

MicronesianReporter



THIRD QUARTER 1978

PACIFIC AREA LANGUAGES MATERIALS

(PALM) Development Center
2424 Maile Way, Porteus 713
Honolulu, Hawaii 96822

Newly elected Truk Governor,
the Honorable Erhart Aten, delivering his
inaugural address September 26, 1978
while First Lady Sechko Aten and guests
look on. The ceremony took place at
Anderson Ball Field, Moen, Truk District.

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CREDITS:

Cover: photo by Sam McPhetres

Back Cover: photo by Johannes Ngiraibuuch

Photographs:

Pages 2,3 by Derson Ramon; pages 4 & 5 by Sam McPhetres; 6 & 7 by Derson Ramon; pages 16, 17 & 19 submitted by author; page 20 PID's file; 22 & 24 submitted by author; and page 31 from PID's file.

Illustrations:

Page 15 by Mark Hutchins; pages 21, 23 & 25 by Robert Fithing

MicronesianReporter

The Journal of Micronesia/Third Quarter 1978/Volume XXVI, Number 3

PUBLISHER:

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Micronesian Reporter is published quarterly by the Public Information Office, Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, Saipan, Mariana Islands 96950. Subscription rate is \$4.00 air mail, payable in advance. Check or money order should be made payable to Trust Territory Treasurer and sent to the Circulation Department, Micronesian Reporter. The funds for printing this publication approved by Director of the Budget on July 29, 1966. Printed in the Territory of Guam, U.S.A. by the Navy Publications and Printing Office. Stories and photographs are welcomed; stories in manuscript form, photos 8x10 prints or undeveloped film. Send contributions to the editor.

This Quarter's Worth

Thirty nine years ago a baby boy was born on the island of Udot in Truk district lagoon. His parents, Mr. and Mrs. Aten of Udot, named him Erhart. He grew up just like any other Trukese boy, but Erhart had a mark of success about him. Erhart attended Xavier High School on Moen, Truk, and continued his post secondary education at the University of the Philippines for two years. When he returned home in 1964, Erhart began his career as a public servant in the executive branch of the Trust Territory government first as Community Group Advisor (1964-1968), then Community Development Officer (1969-1971),

became District Administrator's Representative for the Mortlocks, the outer islands of Truk (1971-1975) and in 1975 he was appointed Deputy District Administrator of Truk.

But the peak of his success emerged in September 1978. On September 26, 1978 Erhart Aten 39, was inaugurated as the first elected Governor of Truk, the first of the six districts of Micronesia outside of the Northern Marianas to elect its governor under a new charter. This issue of the *Micronesian Reporter* is dedicated to the Honorable Governor Erhart Aten, and wishes him success in his new government.

The most valuable resources in any country is its people. And the emerging governments in Micronesia need educated, dedicated, farsighted and able people to build a stable and lasting government for the people. Does Micronesia have them? If so can the governments make uses of their talents and skills to shape and advance Micronesia? Dirk Ballendorf's article,

"Brain Drain: The Future Emigration of Micronesians" should give us an itch to reassess our belief.

"The Origin of the Chamorro People" by Robert Graham represents some tantalizing indicators for further research into the origin of the Chamorro people in this period of searching for roots in many cultures and people.

There have been many interesting books written about Micronesia. Mr. Daniel Peacock, in his article, "Reading About the Trust Territory: Books for the Final Years", discusses about some of the recent collections in the T.T. Library. Make sure that your own collection is completed and up-to-date.

Robert P. Owen in his article, "Conservation Is For Everyone", writes about the importance of protecting our natural resources. He says, "The purpose of conservation is to ensure that the indispensable natural resources in Micronesia are wisely used and not wasted destroyed or polluted by either Micronesians or outsiders."

Who's Who

...in this issue of the Reporter

Erhart Aten is the first elected governor of Truk District. He was sworn into office on September, 1978. Aten defeated former Speaker of Truk District Legislature, Koichi Sana, in a gubernatorial runoff election on Truk in the early part of September. He was Deputy District Administrator since 1975. Aten attended Xavier High School and completed two years at the University of the Philippines. He was born on Udot island in the Truk lagoon on August 11, 1939.

Dirk A. Ballendorf is president of Community College of Micronesia. He has contributed many interesting articles for the *Micronesian Reporter*. In this edition of the magazine, Ballendorf

presents, "Brain Drain: The Future Emigration of Micronesians" that should make some people to think about a possible remedy to the problem. Ballendorf's interest in Micronesia began way back to the 60's when he arrived in Palau as Peace Corps Director with his family.

Robert Graham was a former Peace Corps Volunteer in Arno, Marshall Islands from 1969 to 1971. He has taught school on Guam from 1973 to 1976. Last year, Graham completed his Masters from the University of Hawaii in Pacific Island Studies. He is presently assisting in developing a program of Hawaiian at Kualoa Park near Honolulu.

Mrs. Nancy Rody R.D. is Nutrition, Sanitation, and Health Education Integrator for Pacific Training Office (PTO) in the Northern Marianas. PTO is a non-profit organization funded by HEW. Rody has contributed several articles on nutrition in Micronesia

especially Yap District. In this issue, she writes about the value of breast feeding in Micronesia particularly outside of the district centers. Mrs. Rody is a registered dietitian and nutritionist.

Daniel J. Peacock is Library Services Supervisor for the Trust Territory Bureau of Education. As a professional librarian with the T.T. Bureau of Education Peacock has accumulated a wealth of knowledge about all kinds of books, reports and documents about Micronesia. In this issue, he presents some of the recent book collections.

Dwight Heine is a Special Consultant to the High Commissioner. A prominent and jovial Micronesian patriarch, Heine has represented the Trust Territory Government at countless meetings and Conferences in the South Pacific and other places. He recently received an honorary doctorate degree in Humanities from Oakland City College in Indiana.



Chief Justice Harold W. Burnett administered oath of office to Erhart Aten as the first elected Governor of Truk September 26, 1978.

Inaugural Address: Erhart Aten, Truk's First Governor

I stand before you, full of humility, and I ask that you give me permission to say a few words. They are not words of a wise man and I ask that you understand that I know this. That what I am about to say represents mostly what I believe and not promises of what I can do. As your first elected governor, I know I cannot succeed without your help and prayers. I ask for them now. My remarks represent what I think are important and what I want to see happen and I want to share them with you now.

As we approach the termination of the United Nations' Trusteeship, Micronesia will be expected to provide

more of the resources to run the government's necessary services. This includes the district government. We will have to work harder in the years to come because of the population growth and the changes in what people expect from government and what government can provide. In order to cope with more limited resources, we are making a study of our organizational structure and staffing plan, so that we can take the best advantage of everything we have in our islands and what comes to us from outside.

Government employment is not a right that everyone has. The government is not an employment agency. Work in

the government is a public service, a responsibility to serve the people. We must not forget that it is the taxes that people pay out of their hard-earned salaries and wages, businesses and services, that pay government services. If we want good government and low taxes, we are going to have to make some important changes in the near future. We may not be paying the taxes that support our government today, but someday soon we will. We must be getting ready.

It is our aim to operate with the most efficient and effective public service organization possible and one which we can support with available

resources. Every effort will be made to demand good work attendance and full production; to encourage training, self-improvement and advancement in the public service; to reward initiative and creativity and to penalize laxity, dishonesty and inefficiency. I intend to foster a progressive, fair and honest, practical, coordinated and responsible administration that will be sensitive and responsive to the needs of the people of Truk and one which we can support with our own resources in the years to come.

I pledge to work closely with the Truk District Legislature, the law-making branch of our chartered government, which is distinct and separate but equal to the other two branches, the executive and judiciary. I also pledge to work closely with the Congress of Micronesia, the law-making branch of the territorial government.

There is no doubt in my mind that our legislators and congressmen, as well as my fellow public servants in the executive branch, are fully aware of the need of Truk District, now more than ever, to use scarce funds the best way possible and to establish priorities in a budget plan that would ensure continuity of governmental services in spite of gradually declining United States appropriations. We have to make some changes in order to cope with the rapidly changing way of living in Micronesia. Legislation to appropriate money for certain groups (called pork barrel) may be one change that I foresee will have to go in favor of district-wide needs and priorities. This is a luxury only rich countries can afford. I do not have a pork barrel and I am also a politician. I hope that the people will understand and agree with this approach.

Although I am fully responsible to the people of Truk, there are also areas of responsibility to the High Commissioner of the Trust Territory for which I am accountable for as long as Micronesia is still under the Trusteeship

and the present organization of the Trust Territory Government.

It is my intention to work closely with the High Commissioner and his staff in promoting the well-being of the people of Truk. I do not foresee any great difficulty in this dual responsibility because we have common goals and mutual respect and understanding of our roles in Micronesia and for its future.

As our government gradually changes over to one under the Constitution of the Federated States of Micronesia—and this will be no later than nine months from now—Truk must be prepared. We must not be left behind in this voyage towards full self-government and whatever the future holds in store for us. I promise that my administration will do its part.

When we talk about Health and Education, we are talking about people and their well-being, a vital element to our economic and political development. We need a vocational and academic educational model that is suitable and appropriate for preparing our youth for real life in our island society and for its future. It is in education that we see the old blending with the new, and where the young and

the old are trained to cope with the changes in our society and the world of which we are a small part. In Health Services, we need a program that is oriented primarily to disease prevention and to providing appropriate medical care to those who need it.

About 60 percent of the district budget is spent in Health and Education. The United States presently provides a substantial amount of money for federal programs in Health and Education to supplement our regular programs. We will direct our efforts to taking the best advantage of these valuable programs and eliminate waste, duplication and inefficiency in their administration and implementation. I believe that the community's active participation in policy-making for social programs is very important and I will be asking for your advice regularly while I am governor.

With the abundance of free food coming into our district, we are faced with the danger of stifling economic initiatives and encouraging a mentality foreign to our traditional self-respect, sense of dignity and accomplishment through self-sufficiency. But on the other hand, if one can see the increasing signs of malnutrition in our people, it

Governor elect Aten and First Lady Sechko Aten pass the honor guard on their way to podium.



becomes more difficult to make a judgement as to whether the program is good or bad, for it is both. When the population increases in a place where the food supply remains steady or is sometimes diminished by typhoons, the people can no longer rely on their own resources to stay healthy or even to survive in some cases.

I consider this program for needy families a short-term program to supplement the food supply, a temporary measure until the food problem gets satisfactorily resolved. The program may have some long term benefits in exposure and appreciation of nutritional values and better living standards, which could very well become instrumental in creating a demand for a wider variety of food. This, we hope, will stimulate agricultural activity. Also on the long term, an imaginative community may divert hard to get money that would normally be spent for food from the stores to savings for farming, fishing and home improvement.

I recognize the dangers inherent to a welfare program of this nature, but we will monitor and control this program to eliminate waste and misuse and explore how we can make the benefits outweigh the harmful effects it can bring our people. We will need good leadership and community cooperation to accomplish this difficult task. But most of all, we need understanding that this program is only temporary and not to be used as an excuse to give up our efforts at reaching real self-support with our own efforts.

It is my intention to make economic development the central theme of my administration. All other programs will be built around it. The government's role in economic development, as I see it, is to create a healthy environment in which the economy can grow. This means providing the infrastructure and adopting policies that will promote development. In rare cases the government may undertake pilot



Presentation of gift ceremony; Governor Aten (back to camera) presents gift to Acting Governor of Ponape Bermin F. Weilbacher. Looking on is Iskia Sony, PAO, Truk, and master of ceremony during the celebration.

Traditional Trukese dance performed by Congressmen Lambert Aafin and his group in honor of the governor.



*Governor
Aten
presents
gift to
Peace
Corps
Director,
Micronesia,
Ms. Nancy
Blanks, as
master of
ceremonies
Sony
looks on.*



Members of the new Truk District Legislature under the new charter.

