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TO: DEPT. PASS, WITH ENCLOSURE, TO: Interior Dept. for Asst. Secretary

Loesch and Office of Territories. Defense Dept. for OSD/ISA. White House for Mr. Levin (NSC). USUN New York.

AGR	COM	FRB	INT	FROM : HICOMTERPACIS POLAD, SAIPAN	DATE: January 25, 1971
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AIR	ARMY	NAVY	OSD	REF : Saipan A-1 of January 25, 1971
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1. Undercover of this airgram is enclosed a copy of the first edition of a student newspaper entitled the "Young Micronesian." The newspaper, which is supposed to appear on a monthly basis, is put together by about nine Micronesian students at the University of Hawaii. The group's spark is said to be Francisco Uludong, who has nurtured a somewhat radical (by Micronesian standards) reputation. Most of the issue is dedicated to the premise that Micronesia's future lies in independence, although there is scattered support for the free association concept. Evident in several articles is the view that Micronesia and Micronesians are being exploited by the U.S.

2. The paper has no official or formal ties with the approximately 200-strong Micronesian student community in Hawaii. One Micronesian student at the University of Hawaii (he is the Treasurer of the Micronesian student club) told the reporting officer, during a recent visit to Saipan, that the paper "has no strong support" among Micronesian students. He felt that no more than about 12 students actually favor independence, although many more might talk about it in theoretical terms, and even occasionally plug independence for argument's sake. He felt that most Micronesian students in Hawaii are apathetic on the status question, and that no more than 15 or so Micronesian students had even bothered to read the Micronesian Status Delegation's report to the Congress of Micronesia. He did say that few favored Commonwealth and that most, if pressed to the wall for an opinion, would support the free association concept without fully understanding its implications.

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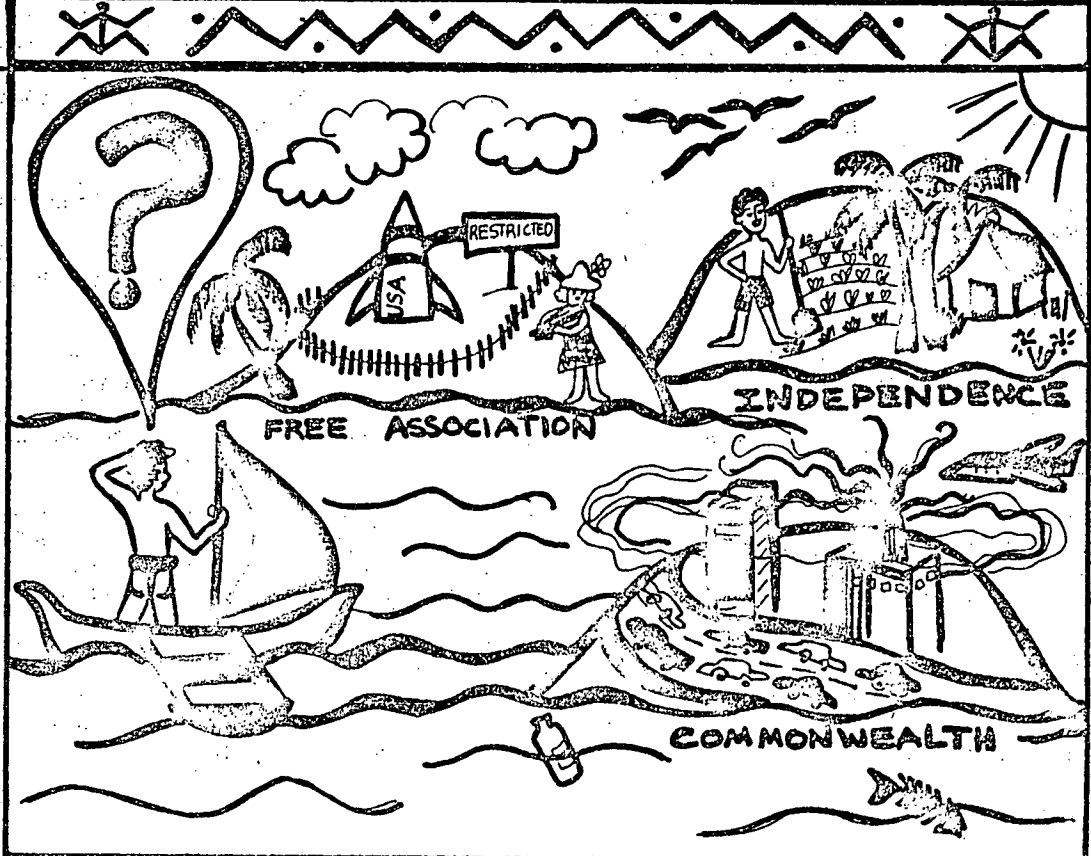
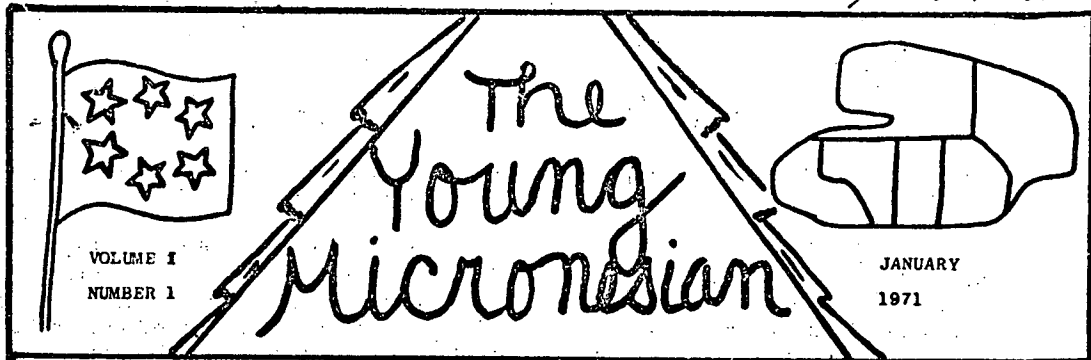
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Clearances: TTPI Director of Public Affairs (in draft)



**What's Inside ?**

Micronesians Demonstrate..... p. 3	Senator Saliu Addresses APMEC..... p. 3
Washington Visit: What About It..... p. 2	Micronesian Leaders Speak Out..... p. 8
Student Writes To His Leader..... p. 4	American Newspaper Editorializes.... p. 9
EDITORIAL BRIEFS..... p.10	NEWS BRIEFS..... p. 6
RIGHT ON WITH INDEPENDENCE..... pp. 7 & 23	
Hawaiians and a Puerto Rican Warns Micronesians... pp. 13 & 14	
Dear Readers..... p. 5	Dear Editors..... p. 11

### THE OTHER 33 AND THEIR TRIP TO WASHINGTON

For five years the 33 members of the Congress of Micronesia have been the pride of Micronesia and have been the sole spokesman for Micronesian desires in Washington.

Well, that distinction is now gone. We now have another group of 33 who are also Micronesians but who are working for the Trust Territory Administration, the United States administrative arm in Micronesia. They have also assumed part of the role of being Micronesia's spokesman in Washington. In an unexpected turn of events, as if out of the Micronesian blue skies, a precedent-setting decision was made by Washington and these 33 Micronesians high in High Commissioner Johnston's Administration flew to Washington where they were "briefed" on the intricacies of the US government and "conferred" with federal officials and members of the United States Congress about the problems of Micronesia. They even had the rarest opportunity to meet for 12 minutes with President Nixon's rascal boy Hickel only several hours before he was fired as their boss.

In fact, the trip was so sudden that many Micronesians, including students here, were asking whether Washington is up to something, especially at the time when the Micronesian populace had just gone to the polls (Nov. 3) and elected almost every incumbent member of the Congress of Micronesia who voted last July to reject Nixon's offer of commonwealth status. The administration's 33 were well aware of the lurking suspicions about their trip and were quick at attempts to dispel them.

On their return the group stopped in Honolulu and on Thanksgiving Day met over 100 Micronesians at the East-West Center and for three hours defended their trip and answered questions raised by the students. Words like "useful", "beneficial", "helpful" and the likes were used to describe the trip. Understandably, many were quite defensive about it all.

Leo Falcam, the group's head, explained at the start of the meeting that the trip and three purposes, namely, to recognize the leadership potential of Micronesians in the Administration; to familiarize them in the workings of the US government and the budgetary process; and finally for them to be "officially briefed on the status question."

Thomas Remengesau, Palau's district administrator, speaking for the group insisted that they did not go to Washington to settle anything in regards to the status question. He also pointed out that the United States appears ready to continue negotiations and seems flexible on the status issue. During and after the meeting many emphasized that the status issue was "only one of the many questions" covered in Washington.

