all private land transactions on Tinian. The ban on homesteading and on foreign business permits, which went into effect 8 May 1973, was originally announced as "a very temporary" measure by F. Haydn Williams, the chief American negotiator. The ban was not made known to the people of the Marianas until August 1973.

This move blocks all new agricultural projects on the island and halts plans for foreign investment. The purpose of the ban is to halt land speculation that has been driving up what the Air Force will have to pay for those parts of the island it does not already control.

CONGRESS SESSION

The next session of the Congress of Micronesia begins on January 14 in Saipan. It is expected that the stalemate in future status talks and the convening of a constitutional convention will be the main subjects.

Correction: The figure for the amount of land held privately in the Marshalls should read 87%, not 10% as reported in the land holdings chart on Page 4 of the Fall 1973 issue.

2nd Invasion News



Air Force photo

An Air Force PRIME BEEF civic action team assigned to Micronesia practices a guerrilla assault against a suspected Third World enemy. Army, Navy and Air Force civic action teams are now in all parts of Micronesia engaged in psychological warfare efforts to create a favorable environment for the military take-over of the islands.

BUSIEST YEAR YET FOR KWAJALEIN

• According to testimony before Congress, "Fiscal Year 1974 will be the busiest year ever for the Kwajalein Missile Range with over 60 major test missions projected." In 1973 there were 44 major test missions and several hundred relatively minor missions. There are almost 5000 American technicians and logistics support personnel on Kwajalein, the largest atoll in the world.

The atoll is the major test site for the antiballistic missile system. And it is the "impact area" for missiles launched from Vandenburg Air Force Base in California, almost 5000 miles away.

The people of Kwajalein have been shunted to crowded Ebeye island where they live in dependence on the U.S. Army. One occupied island was re-taken for a short time in 1970; there are now plans for another take-over if a suit demanding compensation is not satisfactorily resolved.

Major contractors on the island are RCA, Sylvania, Western Electric (Bell Telephone), MIT., Philco-Ford, Control Data and Global Associates.

MORE B-52s WITHDRAWN

• Only 25 B-52s remain at Guam's Andersen Air Force Base. During the Middle East alert called by Nixon this fall, 86 bombers and close to 3,000 temporary duty troops left the island in a 3-4 day period. A number of KC-135 tankers also returned to bases in California, Washington, Louisiana and Georgia. According to an Air Force spokesman, "between 5,000 and 6,000 men" remain stationed at Andersen. At the peak of the Indochina war there were 200 bombers at Andersen and some 15,000 permanent duty and TDY airmen.

It is surmised that many of the remaining B-52s are nuclear alert bombers although a number D models, especially suited for carrying large bomb payloads, remain on Guam. 50 B-52s also remain in Thailand.

GUAM MILITARY BUDGET FOR 1974

• The Department of Defense plans to spend \$9.5 million in construction on Guam in Fiscal Year 1974. The major construction activity will be for 1,100 new housing units. In addition, over \$9 million will be spent on water pollution controls.



Civic Action Team welding an irrigation pipe on Rota island in the Marianas.

GUAM'S MILITARY PROBLEM

- On May 3, 1973 Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Edward J. Sheridan told Guam's representative in Congress that "within a few weeks" an unclassified version of Project Gateway, which outlines U.S. military plans for Guam and Micronesia would be made public. On October 26 it was learned that the report would not be made available because, according to a report in the *Pacific Daily News* "It is so sensitive and so wide-ranging that it is impossible to declassify it . . . or even portions of it."

Largely as a result of the Navy's intransigence, the Guam Legislature has flatly refused to consider any sort of approval of the Navy's plans to build a \$200 million ammunition wharf on Sella Bay. The Governor of Guam, Carlos Camacho, has also conceded defeat in his attempts to negotiate with the Navy.

According to many observers, relations between the military and the people of Guam have never been worse. One indication of this is an increase in attacks on military personnel who venture off base.

In retaliation, the Navy has begun "over-enforcing" regulations at the Naval Air Station which also serves as the civilian airport. Plans for a much needed expansion of the civilian air terminal are now in limbo. There has been increasing talk of building a new civilian airport but because the military already controls 33% of Guam's land, finding a suitable site not under Navy control may be impossible.

MILITARY TEAMS ON TINIAN

Three military teams have visited Tinian since July 1973 reportedly to prepare an "environmental impact study" for the island, a preliminary step required by American law before construction can begin. The most recent team was composed of 11 civilians and military Air Force personnel. (See articles on Tinian in this issue.)

MICRONESIA A NUCLEAR TARGET

- Micronesia is the major communications hub for submerged nuclear-tipped Polaris and Poseidon submarines in the Pacific. Located on Guam, is VQ-3, a squadron of sophisticated EC-130Q turbo-prop aircraft which are the relays between ground stations in Hawaii and Guam and submerged submarines. They communicate with the submarines through 6 mile long low frequency antennas that unfurl from the rear of the planes. Low frequency transmissions can penetrate water enabling submarines to stay completely submerged and virtually undetectable. Each of the aircraft cost \$10,625 million, or about one-sixth the entire budget allotted to Micronesia by the U.S. Government a year.

In emergencies, Coast Guard operated LORAN C navigational radio beacons are equipped to transmit messages to submarines. Until now, the U.S. has insisted that its LORAN C station in Yap is not a military facility.

A series of low frequency navigation stations, called OMEGA, being built around the world under the auspices of the U.S. Navy also have the capability of communicating secure messages to submarines. Widespread opposition in New Zealand led to the scrapping of plans to build there. Now opposition in Australia has delayed Navy plans indefinitely. If opposition in Australia is successful, the U.S. may be forced to consider a Pacific Island location for its base. A station in Japan is about to become operational.

In the event of nuclear war, Guam, Yap and other strategic communications stations would be the first targets in an attempt to destroy the potential of the United States to launch nuclear-warheads.

CHILE COUP ON GUAM?

- Over 100 sailors from Chile were on Guam when the Allende Government was overthrown by the rightist military in September. They were there to take charge of two former U.S. Navy LST amphibious ships. The ships formerly served in Vietnam.

BIKINI PEOPLE STILL EXPOSED TO PROBLEMS

RETURN TO BIKINI DELAYED AGAIN

The long heralded "return to Bikini" has been delayed again. This time the delay has been caused in part by a shortage of fuel for ships bringing construction supplies to the island. The new date for the return is now scheduled for April 1974, according to Oscar Debrum, district administrator of the Marshalls.

There are still many problems facing the Bikinians which may further delay the return. The people are unhappy about treatment by the U.S. Government and about the small amount of compensation they have received. There are also complaints about the design of the houses being built for them.

There is also a danger that lingering levels of radioactivity on the island may be too high for safe rehabilitation. Although the Atomic Energy Commission has certified that the island is safe, if "moderate" precautions are taken, other nuclear physicists disagree. A report on this subject is now being prepared for Friends of Micronesia by Dr. Arthur Tamplin, a noted nuclear safety expert.



The displaced people of Bikini have sued Trust Territory High Commissioner Edward Johnston for allegedly mismanaging a \$300,000 trust fund set up for them by the U.S. Government in 1956.

The Bikinians charge that Johnston and his predecessors allowed the principle of the fund to drop to less than \$200,000 in 1970. Micronesian Legal Services which represents the Bikinians claims that the funds were poorly invested and that money was withdrawn from the fund to cover other unrelated budgetary shortages. "The trust fund has been a miserable failure," according to Legal Service's attorney Hamlet J. Barry, "and is one of the primary reasons for the continued grievances on the Bikini people."

The people of Eniwetok, similarly evicted from their island to make way for nuclear weapons tests, received a \$1.02 million "ex gratia" payment in 1970. The Bikinians are demanding similar compensation.

US NAVY LANDING

Navy Seabees recently completed a temporary rehabilitation of the Yap airport to allow for safer operation of Air Micronesia's 727 jets. At the same time, a Preliminary Environmental Impact Statement was filed for a new Yap paved airport that could handle larger tourist carrying jets. Opposition to a reef airport has delayed the project for a number of years. Now the U.S. Administration is proposing a realigned, lengthened runway intersecting the present airstrip. Hearings were recently held in Yap to discuss the proposal.

ENERGY SHORTAGE HITS MICRONESIA TOO

"Why should Micronesia suffer from the energy shortage," asks Sen. John Mangefel of the Congress of Micronesia, "since we have nothing to do with Israel?" But as a U.S. Colony, completely dependent on one American company for petroleum products and lacking any refineries of its own, Micronesia has begun to suffer the same fate as the United States. Fuel which normally comes from a Mobil refinery in the Philippines is in short supply. Aviation fuel and bunker fuel for ships is also running low in many districts.

The *Lotte Reith*, a ship in Micronesian service, is stranded in Japan, unable to get sufficient bunker fuel for the journey to Micronesia.

Although the Arab embargo on the Philippines has been lifted, petroleum is still in short supply and Mobil Oil, being an American company, is still receiving only limited amounts of fuel.

On Guam dependence on the military seems to have paid off and Guam's refinery, which supplies fuel to the military received a shipment of crude just hours before it was to shut down operations. As a side-benefit the refinery is now producing a limited amount of propane for civilian use.

SYNDICATE ON GUAM?

For the first time, an undercover FBI agent has been assigned to Guam, reportedly investigating syndicate operations in prostitution and gambling. Until now, all intelligence work in Guam and Micronesia has been done by Navy Intelligence Agents and the CIA. A scandal also rocked the police and fire departments when it was discovered that a number of officers had been having regular sexual relations with a 15-year old girl. The accused officers were scheduled to have lie detector tests but police had run out of paper for the machine.

SYMBOL OF STRENGTH

In an amazing case of Micronesian endurance, a 42 year old fisherman from Kuasie, Joseph Tulena, was found alive after drifting at sea in a small 16-foot outboard motor boat for nearly two months. Doctors said he was in "good condition although weak." His 13 year-old son was drowned.

GUAM, continued

Children mature and demand equality. Pride grows with maturity, and pride begets dignity. A community of citizens who are satisfied to maintain a child-parent relationship with a mother country, and who blindly accept external authority are stunted in their growth. Where is their pride? Where is their innate sense of dignity?

Those who defend Guam's colonial status argue that economic independence for Guam is impractical. We happen to agree. Guam by herself can never be economically independent. But nor can our great mother country the United States. There no longer is any such animal as an independent nation in the world today, as Americans and the world at large have discovered since the Arab oil embargo. All nations in this latter part of the twentieth century are economically interdependent. The argument that Guam must continue to submit to her present colonial status just because she cannot be economically independent is therefore, just as fallacious.

It is time we awoke to the wonderful financial, political and economic opportunities that lie in wait, once the myth of our political infancy and dependency on the United States has been exposed. Pride and courage, not the umbilical cord of U.S. citizenship, is the key to the future, and Sleeping Beauty still awaits that princely kiss.

要 約

マイクロネシアにとって重要な勝利と考えられる米國により現在占領されている土地の返換が決定しました。しかし、将来有望な軍事基地の返換に関しては疑問があります。

この報告の中に米國のディニアンに於ける軍事計画が詳しい予算と一緒にレポートされています。

ビキニへの島民の帰島は島民の引き続いた反対と管理、その他の問題で遅れています。

マイクロネシアへの日本の投資が特別レポートとして報告されています。それにより対マイクロネシアの政治的不安定が外国資本導入の大きな壁になっていると言われています。

パラウのローマントナル議員が来年にはパラウが独立するのではないかと発言しました。

マイクロネシアとマリアナが米國と個別の会談を行いました。ワシントンで行われたマイクロネシアと米國の会談は経済政策に関する意見の不一致により、突然中止されました。又、マリアナと米國の会談は友好的であったと言われています。

グムの政治的地位に関する委員会の議長であるフランコルジアン氏はグムを搾取されている占領地と呼びました。

マイクロネシアのリーカル・サービス公団がもう一年間持続出来る基金を受け取りました。

Free Micronesia!

"The U.S. Talks about self-determination, what it really means is self-termination."

American Indian Movement

THE BEST OF DERSON RAMON

Until November, Derson Ramon was author of the popular Inside Ponape column in the Micronitor, Micronesia's independent newspaper. Pressure from his employers at the Department of Education forced him to stop writing. So much for freedom in Micronesia. He'll be missed by all of us. We've gone through his old columns and picked out what we think are his best lines.

"... The world is now full of shit — too many highways, too many cars, too much pollution, and too many coke signs!"

18 July 1972

"I feel terribly sorry for the elite Micronesians who are financially well-off. It seems as though the people here ... like you not because you are a human being but because of what you have — MONEY AND GOODS!"

27 June 1972

"In heaven there is no beer, that is why we drink it here."

27 June 1972

"Micronesia must not fight Micronesia. The danger is that the big powers will encourage separatism and quarrels until we attack each other ... The big powers will flatten our national pride and persuade each of us how evil our neighbor is ..."

29 August 1972

"The rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer — this seems to be the main talk of the town in Kolonia."

5 September 1972

"People wake up! When are we going to stop acting like hypocrites?"

25 December 1972

"When you see half-mast flags in Micronesia, right away you know that some dignitary has died. On December 29, all flags were down half-mast, and they were half-mast from Friday to Monday, a very long holiday. The reason for the half-mast? Former US President Harry S Truman died. What about former COM senator Francis Nuaan of Yap who died on Guam on December 26 when he was fatally struck by a car? Are Micronesians nothing? You answer the questions."

8 January 1973

"MICRONESIA IS A SUPER DEPENDENT CHICKEN."

25 June 1973

"Then on July 12, Micronesia Day, a legal holiday, WSZD Radio kept on saying, 'This is Micronesia Day, the day that the Congress of Micronesia first met,' but in the background I could hear the soft musical sound of 'Oh say can you see ...'"

30 July 1973

"It was announced on the radio today ... that if a dog is found in Kolonia without an official tag around its neck, the dog will be killed. Regulation has been made in this town to tax all dogs, about 50¢ a dog a year. If a dog is found not taxed, the penalty is DEATH for the dog. The reactions of the people to the law? One person said, 'It is good because we Ponaopeans eat dogs, so go ahead and kill them.'"

19 February 1973

"People are afraid to put their names into the news and it is terribly hard to find people who want to be quoted accurately in the news. It seems that almost everyone is afraid to speak out. Why is this? Are we afraid of losing the chicken salaries that we are getting?"

10 September 1973

"None of this shit represents the official viewpoint of the Education Department, the department that I work for. All of the shit I write are my own as a private citizen of Micronesia."

Kasalehlia and happy greetings from the friendly-rain-garden of Ponape.



FOM

"The natural beauty of our islands, their clear lagoons, our pure air and our vast ocean with its fabulous, untapped riches; our people themselves, and the uncomplicated way of life of our island culture are becoming the envy of the so-called developed countries everywhere . . . We read everyday of how 'civilized' man is poisoning himself in his smog-filled cities, of his polluted rivers and lakes, of urban blight, slums and ghettos, racism, violence in the streets, war and robbery. These are the warnings we should be heeding, for there are now businessmen, investors and developers looking avidly to our islands. They are talking about *land* for hotels and mass tourism, of drilling in our lagoons for whatever riches they can find, of our ocean and its fabulous wealth and of how they can 'develop' us so that we also will be able to join in the mad rush toward a materialistic society. This kind of development is not worth the price!"

Sen. Roman Tmetuchl, Palau [1970]

FORBIDDEN FRUIT

Dear Friends:

By listing my report/recommendations in with your review of Bob Wenkam's picture book and his associated park proposals (NEWSLETTER, Fall 1973), you tar my efforts with the same brush and give the impression that I also advocate a Mainland-style or tourist-oriented national park system for Micronesia. Not so.

"Any natural, historical or recreational park in the Trust Territory should be established first and foremost in terms of its natural, historical, recreational or other values to the people of Micronesia. The majority of national parks, those of significance to Micronesians, should be established, managed and staffed by and for Micronesians as if no other nation existed. Such viewpoint and policy for these parks may have side benefits, including economic gain through tourism. Tourists should be invited guests who are permitted under regulations to visit the Micronesian parks. But tourists should never exclude the local people from the parks, or inhibit enjoyment by Micronesians of their parks . . . Parks selected from this viewpoint and with this justification would have maximum patriotic, inspirational, educational and cultural values to Micronesians. Any economic spin-off to Micronesians through use of these parks by visitors from overseas is an extra, added value." (From my pages 6-7.)