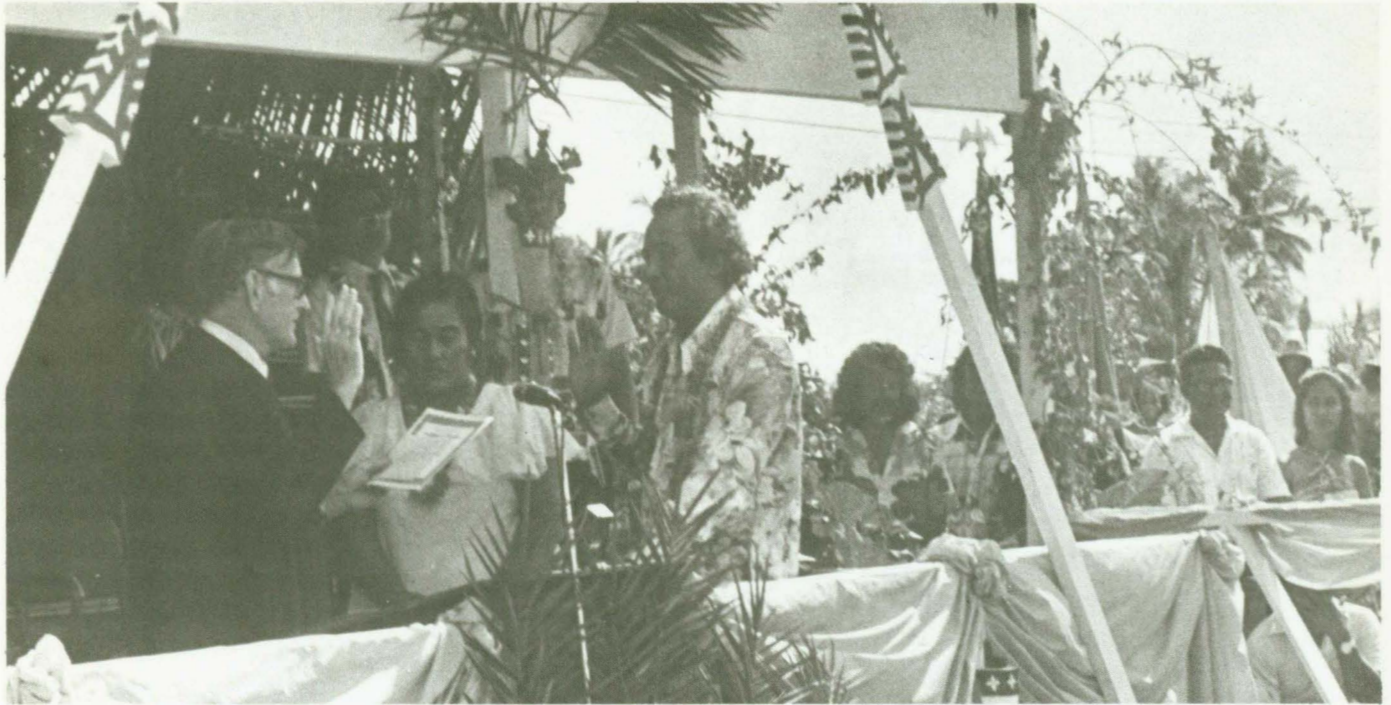


projects for a new industry, but in due time it will transfer this activity to the private sector where it belongs. Our government is not designed to run a business. Our business is public service, not private enterprise or charity.

In our program, fisheries, agriculture and tourism are the top priorities for development. We also attach a high priority to business development and training of key business personnel. We intend to re-examine the thrust of our economic development programs to ensure that there is a unified direction and purpose, that what we do is effective not just unproductive busy motions that sound good. We want to see that our technology is appropriate to the local situation and not something that looks good on paper but will not work in Truk. We must expand and improve our subsistence farming and fishing for these are the hidden strengths in our island society. The food program should not be seen as a replacement for farming. At the same time, we must plan and pave the way for income producing industries and services. The era of big government and a large government payroll is coming to an end and we must find the jobs our people need in the private sector.

We need innovative ideas and strong determination to make it profitable for the private sector to create more jobs. Selective foreign investments in fishing and small industry, air service to the outer islands, tourist attractions, user taxes and transfers of certain government functions to the private sector are some of the possibilities. We need to explore others.

It is wonderful that many tourists and others are impressed with the natural beauty of our islands and lagoon. We Trukese usually take these islands for granted and often fail to realize that God, in giving us these beautiful islands, must have wanted us to keep them beautiful for all to enjoy. Let us therefore take pride in our islands and make them clean and



Truk Lieutenant Governor Hans Wiliander takes oath of office administered by Chief Justice H.W. Burnett while Mrs. Wiliander looks on.

desirable and keep them that way for ourselves, our children and our visitors. After all, the way we keep our islands, our homes, is a reflection about how we feel about ourselves.

The second new field trip ship will arrive here soon. This will help provide better service to the outer islands. Development of projects in the outer islands that promote the copra and fishing industries will be given strong emphasis and high priority. And we need to look to other possible areas of development in the outer islands.

Planning for the next five years of infrastructure development will begin soon. By 1981 we shall have completed the airport and Moen dock projects, the Mwan sewer line, the island wide power system and the Dublon fisheries dock and electrical distribution system. The road system from South Field to the Tunnuk Causeway will be funded in FY-1980. In planning for these and future projects we must ask ourselves where we plan to obtain the money to maintain these facilities. It is obvious

that a facility that takes care of itself will get a high priority.

The challenge we face is how to cope with the staggering cost of developing and maintaining our infrastructure and facilities. I do not have the answer. We will have to work and plan together, the Truk District Legislature, the Congress of Micronesia, the High Commissioner, the Peace Corps and other government agencies, the Municipal Governments, my Administration, the leaders and the people of Truk — to find the answer to that challenge. The answer is there, but like the island we are sailing to on the open ocean, we must be able to recognize the signs, read the wind, the waves and the stars, because even if we cannot see our destination, we know we are going in the right direction. Even if we are hit by a storm, if we keep sailing and take care of the canoe and its passengers, we will arrive safely.

In any society, peace and order is essential to the development process. In our island society the rights of the

individual are protected and the laws protecting persons and property are enforced by democratic processes. The training of our police officers and firemen started a year ago under the auspices of the Honolulu Police Department. Some real progress has been achieved in this area and I intend to continue this program as long as necessary. Our limited resources restrict our present fire fighting capability, but we intend to improve our ability to prevent and control fires and to increase our mobility for police patrol and search and rescue in the lagoon and outer islands for the greater safety of all of us.

The Municipal Governments are responsible for basic law enforcement within their jurisdictions. We are prepared to extend the training program more actively to the municipal police forces and provide backup support as necessary wherever and whenever possible. However, law and order can only be as good as we Trukese want it to be. Your cooperation in crime



Lt. Governor Wiliander, with his wife by his side, greets the crowd while on his way to the podium.

prevention and fire protection as well as your setting the good example of law abiding citizens will greatly help ensure the peaceful atmosphere of our villages and give our district a chance to develop and grow in an orderly fashion.

And I do not want to give the impression that I am overlooking the role of our esteemed traditional leaders. We have a responsibility to support our traditions and customs as far as they support our way of life, our sense of being Trukese and the people we truly are. I look forward to friendly and respectful cooperation in our separate but closely related responsibilities to our people.

This past election has opened many wounds and disturbed the harmony in some communities and families. Some wondered if we were really ready to

elect our own governor. I am convinced that the political maturity of our people is enough to surface and heal these wounds for the good of all the people. My highest aspiration is to bring our people together again to live in harmony, peace and unity, in mutual respect for each other's rights and dignity.

Only in this spirit can history such as we are witnessing today bring any meaning to us now and our children after us. Let us therefore forget and forgive the past, and begin today our journey into the future. I pledge my full support to working for all of the citizens of our district, and I pray for your support and cooperation. Together we can make it. Separated, fighting among ourselves, our canoe will sink.

I have taken too much of your time with this long speech and I ask your forgiveness. I just want to say that what we begin here today, both the executive and the new legislature, is the first step for a new future.

We read in the Book of Psalms: "The Lord is good and glad to teach the proper path to all who go astray; he will teach the ways that are right and best to those who humbly turn to him". In this spirit I ask that we all get into the canoe together and that we sail to our new future in peace, prosperity and unity and in the best Trukese spirit of faith and brotherhood.

At this point I want to express our people's sincere gratitude to the United States of America for its generous assistance over the past 33 years helping to get us ready for this voyage. We look forward to a productive, rewarding and lasting partnership in the quest for peace and the well-being of our people and the rest of the world.

We thank the United Nations for its support and concern for our future and we want to assure our brothers in the Pacific of our desire for closer contact and cooperation with them. And to our brothers in the rest of the future Federated States of Micronesia, I send the greetings of Truk and pledge full support and cooperation in creating our own Micronesian Constitutional Government for all of our peoples in the hope that our efforts here will contribute to a successful and stable Federated States.

For myself and Truk District, I want to thank Mr. Mitaro Danis, my predecessor and last District Administrator, for all he has done for Truk and Micronesia and wish him success and satisfaction in his future endeavors. I also want to thank High Commissioner Adrian P. Winkel, all of our visiting dignitaries and honored guests, all of those who helped make this memorable occasion a success, and all of you for coming and being with us today. Kinisou Chapur!

BRAIN DRAIN:

by Dirk A. Ballendorf

The Future Emigration of Micronesians

"I am just so discouraged and disgusted with all this business . . . I am going back to the states when I am finished with this job." "The trouble is that I can't really progress here; I can't grow in my job. The standards are too low." "I've been unemployed for four months since I got back from the states. No one has the budget to hire me and the red tape is all around." "Geez, they can hire high school students for the summer, but they can't hire us college students." These are a few statements made by young Micronesians who have been trained overseas and who have returned to the islands only to find some form of disenchantment around work or the promise of work. It is a matter for Micronesia's politicians, administrators, and educators to take heed of. In a place that needs all the talent it can find, the phenomenon of a "brain drain"—the emigration of trained manpower from Micronesia to the United States or any other place—is serious. Historians, economists, and other social scientists have contended for years that the emigration of trained manpower has been a problem, particularly for those countries that lose the manpower.

When numbers of trained persons leave a country to live and work elsewhere, the general progress and growth, politically and socially, as well as economically, is slowed down. By the same token those countries receiving the immigrants have generally gained; their development has been increased or accelerated. The United Nations first gave this problem some serious attention in 1948 when two articles on the topic appeared in the *United Nations Bulletin*. These were followed by similar articles in subsequent years. By the late 1950s the issue of brain drain was serious enough to draw wider attention in the news media; *Newsweek* magazine carried an article in 1958.

But the brain drain is not really a new phenomenon. It occurred in ancient times when scholars and researchers gravitated to world capitals such as Athens, Rome, and Alexandria. In the Middle Ages talented young men were encouraged to enter monasteries in Europe to share in the wealth and further the cause of various religious orders. This resulted in much of the scholarly work during that time being done by the Church.

A brain drain can be voluntary or involuntary. People may choose to pack up and leave of their own volition, or they may be encouraged to leave by some external or internal force or circumstance. Two examples of this are the seizure of Nazi scientists at the end of the Second World War by the United States and the Soviet Union; and the flight of Jews from Hitler's Germany of the 1930s. Concerned politicians have, throughout history, taken steps to encourage or thwart a brain drain depending on which side they were on. The Berlin Wall is an example of a device largely intended to prevent the flow westward of trained and talented brains.

There is a beginning debate today in Micronesia on the part of some people over who is a "brain", and what is a "drain." First of all there is no operational definition of a "brain." It cannot be said that all Micronesian college graduates are brains, or that there are degrees of brains according to college degrees earned. And it is probably a good thing that there isn't. And what is a "drain?" Educated people come and go from countries around the world all the time; often for extended periods. Consider the travel of members of the Congress of Micronesia and other government officials, as well as Micronesian students studying abroad. Some economists say that what is usually called a drain is actually not a drain but an overflow. An overflow results when there are not enough jobs to go around for the brains. Central to this kind of an argument is the notion of effective market demand. A society's effective market demand is one of the things that determines the extent of employment. If there are too many brains for the existing jobs, then of course they must look elsewhere.