There is no doubt that the trip was "helpful" for them to do their jobs better back home. There is also no question that the trip did not make them any lesser Micronesian in spirit and at heart. One thing, however, seems sure which makes it a frightful prospect. It appears that many will now do a better job in implementing American policies in Micronesia. While this may mean that many things in Micronesia can now be done more effectively, than before the Washington trip, it also may mean that we now have better defenders of the status quo. As one member answered to a student's question on independence for Micronesia, "Where are we going to get our \$10 million?"

Trips like this to Washington are not bad in themselves. One who goes to Washington learns a lot, including such items as Washington's cold climate (or hot summer if you happen to be there at the right time) and nightclub life as many in the group could testify. However, when Micronesian leaders take them, it would be advisable for them to get together before departing and ask a few questions among themselves as members of our Congress do. A bag of unnecessary questions will be awaiting them upon their return as the case with this trip.

## FREEDOM FOR MICRONESIA

History will note it as the first time that the Micronesian students in America have taken to American streets to join the fight for the cause of Micronesia's right to self-determination.

For an hour and half on Friday, Nov. 20, over 20 rain-drenched Micronesian students in Hawaii and about 100 Americans staged a "Freedom for Micronesia" rally and demonstration outside of Honolulu's plush Ilikai Hotel while U.S. Vice-President Spiro T. Agnew was inside addressing the annual Associated Press Managing Editors Conference.

The demonstrators sang the Micronesian anthem, the "Patriots of Micronesia," and heard Micronesian students Joaquin Villanueva (Marianas), Rudimch Titiml and Moses Uludong (both from Palau) plead the American people to let Micronesia exercise "her right to self-determination."

A big, white sheet banner at the head of the demonstration proclaimed "Freedom for Micronesia" and some of the placards carried by the Micronesian demonstrators included the following: "We want full control over our lands"; "America, practice what you preach"; and "We want full control over our government"; "We want full control over our future"; and "We don't want to be another Puerto Rico".

(to be continued on p. 21)

### "MICRONESIA BELONGS TO US"

(Editor's note: The following are excerpts from a speech which Senator Salii delivered at the annual Associated Press Managing Editors Conference held in Honolulu on November 17, 1970.)

During the past three years, the question of Micronesia's ultimate fate - the question of whether the present Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands shall become an internally self-governing state in "free association" with the United States, or whether it shall become a sovereign independent state - has emerged as the overriding issue in Micronesia, not only among the Micronesian people themselves, but, even more crucially, between their Congress and the government of the United States.

Through its individual members, through its Future Political Status Commission, created three years ago, and through the Commission's successor, the Future Political Status Delegation, created a year ago to open talks with Washington on this question, the Congress of Micronesia has looked deeply and seriously into the pros and cons of these three options (having discarded many others it had also considered) and has taken a firm stand on what it wants: namely that Micronesia should become an internally self-governing political entity in a relationship of free association with the United States.

The Congress of Micronesia took this position during its recent session this past summer by adopting a resolution endorsing four basic principles and legal rights, which the Congress considers to be essential in a relationship of free association between Micronesia and the United States.

(to be continued on p. 17)

Student Tells First Micronesian Deputy Director:

"DON'T LET THEM USE YOU AS A TOLL"

(The writer permitted us to print this letter and would welcome any comment from the readers. Ed.)

Sept. 23, 1970

Mr. Eusebio Rechucher  
Deputy Director, Resources & Development  
Office of the High Commissioner  
Saipan, Mariana Islands 96950

Dear Mr. Rechucher:

This is to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of September 2 and the materials on economic development of Micronesia. The materials are very helpful in our research. We are still working on the research and we hope to complete it by November. On behalf of the Club I would like to express our gratitude for your help. If we need additional information I will surely contact Otoichi Bosebes.

In your letter you emphasize the need for manpower to provide adequate personnel in our economic strides for the next five years. It seems to me that there is a need of manpower because our goals in economic progress are such. My question is what are our goals in economic development in Micronesia. Are we trying to build an economy that would meet American standards? Or are we trying to build an economy that is relevant to Micronesia? I for one feel that the pressing demand for technical and managerial know-how can be eliminated if the direction of our efforts in economic area is altered and be geared toward a Micronesian-oriented economy, an economy based on subsistence and limited natural resources. Do we need technical knowledge to build highways so that people can be killed and cars can pollute the air with monoxide? Or high-rise buildings to destroy the natural beauty of our islands? I am not too optimistic about technology because I have seen what it has done to the environment of this country. At last the people here realize the pollution of their environment. And now ecology is the cry of everyone. I hope the future generations of Micronesians won't blame you and me for the pollution of their islands.

Americans have been telling us for many years that we don't have economic means to be independent nation. I have been almost made to believe in this myth and brainwashing from white man. During these years of American Administration they have done a swell job in indoctrinating Micronesians. In their programs they never take Micronesian cultures into consideration. Instead they've been imposing their ways on us. In economic area and in planning of programs at your office, have you ever taken Micronesian values, monetary system, cultures, and mentality into consideration? As a brother Micronesian, I plead with you to watch out for the tricks of white man and not to let them use you as a tool to destroy us and whatever we have left on this world. A good example of this tragedy is Hawaii. The situation of the real Hawaiians is deplorable.

I realize that we are part of the world and we cannot escape the pressure of capitalism. But I feel that our subsistent economy can be modified, not changed. Micronesians like you in your position can contribute a lot to our country not in bringing what you call "idle population into cash economy" but rather in helping them to appreciate their values and to live with the kind of economy we have today. It is sad that many of our young people have come to this country to be indoctrinated to follow the white man's ways. I hope that they'll be able to detect this systematic destruction of our values and cultures.

I admit that tourism looks lucrative these days but I am afraid of its impact on our society. You have been in Hawaii and you've seen what tourism has done to Waikiki and many other places in Hawaii. Waikiki once a paradise in Pacific is now a jungle.

THE YOUNG MICRONESIAN  
(Vol. I, No. 1, Jan., '70)

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LETTER FROM UNCLE MIKE WHO

Dear Editors:

I don't know about you guys but I felt insulted when HiCom Johnston referred to us Micronesians as "coconut pickers" in his last meeting here with the students. I wish he could have clarified exactly what he meant.

My father and a whole bunch of relatives are coconut pickers and I am very proud of them. Johnston seems to prefer that they become hotel janitors or something.

Maybe we should have some course in the new Community College of Micronesia dealing with appreciation of our cultures and ways of life and have Johnston enroll in it so he can become appreciative of "coconut pickers."

Otherwise, we'd better boycott his next meeting.

Sincerely,

Mike Who

DEAR READERS:

The name suggests what this monthly magazine intends to be... YOUNG... and... MICRONESIAN.

At this critical and crucial stage of Micronesian History, the young Micronesian is both valuable to the present and indispensable to the future. He's got many things in his mind, opinions, doubts and questions about what is happening in Micronesia. His life is being shaped but he has had no place to say something about it.

THE YOUNG MICRONESIAN, as we envision it, will serve this purpose - to provide a medium wherein the young Micronesian can readily express himself, be read and heard by his peers, leaders and his American Master. As such the magazine is his voice to the people around him.

This is not to say that THE YOUNG MICRONESIAN will be exclusively young and Micronesian in terms of articles appearing in its pages. Of course, the young Micronesian expressions will receive top priority; however, articles from writers who are neither young nor Micronesian will be considered for publication. The magazine will also publish articles with differing views from those of the editors and what are considered dominant views of the young Micronesian.

The magazine is being published by a group of Micronesian students now studying in Hawaii. All the work necessary to put it out on monthly basis is being done voluntarily. Whether the magazine will survive will depend, to a large measure, on the interest and contributions, financial and literary, from the readers.

As far as the contents of this first issue go, we call attention to the editorial on independence and articles on Hawaii and Puerto Rico.

So dear readers, THE YOUNG MICRONESIAN is all yours. If you care now, please send in your contributions.

In Micronesia,

THE STAFF

**MICRONESIAN SEMINAR**

The University of Hawaii is sponsoring a seminar on the Micronesian political status issue to be held on January 5 and 6. Former Lt. Governor Thomas Gill, who helped organize Congress of Micronesia in 1955, will give the opening remarks. There will also be panel discussions involving Micronesian students and private Americans on the status issue and related topics. The seminar will be highlighted by a panel shared by Senator Lazarus Salii and Tom Whittington, Special Assistant on Micronesian affairs in the Interior Department. The seminar is part of the month-long Interim session of the University. The university contributed \$100 which was made the seminar possible.

**TRAGEDIES INVOLVING MICRONESIANS**

Jose Crisostimo, a graduate student at the University of Hawaii from the Marianas, is still listed in critical condition at the Queens Medical Center in Honolulu. Joe was hit by a car, December 11. Earlier in the month, Dec. 3, four Micronesian fishermen swam for 24 hours to safety after their tuna fishing boat capsized between Kauai and Hiihau. Some members of the crew died or have been lost since. The Micronesians are Roland Poll, Dikios Leopold, Dennis Brown (all three from Ponape), and Tatsuo Kioshi from Palau. Only Kioshi elected to quit after the incident and has returned to Palau.