I also said, on page 5: "Micronesia is not the United States. It is expected that Micronesian legislators and their staffs, with first-hand knowledge of that multi-island country, will adapt and change recommendations to make them workable and successful in Micronesia. Some modifications of U.S. historic preservation policies and criteria has already been found necessary in this report to fit them into the Micronesian situation. Others will be more obvious to Micronesians."

"Some historic properties in Micronesia are important only to foreigners and some have significance to foreigners which overshadow their importance to Micronesians. One view is that such sites are held in trust by Micronesians for other peoples . . . Primary benefit to Micronesians from parks in the trust category would be economic. Other benefits might also accrue to Micronesians in their foreign relations and in international goodwill. Trust parks would also be a continuing beneficial discharge of this perpetual trust — a trust thrust on Micronesians in the flow of world history by events not of Micronesian making." (My pages 7-8.)

My basic premise was that Micronesia was a national entity, or multiple entities (that choice being Micronesian) and if and when

Micronesians self-generated a national park movement, that Micronesians could draw upon the varied experiences of other nations to tailor-make their own parks. Let us not argue the value of national parks — most nations of the world have found public ownership of their prime recreational, historical and natural areas to be the best practice.

Sincerely yours,
Russell A. Apple
Pacific Historian
Hawaii Group,
National Park Service

Dear Friends:

As a member and supporter of both FRIENDS OF MICRONESIA and FRIENDS OF THE EARTH I find your "Forbidden Fruits" article (Fall 1973 Newsletter) a grotesque distortion of the concept of National Parks for Micronesia. The purpose of National Parks is to preserve some of the few remaining natural areas on this fragile planet which have not yet been destroyed by man. With one third of the island of Guam already in military hands and the remainder under extreme pressure from military and commercial interests, the Cetti Bay area proposed for park status represents the last remnant of native flora and fauna (and indigenous culture) on Guam.

To assume that the insignificant portion of this proposed park which is suitable for agriculture development would be so used ignores the fact that the navy is vigorously negotiating for control of this area. If not protected by park status Cetti Bay will likely be blasted out for a navy ammunition storage depot, with irreversible destruction of coral and marine life.

National Park status for Cetti Bay, Non Madol and priceless marine resources of the Rock Islands is essential if these areas are to be protected for Micronesians, present and future, from militarist and tourist exploitation. Or, would the author of "Forbidden Fruits" propose quarrying Non Madol and lumbering all mangrove forests for "vital mineral and timber development"?

FOM should welcome FOE proposals which would preserve native culture and resources and — in the words of YAP tourism guidelines "concentrate on attracting specific types of visitors who are compatible with (Yap) culture". This the type tourist Bob Wenkam's books are most likely to attract. I know; I was one of them on a Wilderness Expedition tour in March 1973. Bob Wenkam's books

*Send us a letter.
We want to
know what
you think.*

**MORE ON
NEXT PAGE**

NIXON MUST BE IMPEACHED



MAKE IT HAPPEN

LETTERS

and FOE wilderness tours build support for a FREE MICRONESIA. Let's not knock it!

Yours for a free Micronesia which will protect it's natural heritage.

Allen L. Ryan
Coupeville, Washington

Ed : For outsiders to propose a nationwide system of parks for Micronesians is wrong; only Micronesians have a right to be planning the future use of their land. Just as we are opposed to the U.S. building military bases in Micronesia, we are opposed to outside "planners" drawing up master plans for the use of Micronesian land.

Very simply put, Micronesians should do what they want with their land. As Senator Roman Tmetuchl recently told a gathering in Palau, "This land is yours and you must own it..."

Our feeling about Wenkam's Friends of the Earth book do not in any way reflect upon Wenkam's other book *Micronesia: The Breadfruit Revolution* (Honolulu: East-West Press) with a text by Byron Baker. It is an excellent book which we recommend to all our readers.

Dear Friends:

Thanks for sending me your newsletter and for reminding me that Micronesia still strives for freedom and life. I wish I could do more to prevent Micronesia from turning in to another capitalist-exploited, tourist-trodden Hawaii which is my land.

Denise Leraoka
Albany, California

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Australia



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butors, an 18 minute recording of the President humming at his
desk.

OR

YOU CAN SEND FRIENDS OF MICRONESIA A CONTRIBUTION

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2325 McKinley Avenue
Berkeley, California 94703

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- \$ _____ whatever you send helps
- \$5 just covers our costs
- \$7.50 helps us make new contacts
- \$10 helps pay for additional postage and printing
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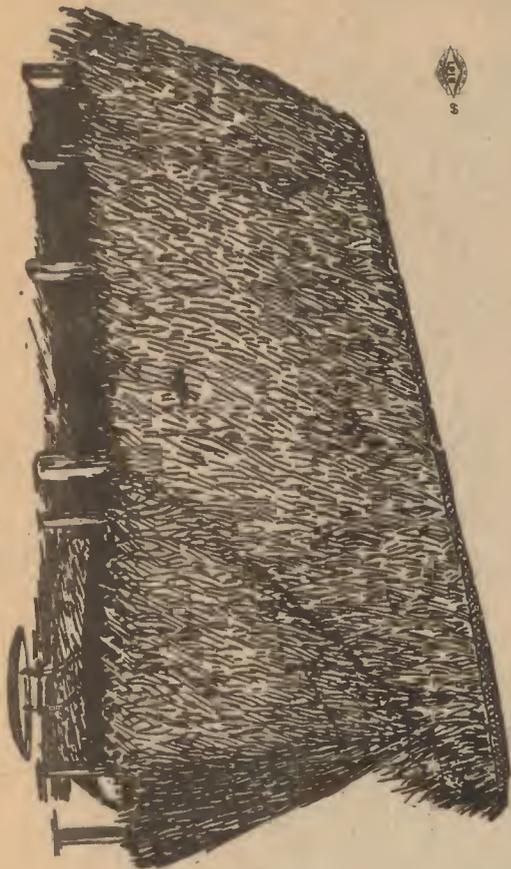
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from FOM:

- Friends of Micronesia Newsletter*, published quarterly, \$5 a year.
- Micronesia Fact-sheet*, with a map, 10¢ each, 10 or more 5¢ each.
- By the People*, Micronesians speak for themselves, 75¢
- Micronesia Information Pac*, includes:
 - 1. Solomon Report, the official U.S. blueprint for colonizing Micronesia, 50¢
 - 2. Thomas Gladwin, "Self-Reliance for Micronesia," 75¢
 - 3. Steve Murray, "The Americanization of Micronesia; Paradise Lost," (from *Ramparts*, February 1971), 20¢
 - 4. Eric Treisman, "Micronesian Memories: Paving Over Paradise," (from *Ramparts*, June 1972), 25¢
 - 5. Roger Gale, "No One Warned the Micronesians," (from *The Nation*, 5 February 1973), 20¢
 - 6. _____, "U.S., Japan and Micronesia," (on economic take-over), 5¢
 - 7. _____, "Large Coconut Sale to U.S.," (on military), 5¢
 - 8. Francis Hezel, "The School Industry," 20¢

Available individually or in a packet which includes a bibliography and a copy of the FOM Fact-sheet, all for \$2.50.

- A Micronesian Chronology*, from 1942-70, prepared by Alex Phillip, \$2.

.....
 Copies of an excellent article by FOM workers David and Doreen Labby, "Old Glory and the New Yap", which recently appeared in *Natural History Magazine* are available from FOM for 40¢.

- "Free Micronesia" bumperstickers and buttons are available, a button and sticker for \$1.



RUSH
RUSH RUSH
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Friends of Micronesia

FALL 1974

NEWSLETTER

VOL 4 NO4

The Marianas



PALAUAN WORKERS
STRIKE

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

UP Front

America has had its first palace coup. What difference does it make to us? Despite the talk on the air waves about the "refreshing new difference," the new man in the White House who claims to toast his own English muffins has done nothing to change the onward course of the militaristic exploitative American system.

And for the first time in American history, neither the President nor the Vice President is elected by the people. That's democracy? Although we may not have phlebitis-ridden Nixon to "kick around anymore," the Watergate investigations have accomplished very little if all that has happened is that we wind up with a delegate of the richest family in America as Vice-president and a man named Ford as President.

What does the change in the palace guard mean for Micronesia? Probably not much. Ford has always been a staunch proponent of large military expenditures and in one of his first acts as President gave his full support for construction of a new base on Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean. He has also pushed for continued funding of the B-1 bomber. Although there are rumors in the air that High Commissioner Edward Johnston and chief U.S. negotiator Haydn Williams may eventually be replaced, as likely as not they'd be replaced by men of the same stripe.

So far as Friends of Micronesia is concerned, little has changed. Instead of a frustrated would-be football player in the White House, we have a former first stringer who, according to LBJ, has nothing wrong with him except that he should have worn a helmet.

* * *

We thought some of you might be interested in competing in the Andersen Air Force Base contest to pick a name for the B-52 from Guam chosen to participate in the annual Strategic Air Command "World Series of Bombing" to be held this year in Louisiana. Your entries can be submitted c/o Friends of Micronesia.

* * *

And then there is the \$1.25 Micronesian Fruit Cup at the towering new Guam Reef Hotel. Its contents: grapes, apples, cherries and peaches.

* * *

While on the subject of food, did you know that the McDonald's on Guam is the largest in the world with a seating capacity of 325. Its daily volume is second only to that of a 24-hour branch in New York. Not wanting to be left out, the first Kentucky Fried Chicken in the Western Pacific is now open on Guam. Shakey's Pizza is not far behind.

* * *

As many of us expected, the Wounded Knee Trial in Minneapolis ended with all charges being dismissed by the judge. The government's record in political trials is pretty dismal. Friends of Micronesia wrote an editorial about Wounded Knee that was recently reprinted in

Akwesasne Notes. It says things we all need to be reminded of:

"The U.S. Government is drawing up battle lines. The example of Wounded Knee should not be forgotten. In the year 1973, right inside the U.S., under the watchful eyes of the major television networks, the U.S. assembled a whole military force against the Indians. Phantom jets flew overhead, armored personnel carriers were put into position and government forces were armed with M-16s and high-powered rifles. There was shooting on both sides. The Indians in the local movies people see every night in Micronesia still live. Micronesians are in the same position — they are 'Indians' too."

* * *

The State Department's two new liaison officers in Saipan have promised that unlike their predecessors, they won't rifle Congress of Micronesia files at night. The late night jaunts of John Dorrance, the first State Department official, became so commonplace that the Congress' staff used to deliberately leave things on their desks for him to read as he made his rounds of their offices. His successor, Mary Trent, used to attend meetings uninvited, join private conversations and on one occasion even sat at the head table at a Congress sponsored reception for visiting United Nations' delegates. According to David Schiele, the new deputy liaison officer, he and his boss Alf Bergesen won't follow in their predecessor's footsteps because, says Schiele, "they didn't learn that much anyway."

* * *

A good example of the power of colonialism: 66 Guamanians registered as aliens on their own island during the annual Immigration and Naturalization Service alien sign-up!

* * *

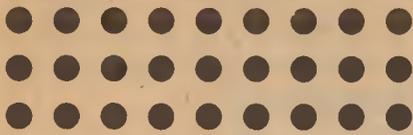
You'll notice we're right-justifying some of our margins. Have no fear, we are not becoming rightists. It's just more restful on the eye and more economical space-wise.

* * *

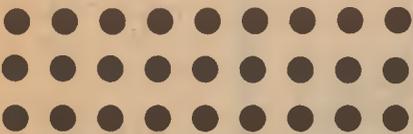
MICRONESIA CENSORED

The New Zealand Press Council has dismissed a complaint of alleged suppression of opinion brought against the *Christchurch Press*. The complaint was lodged by Owen Wilkes, research officer of the Committee Against Military Bases in New Zealand and Friends of Micronesia's local representative. The complaint related to a letter written by Wilkes correcting numerous mis-statements in an editorial on Micronesia carried by the paper on 15 January 1974. The paper refused to print Wilkes' corrections.

The editorial was based on a speech given by U.S. Charge d'Affairs Chalmers Wood. A protest against the inaccuracies in Wood's speech was made on the floor of the Congress of Micronesia by Con. Polycarp Basilius who said Wood's speech contains "much misinformation, disparaging remarks, and several grievous errors." (See *Newsletter*, Winter 1974, p. 2)



A Note to Our New Readers:
 Many of you are receiving the *Newsletter* at the suggestion of a mutual friend. For those of you who are not familiar with Micronesia and its people, we hope this will serve as a good introduction to a long-neglected portion of the globe. For those of you who have had some ties with Micronesia, we hope you will appreciate the chance to renew old acquaintances. In either case, we hope we can count on your support. We look forward to hearing from you.



Moving?

LET US KNOW IF YOU ARE MOVING
 P.S. Be sure to include your old zip code.



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Cover by Doreen Labby

FOM program

1. We support the Micronesian struggle for self-determination and have pledged ourselves to support the Micronesian people in any way possible.
2. We provide information to create a public awareness on the part of the American people concerning Micronesia and the exploitative administration of Micronesia by the United States Government.
3. We work to prevent the destruction of Micronesia by "developers" who have no sensitivity to Micronesian needs nor to the adaptability of traditional economic and political ways.
4. We work to prevent the resurgence of American militarism in Micronesia and support attempts to end American aggression in other parts of Asia.
5. We work against American racist policies as exhibited in the destruction of Micronesian islands, the forced removal of populations, the radioactive contamination of Marshallese and the discriminatory economic and political power of American officials.
6. We work with many international groups who seek a peaceful world free of armed aggression and nuclear weapons.
7. We do not attempt to dictate policy to the Micronesian people nor do we prescribe solutions to the problem of Micronesian "development."
8. We do not believe that anthropologists, political scientists, economists and other academics are specially qualified to dictate policy or evaluate events but we do believe that academics, especially those who have profited from their work in Micronesia, have an obligation to support Micronesian desires and to provide information and services when requested.

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Roger Gale	Judith Kerr	Jane Croke
Steve Murray	Eddie Martin	Mary Bye (Philadelphia)
Doreen Labby (Portland)	Mildred Dickeman	David Labby (Portland)
Sanford Greenberg	Connie Gale	Terumi Kato (Tokyo)
Tatsuo Saitoh (Tokyo)	Paul Burlin	Alex Phillip (Guam)
	Tom Gladwin (Honolulu)	Owen Wilkes (Wellington)
	Marjorie Smith	

Local FOM representatives are listed on the Workshop page. Friends of Micronesia works cooperatively with the *Micronesia Independent*, *Tia Belau*, and the *Marianas Variety*.

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Micronesia



AN INDEPENDENT FUTURE...

One of a series of tear-out, hang-up Micro-posters from Friends of Micronesia, 2325 McKinley Ave., Berkeley, CA 94703

on the horizon

HIDING PLACE FOR SPOOKS?



SEGRETTI

Don Segretti, one of the convicted Nixon "Dirty Tricksters" has applied for a job as attorney for the Congress of Micronesia. He testified before the Senate Watergate Committee that he had placed "stink bombs" in Muskie and McGovern headquarters and sent letters accusing Sens. Henry Jackson and Hubert Humphrey of "sexual improprieties." He also reportedly tried to rent an elephant to walk through a Muskie campaign luncheon. He is now on probation after spending 4 months in prison.

Guam and Micronesia already have a reputation for being the hiding place for a number of ex-CIA agents. Agents living in Micronesia include an ex-foreign currency counterfeiter and two Chinese leaders of the former CIA-operated Nationalist Chinese guerrilla training base in Saipan. According to the *Valachi Papers*, there was some thought given to hiding the ex-Mafia leader in Truk. Now, some people in the islands are beginning to think Micronesia may become famous as a retreat for Watergate victims.

NEW MICRONESIAN BASE?

There is speculation that the Air Force may have chosen Fefan Island in the Truk Lagoon as the site of a new "phased-array" radar base. (See *Newsletter*, Summer 1974, p. 20) During World War II, the Japanese used the peak of one of Fefan's hills as a military communications station. An Air Force Civic Action team has announced plans to rebuild the main road on the island. In the past, Navy Seabees, Army Green Berets and Air Force PRIME BEEF teams have always been assigned to those districts where their service has a direct interest in maintaining or constructing military facilities.

NEWS ON GUAM

Revelations between some members of the Guam Legislature and Joe Murphy, editor of the *Pacific Daily News*, are at a new low. Murphy's opposition to enactment of a law creating a special prosecutor to investigate the Governor's office prompted angry responses from the legislature. Sen. Frank Lujan said, "Mr. Murphy's editorial is an insult to the intelligence of all Guamanians." Sen. Ricky Salas said, "the reporters on the island

are nothing but stateside rejects." He went on to say, "If [Sen. and businessman] Allen Sekt farted, it would make headlines. . . . Unless you advertise in the paper, you don't get shit."