The difficulty with subscribing totally to this economic point of view is that it leaves out human need; that is, the general condition of want in a given population. In Micronesia human need is quite high today for trained manpower, and especially for people with the attitudes and experience for organizing and implementing the large number of public and private enterprises necessary for continuing development.

Still, brain drain is not measured according to human need, but by effective market demand. For

every developing area in the world with a shortage of brains, there are two with surpluses. Under such conditions why not encourage or permit brains to move about at will? If one is an internationalist who looks at the world as a single, large community, why then shouldn't people come and go as they please and seek to fulfill themselves where they will be most needed, productive, and happy?

The internationalist point of view provides a worthy ideal to aspire to. But the reality today is that the world is made up of nation-states; each attempting to achieve on its own, and developing its own brand of nationalism and national spirit. While some people consider nationalism as an evil, it has, nevertheless historically been a source of pride and has inspired development to a greater extent than have any plans or programs which have been deliberately devised by "brains." Brains however, are one of the ingredients used in making nationalism and those promoting and encouraging development must view the phenomenon of brain drain with uneasiness.

In times past brains were scholars, researchers, professors, and sometimes even students. Invariably they were people engaged in the study of the arts. In more modern times the definition has been expanded to include people preoccupied with the sciences. Today growth and development are brought about largely as a result of science-based industries, so the brain category has been expanded to include scientists, technicians, as well as administrative and managerial personnel. This includes many people not formerly thought of as being "brain", such as businessmen, entrepreneurs, managers, and others who have not necessarily gone to college, or indeed had any formal education at all. And these "brains" are especially important today for Micronesia's development.

What is it that causes people to uproot themselves from their native lands and settle in a foreign place to live, study, or work? Some of the answers are: I can earn a better living for myself and family in a more developed country. I can work with more inspiring colleagues and in better facilities. Or, I can live and work in greater freedom and be more productive. The answers are largely individual and although there are no specific records to check, are probably very similar to the answers offered in the past here in Micronesia and elsewhere.

Causes can be viewed in terms of attraction and repulsion. And it is important to understand that the difference goes beyond mere semantics. Some scholars call these two categories *motivational* and *permissive*. Motivational factors are those which give rise to the idea of emigration; those which make the move seem

attractive or profitable. They are motivations taken on an individual basis for each person, and which can be generalized from recent historical evidence. Permissive factors are those which help remove obstacles which may be in the path of potential emigrants. They are usually collective actions taken on the part of institutions, governments or groups. In Micronesia the prospect of work may motivate a person to emigrate to the states, and the waiver of the need for a work permit—such as is now the case for people from the Northern Marianas—is an example of a permissive factor.

Literature and experience has yielded information on causes which can be sifted and formulated into a list or general outline. Supporting evidence can also be found. Let us look at these and discuss some of the implications for Micronesia.

Motivational Causes

Financial considerations. There are gaps in the standards of living between Micronesia and the United States and other developed countries. Lower incomes here in the islands, in relation to those in richer countries, cause trained manpower to seek opportunities in the U.S. and elsewhere which will provide them with higher living standards.

Poor educational planning. Inadequate coordination between the production of educated people and Micronesia's manpower requirements, due to irrational or non-existent educational planning, has caused a surplus in people available for white collar jobs. The Micronesians who form the surplus, and who cannot find appropriate employment in their own island districts, may seek to emigrate.

Lack of facilities and leadership. The frequent absence in Micronesia of professional leadership, adequate work facilities and equipment, opportunities for contacts with other professionals in the same field, and stimulus owing to the general neglect of serious activities, can cause trained manpower to lose confidence in their professional future. This, together with the wider choice of careers open to Micronesians in the United States and elsewhere, can cause emigration.

Monopolization of positions. The virtual monopolization of positions, particularly in the government service, by "oldtimers" in Micronesia, limits the opportunities of younger people with superior education and training. This situation can cause emigration.

Political change and instability. Political changes in Micronesia can cause educated manpower to leave.

Whenever there is change in the organization and management of the government structure, some people—especially educated and experienced people—find themselves without jobs. Many in such circumstances may choose to emigrate.

Lack of national loyalty. A lack of national loyalty has been cited as a possible cause of brain drain in some developing countries; particularly those which are newly-independent. In Micronesia, however, this has not been experienced.

Permissive Factors

Permissive factors contributing to brain drain are very important and should be carefully analyzed because they, much more so than motivational factors, can be controlled by governments. And, as has been mentioned already, permissive factors are collective actions on the part of institutions or groups, rather than individual choices or actions.

Immigration preferences. It is quite common for former colonial powers to favor immigrants from their former colonies who very often will choose the former colonial power as a first choice among other options of places to emigrate to. Certainly most Micronesians will and do opt to go to the United States over any other country.

Immigration laws. Occupational preferences in immigration laws of the developed countries encourage people to come; particularly from poorer countries. Changes in the American laws in 1965 resulted in many brains emigrating particularly from Asian countries. In the Mariana Islands people are now allowed to come to the U.S. and compete openly on the job market there.

Since World War One most countries have introduced immigration restrictions, usually dictated by political, or economic motives. In 1923 the U.S.

passed a law with the aim of protecting the country against "low-quality" immigrants. People from developed countries were given immigration preference, and Asians and Africans were largely excluded. Immigration quotas were based on nationalities. The law was changed in 1965 and quotas were based on occupations. This resulted in an increased number of Asians and Africans arriving in the United States after 1965.

International mobility. One of the peculiarities of highly-trained manpower, even one of the elements in the definition of a "brain", is that most highly-educated people possess skills which are salable on the world market, and hence they have more of a propensity to travel and to emigrate.

This consideration of the causes of the emigration of highly-trained manpower from underdeveloped areas to more developed areas, and with particular reference to Micronesia, is less than exhaustive, but nevertheless instructive. One of the things which has clearly emerged is the need for more complete statistics here in Micronesia, and the development of specific approaches for the study of this brain drain phenomenon here in an island setting. The probable causes and future causes of manpower emigration from Micronesia which were outlined could not be quantified; only a few indicative examples could be given.

Finally, the appearance of a brain drain in Micronesia may be inevitable. As any country develops and progresses, it is to be expected that some of its citizens will seek their lives and fortunes elsewhere. In some cases this has already happened here in Micronesia. But the phenomenon can be reasonably controlled, and it can be done to the advantage of the area's development. And this is what is so important now.

The Origins Of The Chamorro People

by Robert Graham

The following article by Mr. Robert Graham represents some tantalizing indicators for further research into the origin of the Chamorro people of the Mariana Islands. In particular in this period of searching for roots in many cultures and peoples, every legitimate contribution is welcome.

Looking back at the tragic history of the people of the Mariana Islands during the early contact period with the Europeans, one is particularly anxious to find that element in the culture which is 'native' or unique.

An early Spanish missionary (Sanvitores, 1627-16702) estimated the population of the islands to be about 50-100,000 people. By 1742, Lord Anson, an English visitor, noted that the

population had been reduced by war and disease to about 4,000. By 1783, they had been further reduced to about 1500.

The present Chamorro 'race' (about 60,000 including Guam & Northern Marianas) is, therefore, the result of a long period of reconstruction and amalgamation with the various occupying powers of the islands: Spanish, Mexican, Tagalog, (all members of the Spanish garrisons), German, Japanese, and since 1898, Americans among others.

With the exception of the island of Rota, where a group of early Chamorros were able to elude the Spanish during the great sweep south to Guam in the early 1700's little of the original culture

and custom is still recognized or recognizable. And, of course, even Rota has not escaped outside influences.

In this day of renewed interest in developing the Chamorro language for schools and general usage through bi-lingual, bi-cultural education, and other specific programs, the need for more information in this barely explored field should be self-evident.

One recent letter to the editor of the Pacific Daily News very aptly referred to the people of the Marianas today as 'neo-Chamorros'. It is hoped that more intensive studies will be made to locate the origins of these and the rest of the Micronesian peoples and make the findings available to the general population.

In studies recently completed at the University of Hawaii I have tried to clarify the locale where the Chamorro people resided before their passage to the Mariana Islands. Using the resources of the Pacific Collection and through talks with scholars it has been possible to gain a clearer insight into what still remains the puzzle of Chamorro migrations.

Research of this topic has involved historical, cultural, linguistic, and archaeological investigation. Each of these fields shows intriguing links between the Marianas and the Philippines, however it remains unproven that the Chamorro people originated or passed through the Philippines. Additional evidence links the Marianas with other areas, but does not establish where the original settlers may have come from.

The review that follows correlates all current work and might serve as a basis for future research.

Cultural and Historical Evidence

Since European contact there has been a loss of the ancient lore of the Marianas which, if preserved, might have suggested where the early people believed their origins lay. Fortunately historical documents show that the people communicated with westerners who recorded their beliefs as to origins in the Marianas or Philippines.

The first European to interpret Chamorro beliefs was Chevalier Antonio de Pigafetta, who, arriving with Magellan in 1521, wrote: "Those Ladroni thought, according to the signs which they made, that there was no other people in the world but themselves." Yet regular contact between the people of the Caroline and Mariana Islands is believed to have existed before Magellan, so that Pigafetta, hindered by the lack of an interpreter, must not have completely understood his informants signals of "no other people in the world." Still his interpretation bears an interesting similarity to later suggestions that

Chamorros⁴ considered mankind to have originated on Guam. That view is proposed by Joseph and Murray (1951) who wrote that the Marianos* believed that as mankind scattered over the earth from Guam they forgot their native language and developed other speech. Joseph and Murray don't present the basis for their statement, although the idea that mankind began in the Pacific is found elsewhere in Micronesia and Polynesia.

In the 1600s Father Sanvitores, the first missionary to the Marianas, wrote that the Chamorros spoke of a homeland shared with the Philippine people, while it is not clear if he refers to a homeland in the Philippines or in another area from which both groups migrated. With his writing Sanvitores became the first of many to note similarities between these people and to suggest their common origins. His views have only recently become available through Barrett's 1975 translation from the Spanish:

... the people of the Marianas say, by tradition passed from father to son and without other history than their memory, that people came from the south to populate these islands and that they have the same origin as the Tagalog... their argument is supported by the similarity in their languages and mode of government.

There are similarities between the cultures of the Philippines and the Marianas which might signify common origins of the people or early contact between the two island groups. Cultural comparisons show the use in both areas of related defensive structures consisting of pits lined with sharpened stakes. Archaeologists Solheim and Marck note definite likenesses between Marianas type pottery and that found in the Philippines, especially at Masbate. Rice, too, was found in both island groups, was grown nowhere else in Micronesia, and is presumed to have reached the Marianas from the Philippines; still it remains unproven that rice was

introduced by the original settlers. Early voyages between these archipelagos are reported by Dampier, who, visiting Guam in 1686, wrote of travel by native Chamorro proa from the Marianas to the Philippines: "I was told that one of these Boats was sent Express to Manile, which is above 400 Leagues, and performed the voyage in Four Days time." These voyages, while attesting to seventeenth century Chamorro navigational knowledge and canoe construction, don't prove that similar trips occurred before European contact.

In summary, cultural and historical data show ties to the Philippines, but nothing so definite as to establish a migration path. It remains likely that the Chamorros had other beliefs as to their origins, but, for the most part, these have been lost with time.

Linguistic Indications

In recent years it was accepted that characteristics shared by Chamorro and the Philippine languages were of enough significance to connote that Chamorro developed with those languages and therefore that the Marianos emigrated from the Philippine archipelago. More recent research reveals that the languages are not so closely related, so that scholars must look elsewhere than the Philippines for similarities to Chamorro. A discussion of these views follows.

In 1973 Dr. Donald Topping wrote that the focus system of Chamorro, which allows the speaker to indicate a special kind of relationship between the verb and a particular substantive phrase, was similar enough to that of languages in the Philippines to definitely establish that Chamorro is a close relative of Tagalog, Ilocano, and Cebuano. Gibson (1977) has also suggested similarities between Chamorro and the Philippine languages, noting that the Chamorro goal focus uses an 'in' infix which is identical to the completive marker found in Philippine languages, a marker that can also carry the meaning of goal focus. Additionally Gibson points to

* 'Marianos' — an early term used to refer to the Chamorros

parallels in the forms of actor focus and referential focus that characterize both Chamorro and the Philippine languages.