**UH-MICRONESIA RELATIONSHIP EXAMINED**

For the past several weeks staff and students of UH interested in Micronesia had been meeting to re-examine its relations with Micronesia. At the present time, the group's report was on its way to President Harland Cleveland's desk. The group was headed by Prof. Donald Topping who said that their recommendations if adopted will have far-reaching effect on future relations between the university and Micronesia. Note: The Senate of the Congress of Micronesia last July asked the University to assist in the education of Micronesians.

**MICRONESIAN CLUB HEARS FREEMAN**

The Micronesian Student Club of Honolulu in its December meeting heard Attorney Harrop Freeman, the Cornell University law professor whom Congress of Micronesia hired in 1955 to represent the people of Micronesia. Dr. Freeman discussed with the students war and land claims and issues related to the political status question.

**SIX MICRONESIANS POW SCHOOL IN HAWAII**

Six Micronesians graduated this semester from schools in Hawaii. Quadaupe Borja and Joaquin Villagomez, both from the Marianas, finished with bachelor degrees in sociology and botany, respectively, from the University of Hawaii. Morning Okeriil and Robert Demei both from Palau received their associate degrees from the Honolulu Community College. Elias Chin, Palau, and Eugenio Sablan, Marianas, also received associate degrees out from Electronic Institute of Hawaii. Chin and Sablan majored in electronics while Okeriil in police science and Demei in auto mechanics.

IN SUPPORT OF FREE ASSOCIATION

by  
Senator Francisco T. Palacios

(Editor's note: The following is an excerpt from a speech Palacios gave during last session of the Congress of Micronesia. He was defeated last November by Edward Fangelinan in his bid for re-election to the Senate. In the Congress, however, he commanded the respect and admiration of his colleagues.)

I support the goal of a self-governing Micronesia in free association with the United States. I believe that this status is in the best interests of the people of the Marianas and that I would be poorly serving the people if I did not support this status.

As members of the Congress of Micronesia, we both represent our people and protect their interests. We represent them by working towards the objectives they seek and by supporting the values that they hold dear. But, in order to protect their interests, we must resist the temptation to achieve an easy popularity by supporting proposals that may look attractive but are, in reality, not in the public interest. I maintain that the United States offer of Commonwealth may look attractive, but that when my constituents have come to evaluate it, they will join me in urging its rejection, and in endorsing a relationship of free association with the United States.

I believe that my constituents want personal liberty, political freedom, democratic government, peace, and friendship with the United States. I believe that these can be best obtained through free association between Micronesia and the United States.

Free association would keep the destiny of Micronesia in Micronesian hands, whereas Commonwealth would place our destiny in the hands of the United States. Under free association, Micronesia would have a constitution adopted by the Micronesians and designed to suit our own particular circumstances. Our Government's laws and its policies would be designed to meet our needs. We, the people of Micronesia, would be able to develop our economy, to plan our educational systems and manage our Government as we thought best.

(to be continued on p. 19 )

IN SUPPORT OF INDEPENDENCE

by  
Rep. Ataji Balos

(Editor's note: The following is an excerpt from a speech Balos gave during last session of the Congress of Micronesia. Beside being an outspoken advocate of independence, he is the leader of the displaced Micronesians in the Marshalls and has twice in the past led his constituents in "sails-in" against the US Army in Kwajalein.)

I bring greetings from an anguished constituency of a displaced minority group of Micronesians. They are those unfortunate Micronesians who for many years have longed to return to their places of birth—their home islands of Bikini, of Enewitok, or Roi Namur, of Kwajalein. Though located at the eastern remote corner of Micronesian sea, they too have heard of the noble task our political status delegation has launched on. They express hope that the end result of the status issue may bring them some consolation in their daily miseries.

Needless to say, these few Micronesians have long endured human sufferings under the mighty yoke of the U.S. military. Yet some of my colleagues in this Congress from the Marianas have themselves expressed sentiments favoring the commonwealth status as was offered by the U.S. Delegation. I am inclined to believe their sentiments are based on their past experiences with the U.S. military. The U.S. forces did not only liberate Saipan from the Japanese during the war; even during peace time from the period of January 1953 to June 1960, U.S. military built their roads, provided them jobs and erected for them office buildings and monuments of war.

My constituents have been less fortunate in their experiences with the U.S. military. To them, U.S. military means relocation of entire island populations. To them, U.S. military means barbed-wire fences with "keep out" signs. To them, U.S. military means confiscation of their limited arable lands. They suspect that one of their home islands is being used as a testing ground for experimentation of deadly nerve gas for humans. They know, and you and I also know, numerous atomic and thermonuclear bombs have

(to be continued on p. 19)



JOHNSTON, WELL DONE

High Commissioner Johnston has done a number of marvelous things since he took office in May, 1969. Micronesia silence on these areas and criticism on others do not mean that Micronesians are not appreciative of his accomplishments. Micronesians are not culturally inclined to lavish public thanks on a public official especially when he performs his job well. We, however, are departing from this Micronesians tradition to publicly praise the High Commissioner for his manly act when he personally and publically apologized for blowing his top in Hawaii by calling a Micronesia student "pathologically anti-Micronesia and anti-Trust Territory." Name-calling by anyone, anywhere, is below the belt.

SOME MUST GO!

It is unfortunate that the U.S. Civil Service was allowed to extend itself to Micronesia, a foreign soil. Now as a result, we have Americans some of whom have been in Micronesia since the end of the war. We know of many who have been fired by one district after another and have wound up in the High Commissioner's staff in Saipan. There are also Americans who came to "help" Micronesia a few years ago but evidences of their "help" are hard to find. An example is Peter Wilson, the so-called marine biologist with Palau Fisheries. He is a nice guy but we want tangible results from him. This type of American must go and we call upon the High Commissioner and the Congress of Micronesia to devise ways to send them home. One way is for the Congress to take up Senator Olter's resolution some years ago which requests the United States President and Congress to terminate the US Civil Service in Micronesia.

MICRONESIAN DISTADS FOR YAP AND PONAPE

We are at loss as to why the High Commissioner has stopped short of appointing Micronesians to fill district administrator's positions in Ponape and Yap. There is the possibility that local politics may be preventing him from promoting the Micronesians who are now occupying second posts in these two districts. However, this should not continue to delay Micronesianization of these important positions. The Micronesia Distads are said to doing a fine job in the other districts. If the High Commissioner cannot promote the second man in command in Yap and Ponape, he should appoint someone from these districts to take over.

GOOD TRENDS

There are all kinds of development going on among young Micronesians, especially those returning from college. Most have returned and are now getting fat writing memos in the "office." We hear reports that one notion is getting popular among Micronesians still in college and high school. Many of these students, we understand, now would like to go to the boondocks, outer villages and islands, to help the people. We salute them for this is a very noble idea. It is high time now that we have Micronesians to do the job that the contract Americans and the Peace Corps have been doing for us in "other Micronesia." This is where the service of an educated Micronesia is most needed.

GREAT LOSSES

Although the people have spoken, we would like to take this opportunity to express our disappointment in the defeats of Sen. Palacios (Marianas) and Rep. Basilius (Palau) in the November elections. Both gentlemen served Micronesia well.

## MIDDLE-CLASS 'MIKE' SUPPORTS CONGRESS

It is commonly held by Micronesia watchers that if the Congress of Micronesia were going to meet any opposition to the present course it has taken in narrowing down the alternatives for the future political status of Micronesia, such an opposition would have to come from the middle-class Micronesian, who is westernized and a wage earner. Though he is still a minority, it is also believed that he can become a formidable opponent.

These two views, or least the former, are unfounded and can be put to rest. If anything, the westernized and wage-earning Micronesian, who in most cases is associated with the Trust Territory Administration, supports in general the positions that the Congress of Micronesia has taken on the status question.

The following interviews were made right after the Congress had adopted free association as an alternative to work toward and rejected the US offer of commonwealth status during the 1970 session indicate the support the Congress enjoys among these Micronesians. All those who were interviewed are working at the Trust Territory Headquarters in Saipan and except the Executive Officer, Leo Falcam who said in a letter that he was not prepared to discuss the status question, all enthusiastically offered their views.

Dwight Heins, former District Administrator in the Marshalls and the first speaker of the House of Representatives before his present position as Special Consultant to the High Commissioner, declined to support any specific status but made the following statement:

"I hope that they (Congress) will not fail to take the second step to go down to the citizens and explain what they have done. It is the fate of 100,000 people at stake. I am more concerned with the ordinary people rather than the educated elite. More often than not it is wisdom instead of education that counts in making decision. I know what I want but I want the people to make their minds first before I draw my own conclusion."