The creation of a special prosecutor's office has been a hotly debated pre-gubernatorial election issue ever since charges of corruption were levelled against Kurt Moylan, the Republican lieutenant governor, by his Republican competitor in the June primary election.

FREE ASSOCIATION?

A number of members of the Congress of Micronesia now say privately that by no stretch of the imagination is the current version of the "Draft Compact of Free Association" between the U.S. and Micronesia what it pretends to be. They say they intend to ask the Micronesian Joint Committee on Future Status to drop the word "free" from the title of the latest draft which was presented to the Congress of Micronesia at this summer's special session. A number of independence advocates say point-blank, "There is no way this kind of agreement can ever lead to independence. Once we sign it we are trapped forever." It has been two years since the full Micronesian status committee has met with the American side. Although full-scale talks were tentatively scheduled for this fall there has been no further word on their timing.

CIA

The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence, the revealing new book by ex-CIA agent Victor Marchetti, provides the first official confirmation that Saipan was used by the CIA as a training base for Nationalist Chinese guerrillas during the 1950s and early 60s. Although it has been known for some time that the San Francisco based Asia Foundation has been financially supported by the CIA, Marchetti says The Asia Foundation was "established by the agency in 1956." In addition to what Marchetti calls its "legitimate" academic functions, the foundation was also used to "recruit foreign agents and new case officers" and was a "cover for clandestine operations."

NEW FACES?

Rumor has it that both High Commissioner Edward Johnston and Chief U.S. negotiator Haydn Williams have submitted their "courtesy resignations" to the new President. There is a possibility one or both of them will eventually be replaced. Johnston's chances of being replaced increased in September when the Marianas District Legislature officially called for his firing. He has also been known to be in hot water from time to time with Stanley Carpenter, Director of the Office of Territories in Washington. When questioned by a reporter, however, Johnston said, "I expect to be in Saipan for some time to come."

As for Williams, rumors of bad health have been making the rounds for some time now. (See *Newsletter*, Summer 1974, p. 5) There is also talk in Saipan that William's strategy for handling Tinian has backfired against the U.S. and ruffled important feathers in Washington. A likely replacement for Williams is his deputy, James Wilson, a long-time base negotiator.

MICRONESIAN POLICE UNDERGO CIA TRAINING

A seemingly routine budgetary item was recently passed by the Congress of Micronesia and signed into law by the High Commissioner. It appropriates \$30,000 to send Micronesian police officers to the International Police Academy in Washington.

The training program, run by the Agency for International Development, has trained more than a million foreign policemen and has spent over \$280 million in the past decade to arm and advise police forces in Latin America and elsewhere.

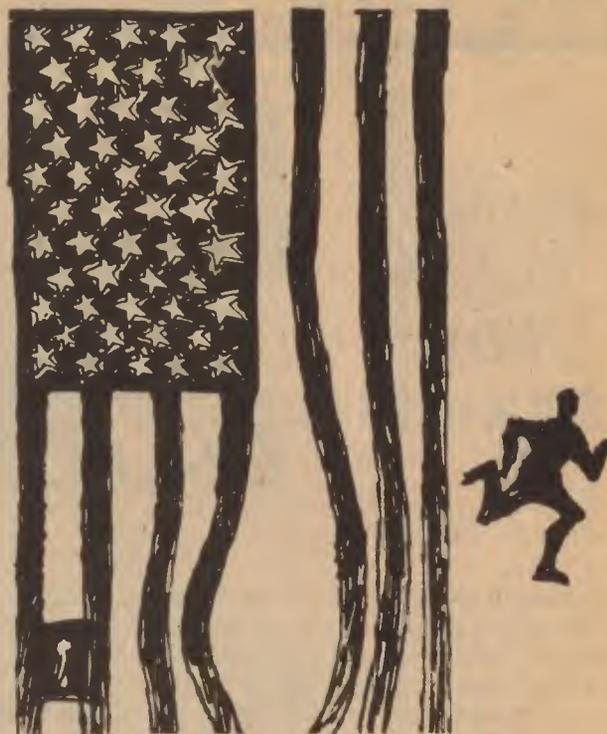
Although AID claims the training offered at the school is apolitical, Mike Klare, author of *War Without End*, says that "police cadets . . . are lectured on the 'Communist menace'" and receive briefings on "civil-military relationships in counter-insurgency operations." Among the courses taught at the academy are: "Basic Framework for Counterinsurgency Policy," "Planning for Riot Control," and a secret course on the use and manufacture of bombs.

Victor Marchetti, author of *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*, says the school is a "favorite site" for CIA activities which include "exchange programs to recruit agents" and "cover to CIA operators all over the world."

Training is provided free of charge by the U.S. Government. The \$30,000 appropriated by the Congress of Micronesia covers transportation and housing in Washington.

According to the *Marianas Variety*, the Saipan newspaper which first revealed the story, the idea of the training program is to train local police so they "can infiltrate and disrupt any potentially radical movement which could thwart U.S. investment. . . . With the current build-up of the U.S. military, it could be assumed that the United States would not want to grapple with their future strategic installations."

Manuel Sablan, Trust Territory Chief of Public Safety, says



that seven Micronesian police officers have already received training at the school. In testimony before a congressional committee in Micronesia he said, those undergoing training "bring back information to share with other officers." He said it is necessary to take action to avert what he termed "a potential hazard to public safety."

NO LAW OF THE SEA



The third U.N. Conference on the Law of the Sea ended August 29 in Caracas without reaching agreement on a new treaty governing the use of the ocean. A number of Third World nations, including Micronesia, are seeking the adoption of a full economic resource control zone that would keep foreign fishing fleets and mineral exploiters 200 miles or more from their shores. The "developed" nations are seeking a pseudo-internationalization of the seas that would leave control in the hands of the major economic powers.

The United States delegation at Caracas did not allow Micronesia to speak for itself during any of the sessions. Instead, it promised to represent Micronesian views even though they are opposed to those of the U.S. There are reports from Saipan, however, that Sen. Andon Amaraich, chairman of the Micronesian delegation, may appeal to the U.N. for the right to take part as official representatives when the conference reconvenes in Geneva.

Micronesia is a proponent of the "archipelago theory" which calls for all waters within the outmost territorial points to be considered "territorial." A 200 mile limit beyond that would also be off-limits to exploiters from other nations. If this position is adopted in a new law of the sea treaty, Micronesia would be one of the world's largest and most wealthy nations.

Amaraich sees this position as a matter of necessity because Micronesians are "utterly dependent on the sea." If the proposals of the U.S., Japan and the European powers are adopted, "Micronesia will never be able to develop self-sufficiency" or achieve "true political independence."

STRIKE AGAINST U.S. CO. PALAUAN WORKERS WIN

A two-week long strike by workers at Palau's Van Camp Seafood Co. plant in September ended with a complete victory for the workers. For the first time in Micronesia's history the right to strike has been recognized.

The historic strike involved a dramatic mix of workers' demands, management intransigence, bomb throwing, mass firings and charges of sabotage. The confrontation began on August 1 when three Palauan representatives chosen by plant employees presented four demands to Van Camp manager Robert C. Carpenter. They asked for personnel changes, a raise in pay for fish handlers, release of copies of the workmen's compensation insurance policy and a 25-cent-an-hour pay raise.

The compensation insurance became the main issue. For a year the workers had been told they were covered by the policy but Van Camp refused to show them copies. When the local manager cabled Van Camp's corporate headquarters in California, it replied that it didn't want the employees to know their rights for fear they would make use of them and not do any work.

While the employees and Micronesian Legal Services Corp. attorney advising them continued to insist on seeing copies of the policy, they reached agreement with Carpenter on their demands over the personnel matter and on a pay boost for fish handlers. But then Carpenter announced he would refuse to hold further meetings with the three outside representative because one of them, Joshua Koshiba, was a Palau District legislator, whom Carpenter accused of making political hay from the dispute.

As a result, 54 Palauan workers walked out on strike on September 11. The remaining 200 workers who man 11 fishing boats continued fishing but unloading operations were slowed and lack of plant maintenance imperiled the hundreds of tons of frozen tuna in the plant's freezers. Most of the fishermen are Okinawan.

Strikers guarded the gates to report on anyone breaking the strike and signs appeared on the plant's fence proclaiming "We are on strike," "Palauans Can Do," and "Carpenter Go Home."

More cables to Van Camp's California headquarters finally brought forth the insurance information but before the reply on wages arrived, Carpenter said he had discovered two instances of sabotage at the plant. Hardening his stance against the strikers, he refused to discuss the wage reply when it finally came and threatened to fire the employee representatives unless they gave him the names of those responsible for the alleged sabotage. When the representatives refused to do so, Carpenter fired all 54 strikers and began advertising on the government radio station for new employees.

The radio station refused to carry workers' strike messages, however, and a suit has been filed charging the U.S. administration of arbitrarily operating its monopoly media outlet. There are no non-government stations in Micronesia except on Saipan.

A week later, two homemade Molotov cocktails were hurled over a fence at Carpenter's home. Only one exploded causing minor damage. Although local police questioned all 54 fired workers, they came up with no suspects.

As fishing operations continued, Van Camp had to give tuna away to schools and then the boat crews began dumping tuna into the ocean when the plant's freezers became overloaded. It is reported that over 60 tons of tuna were dumped into the waters



Seven hundred Japanese and Russians visited Truk and Saipan in August. It was the largest tour group ever to visit Micronesia. The State Department would not allow the Russian-owned ship to visit Guam for security reasons.

of Malakal Harbor.

Finally, in late September the strike ended suddenly when Van Camp announced that all 54 workers were reinstated and an agreement would be signed that met the striker's demands. In the end, the workers were given access to their insurance policies, and received an 18% raise retroactive to September 1 and promises of another 11% raise in September 1975. They also were promised that no disciplinary action would be taken against any of the strikers and that when the present agreement expires in two years, Van Camp will bargain collectively with the employees' union called The Committee for the Good of the Fishermen.

Despite the wage settlement, the lowest paid workers still make less than \$1 an hour, and the highest less than \$3. But Micronesia has now experienced a large-scale strike in which management gave in to all the strikers' demands. Micronesia has also seen the birth of its first union. That makes September 1974 a milestone in the history of the islands.

MICRONESIA AT THE CROSSROADS A Reappraisal of the Micronesian Political Dilemma

by Carl Heine (256 pages, 5½" × 8¼")
paper \$2.95 cloth \$10.00

Today the peoples of Micronesia face several alternatives for drastic political change. Will they choose complete independence from the U.S.? A return to traditional ways of life? Or, a new status, that of a state in free association with the U.S.? Author Carl Heine, a Marshallese by birth and deputy district administrator for Yap since 1969, presents a straightforward discussion of this potentially explosive dilemma.

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Available from Friends of Micronesia, see back cover

PORT NIXON TT MISMANAGEMENT SCANDAL

"He's blown it," a U.S. Congressman said. "He'll never get the admiration he craves. There will be no Richard M. Nixon high schools, bridges, or freeways."

Maybe not in America. But the TT government, headed by a one-time Nixon booster from Hawaii, seems to march to a different drummer when it bestows names on public projects. For on remote Peleliu Island in Palau there has emerged from the jungle a new harbor facility on a site long abandoned by the Navy. The name of this phoenix-like harbor: Port Nixon.

The port recently found itself receiving unwanted publicity when it figured in one of a series of major charges of mismanagement leveled against present and past TT officials. William Penrose, who was general manager of Transpac, the former shipping line, has supplied a detailed report to U.S. Senate committees charging that the port project was wasteful and ill-conceived, and that several of its buildings were constructed with unauthorized funds. Penrose places the blame on Wayne Thiessen, former Director of Transportation in the TT, and on Joe Beadles, still in charge of transportation and communications.

Penrose also maintains that other TT money was wasted on an expensive overhaul of the dilapidated ship, the Gunner's Knot, and that it was Thiessen who insisted on loading a barge with 75 containers bound for Ponape even though the cargo lacked insurance protection. Those containers now lie at the bottom of the Pacific since the barge broke up in heavy seas before reaching Ponape.

Penrose's allegations drew unusual attention in Hawaii because Thiessen is running for a seat in the state senate there. Thiessen denied all of the charges, carried by the Honolulu Advertiser in late August, and accused Penrose of "paranoia."

The U.S. Senate's permanent subcommittee on investigations received another packet of complaints against TT management of

money and property this summer when a persistent heavy equipment operator claimed that the TT government has needlessly purchased surplus military reefer barges and then resold them to private firms for suspiciously low prices.

Richard Thorpe, a contractor who lived in Micronesia for a year, convinced Senator Henry Jackson's Interior and Government Operations committee to look into the handling of not only the reefer barge, sold to a Filipino subsidiary of Del Monte for a fraction of its worth, but also the disposition of 56,000 tons of equipment that has fallen into TT hands as the American military has liquidated its stocks of Vietnam equipment. Thorpe insists there are no clear records to trace what happened to much of this equipment, and he accuses either High Commissioner Johnston or his deputy Peter Coleman of wrongdoing. Both deny any illegal acts, and Johnston said he welcomes an investigation.

He'd better brush off the welcome mat and keep the kettle boiling. A formidable array of investigative bodies has begun poking around Saipan. They include, besides the Jackson committee staff, the Naval Investigative Service (which has been doing the legwork for the Justice Department's own probe of Thorpe's complaints), and most recently, the pugnacious and independent General Accounting Office (GAO). The Justice Dept. got involved when it appeared that Duane Craske, the U.S. Attorney on Guam, may have falsely told his superiors that an investigation of Thorpe's accusations a year ago proved them groundless.

The GAO is no stranger to the TT. Several years ago it produced a report highly critical of the financial management system of the TT government, citing a number of deficiencies, inconsistencies, and irregularities in the handling of money in the islands. The GAO, investigative arm of the U.S. Congress, derives its authority to examine affairs in Micronesia from the fact that the U.S. Congress appropriates the operating budget for the islands.

Many of the allegations of Penrose and Thorpe were first aired publicly by the Pacific Daily News and the Gannett newspaper chain. A PDN story in early August on Thorpe's charges elicited a booming broadside of a reply from Johnston, who now appears to be very much the man on the spot.

LAW GOES TO POT

A cloudy situation developed over the legality of marijuana in Micronesia as a result of a decision this summer by Trust Territory Chief Justice Harold W. Burnett. Mariano Bermudes, the defendant in the landmark case, had been convicted of possessing and selling marijuana. The case was appealed to the High Court where Burnett dismissed the charges against him and invalidated Micronesia's marijuana law. Despite the decision, the High Commissioner, Edward Johnston, insisted that unrestricted pot smoking was still just a pipe dream.

The Bermudes move to dismiss charges against him was based on two general arguments: (1) that the charges constituted an unwarranted invasion of privacy, and (2) that the relevant statute was "an unlawful delegation of authority . . . to the Director of Health Services . . ." The Chief Justice refused to decide the case on the privacy issue but did argue that the "police powers of the government do allow for controlling, or prohibiting the use of marijuana."

Nevertheless, Burnett did agree with Bermudes that the Congress of Micronesia had failed to provide adequate standards

in empowering the Director of Health Services to determine which substances fell under the definition of dangerous drugs. He pointed out that the penalties for marijuana importation and sale were stiffer than for heroin. As a result, he ordered the law overturned and dismissed the charges against Bermudes.

Within a week, High Commissioner Johnston announced that, despite the ruling, possession of marijuana was still prohibited because of Federal drug laws. However, on the basis of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals recent ruling in the case of the Continental Hotel on Saipan, it is unclear whether Federal laws apply to Micronesia. Nevertheless, Johnston said still standing laws would be "vigorously enforced."

During its Special Session in August, the Congress of Micronesia passed a new law based on the fairly liberal Oregon statutes. It decriminalizes marijuana imposing instead a \$500 fine and probation for first offenders. There are new penalties for selling marijuana, though, which are more severe than under provisions of the old law. Since a great deal of marijuana is grown in Micronesia for non-profit purposes, it is unlikely that the new statute will significantly interfere with pot smoking in the islands. There are even reports that following his decision, Chief Justice Burnett himself was observed smoking marijuana in Truk.

FREE ASSOCIATION?

INDEPENDENCE RULED OUT BY US PLAN

"Free Association" is one of the political options being considered by the people of Micronesia. Recognized by the United Nations as an acceptable alternative to independence in some instances, its essential ingredient is the right of the former colony to declare its independence at anytime on a unilateral basis. Although the U.S. has in principle agreed to Micronesian demands for unilateral termination it has hedged its agreement by insisting on procedural limitations that, in fact, contradict the spirit of "Free Association."

