

UNCLASSIFIED

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power structure, the most influential member of the Palauan delegation, and one of the two or three most politically influential leaders of Palau. He thus will always have considerable support for his views among the other leaders of Palau, and among some but not all of the other members of the Palauan delegation. Senator Salii still favors free association over independence while Representative Polycarp Basilius would probably go for a modified form of Commonwealth status. Tmetuchl's views will also have scattered support in other delegations, particularly the Trukese in terms of the independence issue and Marianas separation.

4. Tmetuchl himself is cagey about his views, but is believed by most to be strongly in favor of Palauan independence, possibly separately from the rest of the territory. He has told some (including the reporting officer) that Palau would accept Commonwealth status "if the land and war claims questions are satisfactorily settled in advance." That particular kind of statement can and should be taken with a truckload of salt.

DORRANCE 

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Enclosure: One as stated

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J.

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THANK YOU, MR. PRESIDENT:

AS YOU CAN SEE, GENTLEMEN, I AM NOT BOYCOTTING OUR SPECIAL SESSION, IN SPITE OF CERTAIN RUMBLINGS OF MY COLLEAGUES TO THE CONTRARY DURING MY EARLY ABSENCE.

IN MY FIRST REMARKS THIS SESSION, I WANT TO THANK THE PEOPLE OF TRUK FOR THEIR WARM HOSPITALITY AND THE CORDIAL FEELING THEY HAVE EXTENDED TOWARD THE MEMBERS AND STAFF OF THE CONGRESS OF MICRONESIA. I HAVE BEEN ESPECIALLY IMPRESSED BY THE RAPID REPAIR TO BUILDINGS AND FACILITIES THAT HAS OCCURRED, ENABLING US TO DELAY OUR SESSION FOR ONLY A MINIMUM OF TWO DAYS. YOUR GRACIOUS MANNERS HAVE DONE MUCH TO MAKE US FEEL THAT TRUK TRULY IS THE HOME OF THE CONGRESS.

BUT THESE ARE THE LAST LIGHT WORDS I WILL UTTER TODAY. FOR I AM STANDING BEFORE YOU NOT FOR THE PURPOSE OF EXPRESSING HAPPY, ENJOYABLE SENTIMENTS, BUT FOR THE PURPOSE OF DISCUSSING VERY SOLEMN THOUGHTS AND OPINIONS I HAVE HARBORED FOR MANY MONTHS.

I HAVE SHARED MY INNERMOST FEELINGS WITH MEMBERS OF BOTH THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND THE SENATE ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS DURING THE PAST SIX YEARS. MORE THAN ONCE MY IDEAS HAVE BEEN CALLED RADICAL AND PROMPTLY HAVE BEEN REJECTED OUT OF HAND BY MY COLLEAGUES. AND ALTHOUGH SOME OF MY IDEAS ARE NOW BECOMING ACCEPTABLE, I AM GOING TO SPEAK TO YOU OF HIGHLY CONSERVATIVE IDEAS -- SO CONSERVATIVE, IN FACT, THAT THEY DEAL WITH NOTHING LESS THAN THE SURVIVAL OF OUR IDENTITY AS A PEOPLE.

05- 419863

ENCL. #14
Sanger

GENTLEMEN, WE HAVE REACHED THE CRISIS STAGE IN OUR CHOICE OF A FUTURE POLITICAL STATUS, AND WE ARE REFUSING TO DEAL WITH THE ISSUE.

SEVERAL CONTINUING PRACTICES AND NEW EVENTS WHICH HAVE OCCURRED SINCE THE ADJOURNMENT OF THE THIRD CONGRESS IN AUGUST, 1970, HAVE GREATLY DISTURBED ME AND AT THE SAME TIME, HAVE PROPELLED THE STATUS ISSUE TO A CRISIS STAGE.

WE CONGRESSMEN HAVE BEEN ENGAGING IN ACTIVITIES, CONSCIOUSLY OR UNCONSCIOUSLY, WHOSE CONTINUATION CAN ONLY RESULT IN OUR POPULATION OF 100,000 BEING ABSORBED INTO THE 220 MILLION PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, ITS TERRITORIES AND POSSESSIONS.

WE SPEAK BRAZENLY AMONG OURSELVES OF INDEPENDENCE. WE TALK BOLDLY OF DEFYING THE MIGHTIEST NATION ON EARTH. MORE IMPORTANT, WE WANT OUR IDENTITY TO BE RECOGNIZED WITHIN THE COUNCIL OF NATIONS.