Linguists agree that grammatical features of a language, such as focus systems, are very seldom borrowed, hence the similarities between the focus systems of Chamorro and the Philippine languages might suggest their common origins. Yet Lawrence Reid (personal communication) points out that focus systems are found not only in Philippine speeches and Chamorro, but also in the broad Proto-Austronesian group from which most Pacific languages derive. The Chamorro infixes of 'um' and 'in', used in forming verb tenses, might also be found in this Proto-Austronesian group. Since these linguistic parallels are not limited to the languages of the Philippines and Chamorro they cannot be used to classify the latter as a Philippine type language. Likewise, in a recent study based on phonological, morphological, and grammatical data, Gibson, Koch, and Latta (1977) recognized the intriguing links of Chamorro to the Philippine tongues, but they found the connection inconclusive. They remark that Chamorro does not share linguistic innovations unique to the Philippines such as the sound change in those languages that merges the Proto-Austronesian sounds of *d*, *D*, *z*, *Z* into a Proto-Philippine '*d*'. Such a sound change, if found in Chamorro, would have indicated that it was generically a Philippine speech.

If Chamorro is not a Philippine type language than linguists must look elsewhere for comparisons that will suggest the homeland of these people.

Linguistically, Chamorro does not appear to develop from the major Austronesian language groups of Micronesia, Polynesia, or Melanesia, thus, presumably, the Marianos did not originate in those areas. However, Chamorro is included in the Indonesian group, along with the speeches of the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Madagascar, and Formosa. Capell (1962) further divides the Indonesian languages

into sets of western, eastern, and northern speeches; under the latter he includes Chamorro, the Philippine tongues, Formosan, Palauan, Northern and Western Celebes, North Borneo, and the languages between the Philippines and the Celebes (i.e., Sangir, Bantik, Bentenan, etc.) This broad Indonesian group and Capell's divisions might be a fruitful area to search for any linguistic or cultural features shared with the Marianas.

The comparison of Chamorro with Philippine languages is an indication of their common origins in the Austronesian group, while it is unproven that these languages underwent a period of shared development in the Philippines. Scholars must look further, probably in South East Asia, to establish from whence came the Chamorros.

Other Possibilities

More remotely it has been suggested that the original Chamorros set out from either Palau, nuclear Micronesia, the Celebes, or Japan to people the Marianas, yet the evidence linking the Chamorro people to these places is unsubstantial.

Palau

Spoehr (1957) has written that Palau lies in the path of presumed migrations from Malaysia, and that it was probably the funnel by which man entered the Mariana and Caroline Islands. Osborne (1958) has also pointed to Palau's strategic location as well situated to receive early and continued influence and migrants from Indonesia and Melanesia. Additionally, Osborne suggests a relatedness between Palauan and Chamorro pottery and megalithic remains.

Given those comparisons, to date no one has suggested that Chamorro culture derives from Palauan, nor does linguistic evidence demonstrate ties between the languages. Topping and Izui propose, not that Chamorro derives from Palauan, but that both may have long been separated from a common

parent language. Dyen, too, places Palauan in a separate category from Chamorro, or any other Malayo-Polynesian language.

Nuclear Micronesia

Solenberger (1968) remarks on the possibility that the Marianas were settled from nuclear Micronesia.

Etymologies of place names in the Marianas, explained by Alfred G. Smith as of Carolinian origin, coupled with the virtual certainty of pre-Spanish voyaging by Caroline Islanders to the Marianas, make it at least possible that the Chamorros took over the Marianas from a prior Carolinian-like population.

Yet evidence for such a theory is elusive. By themselves the trade voyages do not attest to original settlement, and Solenberger gives no examples to justify a theory of Carolinian place names. Others (i.e., Lewis, 1972; Nakayama and Ramp, 1974) have postulated a similar Carolinian derivation for names in the Marianas, such as: "Sei pon" — 'empty place' for Saipan; "chuni ol" — 'obstructing the view of the sun' for Tinian; "luta" — 'further up' from Guam for Rota; and "ku amw" — 'part of the canoe' obstructing the view of the island for Guam. However, Nakayama and Ramp, themselves, declare that the interpretation of these names is based on legend and that it is a "tantalyzing mystery" as to why they exist.

While much of the ancient lore of the Marianas is irretrievably lost, the Chamorros do assert that "Guahan", for Guam, derives from the Chamorro word "guaha", meaning 'to have' and implying that Guam was bountiful. Likewise, Chamorros might offer interpretations based on their language of additional place names.

The Celebes

The Celebes are an area with linguistic ties to the Marianas. Dyen notes the high cognate count of Chamorro with the languages of the Celebes, while Capell links Chamorro

and the Celebes in his northern subgroup of Indonesian languages. Murdock (1964), too, refers to similarities between the Celebes languages and those of surrounding areas, and suggests the Celebes as a possible dispersal point. Although these connections have been suggested, there has been no further research to confirm them.

Japan

Archaeologists have noted that pottery from the Marianas is part of the broad tradition extending from Japan down into Melanesia. Solheim (personal communication) submits that the Marianas might have been settled through drift voyages from southern Japan manned by Southeast Asians trying to get back to their homeland in the Philippines or Indonesia. Recent archaeological work with pottery from Kyushu may reveal a relationship to

pottery from the Marianas, which could have significance for a study of Chamorro migrations.

Conclusions

The evidence for Chamorro origins in the Philippines is not conclusive, yet common origins of both groups, perhaps at an earlier stage, in an as yet undefined area, are indicated.

Linguists have noted similarities in the focus systems and infixes of Chamorro and Philippine languages, while more recent research suggests that these characteristics are shared by a broader range of language. Moreover, Chamorro does not contain the innovations peculiar to Philippine languages that merges the Proto-Austronesian sounds of *d*, *D*, *z*, *Z* into a Proto-Philippine '*d*'. All this suggests that Chamorro evolved from Proto-Austronesian without going through isolated development with the Philippine languages.

Historical, cultural, and archaeological research has uncovered connections between the Marianas and the Philippines, but these have not been significant enough to suggest that the Chamorros emigrated from that archipelago. Even more elusive has been the possibility of demonstrating that the original Chamorro inhabitants came from either Palau, nuclear Micronesia, the Celebes, or Japan.

In order to establish a clearer picture of Chamorro origins it will be necessary to research the Southeast Asia area which shows linguistic and cultural ties to the Marianas. This area would include Japan, Formosa, the Celebes, Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines.

Like other Pacific Islanders, the Chamorros originated in Southeast Asia, but their path from there to the Mariana Islands remains hidden in the mist of time when voyaging canoes roamed the Pacific.

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breadfruit

Breadfruit cannot be described because it means so much, and so many things to so many different people. To an Oregon farmer, it means a strange, green, melon-shaped fruit, very foreign to his familiar and friendly apple orchards.

To a young Micronesia boy, it means trees to climb on fragile branches to pick the choicest fruit for the family (and unnumbered bruises from falling out of these trees).

To a Micronesia traditional leader, it means feasts and ceremonies where the best fruit is given to him in abundance.

To a Micronesia mother, it means hours of labor preparing and serving the fruit, and more hours, still, getting it ready to be preserved for the extended family.

And what does it mean to me? It means the Trukese language. It means the warm familiarity of brown faces gathered together. It means the smell of roasting in the *um*, and eating in the accustomed traditional way. It means coral-white beaches and clear lagoons and palm trees. It means my young daughter, my mother, my sister and my brother. It means all of the things that the most lovely Oregon spring cannot give to me. It means home."

Asako Willyander
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Conservation Is For Everyone

by Robert P. Owen

The well-being of any nation or part of the earth must ultimately be determined by the natural resources present and how they are used. This is as true of the Trust Territory as of anywhere else. The basic natural resources of the Trust Territory are its land (including soil, rocks and minerals), plants, (including both cultivated and wild), animals, (including domestic animals, wildlife, fish, soil organisms, insects, etc.), water, (including fresh and marine), and the air of the atmosphere. It is the purpose of conservation to ensure that these indispensable resources are wisely used and not wasted, destroyed or polluted by either Micronesians or outsiders. Many Micronesians falsely feel that their natural resources are no longer important to them because they presently receive so many of their necessities (and luxuries) from outside of the Trust Territory through the medium of money.

However, the present economic situation in Micronesia is dangerously unbalanced and sooner or later Micronesia is going to have to rely on its own natural resources (and the money they can produce) if they expect to have any degree of economic or political independence.

This does not mean that Micronesians must out of necessity revert to the relatively primitive economy and style of living that was present when Micronesia was entirely self-sufficient in the past. A wise use of the natural resources of Micronesia with the aid of modern science and economics and technology can and should make Micronesia self sufficient again. But

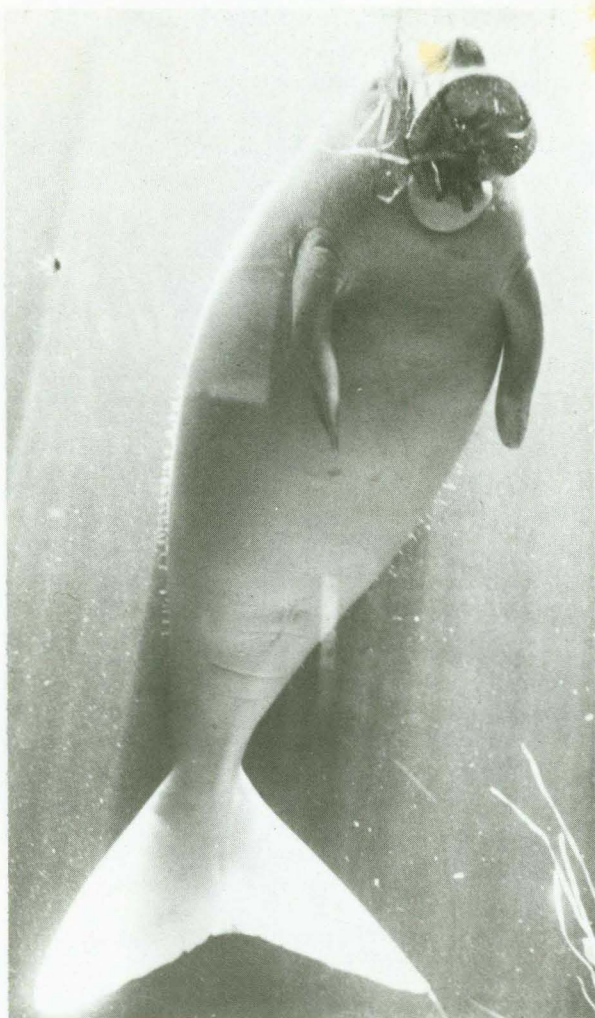
A beautiful forest scene in the interior of Babelthup.



depleting and misusing the resources they have, will make this goal difficult or unattainable. Food, fiber, wood, oil and medicine producing plants need good soil. The soil is a non-renewable resource which has taken thousands to millions of years to produce. Soil is lost and wasted when it is washed into the sea through soil erosion caused by poor agricultural practices, logging, grassland and forest fires and excessive soil disturbance from construction activities including buildings, roads and airfields. There are Trust Territory and Districts laws aimed at reducing or stopping most of these soil erosion causes. However, they are poorly observed and enforced. Thus some of the real wealth of Micronesia that should be conserved for this generation, and generations to come, is being washed into the sea and lost forever.

The loss and waste of natural resources does not end when the soil has washed into the sea. If enough soil enters the marine environment at one time, siltation in the marine environment, and particularly in the lagoons, suffocates the coral and other sedentary and free floating marine growths on which the whole marine food chain up through the fishes are based. Thus the more siltation from soil erosion and dredging, the lower the lagoon and reef food producing (and money producing) capabilities. Reefs and lagoons damaged or destroyed by siltation will eventually recover over long periods of time, but will never recover if excessive siltation continues.