(to be continued on p. 24 )

## LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Dear Sirs:

I am an American East-West Center student who attended the Thanksgiving day meeting of the Micronesian students in Hawaii with the Micronesian Government officials who had just returned from a visit to Washington. I am writing this letter to express my very great disappointment over what the meeting seemed to reveal about the relationship between the two groups.

The most important revelation was that solidarity on the question of Micronesian self-determination does not exist. That is, there did not appear to be unity on the point that it should primarily be Micronesians who will decide Micronesia's future. And I, believing myself to be very sympathetic toward the efforts of the Micronesian people in making self-determination a reality, was very disappointed by this situation.

I had come to the meeting hoping and expecting to hear students and government officials discussing how they might actively work together for Micronesian self-determination. Instead the officials generally took passive or defensive positions on the important questions raised by the students regarding Micronesian-US relations. In effect, the officials appeared to be confused about whom they were representing: the Micronesian people or the United States Government. Like civil servants of formerly colonized countries, they seemed more interested in themselves (reputations, position, salaries) than the future of Micronesia itself. For example, in answer to students' questions about new developments in the political status question, the officials responded that such processes "take time", without saying anything substantial about why, how they might speed up that process, or how they might favorably affect its outcome. Another example was one official denying that the CIA having secretly used Micronesian territory for counterinsurgency training was necessarily an instance of the US having taken advantage of Micronesia. And so on, demonstrating the existence of a political "generation gap" that could be devastating for the future of Micronesia.

I appeal to Micronesians to recognize the dangers that will result from the social chaos and political paralysis that a generation gap causes. And I do so as a young

(to be continued on p. 23 )

(continued from p. 4) TJOOL

Buildings are going up every day. The air is polluted and the beaches are overcrowded with people and not to mention traffic and noise pollution. Due to tourism, Hawaii has the highest cost of living in the nation and is rising 6% every year. Hawaiians are being kicked out of Kalamo Valley because Bishop Estate plans to build hotels there for tourists. It might be argued that tourism can be controlled but it is interesting to note that the leaders in Hawaii thought they could control tourism. Now we can see that they didn't control it too well. Again I plead that our environment be saved.

You mentioned that there is potential for marine resources and agriculture, I only wonder what has been done by your office to utilize these resources. It is true that there is unlimited marine resources but I do not think an experiment like the Fisheries in Palau can be of much use. The six agriculture stations in Micronesia have amounted to nothing much except agriculture laboratories for unknown purposes. It is about time that we stop experimenting with our economy and start doing something that would help our people.

I have said much because I am concerned and I feel that we better act before it is too late. Our lands are the only things we got and if we destroy them, we'll destroy ourselves. Thank you for reading this letter and I hope that the direction of our economic development be geared to make Micronesia a better place to live.

Aloha and Mahalo!

For Independent Micronesia,

Moses Uludong, President  
Micronesian Student Club

(continued from p. 6 )

NEWS BRIEFS

NEWS BRIEFS

NEWS BRIEFS

6. HAWAII CHURCHES HONOR MICRONESIA

United Churches of Christ in Hawaii dedicated last October as Month for Micronesia. Students were invited to attend their services and discussed Micronesian problems with members. Moses Uludong, president of the Micronesian Student Club, was sent to the Big Island where he met members of several churches there and Micronesian students attending schools in Hilo. The Micronesia Month was organized by Mrs. Anne Kanahele and Edit Wolfe, Hawaii Island Association of Women's Fellowship of the United Church of Christ.

7. PALAU IN LIFE

Palau was featured in Oct. 23, 1970 Life Magazine in several beautiful pictures of underwater reeplife and the rock islands. "The mighty reefs of Palau in southern Pacific ... harbor dazzling profusion of plantlike corals, flowering anemones, burrowing mollusks, and flashing fish around and beneath distinctive mushroom islands," an accompanying article, entitled The Reef, said. The magazine also noted the mounting threats to the reefs by humans and the starfish and proposed that they be made part of a global networks of sea parks. Not a bad idea!

## HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF

by Bill Pulclon

(Editor's note: The writer is a Hawaiian and a good friend of Rep. Charles Dominick, Marshalls. They were classmates at Honolulu's Chaminade College.)

Although we find it best to forgive and forget, fate sometimes holds ajar the lids of our thoughts and allows the unpleasant memories to seep painfully back into our consciousness. And so it is the recent flurry of events in Micronesia calls to the mind of this writer certain aspects of his own past Hawaiian history.

Currently the legislative power of the Micronesian Congress is subject to the veto of the High Commissioner, who is appointed by the U.S. Dept. of Interior. Consequently the decisions which affects the lives of all Micronesians ultimately rest in the hands of a non-Micronesian, a foreigner. So was it also in the bygone days of the Hawaiian Monarchy. We were a simple people then and ignorant of Western ways, so our rulers found it necessary to employ the services of foreigners in our government. Whether through design or default, these foreigners managed to assume the power to make the decisions which governed the lives of the native populace. But if being a Hawaiian was to be ignorant of foreign ways, then to be a foreigner was also to be ignorant of Hawaiian ways. Thus it was these foreigners who could neither understand nor appreciate the feelings and needs of the people that made the many decisions detrimental to their well-being. To be sure many of them acted in good faith, but it remains for us Hawaiians to suffer the consequences of their mistakes.

Under foreign guidance came the Great Mahele in 1843, which divided the crown lands among the people. For the first time the responsibilities of being land-owners was thrust into the hands of the simple natives, and unfortunately for them, many quickly sold away their interests. It has been said that land is power because it is the source of life, and it was not long before most of the power was wielded by foreigners. Fortified with the spoils of the weak and armed with his

(to be continued on p. 21)

## BEWARE MICRONESIANS!

by Marlin Segarra

(Editor's note: Before coming to Hawaii last year, the writer spent most of her living and organizing the Puerto Ricans in New York slums.)

I am a Puerto Rican presently attending the University of Hawaii. I have been informed that the United States government is considering to allow you, the people of Micronesia, an opportunity to choose for yourselves the political status of your country within the next few years. Since Micronesia is a colony (Trust Territory) of the U. S., the outcome of this plebiscite should be very interesting, especially if the U. S. allows your people the right of having this plebiscite in this decade, and upholds its responsibility to the wishes of the people of Micronesia after the plebiscite.

One of the choices is being offered to you is the Commonwealth status. Well, my country, Puerto Rico, has the title Commonwealth; however, the title of "Commonwealth" is just used by the U.S. Colonialist to disguise the real status of my country.

We have been a colony of the U.S. since 1893. Since this time the U.S. has taken possession of our lands, and our people, physically and mentally. In 1917 the Congress of U. S. made Puerto Ricans U. S. citizens--against the wishes of the Puerto Rican people, however, just in time to draft our men into their war.

Even though we were recognized, "Theoretically" as citizens, in reality the U.S. continued to treat us like slaves in every respect from the exploitation of our country, and our people to the exploitation of our culture. NOTE: In the next articles I will elaborate more deeply on our exploitation.

Since we were made citizens of the U.S., we had to be given some rights, therefore, we have since then been given the right to fight in World War I, World War II, Korea, and now Vietnam.

In 1952 we were made a "Commonwealth" of the U.S. Now fellow brothers and sisters, let me enlighten you a little about what it means to be a "Commonwealth" by siting

(to be continued on p. 21)

THE GREAT MAHELE  
by Kanaka Kua'aina

(Editor's note: This article is reprinted here with the permission of the Koku a Kalama Valley Committee which describes itself as a "broad-based coalition of various groups and individuals who banded together in their common anguish over the plight of Hawaii's people and land, and have decided to fight back!" The article first appeared in the August, 1970 special issue of Hawaii Press, which was dedicated to the real Hawaiians and their problems. We publish it because we believe that we Micronesians can learn a lot from the "Hawaiian experience" and in building our nation avoid "their mistakes.")

Of all the deceptions foisted upon the Hawaiian people including the representation of the first white foreigners as gods, the mahele was one of the worst. Mahele means division and refers to allocations of all the lands in the Hawaiian islands between King Kamehameha III (Kauikeaouli) and 245 chiefs in March 1848.

The records of land awards show that the mahele was not a division at all but a consolidation of land from the old practice of land use rights by the people to a monopolization of the land by the chiefs from whom it quickly passed to the haole foreigners who designed the entire scheme.

Of a total of 4.1 million acres of land in the islands, under the mahele the king took approximately 2.5 million acres for himself which he then divided into "crown lands" (about 1 million acres) and "government lands" (about 1.5 million acres). The 245 high chiefs got about 1.6 million acres (about 6,500 acres each).

Not until two and one-half years later did the Hawaiian legislature finally pass the Kuleana Act. Under this law, of approximately 72,000 Hawaiian commoners still alive in 1850, only about 11,000 received land. These kuleana awards

(Con't. next column)

to the people totalled roughly 28,000 acres or a miniscule ninth-tenths of one percent of the islands' total acreage-an average of 2.5 acres for each of the 11,000 commoners who applied for and were granted land!

