DEPARTMENT OF STATE A/CDC/MR

REVIEWED BY B.H.B/AS DATE 4/10/87

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DRAFT MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: A Program for Self-Government in Association with the United States for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, Guam, the United States Virgin Islands and American Samoa

United States strategic interests in the Far East require retention under American control of the Mariana, Caroline and Marshall island groupings now administered by the United States as the strategic Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI) under agreement with the United Nations Security Council. We believe the sooner the people of the TTPI are given the opportunity to determine their future status, the greater the assurance that they will opt for an association with the United States, rather than for independence. To delay in the face of growing political swareness among the increasing numbers of educated islanders is to risk disaffection.

The TTPI is among the last three of the original eleven Trust Territories placed under U.N. supervision following World War II.

The other eight have all schieved independence, either individually or as part of newly emerging states. The strong pressures of the Afro-Asian majority in the UN for decolonization make continuation of our present form of administration there increasingly costly to the international posture of the United States as the defender of self-determination and justice for all men. We believe that the



ment in favor of full internal self-government for the people of the TTPI in a free association status in which responsibility for foreign affairs and defense would remain with the United States.

The cooperation of the Congress is essential to any move to bring the TTPI within the American political system. Moreover, since there would be Congressional resistance to any move to accord the inhabitants of the TTPI more autonomy than that of the U.S. citizens of Guam and the Virgin Islands, and the U.S. nationals of American Samos, similar moves to upgrade the status of these three United States territories will be necessary. Our dedication to the principle of self-government and the growing liability of the "colonial power" label which inevitably if unfairly attaches to the United States as a result of what others contend is continuing 19th Century paternalistic colonial rule in our territories make such action desirable and timely in any case.

There is no constitutional bar to such action. All that would be required would be for the Congress to give the inhabitants of these four areas the opportunity to run their own internal affairs under their own constitutions, without veto power in Washington. This can be accomplished by legislation establishing these areas as locally self-governing political entities

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in free association with the United States, accompanied by a suitable declaration of Congressional intent not to legislate in areas reserved for the associated governments, and to give sympathetic consideration to future proposals for changes in the relationship with the United States. The self-government provided by such arrangements is designed to remove these areas from the purview of the United Nations. This would also require some form of United Nations observation of the election process leading to such arrangements.

We recommend that you establish as a policy goal of the Administration the attainment of internal self-government in association with the United States for the TTPI, Guam, the Virgin Islands, and American Samoa, with a view to plepiscites in 1968, and that you approve preparation of the future legislation required to bring about the new status of these four areas. We also urge your personal support for legislation now before the Congress designed to increase dramatically social and political development in the TTPI and to provide for locally-elected Governors of Guam and the Virgin Islands.

As the first step, we suggest you inform the leadership of both Houses of the Administration's recommendations, after which we will pursue the matter in depth with the appropriate Committees of the Congress.

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Attached are a fuller discussion of the factors behind our recommendation (Tab A) and a constitutional description of the new political status envisaged for the territories (Tab B).

Dean Rusk

Robert McNamara

Stewart Udall

Department of State - IO/UNP February 15, 1966

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