The resources of the marine environments in the Trust Territory are great though in many cases not used to their fullest extent either for subsistence food or producing money through export. However, the marine environment, particularly the lagoons and reefs, is very susceptible to pollution such as siltation, waste disposal and soil spills, and the great potential of the marine environment is depleted when these things are not controlled. The use of poisons such as clorox, insecticides, and dynamite to collect fish from the waters not only produces the fish but kills most of the other living organisms in the waters affected and leaves a partial or complete desert in and under the water. Such practices must not be allowed. The man who takes fish by these methods is destroying resources which belong to everybody in Micronesia. There are Trust Territory laws prohibiting the poisoning and dynamiting of the waters. However, such laws are very difficult to enforce and few of the violators end up being fined or imprisoned for their destructive acts. Social pressures from whole communities, that know these things are being done, would be effective when the people realize that everyone is being hurt by the actions of a few.



A dugong feeding on sea grass. This highly endangered species of marine mammal is found only in Palau within Micronesia.

Hunting and fishing are legitimate recreation and food producing activities. However, biologists through many studies know that different species of birds, bats, deer, fish, crabs, seashells and other wildlife have only a certain reproductive capacity to restock for the wildlife taken. In other words, there is a maximum sustainable yield for each species of wildlife and sea food. If these things are taken beyond their maximum sustainable yield, then there is a total decline in the wildlife that can be taken, to the point of complete extermination of the animals involved. This has almost taken place in the Trust Territory in the case of the dugong in Palu the Micronesian Pigeon in Truk and the fruit bat on some Mariana Islands. Some game laws (involving the size and numbers of individuals that can be taken, and seasons for hunting and fishing) are presently in effect in the Trust Territory now and

others are needed. If these laws are observed, a maximum sustainable yield for Micronesian wildlife would result with benefits to everyone.

Some conservation problems are not at all obvious or understood by the average citizen. The destruction of bird life, particularly around the urban centers, by small boys with slingshots or air rifles probably seems

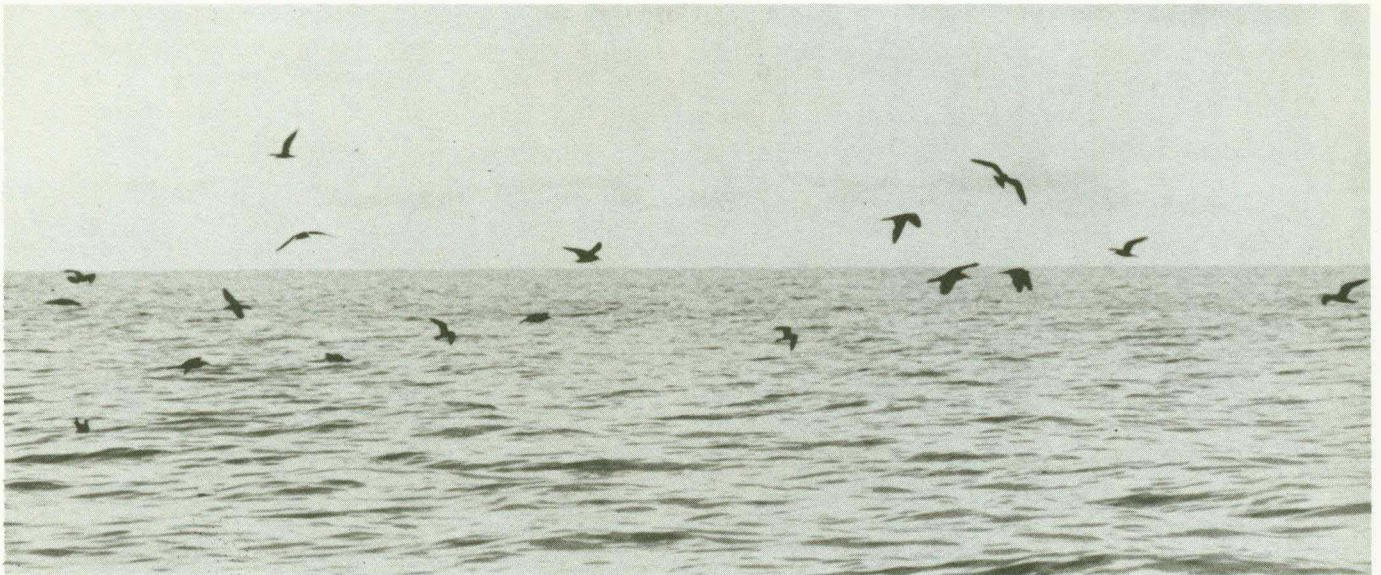
like a small and unimportant problem. Yet most of the small birds killed are insects eaters and the depletion of these birds results in increased insect damage to gardens in the affected areas. Sea birds are also wantonly killed, yet these birds are important to fishermen in locating schools of fish and even save human lives as navigational indicators to lost boats.

TITLE 45, FISH, SHELLFISH AND GAME, CHAPTER 5, ENDANGERED SPECIES ACT

The endangered species of the Trust Territory and their ranges in the Trust Territory are as listed below:

Common Name	Scientific Name	Range in Trust Territory *
Mammals		
Dugong (Sea Cow)	<i>Dugong dugon</i>	Palau
Blue Whale	<i>Balaenoptera musculus</i>	Micronesia
Sperm Whale	<i>Physeter catadon</i>	Micronesia
Birds		
Marianas Duck	<i>Anas ousteleti</i>	Marianas
Palau Grey Duck	<i>Anas superciliosa pelewensis</i>	Palau
Micronesian Megapode	<i>Mepagodius laperouse</i>	Palau & Marianas
Palau Nicobar Pigeon	<i>Caloenas nicobarica pelewensis</i>	Palau
Palau Ground-Dove	<i>Gallicolumba canifrons</i>	Palau
Truk Micronesian Pigeon	<i>Ducala oceanica teraokai</i>	Truk
Ratak Micronesian Pigeon	<i>Ducala oceanica ratakensis</i>	Wotje & Arno (Marshalls)
Palau Owl	<i>Pyrroglauis podargina</i>	Palau
Nightingale Reed-Warbler	<i>Acrocephalus luscini</i>	Marianas, Truk Ponape, Kosrae
Tinian Monarch	<i>Monarcha takatsukasae</i>	Tinian(Marianas)
Palau Fantail	<i>Rhipidura lepida</i>	Palau
Truk Greater White-eye	<i>Rukia ruki</i>	Truk
Ponape Greater White-eye	<i>Rukia longirostra</i> (* <i>R. sandfordi</i>)	Ponape
Palau Blue-Faced Parrotfinch	<i>Erythrura trichroa pelewensis</i>	Palau
Ponape Mountain Starling	<i>Aplonis pelzelni</i>	Ponape
Palau White-breasted Wood-swallow	<i>Artamus leucorhynchus pelewensis</i>	Palau
Marianas Crow	<i>Corvus kubaryi</i>	Rota(Marianas)
Reptiles		
Hawksbill Turtle	<i>Eretmochelys imbricata</i>	Micronesia
Leatherback Turtle	<i>Dermochelys coriacea</i>	Micronesia
Plants		
Rock Island Palm	<i>Gulubia palauensis</i>	Palau
Truk Palm	<i>Clinostigma carolinensis</i>	Truk
Palau Palm	<i>Ptychosperma palauensis</i>	Palau
Truk Poison Tree	<i>Semecarpus kraemeri</i>	Truk
Marianas Serianthes	<i>Serianthes nelsonii</i>	Rota(Marianas)

* Ranges listed are geographic — not political subdivisions



A flock of Black Noddy hovering over a school of skipjack tuna in Palau. These and other species of terns lead fishermen to the tuna schools.

One healthy rock island palm and two which have been attacked by Sulphur-crested Cockatoos in Palau. The cockatoo is an introduced bird. The palm is an endangered specie. This illustrates the danger of introducing exotic wildlife into a new area.



Most everyone has heard of endangered species in recent years but most wonder what all the fuss is about. It is not easy to explain the philosophy behind the attempts to prevent animal and plant species from becoming extinct. As far as we know, only two species have become extinct in the Trust Territory in historical times. These are the Kusaie Rail and the Kusaie Starling. Their loss is real from an aesthetic point of view as both were attractive birds. Otherwise, we simply did not know enough about these birds to know what ecological niche they filled in Kosrae, nor what effect their disappearance had on the ecology of Kosrae. We do know that when predator animals disappear, their former prey sometimes become destructively abundant. When plant eating fish or other

lower forms of life disappear from lakes and rivers, the aquatic vegetation then sometimes becomes so abundant as to cause deterioration of the water quality and the other fish and aquatic organisms in such water. The state of knowledge of most wild plants and animals is such that no accurate prediction can be made as to the ecological effects of the extinction of entire species. Preventing the extinction of plants and animals prevents the taking of unknown risks.

Each species of plant and animal has its own unique genetic makeup which, once gone, can never be recovered. The wild genetic pool in plants and animals has been used repeatedly in the breeding of better producing economic plants and animals and in the production of useful chemicals and medicines. This scientific process of contrived genetic selection and recombination is accelerating and holds great hope for the future. The loss of any of this genetic diversity is an ultimate loss to humanity. This is what happens when any species becomes extinct. Species are being lost before we know anything about them, where they fit into the ecological system, or what their genetic potentialities are.

In the Trust Territory there are at present about thirty endangered species of plants, birds, mammals and turtles. Although they are legally protected by the Trust Territory Endangered Species Act of 1975, only the willing cooperation of the people of Micronesia and the visitors who come to the islands can ultimately save these plants and animals from extinction. Those which are in very bad shape and in imminent danger of extinction are the Truk Micronesian Pigeon, Dugong in

Palau, Marianas Duck, and the Truk Greater Whiteye which is found only on Tol Mountain. Over-hunting is one factor endangering animals. Another, affecting both plants and animals, and possibly more important factor is the destruction of certain habitats such as wetlands and forests. The past introduction of exotic animals such as the cockatoos in Palau and the drongos in Rota are also having a deleterious effect on native plants and animals including endangered species.

The beauty of nature is not something that it is easy on which to put a money or usefulness value. Most people take it for granted because it has apparently always been around. Yet when some of this natural environment has been destroyed, needlessly or otherwise, the people usually recognize the loss they have suffered and it is too late. The natural beauty and the variety of fauna and flora have a very real economic value in relation to tourism in the Trust Territory. Tourists come to see the sand beaches, forests, streams, exotic plants, wildlife and the wonders of the underwater world on the reefs and in the

lagoons. If these things are destroyed, depleted or polluted, tourists will cease wanting to come to Micronesia and the money income will decrease, even though great economic hopes are being based on tourism in the future. The uniqueness of much of the wildlife and flora of Micronesia, both on land and under the water, is attracting scientists from all over the world. This is giving rise to a science industry, particularly in Palau, though other parts of the Trust Territory are being affected. This burgeoning science industry too would be lost if we do not protect our environment.

Good conservation does not mean the complete preservation of, or not using, the natural resources. Trees must be cut to build homes, land must be cleared to plant crops and fish must be taken for food and export for money. But following conservation principles means that these resources are wisely used and the greatest number of people benefit. Conservation is for everyone in the Trust Territory.

Baby hawk bill turtles, an endangered species, a few weeks after they hatched, were released into their natural habitat at the Rock Islands, Palau.



Breast Feeding: Nutrition

by Nancy Rody

With Love



Breast milk is the original convenience food. It does not need measuring, refrigeration, mixing, warming or sterilization. There are no bottles to clean.

Breast milk is always "on tap" from an artistically designed unbreakable container. And, it is the most perfectly nutritious product on the market.

Yet in spite of all of its advantages, more and more Micronesian babies are fed artificial convenience food substitutes through inferior containers. An increase of diarrhea and gastro-intestinal disease is the result, a major killer of babies in Micronesia.