The result of all this was for the first time to concentrate large amounts of land in the hands of very few chiefs and allow only token holdings by the people. From this event-the mahele-the present feudal land monopoly in Hawaii descends together with its monstrous effect on Hawaii's land-poor people, the high cost of living, outrageous rents, a "single-crop" agriculture economy, etc.

Needless to say, the advisers to the king, his privy council, the legislature and the land commission were haole foreigners. They knew very well what they were doing.

#### NO "OWNERSHIP" IN OLD HAWAII

In ancient times, prior to Western contact, Hawaii's land was not "owned" by anyone. The land, rivers, sea, sky and air were the domain of nature for which all Polynesians had their respective deities-the gods, or symbols, of the sea, the mountains, the volcanoes, the forests, the animals. Rights to the land and all these resources were based on use. Whoever tilled the soil, made the land productive, fished the inland waters, cultivated the forests and plains acquired natural rights to them. A heritage of legends and custom together with a comprehensive philosophy of conservation and respect for natural resources sanctioned this system of land tenure. This practice prevailed in one form or another throughout Polynesia, from the Maori in New Zealand to Hawaii, from Samoa to Tahiti. Thus, the Hawaiians lived in an economy in which exploitation of land or any natural resources for private or public plunder or profit was unknown.

(Con't. on page 15)

(continued from p. 14) MAHELE

The chiefs exercised a nominal and ceremonial role regarding land use such as dedicating new sweet potato or taro lands, etc. There exist no indications that the chiefs seriously abused this role in ancient times. Any disturbance of normal work relations on the land or of land productivity would undermine the chiefs' own source of food supply along with that of the rest of the people. Lacking a need to produce a surplus for trade outside the islands or any reason or method of preserving food, production leveled out where need ended. This system is described as a "subsistence economy." Nature and man's productivity remained in balance.

Thus, any arbitrary or harmful intent that might arise among the chiefs' class in ancient time was held in check by the needs of this subsistence economy itself upon which all depended for livelihood. This balance was wholly destroyed after the haole colonialists arrived with staggeringly disastrous results: starvation, poverty, alienation and depopulation for the Hawaiian people, excesses of one crop (sugar) and deficiencies in others.

The mahele was the end of the process of destruction of the native subsistence economy. It also was the beginning of full-pledged buying and selling of land in the new capitalist market.

So as not to upset the traditional thinking of the Hawaiian people, the Land Commission, in April, 1846, "recognized" the customary rights of all the people to the land "...down to the class of tenants."

#### WORD VERSUS DEEDS

All people regardless of their status, were "...considered to have rights in the lands, or the productions of them," the mahele Principles stated. These Principles employed deceptive words, however, for not until August, 1850, did the legislature pass the Kuleana Act which permitted land awards to commoners! One month earlier, in July, 1850, the legislature had passed a law which gave foreigners (non-citizens) the right to own land.

In the land assignments made under the mahele, while the king and 245 chiefs received 4.1 million acres, the farmers who tilled the soil were forbidden to claim any land except that which they cultivated for food for themselves and their families.

Moreover the haole advisors to the king, the land commissioners and the legislature saw to it that impossible conditions were laid down to prevent the farmers from retaining control over the lands they worked: it was required that claims had to be filed in writing and by certain deadlines which the people could not meet. This was why "...only a handful of natives" filed claims for lands in fee simple, as stated by Jon J. Chinen in his study, *The Great Mahele*, University of Hawaii Press.

The Hawaiians, not having had a commercial trading society, had no previous need for a written language. Communication by other means was adequate to their needs. Needless to say, by 1850, only a tiny fraction of the people in the towns who had fallen under missionary influence had the time to learn the new writing skills. Reading and writing were taught these Hawaiians to enable the further downgrading of their customs and beliefs by the substitution of the gods of the white traders - the gods of money, of the marketplace, of pointless drudgery labor and the myth of future reward for present suffering, the Christian hereafter. Edicts were issued banning hula dancing, surfing and many other customs of the Hawaiian people.

As a result of this requirement of registering land claims in writing and the fact that few even heard of the regulation, most commoners could not comply. As a result, most of their unregistered

15 (Con't. on page 16)

(continued from p. 15) MAHELE

land passed into the hands of the government and from it to the white traders, the sugar planters, bankers and operators like Charles Reed Bishop. Bishop, Hawaii's first banker, married into a landed chief's family to inherit much of Bernice Pauahi's holdings comprising ten percent of all land in Hawaii under the new white man's concepts of property inheritance.

#### USE-VALUE TO COMMODITY

The mahele and subsequent land laws turned land from a necessary life-supporting use-value into a commodity to be bought and sold in the marketplace. These mahele laws were the instruments used to separate the Hawaiians from their land.

Land was bought by those who had money (foreigners) and sold by those who had no money (Hawaiians) to pay the new money taxes, to buy the foreigners' clothes to cover bodies they were told were "sinful," and so on.

Where originally all people, chiefs and commoners, held undivided rights in the land or its products, now land became the private property of the few who had money and all others were denied access to those lands—a preposterous concept from the point of view of Hawaiian custom.

The majority of the remaining Hawaiians thereby became landless, a condition unknown in ancient Hawaii. This condition forced them into the cheap labor market of the newly rising sugar industry.

Who conceived and wrote those mahele laws? It was the haole advisors of Kauikeauoli who set the scene for the big rip-off. They talked about "progress" and things that would be "good for the economy of the nation."

This sweet talk is still going on by those in high places today. The Bishop Estate, Hawaii Kai Development Corporation, the Burns administration, the courts, want us to believe that the development of Kalama Valley and other resort areas is "progress" and "for the good of the economy." If they told the truth, they would admit that such developments are only good for their pocketbooks at the expense of the people.

How many times must we be taken on this ride before we rise up and say "NO MORE!"?

(continued from p. 2) OTHER 33

We hope this trip was worthwhile. We also hope that the members will be more successful in answering some of the questions about the trip as those raised by Sen. Lazarus Salii while in Honolulu just before the group concluded the "seminar."

1. Why did they go to Washington?
2. Who picked them up?
3. Did they learn anything?
4. Which side of the table are they on now?

The students in Hawaii did not receive adequate answers to these and other questions but the people of Micronesia deserve a better deal. It was heartening to know this other 33 does not intend to usurp the entire role and function of the first 33, the Congress of Micronesia.

(continued from p. 3) MICRONESIA

considers to be essential in a relationship of free association between Micronesia and the United States.

These four basic principles and legal rights are:

- 1) "That sovereignty in Micronesia resides in the people of Micronesia and their duly constituted government;
- 2) "That the people of Micronesia possess the right to self-determination and may therefore choose independence or self-government in free association with any nation or organization of nations;
- 3) "That the people of Micronesia have the right to adopt their own constitution and to amend, change or revoke any constitution or governmental plan at any time; and
- 4) "That free association should be in form of a revocable compact, terminable unilaterally by either party."

This, then, is what this somewhat unique arrangement called free association means to the Congress of Micronesia: a relationship that is free and voluntary - freely and voluntarily entered into by the people of the territory; a relationship that gives the people of the territory full and unqualified powers over their internal affairs, and gives either partner in the relationship the prerogative to put out the relationship at any time. In this respect, this arrangement is temporary and flexible. Depending on circumstances in the future, the relationship may be altered, to involve even closer, and perhaps permanent, ties with the United States, on the one hand, and, on the other, it leaves the road to full independence open, if Micronesia chooses to go its own way.

What the Congress of Micronesia is saying, in effect, to the United States, is this: while we recognize our financial dependence on you, for the time being; while we endorse and respect and wish to emulate many of your basic American ideals and principles; and while we would like Micronesia to remain a close friend of America, we do not want to be absorbed permanently into the American political family. Not now, in any event, after seeing how you have treated us as your wards during the past 25 years.

We are Micronesians and Micronesia belongs to us. And once you acknowledge this fact and allow us to live with dignity, we can accommodate your military and strategic interests in Micronesia, and you will not have to protect these interests, more or less with force, as you have done in the past.

While the Congress of Micronesia has spoken out on this question, so has the Executive Branch of the United States Government. It has done so by offering a scheme called Commonwealth which, in effect, would make Micronesia a permanent American colony. Under Commonwealth, the United States would retain power over Micronesian land and would control Micronesia's future. Commonwealth would retain for the United States every essential power it now holds over Micronesia as the Administering Authority over this strategic Trust Territory, the only difference being that the Micronesians will be without the protection that the United Nations and its Trusteeship Council now offer them.