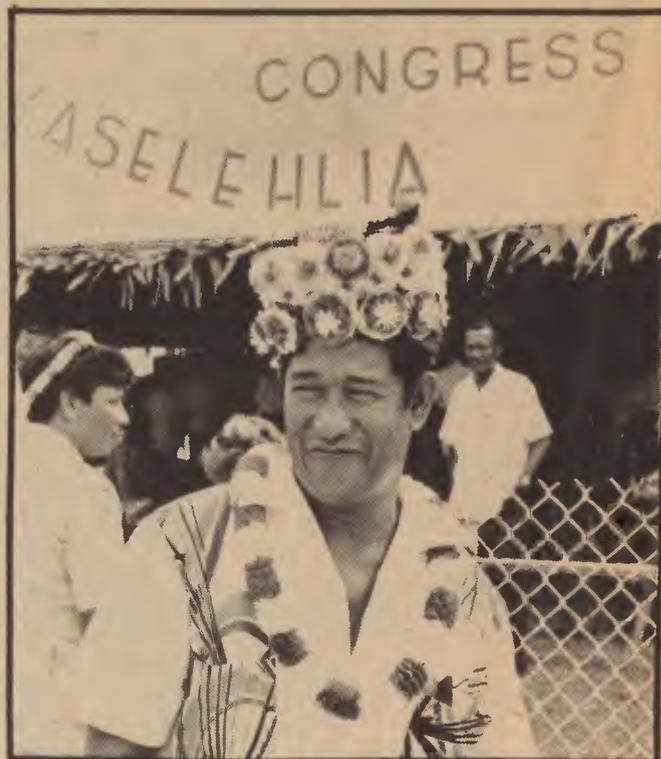
A revised version of the proposed "Draft Compact of Free Association" was presented to the Congress of Micronesia in August. Says Tosiwo Nakayama, President of the Micronesian Senate, "after all these years of talks, it is clear that what the U.S. has 'given' us in this new draft is hardly 'free association.'" Continued attempts to call it that are wrong."

There are few substantive changes in the new draft although the mechanics of termination are spelled out in more detail. The latest version says: the compact may be amended only by "mutual consent of the Government of Micronesia and the Government of the United States." 1. After having been in existence for 15 years, it may be terminated "unilaterally" if (a) two year's notice is given, (b) two-thirds of the eligible voters approve termination, (c) the votes in two-thirds of the districts favor termination. 2. During the two-year period between official notice and termination, any district in which fewer than two-thirds of the voters favored termination may begin separate negotiations with the United States. If no settlement is reached with that district in a two-year period, it shall continue to remain bound by the Compact. 3. "Before any termination may become effective, the United States' rights and uses in the land and waters covered by then existing leases and rights of denial . . . shall be embodied in a mutual security agreement . . . that shall enter into force simultaneously with the termination of this Compact."

Other provisions of the Compact also limit Micronesia's freedom, among them:

- the U.S. will have responsibility for foreign affairs and defense. It will have the exclusive right to build military bases.
- Micronesia will have full control over internal affairs but in case of conflict with the "international obligations" of the United States, U.S. demands have priority.
- The U.S. will provide financial assistance for 15 years starting at \$47.5 million annually.
- the U.S. will provide postal and weather services and regulate commercial aviation.
- U.S. currency will continue in use
- The U.S. will continue to occupy Kwajalein missile range, and parts of Bikini and Eniwetok. It will also have rights to 28% of Palau for military purposes. Requirements for Tinian are being negotiated separately with the Marianas.

The U.S. is playing word games. In 1969, when talks began, the U.S. proposed a "commonwealth" arrangement resembling that of Puerto Rico. Little has changed since then but the U.S. now calls its proposals "free association" in deference to Micronesian



SENATE PRESIDENT TOSIWO NAKAYAMA

OTHERS ARE SAYING:

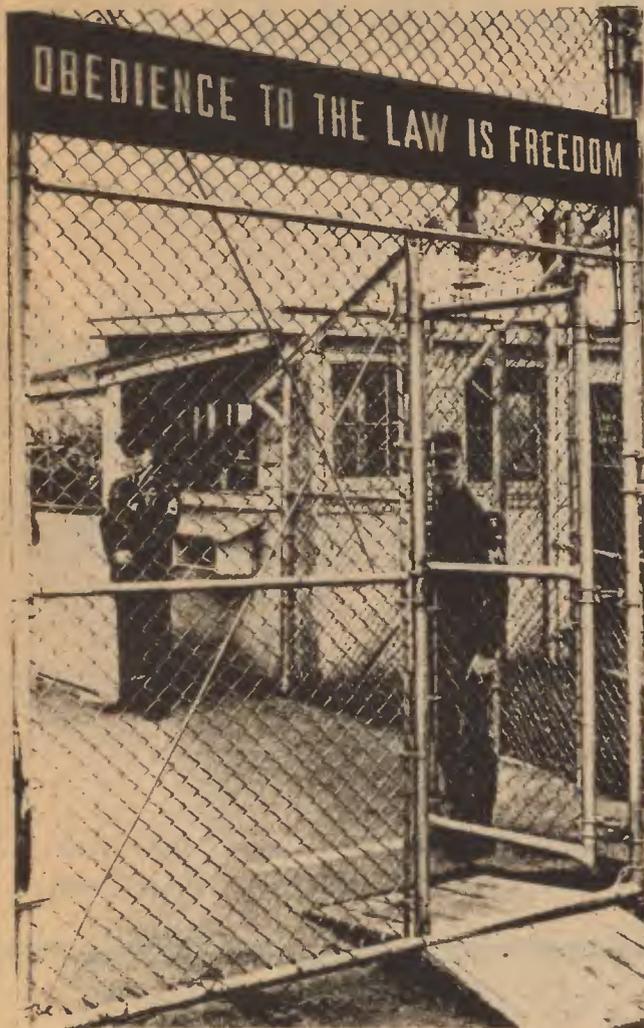
"The United States is standing squarely in the way of any real independence stance for the Micronesians, and will probably insist on military control of the islands before granting any kind of autonomy whatsoever."

Joe Murphy
Editor
Pacific Daily News
Editorial, 27 September 1974

"It is curious that the U.S. as opposed as the rest of us to the myth of the so-called overseas territory when practiced by the Portuguese or the French should follow a policy not so different in its own affairs."

Martin Wollacott
Manchester Guardian

demands. It is a change in name only since in Puerto Rico the two terms are used interchangeably. In English, Puerto Rico is a "commonwealth," while in Spanish it is called "Estado Asociado Libre" - a freely associated state. In December 1973, however, the United Nations General Assembly voted unanimously (with some abstentions) that Puerto Rico was a colony by its traditional definition, and that it was not a "freely associated state." In its present form, the draft compact between the U.S. and Micronesia hardly fits United Nations criteria for freely associated states.



DRAFT CONSTITUTION

A draft constitution for Micronesia has been written by Paul Warnke, attorney to the Micronesian Joint Status Committee. Warnke was George McGovern's foreign policy adviser and probably in line to become his secretary of state had McGovern won the 1972 Presidential election.

The draft constitution calls for a decentralized government with powers only in the areas of communications, transportation, police, education and revenue collection. The Executive Branch would be made up of an elected representative from each of the six districts. The chairman of the committee, elected by the members, would be Micronesia's chief executive officer.

There would be a two-house legislature as at present but the Senate would not initiate any legislation, but only veto or pass on legislation passed by the House. There would be a judiciary appointed for life by the Executive Committee.

The Congress of Micronesia's Joint Committee on Future Status, which apparently authorized Warnke to prepare the draft, has said nothing public about it. It is reported that the U.S. Office of Micronesian Status Negotiations has prepared a draft constitution for Micronesia too.

(Copies of the draft constitution are available from FOM for 25 cents.)

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

The U.S. Administration recently vetoed two major bills passed by the Congress of Micronesia during its Special Session in Saipan. In so doing, the United States let it be known that if the Congress did not pass legislation favorable to U.S. interests, the High Commissioner was "prepared to take whatever executive action might be necessary to fulfill the administration's commitment." Sen. Andon Amaraich called Johnston's action "sickening" and another example "that military needs are paramount." Sen. Edward Pangelinan also criticized the Johnston action and predicted that the Congress would pass at least one of the bills again next session.

High Commissioner Edward Johnston vetoed a bill transferring U.S. Government-owned land in Micronesia to the people of Micronesia through their district administrations. In November 1973, the U.S. offered to return much of the 60% of Micronesian land it now owns but it excluded land now being used for post offices, weather stations, etc. It also demanded formal commitments from the Micronesians for prospective military land to be held by the U.S. The Congress of Micronesia's law would have returned that land to the people.

The High Commissioner also vetoed a law to revise the Constitutional Convention, preparations for which are now underway. In his veto message, Johnston said he vetoed the bill because the Congress had tried to establish a date for a plebescite to decide on a future political status. He said, "the nature and timing of any political status plebescite is the responsibility of the administering authority." He said, however, the U.S. would consult with people in Micronesia before calling a plebescite. A second reason for vetoing the bill was that it included the Mariana Islands in its provisions. Since the U.S. is now engaged in separate negotiations with the Marianas, it does not want them included in Congress of Micronesia legislation. The Congress, however, continues to oppose the separate talks.

Under U.S. Department of the Interior regulations establishing the Congress, vetoes of the High Commissioner can be overridden but the Secretary of the Interior in Washington has a final veto power.

The Congress also passed a revenue sharing bill during its recent sessions which provides that 20% of all taxes collected be returned to the districts. Passage of the bill came after a recent boycott of the Congress by some members of the Marshall Islands delegation who demanded that 50% of the revenue collected from the Marshalls be returned.

MORE MILITARY PRESSURE

A U.S. military delegation, complete with a helicopter, conducted a survey of Palau in August. Headed by Rear Admiral William Crowe, the team of 10 "technicians" spend almost two weeks in Palau.

The American status negotiators have announced their intent to take over 28% of Palau's land and part of Malakal Harbor for a Marine guerrilla warfare base, weapons storage depot and submarine base.

The Palau Legislature opposes any military presence in their islands but passed a resolution calling on the U.S. to make its demands more specific. In response, the U.S. offered to conduct the survey.



The Marianas ^A SPECIAL REPORT

The United States may soon make its first outright territorial acquisition in more than half a century — the proposed commonwealth of the Marianas, 14 islands located 1600 miles off the Asian mainland. Already administered by the U.S. under a United Nations trusteeship, the islands would become formal U.S. territory through an act of Congress.

The driving force behind the acquisition effort is the Pentagon, which has begun plans to construct a \$300 million air and naval base on Tinian, the flat-topped volcanic island in the Marianas chain from which the U.S. launched the B-29s that dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The Pentagon views the Tinian base as part of the Nixon doctrine's goal to secure more strategic "fallback" positions." Along with nearby Guam — a U.S. territory since the Spanish-American War — Tinian will be the only military complex in the Pacific on U.S. owned land.

Unknown to the public, and not yet a major Congressional issue, private talks aimed at an agreement on the acquisition have been under way for some time between a personal representative of the President (who holds the rank of Ambassador) and a group of Marianas islanders.

Like the 2,000 islands that made up the rest of Micronesia, the Marianas came under U.S. control with the defeat of Japanese

Secretary of Defense from 1958 to 1962, is now president of The Asia Foundation, a San Francisco based organization that funds educational projects and that — according to the *New York Times* — has been closely linked to the CIA.

No final agreement has been reached yet between the U.S. and negotiators from the Marianas. Even so, the United States is implementing a carefully orchestrated program to begin the process of separating the Marianas from the rest of Micronesia:

— At the urging of the U.S., the Marianas District Legislature unanimously adopted a resolution in September requesting that the Mariana Islands "be administered separately" from the other districts since the future political status of the Marianas is "far



F. HAYDN WILLIAMS AND EDWARD PANGELINAN

forces during World War II. Last year, however, the U.S. announced it had agreed to return Micronesian land to the Micronesians, with the understanding that the Micronesians would submit to a "formal commitment to accommodate Pentagon needs" in "good faith." Now, while the rest of Micronesia is pressing for self-government and independence, the Marianas negotiating team is pushing for full U.S. territorial status.

According to Edward Pangelinan, chairman of the Marianas Political Status Commission, "the 14,000 people of the Marianas want to become part of the American family as soon as possible."

Pangelinan, along with a number of other members of the negotiating team, has been involved in land speculation on Tinian. Before the U.S. placed a moratorium on all land transactions on the island last year, the negotiators were buying up land from those few Tinian residents who owned their own homesteads — planning to sell it either to the military or to gambling and resort interests. Pangelinan is himself an attorney for the reputedly underworld-controlled Bally Corporation — the largest manufacturer of slot machines in the world.

Chief U.S. negotiator F. Haydn Williams says talks with the Marianas representatives have "resolved nearly all fundamental questions," and predicts a final agreement will be reached this fall, allowing the acquisition plan to be submitted for Congressional approval next year. Williams, a Deputy Assistant

different from that which has been chosen by the people of the other districts of the Trust Territory..." The resolution also points out that under CIA rule from 1951-62, all the islands in the Marianas but Rota were administered separately. The CIA operated a guerrilla training base on Saipan during this time.

The resolution is contrary to a joint resolution adopted by the Congress of Micronesia during its Special Session in August which expresses the "unequivocal" opposition of the Congress to the separate administration of any part of Micronesia prior to a nationwide plebiscite and referendum. Any move on the part of the U.S. to separate the Marianas would be a violation of the American obligations to the United Nations.

— Without prior notice, the U.S. is attempting to shift next year's budget in favor of the Marianas. During the last round of talks between the Marianas and the U.S. in May, Haydn Williams promised he would find money for a \$4.5 million power plant for Saipan. The money has been found by budget planners in Washington by deleting construction of three long promised field trip vessels for the other districts. An alternative plan would cut road construction, water projects and equipment purchases from all the other districts' budgets. The Congress leadership has lodged a protest in Washington but has received no reply from Williams or from Secretary of the Interior Rogers Morton. Not only is the Congress angry at the special treatment being accorded the Marianas there is also opposition because despite promises to

the contrary, this is the second time the U.S. has rearranged budget priorities after the Congress of Micronesia had thoroughly reviewed the budget. The Congress reviews the proposed budget every year even though it has no power to control allocations.

— The arrival of 8 new Peace Corps volunteers in Saipan probably signals the end of Peace Corps involvement in the Marianas. A Peace Corps staff member who declined to have his name used, told the *Micronesia Independent*, "If we were to program more volunteers for the Marianas, we could find ourselves in an awkward situation. There is the possibility that the Marianas will become associated with the U.S. and volunteers would have to be pulled out in the middle of their tour." There is a possibility that VISTA volunteers would replace the Peace Corps.

ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION

The U.S. is also encouraging the rapid economic transformation of the Marianas. Towering over Micro Beach, the new Saipan Continental Hotel was recently dedicated amidst much hoopla. Champagne, caviar, balloons, fireworks, Carolinian dances and an endless supply of food and drink were lavished on the 300 invited guests.

Nevertheless, after over two years of controversy and continuing court battles, the seven-story 185 room luxury hotel, may yet be deemed illegally built. Despite the official opposition of three legislative bodies, Trust Territory High Commissioner Edward Johnston signed a lease with Continental Airlines granting them the right to build the hotel on government owned land.

Just one day before the dedication, opponents of the hotel again went to court in an attempt to block any expansion of the hotel or further use of island water and power. Chief Justice Harold Burnett denied the motion and the dedication took place as scheduled on September 29.

The use of island water became an issue recently when it was learned that despite a written commitment to the contrary, Continental has yet to put into operation its much publicized 30,000 gallon desalinization plant. Under terms of its lease, the hotel is supposed to supply all its own utilities. Chronically short of water, Saipan has been on water rationing for the past few months but was not officially rationing water at the time of the latest court battle. As a result, Burnett claimed the hotel was not depriving Saipan residents of their right to water.

Opponents of the hotel originally attempted to keep it from being built and now hope to eventually gain control of its operation for the benefit of the people of Saipan or use the structure for community purposes.

The legal battles which have already been fought against the Trust Territory Administration and Continental Airlines have resulted in landmark decisions. The most important judicial decision in the history of the American administration was made on July 16, 1974, when the U.S. Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco ruled that the 1947 Trusteeship Agreement between the United States and the United Nations is, in effect, Micronesia's constitution.