An infant feeding survey of children under

eighteen months of age was conducted in Yap district during March and April, 1978. Eighty mothers who voluntarily brought their babies to the Well Baby Clinic were interviewed and their babies were examined to determine nutritional status. Sixty-six percent of the babies had been breast fed and thirty-four percent had been fed with the feeding bottle. The results showed that over one third (33.1%) of the bottle fed babies were underweight and undernourished while only 15 percent of the breast fed babies were not within normal limits. This means that the percentage of bottle fed babies who were below standard weight for age was, alarmingly, double that of breast fed babies.(1)

MOTHER'S MILK IS BEST

It is not possible to produce a bottle milk which is as good as breast milk.(2) Breast milk is superior to all other milks as a food for infants. It contains substances in exactly the right amounts needed to prompt growth and health, and is the food best suited to the infant's digestive system. Human milk is just as right for baby humans as cow's milk is for baby cows — they are made for each other. Breast milk is made for baby.

Breast fed babies usually are healthier than bottle fed babies because breast milk protects the baby from illness. Constipation is a problem for many bottle fed infants because cow's milk is difficult for them to digest, but breast fed infants are seldom constipated. Breast fed babies are less likely to develop colic, because they do not swallow large amounts of air when they are fed. Mother's breast milk never causes allergies, such as skin eczema; it prevents many intestinal infections and their accompanying diarrhea, vomiting and serious weight losses. Breast fed babies are livelier, walk earlier and accomplish higher scores in achievement and intelligence tests.(3)

In older babies, breast feeding helps to protect the teeth. This advantage is especially important since research shows that giving an infant a bottle at sleep time may cause the teeth to soften and decay, particularly when the milk forms a pool inside the mouth just behind the teeth and the child swallows infrequently.(4)

Breast feeding is best for mothers too. Mothers who have breast fed their babies are less likely to develop breast cancer than non-nursing mothers.(5) The baby's sucking causes the uterus to contract and it helps to return the mother's body to its normal shape, faster.(6) And, when a mother breast feeds she does not have to spend time lighting fires and boiling water

at all hours of the day and night, worrying and losing sleep over getting milk to the baby. Her built-in pure and practical milk supply, always at the right temperature, gives her nearly complete freedom of movement with the baby.

Breast feeding aids in natural family planning. A woman is less fertile during the time her baby is breast fed. Fertility returns when the baby begins eating other foods.(7)

A FEEDING BOTTLE IS NOT A PLASTIC BREAST

If a mother is to use a feeding bottle, she has to use it in quite a different way from her breasts; it is not a "plastic breast". She must sterilize the bottle, mix the milk, feed the child, and either throw away the milk that the child does not drink, or give it to someone else in the family. At the next feeding, she must do the same things all over again. When she does not do them the milk becomes contaminated and causes disease. None of this work has to be done with breast feeding. A mother's breast is always ready, and a child can feed on it for as long an interval as he/she likes. Mothers who start feeding with a bottle often give it to their child to suck anytime. They fill it up, but they seldom empty it and clean it out.

WHY DO MOTHERS START BOTTLE FEEDING?

The reasons for the abandonment of breast feeding in any culture are usually psychological and emotional, not physical. The sensitive reflex which controls the flow of milk to a mother's nipple can be upset by fear, pain, uncertainty or embarrassment. To breast feed, a mother must have confidence that she CAN breast feed. In traditional Micronesian society, this once was no problem. But, somehow, in her transition to "modern" society, the Micronesian woman is losing confidence in herself at many levels of role definition, one of which is breast feeding. Somehow, mothers are deciding unwisely that a bottle is better. Micronesian women are losing some basic right for and conceptions about themselves and their children.

Only a very small percentage of Micronesian mothers say they give up breast feeding because they are working. The largest portion of them say they changed from breast to bottle because they did not have enough breast milk to satisfy their baby's needs. Although many women who say this actually do have enough milk available, they lack confidence in the adequacy of the milk supply they have. The baby may begin to cry soon after being fed, and husband or relatives may tell her that she does not have enough milk, the baby is still hungry and that this is why it continues to cry. So, she feels inadequate. Actually,

Most Micronesian homes do not have running water. Women must use streams or shallow wells which are often contaminated.



the baby who cries may just be a baby who cries more than some other babies. Nevertheless, it is difficult for a family to live with a baby who is always crying, and it is often easier for the family to give the baby a feeding bottle to pacify her/him and, thereby stop the crying.

When the milk comes into the breasts after the baby's birth, the breasts feel tight and full. But, after about a week, the sensation of tightness goes away. No more full feeling, no more milk dripping out of the nipples. When this happens, some mothers become worried and feel that they have "lost" their milk.

But this is not what is really happening.

The breasts are just adjusting themselves.

To have enough milk, all a mother has to do is drink plenty of liquids, have plenty of rest and eat good food. Making of milk is a continuous process; as the baby sucks it out, more comes in.

A baby's sucking is the best way of helping milk to come into the mother's breast. If the baby sucks well and takes all the milk from her breast, the sucking increases the amount of milk the breast makes. If the baby does not suck well, the breast may "think" that it is making too much milk and start making less. In the first place, giving the child a feeding bottle fills his/her stomach pretty fast and makes the baby less hungry, so then the baby sucks less well from the month. Also, secondly, the baby may learn that it is less work to suck from the bottle than from the breast, so he/she gets lazy about sucking from the breast. Both these things make the baby suck the breast less hard, so the breast then makes less milk. When this process happens, for a few weeks there will be so little milk in the mother's breast that a feeding bottle may really be needed.

Mothers may worry that their breast milk is not rich enough. This is virtually impossible. Some women have this worry because of the color of breast milk. Colostrum, which is the fluid in the milk glands before the true milk comes in after the baby's birth, has a rich, creamy, yellow color. Very soon, however, it changes to a skimmed milk look, thin and watery with a bluish white color. This change in color is the way breast milk should look, but some mothers think it is a sign of their milk not being rich enough.

Many women seem concerned, too, that breast feeding will spoil their figures. In reality, if there is any effect at all, breast feeding will improve the figure! A good supporting bra and the avoidance of overweight (necessary whether a mother breast feeds or not), is all that is needed to keep the figure in good shape.

Breast feeding even seems to help a mother stay slim. A mother who bottle feeds her baby does not use up the extra fat that is stored in her body during

pregnancy, fat meant to help her body produce milk. So, when she gives the bottle and does not breast feed, the fat remains to add unwanted weight to her body.

There is a belief in many areas of Micronesia that a man and woman may not have sexual relations if the woman is breast feeding. It is thought that to have sex at this time will make the milk sour. This is not true. Sex will not spoil the mother's milk.

It is also untrue that a mother should not breast feed if she becomes pregnant again. What she should do is to continue breast feeding her baby for a while and to wean it gradually to where it enjoys a balanced diet. It is recommended that weaning be completed before the new baby is born.

NINETY-NINE PERCENT (99%) CAN BREAST FEED

Most doctors agree that 99% of mothers can breast feed their babies, if they desire to do so.⁽⁸⁾ An international medical study found that less than one percent of mothers have serious problems which prevent breast feeding. Doctors have found that babies can even be breast fed by mothers with tuberculosis or leprosy, if proper precautions are taken.^(9,10)

Between two and three percent of mothers may have *temporary* trouble breast feeding due to their own illness; but even they can still breast feed their babies, if they wish.

One factor that would make breast feeding undesirable is a negative attitude on the part of the mother. If, after being given adequate information on breast feeding, she prefers to bottle feed her baby, she should not be encouraged to do otherwise. Rarely is breast feeding successful when the mother does not desire to breast feed.

DILEMMA AT THE HOSPITAL CLINIC

The average Micronesian mother spends hours at the hospital pre-natal clinic awaiting her turn for an examination and laboratory tests. The nurses know

Husband or relatives may tell the mother that she does not have enough breast milk for the baby.



that the mothers have to wait a long time so they try to make the waiting areas as interesting as possible. They gladly accept advertising pamphlets and promotional posters from milk companies to cover the walls and place on waiting room benches. Leaflets on pre-natal care, bathing, dressing, and baby feeding usually also contain guides to bottle feeding. They illustrate bright "modern" households, clean white baby clothes, a crib — and the feeding bottle. The implication is that nice people with nice houses who want nice babies use bottle feeding for their infants.

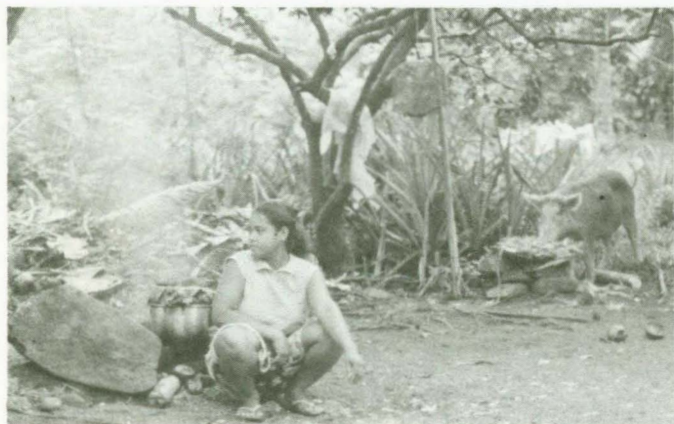
Even more persuasive is the spectacle of the feeding bottle being used in hospital nurseries and pediatric wards. Routine bottle feeding of infants in the hospital may be just an administrative convenience for the staff, but to mothers viewing the practice it is an endorsement of bottle feeding far more significant than anything milk companies would dare to claim in their advertising. The mother viewing this thinks, "If nurses bottle feed babies in the hospital, then it must be the right thing to do at home." Booklets, promotional literature and instructions on breast feeding are not available. Why? No one makes money by selling mama's milk.

THE THREE-ROCK KITCHEN

"Wash your hands thoroughly with soap each time you have to prepare a bottle for your baby", says the milk company booklet. Many Micronesian households do not have running water. The great majority do not have an indoor kitchen.

"Place the bottle and nipple in a pan with enough water to cover them. Bring to a boil and allow to boil for ten minutes", says the booklet, while showing a picture of a gleaming aluminum saucepan on an electric stove. Most Micronesian mothers do not have an electric stove — or electricity. They cook in a

The "Three Rock Kitchen". Sterilization of a baby bottle is almost impossible here.



three-rock kitchen; three rocks to hold a cooking pot over an open fire. The pot that would be used to sterilize the baby's bottle must also be used to cook the family meal, so, often, the bottle cannot be sterilized and the water cannot be boiled.

In Micronesia, the cost of bottle feeding a four months old baby is over four hundred dollars a year, approximately twenty percent of a worker's average annual wage. Because of this great cost, milk is often diluted with two to three times as much water as it ought to be. The mother tends to add just enough milk to turn the water white and then feeds this to her baby. This contaminated, watery liquid bears little resemblance to fresh pure human milk and contains none of its nutritional value.

But even if the family has enough milk it is unlikely that they can fulfill the minimum requirements for giving it to the baby safely in a clean bottle mixed with germ-free water. In much of Micronesia, although fuel is scarce, water is scarce, money is scarce, and milk is scarce; dirt, flies, and sanitation problems are plentiful.

EVEN IN THE UNITED STATES

A study was made at the Kaiser Foundation Hospital in the United States of 107 sick infants, mostly from middle income families, who had severe cases of diarrhea and were losing weight; some were vomiting persistently. It was discovered that only one of the 107 babies was being breast fed. All the others had been bottle fed for at least a month and more than seventy percent had never been breast fed. Dr. S.A. Larsen, the pediatrician in charge of the study, concluded, "This shows that breast feeding plays a major role in protecting against intestinal infections."⁽¹¹⁾

Another pediatrician in New York closely monitored 326 infants through the first year of their life. He found that the 162 bottle fed babies were three times as likely to get sick as the 164 breast fed babies. The rate of ear infections was twice as high in the bottle fed group, the rate of serious vomiting or diarrhea was 2½ times higher in the bottle fed group, and the rate of bronchitis was 16 times higher in that group. Only one of the breast fed babies — and 30 of the bottle fed babies — became so ill that hospitalization was necessary.⁽¹²⁾

GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION

Each decision on breast feeding should not be seen as merely a local event. Rather, each must be viewed as the result of international influences. The government in Micronesia is considering introducing the Women

Infant Children (WIC) program, a program which could cause an increase in the number of bottle fed infants. The WIC program includes the distribution of free formula milk to Micronesian infants. Investigators in the United States have noted that breast feeding is most unpopular among mothers participating in the WIC program there⁽¹³⁾, and in some instances have concluded that the program is a deterrent to breast feeding.⁽¹⁴⁾

A similar free milk scheme introduced in Chile, a country where over 95 percent of the babies once were breast fed, resulted in almost total abandonment of breast feeding. Within ten years following introduction of the free milk program, 80 percent of the new borns were being fed with the bottle, and virtually none were being breast fed beyond one year.