With the exception of the people of the Marianas District, who have shown strong and unmistakable evidence of their preference for Commonwealth, the general thinking of the



## INCOME TAX MEASURE KILLED IN MICRONESIA

By Sabo Ulechong  
(Reprinted from the Advertiser)

SAIPAN - High Commissioner Edward E. Johnston has vetoed the first income tax legislation passed by the Congress of Micronesia. The bill, passed last July-August session, would have levied taxes on all wages and salaries and on gross receipts of businesses.

The tax on wage and salaries would have been 3 per cent on the first \$10,000 of annual wages and salaries and 10 per cent of all wages and salaries in excess of \$10,000. The business taxes would have been \$40 for the first \$10,000 of annual gross receipts and 1 per cent of gross receipts in excess of that amount.

The only exemption from taxation was for unincorporated copra producers who are presently paying a 10 per cent copra export tax.

THE CONGRESS has attempted for two years to pass some form of income tax legislation. The final form of the tax measure was a compromise product of both the house and the senate effort to come up with a simple, fair, and easy to administer tax legislation for the Trust Territory.

Johnston's major objection to the bill, as spelled out in his veto message to the congress, was that the graduated tax rate system would be costly and difficult to administer. He insisted that his administration favors a simple flat rate of approximately 2 to 3 per cent on wages and salaries and 1 per cent of the gross revenues of businesses. Johnston pointed out this would eliminate the necessity of filing tax returns, simplify its administration, and minimize its cost.

However, members of the congressional committee stressed during public hearings on the bill that they would not sacrifice equity and fairness in order to have simple-to-administer legislation. The committee further noted that the revenue raising potential of the congress proposal is more substantial than the administration's proposal.

MOREOVER, the members of the executive branch who testified on the bill expressed a view that the version of the tax bill passed by congress would be too difficult or costly to administer since the number of people earning more than \$10,000 annually in Micronesia is minimal. It was a general consensus among those attending the hearings on the bill that the two graduations in the tax rate would be fair and simple to administer.

Johnston further notes that "we estimate that the Trust Territory citizens will contribute no more than 28 per cent of the total revenues derived from this legislation." However, he fails to provide statistics supporting this estimate, which is highly questionable. If it proves accurate, it shows an overwhelming 72 per cent of the total annual wages earned in Micronesia are earned by non-micronesians.

The high commissioner's justifications for rejecting this major piece of legislation are highly questionable. They raise serious doubts as to what is the real intention of the executive branch.

TO BE PRECISE, the high commissioner has been clamoring to have the congress enact some form of income tax legislation since his arrival here in Micronesia. Last January he called a special session of the congress to reconsider the administration version of the income tax which failed to pass the congress because it was too complicated.

In his State of Territory message, Johnston again urged the passage of the income tax, stressing the fact that the U.S. Congress is watching the micronesians' willingness to bear an increasing share of the cost of the government.

(continued from p. 8) FREE ASSOCIATION

Under free association, we would also maintain our friendship with the United States. Free association would be a relationship between friends. The rights and privileges granted to Micronesia by the United States, and to the United States by Micronesia, would be spelled out in the original compact of association. The terms of our friendship would be clear, from the beginning. And, if the interests of either friend changed, the compact could be changed, or, if necessary, ended. Free association enables us to continue our friendship with the United States, but it permits us to reevaluate the relationship from time to time. It gives future generations the opportunity to renew the friendship, to move closer to, or further away from the United States. It leaves the decision in their hands.

I firmly believe that the United States will eventually accept a relationship of free association between the United States and Micronesia. How could it be otherwise? Their ancestors recognized the need for liberty when they rejected needs, to protect their own values. For twenty-five years Americans have taught us about democracy, self-determination, self-government. It is now time for us to practice what they have taught. Now it is up to us to make clear to the people of the United States that we have learned our lesson: that we want to be a free people in a relationship of free association with another free people.'

Next, let me speak briefly about the Commonwealth proposal presented by the delegation headed by Assistant Secretary Loesch. The Commonwealth proposal may seem attractive at first glance. If the Commonwealth proposal were accepted, it would give us somewhat more self-government than we now have and it would provide some economic advantages.

But when we examine the Commonwealth proposal more closely, we discover that it has a number of fatal limitations. The constitution and the laws of Micronesia would have to be consistent with the constitution and laws of the United States. Our situation here is different from that of the United States, but our laws would have to be similar--even though, as a result, they might clash with the reality of life in Micronesia.

(to be continued on p. 20)

(continued from p. 8) INDEPENDENCE

been detonated in another one of their atolls. They are aware that the ocean surrounding them is the target for inter-continental ballistic missiles. It is no wonder to them why fish abundant in their lagoons have become poisonous.

With this gruesome picture in my mind, I ask myself this question: Why do we even give an ear to U.S. offer of Commonwealth -- a proposal we know at first glance is not the best thing for us?

After all, our Delegation was directed to explore only two future status alternatives: free association with the United States and independence. Without any reservations I say we should reject the U.S. offer in either its present form or any disguised form it may take in the future.

I would like to call to mind that our experiences with the Trust Territory Government have taught us that things of temporary nature have always turned out permanent. Let us not forget this!

Just the other day, the Senate adopted our resolution endorsing the four principles and legal rights as nonnegotiable components of our future talks with the U.S. Government on the status issue. As much as I have to accept it, I am a bit apprehensive about them for this reason. I simply do not think the U.S. will bend. So, why bother?

These are times for nation building. At the beginning of this session we had as our guests a proud group of legislators from the Territory of Papua and New Guinea. Proud because in the near future they will obtain their independence from their Administering Authority as did the other nine Trust Territories before them. Are we going to be the only Trust Territory to become a dependent Territory? During the first session of the Third Congress we had the privilege of having the first Chief Executive of a nation address us, the President of the then one-year old Republic of Nauru. The Kingdom of Tonga just recently obtained her independence.

(to be continued on p. 20)

(continued from p. 19) FREE ASSOCIATION (continued from p. 19) INDEPENDENCE

Secondly, under the Commonwealth proposal, United States citizens would be able to buy our lands so that, in time, non-Micronesians might own much of the land and would dominate our economy.

Third, the United States Government would retain the power of eminent domain -- a power that would leave the people of every island in Micronesia in fear that their land and their homes might be taken by the United States for military purposes. The Commonwealth proposal would put every citizen of Micronesia in permanent danger of loss of land, in peacetime as well as in war.

Finally, the people of Micronesia would have no power to change their status. The Commonwealth proposal would end things, once and for all. If we accepted the Commonwealth status we would have reached the end of the road. Future generations of Micronesians would have to live with the Commonwealth status, whether they liked it or not.

Why, it may be asked, did the Loesch delegation present a proposal so inconsistent with the political traditions of a freedom-loving nation like the United States -- a proposal that would deny the people of Micronesia so many of the freedoms that the people of the United States consider essential to their own nation?

The answer, I think, is fairly simple. The Loesch delegation was concerned, above all else, with the United States military interest in our islands. In its desire to protect this military interest, it allowed itself to forget the primary importance of freedom, not only to Micronesia, but to America. In its concern with the strategic aspects of the Trusteeship, it compromised, or neglected, the primary purpose of the Trusteeship -- to guide Micronesia to genuine self-government.

I am sure we all recognize that the military interest of the United States is important to the protection of the United States. The United States military interest has been a governing factor in this whole Trusteeship; it underlies the offer of Commonwealth; and it will continue, even if, as seems likely, the Congress rejects this offer of Commonwealth.

While Pacific island nations prepare themselves for eventual independence, we in Micronesia seem to be seeking a different kind of colonial status with a country that dates its very origin to her independence, a hundred and ninety-four years ago.

Both within this chamber and in the halls of the Senate, we hear time and again that the independence alternative for Micronesia is unrealistic, impractical and undesirable. I take exception to this viewpoint. I believe that this choice, if given enough study and serious thinking, will prove to be the logical one.

Trusteeship, Commonwealth, Territorial, Free Association, these are intermediary statuses -- steps that should eventually lead to the ultimate goal. That ultimate goal for Micronesia is independence. What is it that we fear if not what has been pounded on our minds by our steward -- lack of natural resources, cutting off of U.S. annual Grants, shortness of manpower? We have been conditioned to believe that our good white father America will wash his hands of us should we threaten to sever our political ties. Can this really be possible?

Billions and billions of U.S. dollars are paid to nations in the form of foreign aid. Some such countries do not occupy strategic location for the defense of the United States or the western world for that matter. Would the U.S. be so negligent in forgetting or refusing us a helping hand in this respect?

Billions and billions of U.S. dollars are paid to independent countries that host U.S. military bases. And what do we get in exchange for the U.S. military use of Kwajalein, Eniwetok, Roi Namur, and up to recent past, Bikini? A handful of Yankee dollars and a piece of document extending to the U.S. military an indefinite use right of our lands.

It is my firm conviction that we would be treated more humanly, more equally, if we were a sovereign and independent nation.