At first glance, it would appear obvious that the Trusteeship Agreement creates rights in favor of Micronesians, since the United States — the "administering authority" — has relied upon the "strategic trust" provisions of the Agreement to detonate almost 100 nuclear devices at Enewetak and Bikini, to conduct missile tests at Kwajalein, to conduct CIA training on Saipan, and to carry on various other activities of benefit not to Micronesians but only to the administering authority. The previous cases had

held, however, that the provisions in the Trusteeship Agreement favoring Micronesians could not be enforced in a court of law, but only in the United Nations Security Council — where Catch 22 is in effect because the U.S. exercises a veto power.

Among the numerous Trusteeship Agreement provisions which may now be enforced in court are those requiring: the administering authority to protect Micronesians against the loss of their lands and resources; to develop the participation of Micronesians in the government of the Trust Territory; to give due recognition to Micronesian customs in providing a system of law for the Trust Territory; and to promote the economic development and self-sufficiency of Micronesians. Trust Territory High Court Judge Harold Burnett said in a radio program after the Ninth Circuit's decision had been reached that he now recognized that the Trusteeship Agreement was a constitution for Micronesia. Nevertheless, some question remains about the independence of Micronesia's American-run judicial system since High Court judges are U.S. Civil Service appointees with no tenure of office.

The Ninth Circuit's decision had other ramifications which were not uniformly favorable to the people of Saipan. While recognizing that the High Commissioner is clearly a Federal government official, the court reaffirmed an earlier Honolulu

"... the United States is implementing a carefully orchestrated program to begin the process of separating the Marianas from the rest of Micronesia."

Federal District Court conclusion that the High Commissioner's action in leasing the public land adjacent to Micro Beach to Continental Airlines for what is slated to eventually be a 500-room hotel was not a "federal action" within the meaning of the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA). NEPA requires that the environmental impact of projects such as the Saipan Continental Hotel be assessed in detail in Environmental Impact Statements. No such assessment was made prior to the commencement of hotel construction.

The plaintiffs suffered another blow in the Ninth Circuit's requirement that enforcement of Micronesian rights under the Trusteeship Agreement must first be sought in the Trust Territory High Court. In a petition for rehearing, subsequently denied by the Ninth Circuit, the plaintiffs pointed out that the Secretary of Interior had taken the position throughout the litigation that the Trusteeship Agreement's obligation to protect Micronesians against the loss of their lands and resources had not been violated by the lease of the public lands to Continental. In their petition for rehearing, the plaintiffs noted that the High Court justices serve at the pleasure of the Secretary of the Interior, and pointed out the awkward position of a High Court justice asked to render a decision not in accord with the position taken by the Secretary. The Ninth Circuit's opinion makes clear that if the High Court refuses to recognize that the Trusteeship Agreement creates judicially enforceable rights, the plaintiffs may return to the federal court in Honolulu.

Meanwhile, construction is now underway on Pan Am's Inter-continental Inn. Located adjacent to the Saipan Continental, it too is being built on land leased from the government. Scheduled to open late next year, Pan Am has sold a majority of the control to Japanese tourist promoters. Along with other hotels now under construction, Saipan should have 1,000 hotel rooms by next year, half as many as Guam and Manila, the two booming tourist markets in the Pacific.

Pedro Dela Cruz, District Economic Development Officer, said



SAIPAN'S SLOT MACHINES

One Armed Bandits

Gambling Casinos Opening

that by June 1975 the new Saipan International Airport should be complete and direct flights from Japan may begin shortly thereafter. This year — before scheduled service from Japan has begun — the Marianas Tourist Board predicts there will be 60,000 tourists. Last year the total took a 67 percent jump to 45,000. There seems little question that a year from now when Japan Air Lines and either Pan Am or Continental begin service, Saipan's tourist figures should take a dramatic leap upward.

GAMBLING CASINOS

But what will really encourage a dramatic leap in tourism is gambling. In May 1974, the Saipan Municipal Council legalized slot machines. Since then at least four companies including the Bally Corporation of Chicago have made bids to start internationally organized gambling on the island. Every major hotel, the island's bowling alley and many of its nightclubs have now installed the one armed bandits. The new Continental Hotel plans to install 50 machines in its lobby.

Although casino gambling has not been officially sanctioned,



THE SAIPAN

Royal Taka Hotel

PRESENTS

LAS VEGAS NIGHT

Saturday, October 12th

- Casino open 6:30 p.m. to 2:00 a.m.
- 25% discount on room rates.
- Children under 12, stay free in their parents room.



SEE YOUR FAVORITE TRAVEL AGENT FOR RESERVATIONS!

(An advertisement in the Pacific Daily News, 8 October 1974.)

CASINO EQUIPMENT

DISTRIBUTORS WANTED IMMEDIATELY!

A rare opportunity for responsible distributors to offer for complete the MARMATIC CASINO EQUIPMENT including the MARMATIC IEN 702 SLOT MACHINES, slot machines, etc. For more information state and call for an engineering never before available in the field. This is a limited time offer. Please write or call immediately.

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Cable Address: MARMATIC
Baltimore, MD 15 E

(An advertisement in the Marianas Variety, 4 October 1974.)

craps, blackjack and other Las Vegas-type games are now being installed too. Robert Wright, assistant manager of the Continental Hotel, says legalized casinos on the island are "inevitable — just a matter of time." Ernie Smith, a long-time Nevada gambling entrepreneur, has taken over Hamilton's restaurant & hotel on Saipan and predicts Saipan will soon be the biggest gambling center in the Pacific. The only other place in Asia where gambling is legal is Macao although gambling flourishes elsewhere on a covert basis. Guam has debated legalized gambling for many years but the legislature has consistently refused to sanction it. Nevertheless, slot machines became big business on the island earlier this year although the machines were fixed not to pay off in cash. In April and again in August, FBI agents confiscated 218 machines in 52 different clubs on the island for violation of federal statutes. It was the first time the FBI had agents on Guam.



THE SAIPAN CONTINENTAL HOTEL

Frank Blas, Guam's former director of commerce and now a businessman, thinks Guam should watch Saipan's experience with gambling before legalizing it so "we don't make the same kind of mistakes they might run into." As a result, gambling interests that were planning to set up shop on Guam have now moved to Saipan.

Almost overnight 60 slot machines arrived on Saipan (all the machines on Guam have been impounded). In August, Bally Corporation, the world's largest manufacturer of slot machines, applied for a license to lease slot machines. The Marianas Economic Development Board, which issues licenses to foreign companies, has yet to act on Bally's application but in September, the Marianas District Legislature voted unanimously to oppose Bally because of its alleged "underworld connections." The legislature's decision was based on a 147 page report from the Parliament of New South Wales which opposes allowing Bally to continue operating in Australia. A report on Bally prepared by Pacific News Service in San Francisco also describes Bally's underworld ties.

No doubt, gambling will encourage tourism. Unlike Guam, which attracts Japanese honeymooners, Saipan is likely to attract well-heeled businessmen. Besides gambling, Japanese businessmen seek out prostitutes in Seoul and Manila, their two major vacation destinations. At least two Korean "bar owners" have already been on Saipan and Tinian in recent months and for the first time

"An underworld take-over of the Marianas may be in the offing, but the short-run effect of the gambling craze on the island is that the Saipanese themselves are being robbed by the slot machines."

Saipan has a female Korean singing group.

An underworld take-over of the Marianas may be in the offing, but the short-run effect of the gambling craze on the island is that Saipanese themselves are being robbed by the slot machines. In an effort to overcome this, the Municipal Council has just passed an ordinance, requiring warning signs in all slot machine establishments saying: "Slot machine playing is hazardous to your family's economy." A \$1,000 a year tax will now be charged for each machine and they will be required to return a higher percentage of wins to the player. Although the added revenue

may aid Saipan's economy, it is unlikely that the new controls will measurably reduce the amount of gambling. There has been some discussion of restricting gambling to tourists, as is the case of Monaco, but no firm proposals have been drawn up.

TINIAN

Tinian is only three away from Saipan but it is a different world. It is a quiet farm community of 900 people. The 40 square mile island is Micronesia's most fertile and productive island. It's so fertile that Ben Manglona, Tinian's agronomist, asserts that "Tinian could easily feed everyone in Micronesia." This winter Tinian even plans to sell watermelon and canteloupe in West Coast markets. A cattle ranch on the island is already supplying Micronesia's beef and pork and will soon begin producing "Tinian Gold," the first fresh milk in the Western Pacific.

But Manglona complains, "it will be a little difficult to be farmers when the Pentagon plans to turn our best land into an airbase. All they plan to leave us is a rocky hillside." Pentagon plans call for turning two-thirds of the Manhattan-shaped island into a combined airbase, supply depot, and Marine guerrilla training base — with live air and naval bombardment of the island. Williams, however, assures the people that "military operations and their noise will not disturb them."

Since plans for the base were first announced in May 1973, the number of troops to be stationed there has more than tripled.

During war exercises, as many as 13,000 troopers are slated to be on the island.

The Pentagon also plans to maintain control of two parcels of land on nearby Saipan (where the CIA trained Chinese Nationalist guerrillas between 1951 and 1962) and to continue use of its target range on a small uninhabited island 45 miles north of Tinian.

As the Pentagon quietly pursues its acquisition plans, supported by speculators from Saipan, opposition to the takeover is mounting. The United Nations Trusteeship Council is repeatedly on record in opposition to the private Marianas talks. The Congress of Micronesia also opposes the talks and, says Tosiwo Nakayama, president of the Senate, "Micronesia must remain united; we will continue to oppose any U.S. attempt to dismember our nation."

In response to U.S. cancellation last spring of a referendum drawn up by the Tinian council, more than half of the adult population signed a petition opposing U.S. plans, calling for an end to the talks, and saying they no longer wished to be represented by the present Marianas negotiators. Williams refused to accept the petition.

When Williams announced that a surveying team would be visiting the island in September, Tinian's newly elected mayor, Felipe Mendiola, replied in a letter, "You and your surveyors are not at all welcome on the island of Tinian. Be guided accordingly." Mendiola is also head of the newly formed Tinian Committee for Justice, which plans to send a delegation to Washington to lobby against the base.

"The House Appropriations Committee said recently that it 'doubts construction of a new base complex [on Tinian] can be justified.'"

Nevertheless, William Clements, Jr., deputy secretary of Defense for Installations and Logistics, visited Tinian, Saipan and Guam in late September, accompanied by Morton Abramowitz, deputy assistant secretary of Defense for East Asia and Pacific Affairs, and other officials from the Department of Defense and State.

Con. Felipe Atalig, who represents Tinian in the Congress of Micronesia, was angered by Clement's visit. "Now we see a high-ranking delegation from Washington has taken the time to visit our islands," he said, "yet no one in Washington has found the time to respond to our resolution which demanded that the U.S. immediately terminate the moratorium on homesteading in Tinian." The U.S. is "apparently only interested in acquiring

Military Visits

Two high-ranking Pentagon officials have recently made public statements favoring construction of the Tinian base. The Secretary of the Air Force, John L. McLucas, told the *New York Times* (26 May 1974) that a major re-deployment of U.S. air strength in the Pacific was soon to get underway. According to the *Times*, he said, "as the Air Force withdrew from Asia, it did not want to go all the way back to Hawaii. There is also a limit on space and facilities on Guam." As a result, the U.S. was "considering" re-opening the air fields of Tinian.

Marine Commandant Gen. Robert Cushman told *Pacific Stars and Stripes* (27 July 1974) that the Marines are going to "get their feet wet again." One of the places he mentioned for this increased amphibious training is Tinian, which Cushman described as "a good place to offer a variety of training . . . different from some of the places we've been using."

lands in the Marianas and not interested in the rights of the people. . . . The Americans see us as unsophisticated islanders but we have heard about the American Indians, about Bikini, Kwajelein and Enewetak. We know and understand how little our rights mean to them."

Although Congress has not yet been asked to authorize construction of the base, the House Appropriations Committee said recently that "it doubts that construction of a new base complex can be justified." And a number of congressmen, including Senator Alan Cranston (D-Calif) and Congressman Ronald Dellums (D-Calif) are already on record against its construction.

As a hedge against the possibility that Congress may refuse to appropriate funds, one Navy source says that Seabees from Guam may be called in to begin construction — as they were during the first phase of building several years ago on Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean. (The Defense Department appropriates general



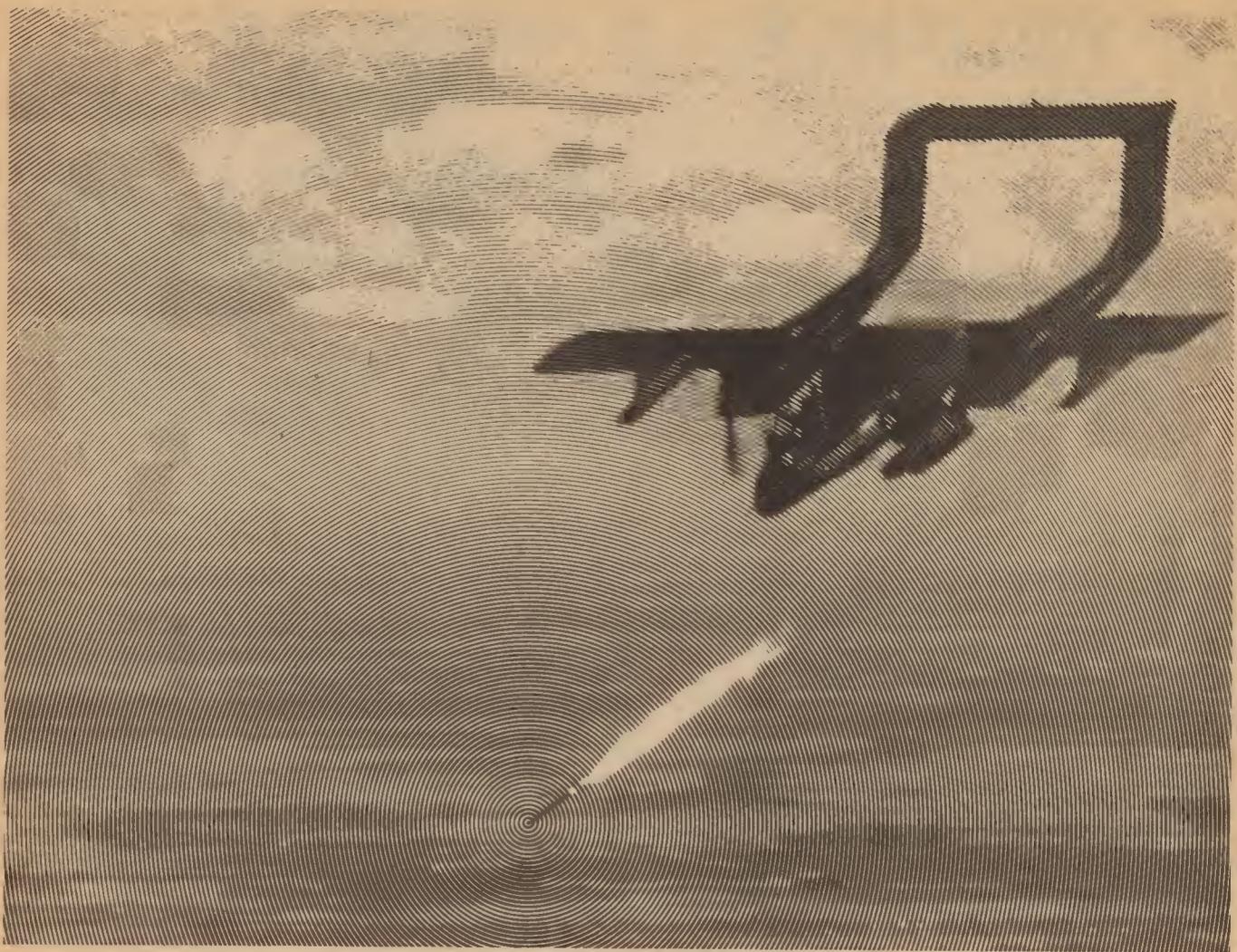
NAVY SEAPLANE IN THE NORTHERN MARIANAS

funds for Seabee "construction work.") In addition, Air Force plans call for a "bare base capability" that will allow portable base facilities, already in storage in New Mexico, to be used on an interim basis.

But what the Pentagon is really counting on to secure the base is the successful conclusion of the negotiation talks with the Marianas representatives. Although no formal request for acquisition of the Marianas has yet been made to Congress, Williams and other Administration spokesmen are beginning to make appearances before Congressional committees. Philip Burton (D-Calif), chairman of the House subcommittee on island territories, has already given his tentative vote in favor of the takeover. Congressional approval of the new commonwealth arrangement will facilitate final approval of funds for the base — which would then be on U.S. territory.