Recent research has shown that Chilean babies who are bottle fed during the first three months of their life suffer three times the death rate of their sisters and brothers who are breast fed exclusively.⁽¹⁵⁾ This stark fact highlights the problems which can accompany misconceived and misdirected social welfare programs such as the WIC.

The problem of diseases spread by the feeding bottle has become so serious that some countries, such as Papua New Guinea, have passed laws that formula milk and feeding bottles must be sold by prescription!

The decline in breast feeding appears to be caused by socio-economic developments in society and seems not to be the result of independent decisions by the women themselves. Only when Micronesian women begin to define their own needs and refuse to accept business and government dominated Western cultural attitudes will fundamental change be possible.

FEMALE CULTURE

One of the most likely reasons for the decline in breast feeding in Micronesia and previously in the U.S. seems to be the loss of a traditional "female culture". In the traditional female culture, support and advice on breast feeding were offered by older women to any inexperienced mother. Advice now comes from the producers of "modern childcare" products.

Today, the modern childcare products industries assist health services and government agencies with informative brochures and free samples for new mothers. These industries are dominated by men who have little understanding of or sympathy for the traditional female culture and men who make it far easier for a mother to obtain information on how to prepare a feeding bottle rather than on how to increase her own breast milk supply.



In the traditional female culture support and advice on breast feeding were offered by older women to any inexperienced mother.

NUTRITION WITH LOVE

Having a baby, and breast feeding it, is something real and worthwhile. Women need to know that they are by their very nature admirable and competent. The confident mother gives the breast freely. She doesn't worry when the baby ate last, or whether her breast feels full or empty. She isn't only breast feeding to get milk into the child, she breast feeds to keep the baby comfortable and happy. If the baby cries, she offers the breast; if the baby gets hiccups, or bumps its head, or feels shy of a stranger, she offers the breast. In the process, the baby gets all the milk needed.

Perhaps the milk is somewhat incidental. Perhaps, most of all, the mother, like the baby, needs to be shown that she is loved; and the eager sucking of the tiny baby at the breast is positive proof of that. The baby of three months stares and stares at mother's face as it breast feeds, looking into her eyes and loving her with all its heart. At five or six months, the baby, while feeding, plays with mother's clothing and "pats" her lovingly. The baby smiles out of the corner of its mouth, or puts a hand up to mother's lips to be kissed. For the mother, this is an unforgettable love experience. Breast feeding is nutrition with love.



*A well
nourished
baby is a
healthy child.*

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Sections of this article have been freely adapted from M. Muller's "War on Want investigation into the promotion and sale of powdered baby milks in the Third World," War on Want, London, 1974.

YOU, TOO, CAN BE A MICRONESIAN REPORTER

Whether you are a recent visitor to Micronesia.....

a Micronesian student returning from school.....

a Micronesian from a trip abroad.....

a Peace Corps Volunteer in the districts, or completing a two year assignment in Micronesia.....

a veteran civil servant.....

whoever you are, how about that big story you've been sitting on?

Come on, write it and share it with others through the **Micronesian Reporter**.

An Appeal From a Tiny Drop in the Ocean of Humanity

by Dwight Heine

To build we more often than not must destroy! Man sometimes destroys what he cannot replace. Action is justified by what he calls "progress" or "security to the greatest number." But do we thoroughly study our plans before we take action? Mankind has begun to realize this and through collective action people put brakes on developers from destroying old buildings of historical significance, construction of roads and many other projects, unless a thorough and detailed study is first made of the environment, to make sure nothing will adversely affect the ecosystem.

Conservation laws are also made to protect the fauna and flora from wanton destruction. It seems that homo sapiens is a very destructive animal; he likes to kill with spear, club, stone, knives and with more sophisticated weapons. He slashes, burns, tramples over and takes all kinds of destructive action just for the heck of it. Is this a subconscious way of showing that he is the King of the beasts, the Lord of all?

Other members of the primates, when in captivity also are very destructive. Giva a gorilla or a monkey in a cage a sheet of paper and he will immediately tear it or chew it up without examining it first. Yes, monkey business can also be man business!

We have scientists who tell us, "what is," as well as philosophers who teach us, "what it ought to be", but their admonishments, more often than not, are negated by what we call, "majority rule" or "progress". This is so true in terms of man's relation to his fellow human beings that Socrates was put to death because his teaching was considered counter-productive to the welfare of the state and Christ was crucified because His teaching was subversive to the status quo. Gallileo was almost killed because he maintained that the earth was spherical. But without the teaching of these sages of old, life would be meaningless today.

Man's selfishness can be seen in various forms. Self-centeredness is a characteristic of man when he is born and many cannot outgrow this characteristic of childhood with the passage of time. Self-centeredness cannot be mentioned without indirectly mentioning insecurity. They are part and parcel of the same thing.

Big companies are in business to make money, profit is what makes the stockholders happy and that is what gives security to the people who manage the business. Micronesians are aware of this since we have or have had companies owned by the Micronesian people. Stockholders and the management think mainly about the returns from their investments, while the stevedores, the warehousemen and other employees think about wages and salaries. It is good business if the overhead is much smaller than the net returns. On the other hand, some of the employees who have not invested money in the business want to have as much money as possible with as little sweat as possible. Both groups engage in "politics" or clandestine activities to better their diverse goals. Sometimes they clash and we call it a "strike."

The day of self-governing is dawning in Micronesia, and Micronesians are looking ahead with mixed feelings of both elation and apprehension. The biggest employer in Micronesia is the Trust Territory Government. Can the future governments of Micronesia continue to give employment to the thousands of Micronesian doctors, nurses, teachers, lawyers, secretaries, janitors and so on and so forth? Since the introduction of money in the past, and much accelerated in recent times, Micronesians have learned a new way of earning a living by working for others for wages and salaries. Can we turn the clock backward?

Will a management-employee relationship develop in the future between the "rulers" and the "ruled?" Will we be strong enough, mature enough or wise enough to measure up to the tests of tomorrow? What and how much will we destroy in the environment as we are propelled forward by the desire to have "progress?" These are only two of the hundreds of questions for which we must seek answers as we draft the supreme laws of the land, the constitutions.

This short article is not intended as a discourse on pessimism but a challenge to every Micronesian. We have been singing hymns of praise about ourselves in the past, let us now prove that we have got what it takes to challenge the future, for it seems that all the bridges behind us are going up in flames. We have crossed our Rubicon and there is no turning back.

Reading About The Trust Territory:

by Daniel Peacock

Books that are written on the subject of the Trust Territory or on some aspect of life in Micronesia appear about twice a year, that is, as contributed by commercial publishers and offered for sale. So far, in the seventies, there have been more than in previous years and a high percentage of them are worthy of note. Although the newest is not necessarily the best simply because it is the newest, it is a convenience to begin with the new and work back toward the "old." In any case, it is up to the individual reader to decide which is "best" according to his or her personal preference and there is something superior here for everyone—everyone who is a part of the seventies in Micronesia, remembering that those who read will become involved even if only vicariously and even if from a distance. Here, then are descriptions of the more recent books.

Nufer, Harold F. **MICRONESIA UNDER AMERICAN RULE, AN EVALUATION OF THE STRATEGIC TRUSTEESHIP (1947-1977).** Hicksville, New York: Exposition Press, 1978.

The most recent book published as of this writing (August 1978), it is, in a sense, oral history. The author interviewed many Micronesians and utilized these interviews to compile his book. It is interesting and will become more so as the years pass and the more years that pass the more important this book will become because there are too few recordings (as contrasted to official documents) in writing or in any other form that can be looked back upon as typifying the feelings and views of Micronesians in the mid-70's which will surely loom large in Micronesian history. Maynard Neas wrote the Foreword and, along with several other expatriates, is widely quoted in this work.

Books For The Final Years

Bernart, Luelen. **THE BOOK OF LUELEN.** Translated and edited by John L. Fischer, Saul H. Riesenberg and Marjorie G. Whiting. Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1977. (Pacific History Series No. 8 — General Editor, H.E. Maude.)

One of the most respected names among Pacific historians, H.E. Maude, predicts in the Preface that this book will become a classic. It takes time to make a classic, but in this instance the time has already passed, for Luelen has recorded the past and he has recorded it in a style and manner that is both readable and rewarding. This, then, is a rare example of indigenous history and one wishes it could have covered more than the island of Ponape. It is unique because it was done by a Micronesian and it is valuable because much of the varied information (it is almost an almanac) would surely have been lost had it not been preserved in

writing by the late Luelen Bernart. Much credit goes to the editors for preserving a style of writing that could hardly have been improved upon. The proof of excellence of style can best be rendered through reading aloud as, one hopes, will be done in both the homes and classrooms of Ponape.

Nevin, David. *THE AMERICAN TOUCH IN MICRONESIA*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1977.

David Nevin, we understood, came to the Trust Territory to see what the Ford Foundation might do for Micronesia. He talked to many of us in Education, and, as this book bears witness, to many in other departments of the executive branch and to many within the legislative branch of the Trust Territory Government. What he may or may not have recommended to the Ford Foundation is not made clear. What is made clear is that there are more problems than solutions and that, according to Nevin, there is too much that is "unreal." The book has an interesting typographical error: "The people thrust (sic) in their children." This error is found in the final chapter which is entitled "The Dilemma." Yes, whether the "thrust" should be devoted to school children is a dilemma. But as Nevin's thorough research reveals, it was at the top levels of administration in the early 60's that this "thrust" in education began and it may be too late to revert to an educational pattern of the old PICS (when it was the one public high school for the entire TT) as is interestingly advocated by Nevin. A former editor of *LIFE*, Nevin writes well and his book is well worth reading.

Alkire, William H. *AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PEOPLES AND CULTURES OF MICRONESIA*. Second Edition. Menlo Park, California: Cummings Publishing Company, 1977.

The author has been an active contributor to the literature of Micronesia with, most recently, a work entitled *CORAL ISLANDERS*. The work listed here, *AN INTRODUCTION... TO MICRONESIA* was originally published in 1972 and has recently appeared in a new and improved format with some expanded material. It is the one book that is most often recommended to those who request reliable information on the cultures and backgrounds of Micronesians. It should, for this reason, be in every college library and if it were not many Micronesian students studying abroad would have to write home for printed material with which to supplement their own knowledge when writing the inevitable paper on "my home islands."

Kluge, P.F. *THE DAY THAT I DIE*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1976.

Fred "P.F." Kluge is well known to most of those who will see these words in print, for he edited the *Micronesian Reporter* for two years and, with the considerable help of an excellent graphic artist, Bob Boeberitz, and a photographer, Norman Shapiro, all of whom were Peace Corps Volunteers at the time, transformed this periodical from a sometimes interesting "house organ" to a very respectable journal of popular interest. It can be wished that Fred and his editor(s) might have done as well with his first novel. Those of us who followed closely the progress of the *Reporter* in its years under Fred's direction felt like winners; we had something good going for the T.T. thanks to Fred and his staff. Most who have read Fred's novel come away with a different feeling: there are no winners; everyone in the book is a loser. Needless to say, the book is not autobiographical, for in our eyes Fred remains a winner and we wish him well; we just wish he also had more positive things to say about Micronesia and the Micronesians in anything he might write about what was once a land he favored and which, in turn, favored him.

McHenry, Donald F. *MICRONESIA: TRUST BETRAYED*. Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1975.