(to be continued on p. 26)

(continued from p. 3) FREEDOM  
Through Senator Lazarus Saliu who had previously addressed the editors and was present at Agnew's speech, the group also submitted the following petition to Vice-President Agnew:

"Dear Mr. Agnew:  
Welcome to Hawaii!  
Mr. Vice-President, may we request you to convey the following message to your President: The United Nations promises the inhabitants of Micronesia that right to self-determination and we request you and your government to see to it that it is fully exercised. We further request that you give full control over lands, laws, government and the political future of Micronesia to her people."

F.T. Uludong, demonstration's organizer, signed the petition on behalf of the group.

"We failed to attract publicity for Micronesia but succeeded in one respect, that is, we got Micronesians out there fighting for their right," Uludong stated. "The Micronesians, especially the students, are beginning to realize that Micronesia will never get what it deserves unless and until the Micronesians get up and fight for it."

"It was the Micronesians among the demonstrators who decided to carry on the demonstration despite the downpour. Some of those who were out there carrying the signs in the rain are students who, one would think, will never do a thing like joining a demonstration. It was beautiful," Uludong said.

Uludong attributed the failure to get the expected publicity to the heavy rain which kept the newsmen away and the fact that the demonstration took place at the same time Agnew was inside the hotel talking about the press to the editor's conference.

Planned Micronesian dances were also called off because of the rain.

About future rallies and demonstrations for Micronesia, Uludong said they would have to be better planned so that maximum exposure of Micronesia to the American public will be guaranteed.

(to be continued on p. 25)

(continued from p. 13) HISTORY  
power, foreign capitalism began to flourish in Hawaii and reached its peak with the sugar plantations. In order to obtain tariff free exportation into the U.S., the reciprocity treaty of 1875 was instigated by the American sugar growers with the added stipulation that no part of the territory of Hawaii might be leased or disposed of to any other country. The treaty was renewed in 1884 with an additional clause giving the U.S. exclusive use of Pearl Harbor as a naval base.

Soon to follow for one reason or another were other lands designated for military bases - i.e. Fort Shafter, Hickam Air Force Base, Schofield Barracks. When King Kalakaua died in 1891, he was succeeded by his sister Liliuokalani, who was jealous of her prerogatives and opposed to foreign domination. In order to secure and protect their newly acquired economic wealth, the foreign capitalists decided to pursue political integration with their mother country. With the aid of the pro-annexationist American minister, J.L. Stevens, and in the presence of a detachment of U.S. marines, came the coup d'etat that overthrew the Kingdom of Hawaii in 1894.

To be sure, there were many factors that led to the eventual downfall of the Hawaiian people, but these three important factors - foreign domination that made decisions affecting the lives of the people, the insistence on land division, and foreign capitalism are seemingly being morbidly relived in Micronesian development. The recent proposal of a commonwealth status and the subsequent rejection of "free association" by the U.S. delegation this past summer reflects a desire to curtail the right of self-determination by the Micronesian people.

The infamous land division, the Great Mahele, has seemingly found a counterpart in the Land Cadaster Program in the islands of Micronesia. In regards to foreign capitalism, there are currently about fifty non-Micronesian companies doing business in the Trust Territory today. This list includes internationally well-known American companies such as Mobil Oil, Van Camp, Continental Airlines and Dillingham Corporation, each of whose assets are valued in the millions of dollars.

(to be continued on p. 26)

(continued from p. 13) BEWARE

a few examples of what has happened, and continues to happen to Puerto Rico and the Puerto Rican people. The following are but a few items on the list of our "advantages".

- 1) We get to fight in the wars that the U.S. wages against other countries.
- 2) We get the advantage of not being allowed to trade with any other country, except the U. S.
- 3) We have the advantage of having our economy completely controlled by these foreigners.
- 4) We have the right of not controlling our own institutions (schools, mass media, etc.)
- 5) We have the right of free passport to the U.S. mainland, where we are "most welcome" by our white masters, and their white conspirators, and where we are subjected to live in Concentration camps (ghettos or "culturally deprived areas" as the white masters prefer to use).
- 6) We have the right of not being able to control our lands above the wishes of the U.S. military, which controls most of Our Land.
- 7) We have the right to be pushed into ghettos and go hungry so that the great white tourists can be comfortable in Our Country.
- 8) We have the right to become great Leaders in the world of the prostitutes and drug addicts.
- 9) We have the right to study under "their" educational system, which prepares us for their job slots--that will benefit them, and not Our people.
- 10) We have the right to vote for anything we want in our Congress, as long as the U.S. gives its approval.
- 11) Even though our men get drafted into the U. S. armed forces, we have the right as "citizens"--Not to vote for President.
- 12) We have the right of not being represented in the Congress of the U.S., although these people are the ones that make such dangerous decisions as the placing of nuclear installations on our land (like Kwajel in in Micronesia).
- 13) To top it off, we have the right of not being represented in the United Nations.

Fellow brothers and sisters, the above are just a few of the "rights" that we as citizens, and as a Commonwealth of the U.S. "enjoy."

Many people say that the status of Commonwealth is a status that is actually a necessary step before we get complete political, and economic independence. How can this be first step towards independence, when they have military bases, industries, nuclear installations, and plans for more "development" of our lands? How can this be the first step towards our freedom, when they keep committing cultural genocide against our people through their educational system, and their mass media, which has raped us of our culture, and serves as a tool to make us imitate him--to the point where our family structures are ripped off, and our contribution to our people is a state of drug addiction, prostitution, mental illness, etc. All these illnesses serve as an example of what has done, and continues to do to its "citizens."

Puerto Rico is a strategic base that the U.S. Colonialists use to control Latin America, just like Hawaii is a strategic base for the control of Asia. Micronesia will also be complementing the "need" for the U. S. military bases in the Pacific for its control of the rest of the Pacific, and Asia.

Micronesians, if you choose to wait until the U.S. allows you to choose your own destiny, and if you choose anything less than total independence, you will be choosing what you have now, a colony with a different name, just like Puerto Rico. And eventually, just Puerto Rico, you might be threatened with the possibility of total assimilation or statehood.

## ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE IS POSSIBLE

(This is an introduction to a series of articles dealing with the question of economic independence of Micronesia. The articles will attempt to define economic independence and explore its implications in respect to the status.)

Our American governors have given us a lot of things, both good and bad. One of the bad things is a myth, a myth that independence is no longer economically possible for Micronesia. They have taught us to believe not merely that our islands are poor (which may be true), but so poor that we can never earn enough from exports to pay for the foreign things we have learned to need. This is not true, of course, right now for every dollar we earn from exports we pay out five dollars for imports, and the difference is made up by the American taxpayers. But this is under an American administration.

What would we do differently under our own government? The answer is obvious. We would try to look for new things to export, cut down the amount of things we import, and then work very hard together to make every extra dollar we earn work for our people as a whole and for our growth.

In all developing countries, the first place to start producing new things for export is in agriculture. Lots of things have never even been tried under the Americans. For example, a report from their own administration in Saipan, "The Role of Agriculture in Economic Development", points to the big market in Japan and Hong Kong (among other places) for bananas and papayas, but nothing has been done about it. Why not?

There are also many ways to keep from losing money. We can see that companies do not come in to help us "develop" and then take all their profits home with them. We can pass laws which will make sure that the profits from our enterprises do not go into a lot of unnecessary luxuries like cars and expensive watches, but instead are reinvested in ways which will make our country grow. Many things can be done better for much less money: all over Southeast Asia people run their boats with aircooled inboard engines which last for years and cost a quarter of the price of outboards which break down in a few months. Perhaps our greatest strength lies in the fact that we still know how to live off the land and the sea. We do not have to eat rice, or tuna caught in our oceans and taken to Japan to be canned and sold back to us! If we cannot catch enough fish in the open we can start fishponds and raise all we can eat.

These are only a few of the things we will do to make our economy work. Some are not easy, and call for sacrifices. None are impossible. Independence does not mean economic disaster. It requires only that we care enough about being our own masters to work together, to be as generous with each other as our traditions have taught us to be, and to be willing to give up some of those foreign luxuries some of us have learned to enjoy.

(continued from p. 11 ) LETTER

American who has watched the youth and the adults in the United States fall into disunity while the United States Government, the same government that is your biggest obstacle to self-determination, destroyed Viet Nam, Laos and now Cambodia. This is the same government that has legitimized the rape of Hawaii, and which will no doubt legitimize a rape of Micronesia, unless Micronesians achieve a unity of purpose and demand for self-determination

Sincerely yours,  
George Cooper

(continued from p. 22) BEWARE

Questions like economic survival are important, but not necessarily primary. The important issue is whether you will continue to be slaves or whether you will be your own masters. In the process of acquiring your political freedom, you will work out solutions for basic economic problems. Here again I say that only you, as Micronesians, know what is best for you, therefore, you should have the right to control your own lives, and should begin to do so as soon as possible.