The major stumbling block left in the negotiations comes ironically from the Marianas team, who now find it more lucrative to lease the land they have purchased, rather than sell it outright as the Pentagon desires. However, it is doubtful that the talks can be stalled long on this issue. Under international law, the U.S. owns 90 percent of the land in the Marianas, has the power of eminent domain, and even has the power to take back the land it had granted to the people of Tinian as homesteads. This means that neither the Marianas negotiators nor the opponents of the takeover have much real bargaining power.

"As far as the Trust Territory goes," says Micronesian Congressman Ataji Balos, "it is the Micronesians who have the trust, and the Americans who have the territory."



For What the Tinian Base Would Cost . . .

For the \$300 million it would cost to build the Tinian base (not including the aircraft, vehicles, and other equipment without which the base would be useless, and without counting the cost of personnel), we could:

- * build 10,000 new homes for families
- * build 20 new schools
- * open 100 new health care centers
- * provide one meal per day for an entire year for 700,000 elderly people

SELF RELIANCE SCHOOL

A Truly Micronesian School:
The Palau Modekngai Learning Center

After decades of following American educational patterns that pinched and chafed Micronesian culture like ill-fitting shoes, a group of Palauans have started a new kind of school that will challenge all educational institutions in the Trust Territory to adapt themselves more effectively to the needs of an island people. The Palau Modekngai School, situated on 93 acres of Babeldaob Island, will offer a unique program of work and study that seeks to reinforce and transmit native culture while also preparing students for useful lives in a rapidly changing society that has taken a place in the global community.

The fundamental theme of the school, or "learning center" as its founders like to call it, is education for self-reliance. The Center hopes to brake the freight train Micronesia now rides that seems only to lead to further dependence on U.S. grants to support a paper-pushing bureaucracy, while the desperate need for scores of traditional and modern skills goes unfulfilled.

Sponsored by Palau's powerful religious and cultural movement, Modekngai, the school reflects the concern of its people over the disintegration of much of traditional Palauan culture and the irrelevance of most American-oriented education in the District's schools. About three years ago an assemblage of Modekngai elders, after reciting the familiar litany of disturbing trends among young Palauans — lack of respect for Palauan customs, loss of traditional knowledge, loss of personal identity, and growing problems of drinking and delinquency — these elders realized that if they did not take steps to remedy the situation at once then the Palau they knew faced utter, disastrous transformation into a tropical appendage of Japan or the West.

The radical solution, discussed and planned for several years but just recently made public, was to build a Palauan school that used the broadest possible concept of education. Rather than encapsulate students in classrooms, the school will devise a host of projects with immediate utility to the islands, so that students learn by doing things for themselves. One project, for example, will be to run a vegetable farm (the school site was once a Japanese farm) and make it pay. Each Saturday the school will market its produce in Koror, the District Center. Students will learn animal husbandry and modern agricultural techniques, then the marketing and bookkeeping skills necessary to sell what they raise.

The school also plans a wide variety of commercial ventures that will allow Palau's economy to move beyond one of supplying only primary products, like copra and fish, that are sent elsewhere to be processed into marketable (and much more valuable) products. Mariculture, the breeding of marine life, is one possibility. Another is the growing of tropical blossoms to provide nectar for honey from the school's beehives and perhaps also establish Babeldaob as a western rival to the Garden Isle of Ponape. The Center hopes to be self-supporting through such projects and by constructing its own methane gas generating plant, windmill generators, and water system.

To foster cultural identification the school will be an actual community, set up as a Palauan village in which students and teachers build their own houses and follow traditional native



The Modekngai elders do not intend their school to be a stagnant pond of a bygone culture; but they do hope to exercise more control over changes that inevitably occur in a living culture. . . .

customs. The Modekngai elders do not intend their school to be a stagnant pond of a bygone culture; but they do hope to exercise more control over changes that inevitably occur in a living culture and to integrate those changes into a distinctively Palauan whole.

The curriculum will also offer many standard subjects found in Palau's high schools, emphasizing communications skills in Palauan, English, and Japanese. Not all school's efforts, however, will be directed at youth. The founders want the institution to serve the whole community, and plan to take in all kinds of special education students, older students, and handicapped people.

The Modekngai leaders sought technical advice from Dr. William Vitarelli, until recently a vice president of the University of Guam, and for years active in education in the Trust Territory. Vitarelli persuaded the Janss Foundation to provide initial financial support for the school to pay for tools, basic machinery, and professional assistance. The Modekngai people agreed to provide all labor, local materials, and food.

Work began on the school in January of 1974. So far land has been cleared, docks built, temporary shelters and water systems constructed, and gardens planted. The school has received a charter from the High Commissioner and has hired three Palauan teachers, all of whom have college degrees. Palauan will be the language of instruction in most classes.

Dr. Vitarelli writes to F.O.M. that the school has great need of tools, library books, ". . . and *sound* technical information about harnessing the natural forces of nature for energy." Subscriptions to magazines and periodicals would also be welcomed. Dr. Vitarelli urges any teacher or craftsman who thinks he can contribute to the school in some practical way to write him, c/o F.O.M.

We're sorry but F.O.M. is no longer able to accept checks from Bank of Hawaii branches in Micronesia. Because they deduct a \$2 service charge from each check plus postage, almost half of a \$5 contribution ends up in the Bank of Hawaii's coffers. Few of you willingly intend to contribute to the Bank of Hawaii, do you?

Until the Bank changes its policies we would appreciate your sending us money orders drawn from another bank or from the Post Office. You may, if you like, deduct the cost of the money order from your contribution.

Thank you.

DOMINANT DOMAIN

It usually happens at Political Status Talks or at more informal negotiation sessions between members of the American administration and Micronesian representatives during the waning hours of the afternoon when the shadows are lengthening across the bargaining table. Both sides have stated and restated their positions, and the prospects for a compromise settlement seem dim. After a pregnant pause, the head of the American team of negotiators will declare in a voice weighted with solemnity and just the merest tincture of menace, "If you are unwilling to meet our land requirements we will have no alternative but to resort to eminent domain proceedings."

Strong words! Their purpose is to suggest that, by negotiating with Micronesians, Americans are trying to be nice guys, but that, if they are so inclined, they have the power simply to take the land of Micronesians and appropriate it to their use. The next time Micronesian negotiators are threatened in this way, they would do well to reflect upon the nature of the power of eminent domain and then to ask themselves whether the American administration really has such a power.

Of Eminent Domain and How it Grew

While the power of kings and rulers to appropriate the property of their subjects has been recognized since ancient times, it was not until after the close of the middle ages that scholars undertook the uniquely dismal job of naming and classifying the powers of sovereign governments and it was Hugo Grotius, in *De Jure Belli et Pacis* who coined the term "Eminent Domain" saying "... the property of subjects is under the eminent domain of the state so that the state ... may use such property ... for ends of public utility. ..."

As the concept developed thereafter on the European sub-continent and in the common law of England and the United States, concern shifted to the rights of private individuals effected by exercise of the power and the power came to be defined in terms of its limitations, that is, as "the power of the sovereign state to take private property for public use upon payment of just compensation."

It is a power that is inherent in sovereignty and is uniquely a creature of Western civilization in that it turns on Western notions of land tenure and use. When one attempts to place the power in a Micronesian setting, one encounters two quite specific difficulties: First, the American administration is not a Sovereign government in any sense. Second, the right of just compensation is predicated on certain assumptions concerning land ownership, alienability, and availability which are peculiar to the West and do not obtain in Micronesia, so that it is probably impossible ever to give a Micronesian "Just Compensation" for the loss of his land.

Of Eminent Domain and the American Administration

The American administration of Micronesia is essentially a creature of the United Nations and the scope and extent of its governing authority is defined in the agreement entered into in 1947 between the United Nations Security Council and the United States. A perusal of that agreement reveals no specific reference to the power of eminent domain. Rather, the agreement provides that the United States is to administer the islands of Micronesia in trust and shall "... protect the inhabitants against the loss of their lands and resources."

In eminent domain actions it has filed, the administration routinely recites that it is vested by law with "... the right and

authority to exercise in its own name the power of eminent domain ..." by virtue of Title 10 of the Trust Territory Code. This is nonsense because Title 10 is no law at all. The provisions of the Code now gathered under Title 10 originated as Executive Orders of the High Commissioner; and since the administration cannot, in any sense, be said to have conferred the power of eminent domain upon itself, one must look further for the source of such a power.

During 1969, the High Court of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, in the companion cases of *Calvo vs. Trust Territory* and *Ngiralois vs. Trust Territory*, had occasion to deal directly with the question whether the American administration

... For the American administration to represent to Micronesians that it has the power of eminent domain is for it to engage in a cruel and hypocritical deception. ...

possessed the power of eminent domain and, in opinions written by Justice Kelly Turner, concluded that the power of eminent domain had been delegated to the administration by no less a personage than the President of the United States. (See *Calvo vs. Trust Territory*).

The difficulty with this conclusion is that, since the United States administers Micronesia pursuant to a mandate of the United Nations, the President of the United States has no authority to delegate a sovereign power to the administration even if he were so inclined.

The power of eminent domain can have been conferred upon the administration only by the United Nations and, as we have seen, the United Nations does not seem to have confronted it. If members of the administration are really sincere in their desire to know whether or not they possess the power of eminent domain, they may wish to put the question to the Security Council of the United Nations. All indications are that this is the last thing in the world the American administration wishes to do.

Of Eminent Domain and Small Islands

The law of eminent domain as we know it developed on the underpopulated European sub-continent, in the British Isles, and in the United States. In these places land is usually severally owned, that is, it is usually owned by a single person, a married couple, or a few specifically identifiable persons. The most typical form of ownership is "fee simple" ownership; that is, the owner possesses the land and everything on it and all rights of user with respect to it. Land is freely alienable in the sense that it can be sold readily by one person to another and land is abundant in the sense that, if one is divested of a particular piece of land, one can usually arrange to purchase another roughly similar property.

Against this background, the right of the landowner to "just compensation" came to mean that, when the sovereign elected to exercise its power and condemn land belonging to a particular person that person was entitled to receive the "fair market value" of the property taken. The landowner could then be said to have received just compensation in the sense that, if he so desired, he could use the money thus received to purchase an approximately equivalent piece of land to replace the one that had been taken from him.

While an extended discussion of Micronesian land tenure is beyond the scope of this article, it is important, for present purposes, to note that land in Micronesia is commonly owned by

continued on p. 30

2nd Invasion News



The Arc Light Memorial at Anderson Air Force Base on Guam. In the picture is a B-52 which took part in the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong.

GUARDS ASSAULTED

Two Marine sentries on Guam were assaulted during July while standing guard duty. They had their pistols and ammunition stolen.

Pfc. Steve G. Holbert told Navy officials he was standing guard at the Naval Magazine the night of July 29 when a pickup truck approached his station. While he was trying to help the driver read a road map, he was sprayed in the face with a chemical substance that caused him to lose consciousness.

When he awoke he found his .45 caliber semi-automatic pistol and three clips of bullets missing. He was treated for first degree chemical burns on the face and is undergoing tests by an eye specialist.

Details of the attack against another Marine sentry have not been released. According to Col. Jinx McCain, Marine Barracks commanding officer, Navy Intelligence is investigating the incidents.

NAVY CONSTRUCTION

Congress approved more than \$2 million in Navy construction funds for Guam as part of the 1975 military authorization bill. The largest single item is just over \$1 million for air pollution abatement facilities at the Navy Public Works Center. A total of \$355,000 was approved for barracks renovation. Other projects not approved by Congress include \$1 million for a satellite communications terminal addition and \$1.7 million for repair work at the Ship Repair Facility.

MILITARY HOUSING SHORTAGE

Delays in the completion of new housing units for soon-to-arrive military families, has resulted in the Navy attempting to lease privately owned housing. Four thousand new military personnel and their families are expected to begin arriving in Guam next year as part of a Navy plan to move five destroyers and a guided missile frigate to Guam. Some new military housing is under construction at the Naval Communications Station but will not be sufficient to house the new families. Bids were to have been let on new housing at the Naval Station but for unexplained reasons Congress has not yet been asked to appropriate funds. There is some speculation that by leasing housing, the Navy can avoid informing Congress of the buildup of its strength on Guam.

GUAM RECRUITERS ARE BEST

The Guam Army recruiting office has signed up more than twice as many enlistees as projected. This makes it the "best" recruiting office in the Western United States, and, according to Maj. James Williams, it may mean that the Guam recruiters are the best in the United States. Without a doubt he said, "they will be among the top five in the country." Although Guamanians are not eligible to vote in U.S. presidential elections, they are subject to the draft and have traditionally enlisted in large numbers. More Guamanians were killed in Indochina fighting than from any state in the U.S. on a per capita basis.

MORE VISITS FROM JAPANESE NAVY

Four more Japanese Maritime Self-Defense Force destroyers visited Guam in July bringing the total number of Japanese ships on announced visits Guam this year to seven. Japanese P2-V long-range anti-submarine warfare aircraft have also visited the island in recent months.

MARINE COMMANDANT VISITS

Marine commandant General Robert E. Cushman was grand marshal for Guam's Liberation Day Parade. He participated in the 21 July 1944 invasion of Guam which is now celebrated as Liberation Day.

NO DISCRIMINATION ON GUAM?

H. Minton Francis, deputy assistant secretary of defense for equal opportunity, reported after a two-day tour of Guam that "no real problems" of racial discrimination exist among military forces on Guam. While he admitted that there are "isolated incidents" of hostility between the military and local people, he characterized them as not serious. He said one problem he did find was that it appears that "minority people account for more than their share of disciplinary action. . . ."

AMERICAN DESTROYERS VISIT

Five American destroyers visited Guam this summer in preparation for the permanent homeporting of five destroyers and a guided missile frigate on Guam beginning next year.

SATELLITE BASE ON GUAM

The Air Force has announced plans to construct a ground terminal on Guam for a proposed worldwide navigational system. Called NAVSTAR, the system would be satellite based and would provide the most accurate navigational fixes yet available for ships and aircraft. Other ground stations would be in Hawaii, Alaska and the northeast United States. By 1984, the Air Force plans to have 24 navigational satellites in orbit. The project has not yet been approved by Congress.

ARMY COMING TO GUAM?

There are reports that the U.S. 8th Army in South Korea may be converted into a "mobile reserve force" with some troops pulled back to Hawaii and other to Guam, according to *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* writer Lyle Nelson. These would be the first Army troops on Guam other than a small nuclear weapons maintenance group stationed at the Naval Magazine.

EX-MICRONESIA PILOT RELEASED

Emmet Kay, the last known American pilot to be held in Indochina, was released in September. Marjorie Smith, the author of this remembrance, knew him when he flew legendary rescue missions in Micronesia.

Remember the wisecrack of the late sixties: Will the last man out of Indochina turn off the light at the end of the tunnel?

One day in mid-September 1974, the last American came out of the prisons of Southeast Asia. Standing in the doorway between Asia and America, he seemed to hesitate, flicking the light off and on. After 16 months as a prisoner in Laos, bush pilot Emmet Kay was free.

On this side of the Pacific, there erupted a spontaneous cheer from the few but enthusiastic members of the "Ad Hoc Emmet Kay Freak Reminiscing and Tall-Tale-Telling Society."

How many daredevil pilots does the average person get to know in his lifetime? All of us were certain of one thing: anyone who can land a small plane on virtually non-existent torch-lit runways in Micronesia is not likely to succumb to a few months in prison.

Emmet Kay always wanted to be an airline. To be the whole thing: pilot, mechanic, stewardess, baggage handler, reservations clerk, the whole bit. The first time I flew with him, Micronesian Airlines (not to be confused with Air Micronesia, Continental Airlines stepchild) was totally his baby. His wife sold tickets, his kids helped vacuum the plane and he used his small van as a terminal building beside Guam's runway. He flew like a free man, skipping between puddles on the Rota runway, running the foaming rapids of a sky-canyon between mountains of cumulous clouds.

While running his own show, Emmet frequently flew emergency medical rescue missions to places like Ulithi and Pagan. Time and again he was in trouble with the Feds for landing on the imaginary runway on Pagan in the northern Marianas. Once a hefty fine was slapped on him for brining an alien into Guam without proper immigration papers. The alien had no papers because when he left his house that morning it was for a short motorcycle trip across the island, not a trip to Guam. But there was an accident and Emmet diverted his plane to Ulithi, picked up the victim and saved his life by getting him to the hospital in Guam on time. And was fined by U.S. authorities for his trouble.