Those in search of a scholarly critique of the Trust Territory administration need look no further than this study by McHenry and a group of some 11 young graduate students. Only McHenry it appears, visited the TT and he only for six weeks. That, most readers will agree, is not long enough. Any writer, doubtless including McHenry, would want more time. The book attempts to "increase the number of people who are informed and concerned." That is an objective in which we might wish the book complete success. An increased interest in the TT since this book appeared might well indicate that it has been successful in its objective.

Brower, Kenneth and Robert Wenkam. *MICRONESIA: ISLAND WILDERNESS*. Friends of the Earth, A Continuum Book. New York: Seabury Press, 1975.

It is not often that the writings and creative efforts of Micronesian students appear in a commercially printed publication. They have never had and may never again have a more beautiful setting in which to appear than surrounded by the photos of Micronesia taken by Wenkam. Brower, who did the text in which proposals for oceanic parks are set forth, also wrote *WITH THEIR ISLANDS AROUND THEM*, Holt Rinehart, Winston, 1974, which concerns Palau.

Heine, Carl. MICRONESIA AT THE CROSSROADS. A REAPPRAISAL OF THE MICRONESIAN POLITICAL DILEMMA. Honolulu: University Press in Hawaii, 1974.

Covering some of the same subject matter as McHenry's book, MICRONESIA AT THE CROSSROADS is notable for two important differences: it was written by a Micronesian and it has more to say about Micronesia. In comparing the indexes of the two books it is interesting to note that the entries for "Congress" fill nearly an entire column of references to the Congress of Micronesia in Heine's book, whereas McHenry's work contains a similar number of entries for "Congress, U.S." but far fewer references to the Congress of Micronesia. In other words, the positions are reversed. McHenry is writing from the bias of what the U.S. has done or not done, and Heine is writing from the bias of what has been done in Micronesia by Micronesians. You select your reading of either of the two from that standpoint, but a well read student will read both—beginning with Heine.

Hughes, Daniel T. and Sherwood G. Lingenfelter. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN MICRONESIA. Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1974.

Still another book that would be classed under Political Science (the Library of Congress gave it Dewey 320.9'96'5) this is a book that ranges further and, in some areas, deeper than McHenry's or Heine's. The range and depth were made possible by contributions from several outstanding authorities who are noted for their knowledge of the Trust Territory within their fields: Norman Meller, Leonard Mason, and Jack Fischer, to name a few, plus the editors, Daniel Hughes and Sherwood Lingenfelter, both of whom contributed chapters in addition to editing this outstanding work. It should be noted here that this book, through the generosity of its editors, distinguishes itself in another way that has been important to Trust Territory students: all royalties were contributed to Headquarters Education for use in purchasing books for high school libraries.

Faulkner, Douglas. THIS LIVING REEF. New York: Quadrangle/The New York Times Book Co., 1974.

Faulkner's Living Reef of Belau consists of The Outer Reefs, The Passes, The Lagoons, The Coves, and Marine Lakes. His dedication is "for the people of Belau with love and affection and with great appreciation for the Beauty that is Belau." His acknowledgements run to approximately as many

names as the 107 photo plates that, along with extensive introductory material and captions, comprise this giant of a book. A work of art, a labor of love, this book is a must for Belauophiles and watchers of the underwater world.

Van Cleve, Ruth G. THE OFFICE OF TERRITORIAL AFFAIRS. New York: Praeger, 1974.

In 1963 a book appeared entitled THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR in which the Office of Territorial Affairs was barely mentioned, much less described. This omission was corrected by Mrs. Van Cleve in this book which tells the reader "everything you ever wanted to know..." Chapter Six is devoted exclusively to the Trust Territory and it begins: "It is possible that the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, as a political entity, is ungovernable."

Lewis, David. WE, THE NAVIGATORS: THE ANCIENT ART OF LANDFINDING IN THE PACIFIC. Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1972.

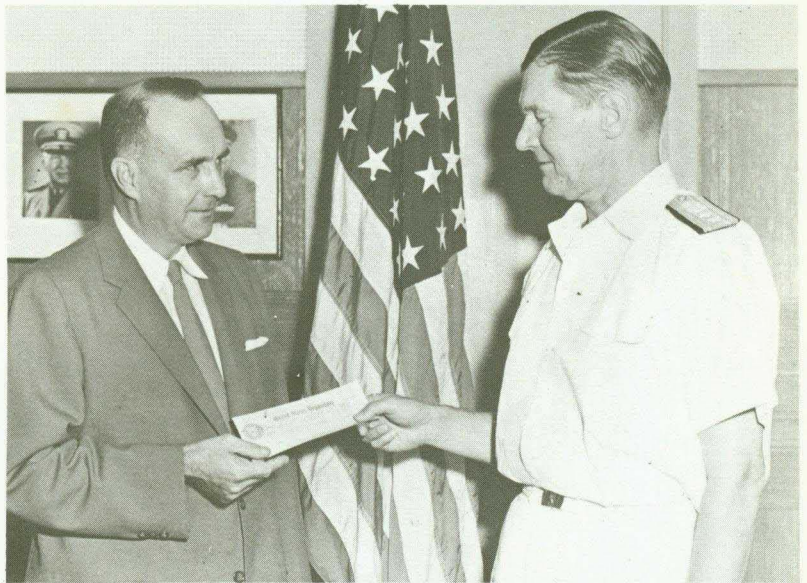
The last two books in this list are devoted to navigation, for the arts, skills and cultural traditions related thereto have brought Micronesians more fame and continue to generate more respect for Micronesia than any other single accomplishment. Lewis's book goes beyond Micronesia, just as the author has done in his own sailing, navigating, and in pursuit of the studies that produced this work. It is of immense interest to those who sail and it would be wonderful if it could be translated or, at a minimum, be interpreted to those about whom it is written.

Gladwin, Thomas. EAST IS A BIG BIRD: NAVIGATION AND LOGIC ON PULUWAT ATOLL. Harvard University Press, 1970.

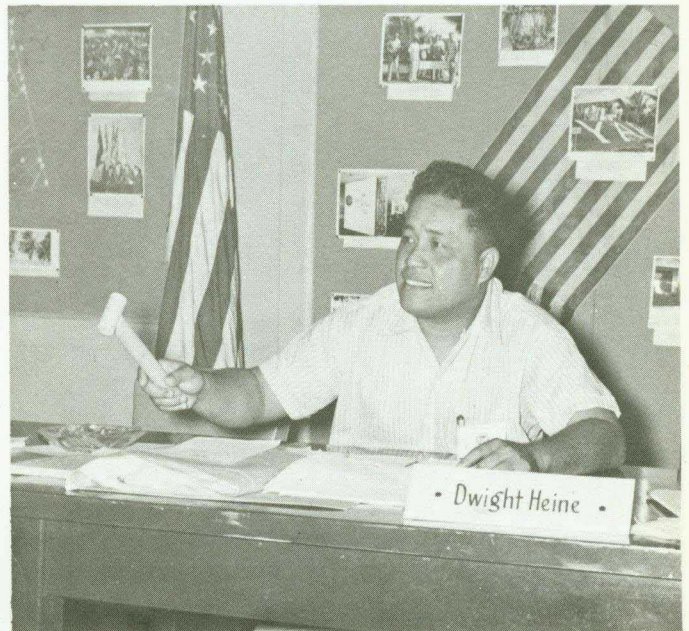
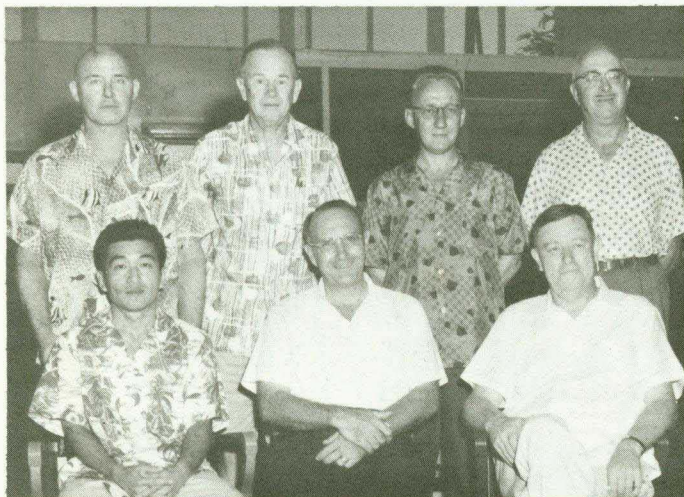
The last sentence in the above annotation holds equally well for Gladwin's book which differs primarily in that it is devoted exclusively to Micronesia and to the Caroline Islands within Micronesia. It is a pleasure to recommend it, for it should create and preserve an enormous pride among those about whom it is written—primarily the people of Puluwat which falls within the Truk District of the Carolines where the author has conducted extensive research.

LINGERING MEMORIES OF YESTERYEARS FROM Public Information Division's Album...

Honolulu, July 6, 1956; The money which made possible payments to the Kili and Ujelang residents for the use and occupancy for their former lands at Bikini and Enewetak, was part of a sum turned over to the Trust Territory's High Commissioner Delmas H. Nucker, left, by Rear Admiral Joseph F. Jelly, Director of Pacific Division, Bureau of Yards and Docks.



Kosrae, June 1955; Joint Task Force on Meteorological Survey visiting Kosrae District.



Trust Territory Headquarters, Agana Guam. 1961 Council of Micronesia Chairman Dwight Heine from the Marshall Islands District. In his hand is the symbolic gavel presented to him by High Commissioner M.W. Goding upon his unanimous election.

Guam. 1956; DistAd's Conf. Standing left to right—Maynard Neas, Marshalls; Ray T. Gallimor, Truk; Robert Halvorsen, Yap; Henry Hedges, Ponape; Sitting: Kabayoshi, Rota; HiCom. Nucker; and Donald Heron, Palau.



Saipan, July 1962; Micronesians Leaders Conf. (Left to right) Amata Kabua, Marshalls; Joseph A. Benitez, Deputy HiCom; Raymond Setik, Truk; Bethwel Henry, Ponape; Joachin Falmog, Yap; and David Ramarui, Palau.



Palau. 1952; Angaur. Japanese Vessel loading phosphate at Angaur.

Guam, 1958. Micronesians leaders Conf.

KNEELING l to r.: Dr. Palacios, Saipan; Kenmed, Yap; Prudencio M. Manglona, Rota; Jesus Mangarfir, Yap; Bailey Olter, Ponape; Ring Puas, Truk. Back row: Felix Rabauliman, Saipan; Prudencio T. Manglona, Rota; Mathias Finiginam, Yap; Amata Kabua, Marshalls; Melchor S. Mendiola, Rota; Higinio Weirlangt, Ponape; Atlan Anien, Marshalls; Ngoriyaki Torual, Palau; Thomas Remengesau, Palau; Takeo Yano, Palau; Ando Amaraich, Truk; Petrus Mailo, Truk.



Ponape, 1953; High Commissioner Midkiff, Mr. Hedges, District Administrator; Mr. Fischer, Island Affairs Officer, and Mr. Yeomans, Office of Territories, Washington, D.C. inspect an Islands Transportation method.

Ngerehokl

*A river, Ngerehokl
shall not again know Youth,
A woman, from Ngardmau
old from age, of rot even her tooth.
This woman, from Ngardmau,
A young daughter did have she
To the river, Ngerehokl
did go, young she thought she would be.
Into the river, Ngerehokl
The mother did dive.
Out of the river, Ngerehokl,
she came, beautiful and alive.
By the river, Ngerehokl,
the daughter indeed did wait
For her mother, from Ngardmau
whom she thought was only late.
By the river, Ngerehokl
the young mother ran to her child.
To go with this stranger
the child turned violently wild.
Into the river, Ngerehokl,
the mother dived again,
From the river, Ngerehokl
she rose with wrinkled skin.
Away from the river, Ngerehokl
Happy they did go
From the river, Ngerehokl
This lesson we came to know.
"Love is stronger than vanity"
and that is how it will always be.*

by Anne Udui

The new 116-bed referral hospital dedicated on April 20, 1978 in Ponape District cost the Trust Territory Government 6.2 million dollars to build.