Our "leaders" listened for too long to the monsters tell us that we have no resources, and that if we become independent, we will starve. At last information has been leaking out of the monsters mouth, and now we find that we do have natural resources, and there are countries that will trade with us, so that we won't starve, as the white ruler so "wisely" states.

Think about all the possibilities that have not yet been explored that will benefit your people. Also, is it worth being part of a nation that commits genocide, a nation that makes up excuses to invade other countries, and bombs babies-in the name of justice, a nation that exploits its own people for the benefit of a few, a nation that has for the past two to three hundred years been exploiting, and killing non-white people throughout the world? Do you really want to be a part of this Monstrosity, that will also kill you as a people, and as a nation?

If you value your dignity as a people, and if you care about Micronesia, it is your duty to start breaking those slave chains Now!

H A P P Y

N E W Y E A R

to all our

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(continued from p. 11) MIKE

Strik Yoma, the second Micronesian to become a deputy director of a department (Public Affairs), stated, "The Congress of Micronesia represents the people and they have studied the political status question in their trips to Washington, South Pacific and throughout the districts. I have not traveled to these areas for this purpose; therefore it will be presumptuous for me to say that what they have done is good for the people or to disagree with them. Personally, I don't quarrel with the report (delegation's) and the four basic principles and legal rights which the Congress has adopted. However, my concern now is whether or not the districts can be held together under one government manned by us Micronesians."

Nick Sossy, personnel officer, said this: "I support the Delegation and the Congress of Micronesia for the way they have handled the status question. But if free association is not acceptable to the United States, we should go for independence. I want our own people to run our affairs."

Quirino Mandiola, recently installed Trust Territory Immigration Officer, put his support this way: "I am for the four basic principles and legal rights. I don't care what they label the association with so long as it includes these principles and legal rights if we can become independent someday, I will be the first one to vote for it."

David Igitol, a voucher examiner, stated, "We should have the power over our lands and our laws. We should give the right to future generations to decide what is good for them. As far as the present positions of the Congress are concerned, I support them in general."

Eusebio Rectucher, who in 1966 became the first Micronesian Department deputy director (Resources and Development), said: "I agree in principle with the Delegation's report; I agree that we should have power over our lands. Businesswise, all business activities should be controlled by the Micronesians. My main concern now is that many Micronesians cannot compete with outsiders who come to do business (to be continued on p. 26)

(continued from p. 18) VETO

The veto message itself failed to clarify the high commissioner's position on this critically-needed legislation. His objection that the bill is costly and difficult to administer becomes insignificant due to the fact that the tax bill passed by the congress could net the Trust Territory government at least \$500,000 more in revenues than what could be derived from the administration's proposal of a 2 or 3 per cent flat rate.

WHAT IS REALLY behind Johnston's action?

Some people believe that the high commissioner was pressured from above not to approve the tax bill which would have levied taxes on civilian employers on Kwajalein Missile Site. The legal counsel on the missile site was reported to be against the income tax.

According to a reliable sources, representatives from Kwajalein visited the high commissioner several times to discuss this matter, probably in an attempt to exclude civilian employees on Kwajalein from paying taxes. However, the attorney general of the Trust Territory rendered his opinion that they are subject to taxation. This opinion remains undisputed.

Another factor involved is that those who are making more than \$10,000 annually in Micronesia are mostly Americans. This might have created negativism within the American community toward the enactment of the income tax. As Johnston stated "we estimate that the Trust Territory citizens will contribute no more than 28 per cent of the total revenues derived from this legislation.

IF IT IS TRUE that Johnston was pressured to veto the income tax, the congress will probably be forced to revise the present version of the bill to make it palatable to Kwajalein and the American community. The congress could also override the high commissioner's veto, a case which might raise uneasiness and embarrassment in Washington and pressure from the U.S. Congress.

Whatever led Johnston to veto the tax measure will probably have to be justified before the U.S. Congress at the end of this month when the high commissioner and representatives of the Trust Territory government appear in Washington to testify on the Trust Territory's budget.

(to be continued on p. 26)

(continued from p. 17) MICRONESIA  
Micronesian people on the question of their future, I believe, was well summed up in a speech delivered on the floor of the House of Representatives of the Congress of Micronesia on July 24, 1970, by Congressman John Mangafel of Yap, who had been a member of both the Status Commission and the Delegation, who said, and I quote from that speech: "I urge all members of the Congress of Micronesia and all members of the district legislatures and all the Micronesian people, to look into their hearts, to ask themselves what kind of future they want....

I have been thinking things over myself. I cannot, of course, give every detail of the future I would like to see. But, I do believe that there ought to be a future relationship with the United States. I believe that the experience of the past quarter of a century points us in this direction.... But I also feel that any partnership with the United States would have to be one of free association - a relationship which could be changed and, if necessary, ended. I also feel that any partnership with the United States, whether it be called Commonwealth of free association, must recognize the sovereignty of the Micronesia people. It must recognize their domain over their own lands.... We in the Congress will have to define our future hopes. And the United States will have to re-define its intentions and hopes in Micronesia."

In two rounds of talk between representatives of Washington and representatives of the Congress of Micronesia, we have succeeded only in discovering how far apart we are in our positions on the future of Micronesia.

There seems to be an impasse at the moment. But I look forward to a resumption of the talks in the near future. The failure, so far, to reach agreement, does not mean that we have explored all the possible options, or that, for our part at least, does it mean that all the doors to a possible compromise have been closed.

(continued from p. 21) FREEDOM

Sen. Salil, who was present at several planning sessions for the demonstration, told the students the "Micronesia's future is not cheap" and Uludong said this advice will always be kept in mind when future demonstrations are planned.



(continued from p. 21 ) HISTORY

"If a big wave comes in," wrote the Hawaiian scholar David Malo in 1837, "large and unfamiliar fishes will come from the dark ocean and when they see the small fishes of the shallows they will eat them up". This prognostication was a warning to the Hawaiian people more than 130 years ago, and yet it behooves fellow Micronesians of today to heed these words.

Today Micronesians are still Micronesians, but tomorrow Micronesians may become nothing more than we Hawaiians--the walking repositories of island antiquity, living symbols of a way of life long dead. Micronesians too may have to constantly live down the harsh legacy of intruders, who constantly shouted the myth of superiority of their belief over yours. Micronesians too may find themselves not being able to be Micronesians politically or nationally, for there may no longer be a Micronesia--just as there is no Hawaii today.

To be sure, Western civilization provides many benefits. Certain technological advantages, such as medicine for example, can be immensely valuable for Micronesians. However, the point to be made here is that with the good also comes the bad, and that there is nothing more evil than the loss of human dignity. There is no medicine that can soothe the wound caused by the loss of one's identity. Therefore let Micronesians never neglect to remember the possible evils while anticipating the benefits offered by Western civilization. To do otherwise would be like the spider who spins his web over the chasm. The more he spins the less he sees the dangers and the more content he becomes but still under all that web there remains the darkness of the abyss that threatens to envelop him.

So let it be for Micronesians to learn from the past history of their cousins from the East. As islanders, let them always be "keikianian"--children of the land--something we Hawaiians once could say we were a long time ago.

(continued from p. 25 ) VETO

From every indication, the U.S. Congress will be genuinely interested in the Trust Territory income tax bill. Senator Bailey Olter (Ponape) and the chairman of the joint committee on programming and budget planning, Rep. Raymond Setik (Truk), will represent the Congress of Micronesia in the hearing.

(continued from p. 20 ) FREE ASSOCIATION

The United States will still want to have access to Micronesia for strategic purposes and it will still want, even more, to deny such access to any other power.

Let the United States protect itself. But let it not seek -- as did the Loesch delegation -- to protect itself at the expense of Micronesia's basic rights. The Loesch delegation's proposal attempted to protect the United States military and strategic interest in the manner most satisfactory to the Defense Department. Well then, Mr. President, it is the duty of this Congress to protect the interests of Micronesia. Through free association we can do this and also satisfy the interests of the United States.

If we are firm in our advocacy of self-government in free association with the United States, I believe that our voices will be heard and that the future of Micronesia will be secure.

(continued from p. 24 ) MIKE  
in Micronesia. As for the status question, I feel that we should not rush in deciding on it. We are now in a position to prepare ourselves and decide the best status for us and the future generations.

Haruo Wilter, budget analyst, put it this way: "We should renegotiate with the United States on the basis of the four basic principles and legal rights endorsed by the Congress of Micronesia. We should not enter into an association that will not allow the future generations to decide for themselves. We should not have the situation in which the US has the ultimate power over our lands. We should have the power to make our own laws because only Micronesians can legislate for Micronesians."

Discussions with district leaders also indicate that the people in the districts (perhaps with the exception of the Micronesians in the Marianas) will go along with the Congress of Micronesia. However, unless a sampling of grassroots opinion is made, no one can be numerically sure how much support our Congress enjoys from the general public in regard to the status question.