Financial troubles finally got the better of him and he eventually signed up with Continental Airlines to fly missions for the CIA in Laos.

It was odd, watching him emerge last month. A story in the *San Francisco Chronicle* reported that Emmet made a number of strong statements condemning U.S. policy in Asia. I arose the next morning to find the *Chronicle* reporting that Emmet had denied making any pacifist, anti-American statements. My mind began to chew that over. How about an essay on reality: How it must look from Laos, and how it looked from Clark Air Force base surrounded by the might of the U.S. military.

Later, I went back to get clippings of both stories to put side by side as I wrote my analysis. But the story in the first morning's paper was a calm report on Emmet's release with no reference to his judgements on the war, his CIA missions or his praise for his captor-hosts.

I blinked. Had I imagined it? Put all those revolutionary quotes in Emmet's mouth myself based on memories of his



frustrated bitching and moaning about the restrictions the Feds kept saddling him with in Guam 10 years ago?

Then I remembered about the different editions which big newspapers publish. I rummaged through a stack of the papers published that first day. Here was the straight story about Emmet's release with the heartwarming photo of Florence, his wife, tugging him by the arm. But here, in a later edition, signed "Agence-France Presse" was the story with the meaty quotes. First he is quoted as apologizing for his errors, characterizing himself as an assassin because the planes he piloted carried bombs and ammunition, and promising to work for peace in Asia.

I sat down to attempt to sketch this man who has captured my imagination ever since I first met him. He is more than Evel Knievel and less than Charles Lindbergh. He is an adventurer and a humanitarian and a war profiteer in his own way, and yes, I shall continue to insist a poet.

But the image I now hold, shuffling through my collection of clippings, is a simple silhouette. A tall, lean gangling man, shoulders hunched a little, standing at the end of the tunnel, flicking the light on and off.

??



Friends of Micronesia needs an additional electric typewriter with a carbon ribbon, preferably an IBM Selectric. Can anyone help?



The growing number of Micronesians going to schools under the American educational system poses both an alarming and hopeful determining factor in the political fate of Micronesia. Alarming because such Western oriented education could be cited by American propagandists as evidence that Micronesians are psychologically and sociologically ready to be made part of the American political culture; and hopeful because Americanization of young Micronesians, via college education particularly, develops in them the habit of independent thinking.

This kind of thinking, foreign to Micronesia, is now being seeped silently into Micronesian consciousness through American education. The increasing outspokenness of Micronesian leaders against American policies in Micronesia is indicative of this growing independence in thinking. That Micronesian students in Guam and Hawaii are beginning to emerge from their carefree docility and commenting vehemently on the political developments in their islands is another manifestation of this fortunate miracle.

Though we cannot deny our being fortunate in this ironic phase of higher education, we may not be all that fortunate; at least not until the question of our political status has been resolved. This trend is just one of many educational developments that can transpire, quite conceivably to the detriment of Micronesian interests. Even education is but one aspect of our larger problem—the political dilemma.

The rationale for educating Micronesians may be well-meaning but we should not fail to recognize other underlying motives, especially the political ones, which may attempt to subvert the real purpose of education. So although we are hopeful to see Micronesians continually come out of the American education system as independent thinkers, we must not forget that power is still a one-way anathema, flowing from Washington, Double Cross, that we can combat only by organizing and coordinating the thoughts and activities of our independent thinkers, not by having them act out their frustrations individually.

ENEWETAK PEOPLE MAY RETURN HOME

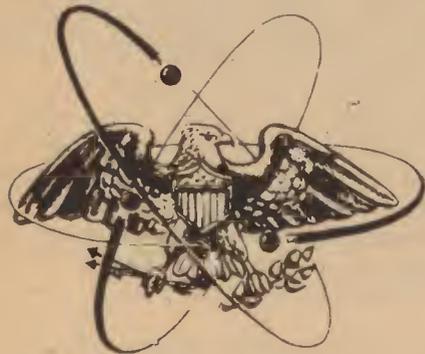
The exiled people of Enewetak have been told they can return to their island, some as early as this year and others following the completion of a multi-million dollar cleanup and rehabilitation program which has yet to be authorized by the U.S. Congress.

Some of the islands of the former nuclear test atoll will remain off-limits for the foreseeable future, however, due to radioactive contamination by plutonium which has a 24,000 year half-life. Three of the islands in the atoll were vaporized by the tests and completely disappeared into the sea.

The announcement of the return was made during a two day meeting on Enewetak attended by a delegation of U.S. military officials and more than 50 Enewetak people.

The people were moved off from their homes in 1947 to make way for nuclear weapons tests. At least 43 nuclear bombs were exploded between then and 1958. The population then numbered 136, but it has since grown to more than 350 and the people have for several years been pressing the government for a decision on when they could leave Ujelang, their home in exile, to return to Enewetak.

The Atomic Energy Commission claims that radioactivity levels in lagoon waters, fish and birds are not high enough to be harmful but places in the northern part of the atoll still have high



concentrations of radioactivity. The AEC's draft environmental impact statement recommends these islands remain off limits. Coconut crabs, considered a delicacy, should also not be eaten.

Although the AEC will scrape away some of the contaminated topsoil, there is still some question that danger levels will remain high. In Bikini, where the people have refused to return home, the AEC made assurances that the island was safe for rehabilitation even though radioactivity exceeded what the AEC itself considers safe for groups living in the United States.

Ted Mitchell, director of Micronesian Legal Services, which represents the Enewetak people, was noncommittal about his client's reactions to the statement. After comments are presented by interested parties, the AEC will prepare a final environmental impact statement. Once Congress appropriates funds, it is expected that the rehabilitation will take about three years. The AEC says it will continue to monitor the health of the people of Enewetak after they return home.

LATE NEWS: The U.S. Congress has refused to fund the cleanup and rehabilitation of Enewetak this year. According to Lt. Gen. Warren Johnston, director of the Pentagon's Defense Nuclear Agency, "apparently some members of Congress are not convinced the United States is committed to carry out this project."

BIKINI STILL DANGEROUS

BIKINI DANGERS CONFIRMED

Soils samples from Bikini which were recently analyzed in Japanese laboratories confirm that the annual amount of radioactivity to which people will be exposed exceeds safe limits. According to the Japanese Congress Against A and H Bombs (Gensuikin), "the results of our analysis bear out the correctness of Dr. Arthur Tamplin's warnings. (See *Newsletter*, Summer 1974, p. 8) The Gensuikin report goes on to say, "at present, there is a demand from many quarters of the world that the minimum permissible dose of radioactivity should be lowered from the present limit of 500 millirems." According to U.S. Atomic Energy Commission figures, recently confirmed by Gensuikin, levels of radioactivity on Bikini reach 120 millirems above the presently questionable level of safety.

As a result, Gensuikin recommends that the people of Bikini continue to refuse to return home so long as the AEC refuses to take steps to lower the level of radioactivity on the island. The people were scheduled to return in May 1974 but have refused to do so. They are now demanding additional compensation from the U.S. for their 28 year exile.

In addition, there are as yet unconfirmed reports that the 40 houses built on the island for the Bikinians were constructed out of concrete mixed with sand containing excessively high levels of radioactivity.

UTIRIK COMPENSATION

The people of Utirik Island in the Marshalls will soon be receiving an "inconvenience payment" from the Atomic Energy Commission as a result of their being exposed to radioactive fallout in 1954. A total of \$18,212 has been appropriated by the U.S. Congress for this purpose. Each of the original 157 persons who were contaminated will receive \$116.

The people of Rongelap, more seriously injured in the same blast, have already received about \$10,000 each.

The Utirik people originally refused the payment saying it was too small in view of the hardship and illness they have suffered.

"The U.S. Talks about self-determination, what it really means is self-termination."

American Indian Movement

Free Micronesia!

NEW IMPROVED "FREE MICRONESIA"
BUMPER STICKERS ARE NOW AVAILABLE

BY AIR, AND BY SEA . . .

LEGALIZED LOOTING

Calling American economic policy toward Micronesia "legalized looting and exploitation," Cong. Sasauo Haruo, chairman of the Congress' Resources and Development Committee, recently analyzed the current state of the Micronesian economy.

He said that after 30 years of "unproductive trusteeship," long-range military needs are one of the "real reasons why commercial agriculture is practically nonexistent and why our administration does not have a single successful project to its credit."

Unlawful poaching and plundering of Micronesia's marine resources has also been tolerated by the U.S. despite the fact that it is "the most powerful and technologically advanced nation in the history of mankind." The fact that it does not "keep foreigners from stealing our resources remains to me a basic absurdity."

Haruo said he was "astounded" to learn that the U.S. Administration had joined with Hawaii and American Samoa to develop skipjack fishing. "Not only was the Congress not consulted, but the obvious objective of this plan is to let big businesses in the U.S. exploit our resources." To participate in this new fishing venture "means to me permitting others to catch and can our fish so that these foreign companies can sell our fish back to us at high costs." Haruo said tuna caught in Palau by Van Camp is exported, canned and imported back into Micronesia where it is sold for \$1.10 a can.

"It is my conclusion that the U.S. prefers to 'contain' our economy. Recent actions by the U.S. merely legalize poaching and looting of our resources, and this Congress must do everything in its power to stop such abuses." Until Micronesia begins to achieve economic self-reliance," he said, "it will remain a tool of U.S. interests."

HOTEL ROW

Micronesia now has 39 hotels. Although 34 of them are at least nominally owned by Micronesians, more than one-third of the hotel rooms are in three hotels owned by Continental Airlines. Since many of the Micronesian owned hotels do not cater to foreign tourists, the actual percentage of rooms for tourists under foreign control is much larger than the figures might suggest. Trust Territory projections are that 105,000 tourists will visit Micronesia next year, up more than 40,000 from last year.

TUNA FISHING

The Truk Development Corporation plans to set up a skipjack tuna fishing enterprise on Uman Island in Truk Lagoon. The company plans to operate 5 fishing boats with an estimated minimum catch of 7,000 tons a year.

FOREIGN AID TO MICRONESIA

During a recent visit to Yap and Palau, Australian diplomat L. G. Sellars was asked about the possibility of Australia providing foreign aid to Micronesia. Sellars had no official comment.

TRUK OPPOSES JAPANESE SURVEY

The Truk Fishing Authority has rejected a proposed Japanese-run bait survey. The Japan Marine Fishery Resource Research Center (JAMARC) wants to conduct the survey in the Truk Lagoon. Paulino Maipi, manager of the fishing authority, said, "We need such a survey but the way the Japanese want to do it makes us suspicious." Maipi referred to the fact that JAMARC is run by the Japanese Government and private fishing companies. As a result, Maipi expressed fear that the survey would be used to help Japanese fishermen.

JAMARC originally requested permission to conduct the survey in a letter to the authority, but when they received no reply they decided to send a boat to Truk to begin the survey anyway. Despite the urging of Christopher Mitchell, the Trust Territory's fisheries specialist, the local fishing authority vetoed the project. Said fishing authority president Camillo Noket, "We want to do things the way we want, not the way foreigners want it done."

CASTLE AND COOK

It has also been learned that Castle and Cook, one of the largest Hawaii-based corporations, intends to begin a tuna fishing industry in the Marshalls. All fishing would be done by foreign crews but a deep freeze facility would be established in Majuro. Del Monte, a California-based food processor, has formally dropped its plans to fish in the Marshalls after it was revealed that they would only be using Majuro as an adjunct to a South Korean-based canning operation.

MORE BABIES FOR YAP

A member of the Yap District Legislature, James Mangefel, introduced a resolution calling for "all parents, boys and girls of child-bearing age . . . to do everything within their power and ability to increase the population of Yap." "Our small population," the resolution states, "has rendered us somewhat politically impotent and ineffectual in relations with our sister districts. . . ."

BUSINESSMEN VISIT

More than 50 members of the Japan-Hawaii Economic Council visited Guam, Saipan, Palau and Yap in September. Members of the council include executives from Mitsubishi, Fuji Bank, Sony, Dillingham, and Hawaii Corp. The Council issued a joint statement saying, "the opening of the Trust Territory to foreign investment is a momentous step for the people of the area, and we are keenly aware of their desire to be fully involved in the ownership and management of new business ventures. . . ."

MICRONESIA ASSOCIATION

One hundred Japanese corporations have joined together to form the Micronesia Association. Composed of real estate and tourist firms, the group will examine the possibilities of investing in Micronesia. The association hopes to "promote cultural interchange" as a means of enhancing investment possibilities. Yoshio Iwata is the head official.

WAR CLAIMS STRUGGLE

A joint committee has been formed by the Palau and Marianas District Legislatures seeking increased war claims payments by the United States and Japan. According to a press release, the committee is seeking \$100 million additional compensation. Japan and the U.S. have already appropriated \$30 million although claims that have already been filed far exceed that amount.

The committee lists atrocities such as "severe beatings" by Japanese soldiers, forced sale or lease of their land to Japanese sugar mill companies, and damage done by insects brought from Japan.

There is widespread opposition to the present war claims settlement. According to William Clark, a former attorney for the Micronesian Claims Commission, promises being made to claimants "could be construed as fraudulent" since the Commission will never be able to pay off more than a small percentage of each claim unless additional funds are appropriated. A number of suits have already been filed against the Claims Commission.

NEW PUBLICATIONS



Eugene Mihaly, "Tremors in the Western Pacific," *Foreign Affairs*, July 1974.

Roger Gale, "Return to Bikini," *The Progressive*, October 1974.

"The Pacific," *Akwesasne Notes*, Early Summer 1974.

"Tinian: New Base in Asia," *International Bulletin*, 26 July 1974.

Roger Gale, "Letter from Guam," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 20 September 1974.

Robert Kiste, *The Bikinians: A Study in Forced Migration*. Menlo Park, Ca.: Cummings, 1974.

Victor Putz, "The Last B-52 Mission from Guam," *Air Force*, June 1974.

John Singleton, "The U.S. Trust Territory in the Pacific," *Vital Issues*, March 1974.

ECONOMY STILL BAD OFF

"Copra price up 150%."

Micronesian News Service

6 August 1974

"Copra Declining on World Market."

Micronesian News Service

18 September 1974

Exports from Micronesia reached an all-time high in Fiscal Year 1974 largely because of the high price copra has been fetching on the world market. With the end of the energy crisis, however, the price of copra on world markets has plummeted sharply in recent weeks. As a result, prices paid to Micronesian copra farmers by the Government's Copra Stabilization Board will soon be on their way down after reaching a record \$400 a ton.

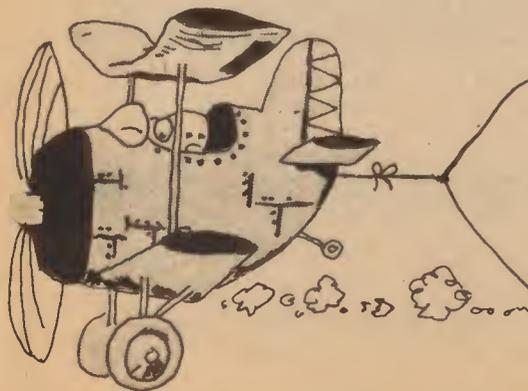
Copra, the dried meat of the coconut, is Micronesia's major export. It is used in food preparation and in industrial settings where it is in competition with petroleum derivatives. Micronesia's entire crop is exported to Japan. Last year's exports totaled \$4.4 million, up from \$900,000 the year before. Production was up from almost 9,000 short tons to 12,426 short tons.

Fish continued to be Micronesia's second largest export totaling almost \$3 million last year. In addition an undetermined amount of revenue was derived from the growing tourist industry.

Imports also increased last year resulting in a continuation of the major imbalance between imports and exports that has characterized American rule of Micronesia. Imports continue to outweigh exports by a ratio of about three to one.

CATHOLIC CHURCH TABOO

The Catholic Church cannot own land in Micronesia according to a recent opinion of the Trust Territory Attorney-General's office. The AG's office ruled that the Catholic Church is a "non-citizen" organization. Since the "Supreme Roman Pontiff has ultimate authority" over what happens to church land in Micronesia, under Trust Territory law, land can only be owned by citizens.



FOM SLIDE SHOW

NOW AVAILABLE

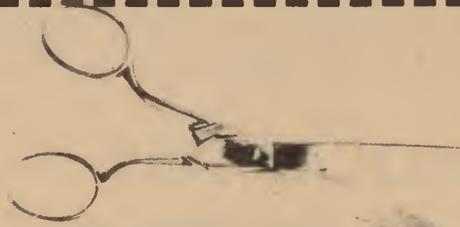
Speakers available to accompany the show in many parts of the country. Contact FOM for more details.

The Workshop

THE COLONIAL LIBRARY

Have you ever noticed when you look for "Micronesia" in a library card catalog, it is listed under UNITED STATES – TERRITORIES AND POSSESSIONS? If you check the listings for Portugal, Britain and France, you find the listing PORTUGAL – COLONIES, etc. Why the difference? Sanford Berman, head cataloger at the Hennepin County Library in Minnesota suggests the listing be changed to UNITED STATES – COLONIES. Why not send a note to the librarian in your local library asking for a more objective listing?

If you don't like what is happening in the Marianas, do something. Start by writing letters to your congressmen telling them what you know and asking for their support. Then, tell other people what's happening. We'd be happy to send you extra copies of the *Newsletter*. What ever you decide to do, do it now.



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NEW ZEALAND: Owen Wilkes, 126 High Street, Oxford

AUSTRALIA: John Wollin, *Retrieval*, P.O. Box 51, Fitzroy, 3065 (Melbourne)

FIJI: c/o ATOM Fiji, P.O. Box 1168, Suva

EUROPE: Peggy Duff, c/o International Conference for Disarmament and Peace, 6 Endsleigh St., London WC1 ph: (01) 387-5754

PARDON ME, GERALD
Why not send a note to Gerald Ford asking him to reconsider his predecessor's policies on Micronesia. His address: 1600 Pennsylvania Ave., Washington, D.C. Tell him what you think.

NAME A NAME

If you haven't already done so, how about sending us the names of a few people who might want to support FOM? We've set a goal of 1000 new supporters. *Please do it now!*

PROFESSORS OF THE WORLD!

1. Does your university library subscribe to the *Newsletter*? If not, why not ask them to? Over 60 libraries already subscribe.
2. Why not schedule a showing of the FOM Slide Show in your class?

Letters

PEACE CORPS

Dear Friends,

I'd like to add a few words to the discussion of David Greenfield's thesis that the Peace Corps is an agent of U.S. imperialism in Micronesia. This assertion deserves closer examination than it has received at other times it has popped up, and I was pleased that both the letters from ex-PCV's you printed in the Summer '74 issue of the Newsletter took well-founded exception to Greenfield's one-sided formulation of the issue. The Peace Corps has undoubtedly had a large impact on Micronesia, but it's not correct to characterize its effects as only furthering cultural imperialism.

Those who accuse the Peace Corps of cultural genocide or outright colonialism point to the Solomon Report as proof of the evil intent behind the sending of PCV's to the Trust Territory in 1966. But these critics assume that things actually worked out as the Report said they would when it predicted that Micronesians would gladly rush into America's protective arms as the result of the labors of dedicated volunteers, increased government budgets, and other American machinations. The clear evidence, of course, is that much the opposite has occurred in the TT since the mid-1960s. Blind subservience to American dictates has disappeared, along with the awe of the rich foreign rulers. Today Micronesians vigorously assert their rights, criticize U.S. policy, and propose their own political solutions as never before in the islands' colonial history. I'm mystified that anyone familiar with Micronesia today and the contrasting docile attitudes of ten years ago can insist that islanders have been led down a primrose path by a bunch of Machiavellian, or at best, misguided, 21-year-old American college kids. I see no evidence to support such a claim, and find the notion an insult to the intelligence of the Micronesians.

The cautions of the "post hoc ergo propter hoc" fallacy prevent one from assessing precisely the role Volunteers played in the Micronesian political awakening of the late 1960s. But PCV's had a hand in at a lot of schools, legislatures, newspapers, and other important places, as Chris Christensen noted in his letter about the Marshalls. Toadies for the militarists? Recall the Pentagon's scrubbing of the Peace Corps lawyer program after the Palau PC lawyer sparred publicly with the Marine general and was accused of drafting the legislature's first resolution rejecting military encroachment in Palau. Even most of the PC staffers I knew opposed remilitarization of the TT and made no secret of it, probably thereby hastening their departures when the Nixon administration took over. Despite the official prohibition against political activism, many PCV's in Micronesia have been involved up to their elbows in local political issues, and I would guess this was so because the majority were galled by the transparent colonialism they saw when the TT administration joined hands with the Pentagon. If, as Greenfield says, all Volunteers ought to leave the islands because they represent a foreign culture, then logically all foreigners and their skills, goods, and money should leave too. How many Micronesians seriously advocate that?

The primary cause of Micronesian dependency on the U.S. has been the financial dole that is spent in such a way that the islands now have a mammoth government bureaucracy unsupported by a productive native economic base. Not great love for America and her "agents of change," but fear of losing \$70

million of grants each year drives many reluctant islanders to advocate a continuing relationship with America. To the extent this lopsided economic development was deliberate the U.S. authorities stand accused of carrying out the selfish proposals of the Solomon Report.

Finally, I must protest the editorial crack about "government do-gooders" in the Spring issue. It was what the White House would call a cheap shot, and denigrates the efforts of hundreds of PCV's, government employees, and others in many fields who don't view their jobs as sun-washed sinecures but instead have worked hard for Micronesian self-determination. Besides, the Friends of Micronesia itself was started by a group of former Peace Corps Volunteers and staffers back there in the wilds of remotest Boston.

Yours truly,
Steve Murray
Ex-PCV, Palau

KUDOS

Dear Friends,

I have just read about Micronesia for the first time and am appalled at what goes on behind our backs, yet in our name. I work in the prison movement. Frustration is high as it is in all the most urgent issues.

Violence and racism are root problems everywhere. Tell me what is happening and if there is anything that will stop us from "helping" the people and lands of Micronesia.

Bill Hamilton
San Francisco

Dear Friends,

Your magazine is fantastic! Please send me a subscription. . . . Thank you for your work.

Patricia McCormack
Seattle

Dear Friends,

Your magazine is excellent. Please exchange subscriptions with our *Hoe Hana* monthly newspaper.

Labor-Community Alliance
Honolulu

QUERY

Dear Friends,

Enclosed please find payment for a one-year subscription to the *Newsletter*. I first learned of it in the May issue of *Ramparts*.

I have always been keenly interested in whatever news could be garnered from the meager flow of reports concerning Micronesia available in the media. I was a member of the first small landing force of Americans who went ashore on Moen Island, Truk to begin arrangements for the official surrender of the Japanese garrison. I spent nine months in the Carolines, as Executive Officer of the Navy Bomb and Mine Disposal Unit responsible for locating and removing remaining Japanese ammunition and "dud" American bombs. This duty often brought our working parties into close contact with the people of small, remote islands seldom visited even by Military Government Officers during those first few hectic months after the war. The establishment of positive rapport with the people enabled us to piece together information concerning Japanese-native interrelationships during the blockading of the islands, increased Japanese discrimination against people known to have or suspected of having any degree of American ancestry, and Japanese

mistreatment of American POWs. A lot more could be written about this period.

My real reason for writing is to ask your help in organizing a brief teaching unit involving Micronesia as part of a Sociology-Anthropology course I teach at the local high school. I hope you may be able to help. I would very much appreciate any suggestions you and your readers may have.

Leo Ponsar
The Belly Acres
Hazleton, Iowa

LAND ROBBERY

Dear Friends,

Your article on Guam in the Summer 1974 *Newsletter*, quoted witnesses before Representative Won Pat's Subcommittee concerning the Naval acquisition of land on Guam. One witness, Jose Sablan Pangelinan, mentioned the name of Jose Bitanga, who had negotiated with landowners on behalf of the Navy. It will be of interest to your readers to know that Mr. Bitanga's activities were not confined to Guam. During the Naval Administration of Saipan, "Judge" Bitanga (as he was called) was the principal negotiator for a land exchange program whereby many Saipanese landowners were deprived of their ancestral lands. These land exchanges were called "agreements," but what actually happened was that the Navy would approach a landowner, tell him that his land, usually already being used by the military, was needed, and then give him land in another area. Invariably the exchange-land was of poorer quality than the land being taken. This transaction was termed an "agreement" for public relations purposes, but there was in fact no agreement, no meeting of the minds. The Navy informed the landowner that it needed his land, and took it. There were instances where the landowner protested against this, but this was of no avail. Often the Navy would offer in exchange more land than it had taken, as evidence of its generosity. But this was for public-relations purposes, as the land would be of poor quality and unfit for agricultural purposes.

"Judge" Bitanga was a deposition witness in a High Court case in which Micronesian Legal Services represented a landowner who was seeking to have the exchange "agreement" set aside. *Crisostimo v. Trust Territory*, Civ. No. 953 (Trial Div. Marianas). I cross-examined "Judge" Bitanga and caught him in a lie: he had testified that he didn't know of any opposition to the land exchange on the part of the heirs, but I got him to admit that he was present at a conversation with the plaintiff where the latter had vigorously protested against the loss of his father's land, which was a sacred non-alienable thing according to Chamorro custom. At the end of the deposition, the Trust Territory lawyer asked that a letter of appreciation from the Navy be included in the record. I had no objection, as it clearly showed Bitanga's first loyalty was to the military, not to his own people, whom he had systematically cheated and defrauded of their lands. I am attaching the pertinent pages of the deposition to this letter for the information of your readers. The letter of appreciation speaks for itself, but I find it interesting, to say the least, that Bitanga was commended for getting the U.S. government some highly valuable property without any laying out of money by that government. In so doing, I think that the U.S. violated the provision of the Trusteeship Agreement which obliges it to protect the lands and resources of the people of Micronesia.

Donald Juneau
Attorney at Law

(Ed: Because of space limitations we are unable to print the Navy's letter of appreciation to Bitanga.)

LETTER FROM THE EARTH

(A letter addressed to Russell Apple, National Park Service, Honolulu with copies to Friends of Micronesia, et al.)

Russell A. Apple
Pacific Historian, Hawaii Group
National Park Service
Honolulu, Hawaii

Dear Russ,

I am writing this letter in regard to your recent letter to the Friends of Micronesia Newsletter, as published in the Spring 1974 issue.

I resent your derogatory comments regarding my forthcoming book that in part presents a program for a Micronesian Park system. Your implications are in error. In my book written in collaboration with Ken Brower, I do not call for a "national park" system in Micronesia, nor do I refer to a park system by that name. My commentary refers to a Micronesian park system created by the Congress of Micronesia and the District Legislatures. In no way is it like the mainland style tourist-oriented U.S. federal park system. I should also remind you that the proposal presented in my book, *Micronesia: Island Wilderness*, is to a significant part based upon extensive conversation with Micronesians over a period of several years. It is not the result of a once over lightly trip like that recently made by you.

I am amazed that you, as a supposed historian, and Roger Gale as a reporter and editor, should both make adverse references to a book that neither one of you has read and that has not yet been published. The final updated ms has yet to be completed. I should also bring to your attention that the proposal for a park system in my book should not in anyway be compared with the censored and abridged version that you may have read in the government publication, *Micronesian Reporter*.

You should know that your appearance in Micronesia as a national park service staffer as requested by the Department of the Interior, your VIP treatment by obedient District Administrators appointed by the U.S. administration, followed up by the introduction of a U.S. High Commissioner sponsored "national Park" bill in the Congress of Micronesia, has done more to disrupt the idea of land conservation by Micronesians than any other single event since Interior took over the islands.

Aloha,

R. Wenkam

KINK

Dear Friends,

I take offense at your adjectives and the yellow press used in the story (Spring 1974) on new Peace Corps volunteers. Political activism is not life; it's your game, different place, different mind. Chicago '68 signified the end for me; waves and the wind—whatever.

Serenidad del Espiritu,

Patrick O'Brien
Peace Corps Volunteer
Faraulap, Yap

THE REAL GUAM

Dear Friends,

While I find myself in general agreement with many of your objectives, particularly those relating to self-determination for Micronesia and the ending of the nuclear weapons race and also the halting of experimentation with these catastrophic devices, I am forced to call attention to your less than fully accurate

CONTINUED

EMINENT DOMAIN

large groups of people representing extended families, that particular rights to harvest coconuts and other crops, to pass over land, and to use land for certain purposes are often vested in persons other than the primary owners and that land is almost never once and finally alienable although it may be let to other persons for particular uses for particular periods of time. Also, and most significantly, in the islands of Micronesia every piece of real property is owned by someone and, except in some parts of Saipan and in a few limited areas in and around district centers where traditional forms of land ownership have eroded away, no land is ever "for sale" and the concept of market value as defined in the West does not exist.

Given these circumstances, because the assumptions that underlie its application in the West do not obtain in Micronesia, the concept of eminent domain is simply unworkable in Micronesia.

Conclusion

In light of all this, for the American administration to represent to Micronesians that it has the power of eminent domain is for it to engage in a cruel and hypocritical deception that suggests a desire on the part of the American administration to give the appearance, without the substance, of legitimacy to their efforts to expropriate the land of Micronesians. This desire seems all the more evident when one notes, from a reading of Title 10 of the Trust Territory Code, that, by contrast to American jurisdictions where such questions are made subject to

the right of trial by jury, the provisions of that chapter purport to place the determination of what constitutes a public use for which land may be taken by eminent domain and what constitutes just compensation for land thus taken solely with the Judge of the High Court. Since such judges are invariably Americans, the practical effect of these provisions is to deny Micronesians any participation in the process by which land is "condemned" and its value determined.

In the face of the evident intention of the American administration to proceed as though it possessed the power of eminent domain and to appropriate the lands of Micronesians under its guise, Micronesians have two courses of action available to them. They can, of course, contest the right of the administration to take their lands in court; but, because they are locked into the procedural *eul-de-sac* of the High Court of the Trust Territory and because that Court has already ruled that the administration possessed the power, the results of such contests are sadly predictable. On the other hand, they could attempt, by formal or informal means, to present the question whether the administration has the power of eminent domain directly into the United Nations Security Council for its determination.

Until such time as the Security Council elects to declare its position on the subject, Micronesians are left with whatever cold comfort they can derive from the fact that, while Americans proceed to deprive them of the lands so necessary to the maintenance of their life style and so vital to their aspirations for self-determination in much the same way as the Japanese, Germans, and Spanish before them, instead of calling it "expropriation," they will call it "eminent domain."

(William Anderson, the author of this article, is an attorney on Guam who has been involved in a number of land cases.)

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PEACE CORPS SWEARING IN

The Peace Corps swore in 138 new volunteers in September, 85 percent of them teachers. There are reports from Truk that at least six qualified Micronesian teachers are unable to find work because the Peace Corps volunteers, who work without a salary, are hired by the Education Department to save money. The total number of volunteers in Micronesia is close to 300, which, on a similar per capita basis, would mean India would have over 2 million Peace Corps volunteers. Originally introduced as part of the Solomon Plan to bring about the rapid Americanization of Micronesia, there were at one time 800 volunteers in Micronesia.



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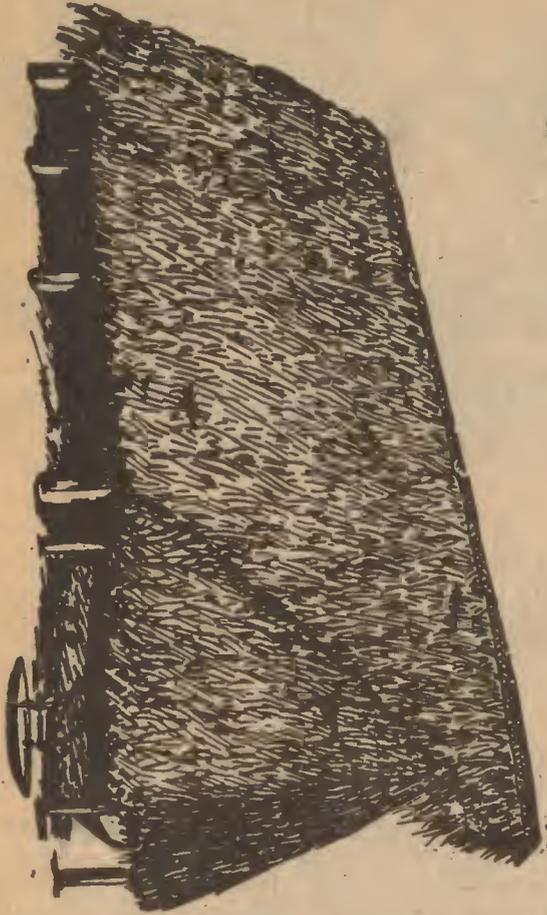
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Fall 1974

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