OUR ACTIVITIES, HOWEVER, ARE INCONSISTENT WITH THESE DESIRES AND GOALS. WE APPROVE FIVE-YEAR PLANS CONTAINING LONG-RANGE CAPITAL IMPROVEMENTS WHICH CAN ONLY COMMIT US TO A PERMANENT ASSOCIATION WITH THE UNITED STATES. WE SEND OUR BUDGET COMMITTEE TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES TO TELL THE AMERICANS THAT WE APPROVE A BUDGET THAT REFLECTS A VERY WASTEFUL AND EXPENSIVE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT, A SYSTEM TOTALLY FOREIGN TO OUR WAYS AND ONE WHICH HAS NOT WORKED FOR US.

IS SUCH A BUDGET REALLY "IN FURTHERANCE OF THE GOALS AND ASPIRATIONS OF THE MICRONESIAN PEOPLE" IF THOSE GOALS AND ASPIRATIONS BE INDEPENDENCE OR FREE ASSOCIATION?

CAN WE REALLY APPROVE THE RECENT 6% PAY INCREASE PROVIDED FOR MICRONESIAN EMPLOYEES AND STILL CHOOSE ANY STATUS OTHER THAN SUBSERVIENCE

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TO THE UNITED STATES? CERTAINLY NOT! AND YET OUR BUDGET REPRESENTATIVES TOLD THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS THAT /READ FROM BUDGET STATEMENT/ "THIS SALARY INCREASE IS ESSENTIAL TO ATTRACT AND ENCOURAGE MICRONESIANS TO ENTER GOVERNMENT SERVICE."

I SUBMIT, DISTINGUISHED COLLEAGUES, THAT SALARY INCREASES PROVIDED BY THE GOVERNMENT TO MICRONESIANS CAN ONLY MAKE OUR PEOPLE COMMITTED TO A LIFESTYLE OF WASTEFUL CONSUMPTION, A LUXURY WHICH A DEVELOPING ECONOMY SUCH AS OURS CANNOT AFFORD. AND ALTHOUGH IT IS MUCH EASIER TO SIT BEHIND A DESK IN AN AIR-CONDITIONED OFFICE AND COLLECT A SALARY THAN IT IS TO STAY ON A FISHING BOAT FOR THREE DAYS AT A TIME OR TO LABOR UNDER A HOT SUN HARVESTING CROPS, SUCH IS NOT THE WAY TO A SELF-SUFFICIENT ECONOMY.

IN ADDITION, MANY CONGRESSMEN HAVE BEEN BORROWING MONEY HEAVILY FROM THE TRUST TERRITORY GOVERNMENT TO FINANCE BUSINESS ENTERPRISES. THIS IS A MOST DANGEROUS PRACTICE, AND WILL NOT PERMIT TRULY INDEPENDENT BARGAINING ON OUR PART WHEN THE TIME COMES FOR NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES. THE BIBLE, IN PROVERBS, CHAPTER 22, VERSE 7, STATES THAT THE "BORROWER IS THE SERVANT OF THE LENDER."

SIMILARLY, A BORROWER WHO IS HEAVILY IN DEBT TO HIS CREDITOR IS HARDLY IN A POSITION TO DEMAND ANYTHING OF HIS CREDITOR, AND THE OUTSTANDING DEBT PROVIDES AN EXCELLENT LEVER WHICH CAN BE USED AT EITHER OF THE TWO ENDS TO PRY A COMMONWEALTH STATUS -- THAT IS, EITHER BY THE THREAT OF FORECLOSURE OR, MORE LIKELY, THE PROMISE OF MORE LOAN MONEY.

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MY COLLEAGUE FROM PALAU HAS SAID THE UNITED STATES WILL EITHER BUY US OR ANNEX US. I THINK THE INCREASED SALARIES AND READILY AVAILABLE LOAN MONEY MAKE IT CLEAR WHICH OF THE TWO ALTERNATIVES OUR NEGOTIATING OPPONENT HAS CHOSEN.

OUR ACTIONS IN THIS REGARD HAVE NOT GONE UNNOTICED, EITHER. OUR SONS AND DAUGHTERS WHO ARE RECENT COLLEGE GRADUATES AND WHO ARE ATTENDING COLLEGE NOW HAVE ACCUSED US OF WORKING WITH THE TRUST TERRITORY GOVERNMENT, ALTHOUGH UNCONSCIOUSLY, TO UNDERMINE THE STATUS NEGOTIATIONS BY RENDERING THE CHOICE OF A FUTURE STATUS MEANINGLESS. THEIR TWO MOST PROMINENT PUBLICATIONS, "THE YOUNG MICRONESIANS" PUBLISHED AT THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII, AND THE "SURVIVING MICRONESIAN", PUBLISHED AT THE UNIVERSITY OF GUAM, CONTINUALLY DECRY THE FACT THAT BY FAILING TO DEAL WITH THE STATUS ISSUE WE ARE PERMITTING THE CHOICE TO BE MADE FOR US BY DEFAULT.

IN THE MEANTIME, SINCE OUR ADJOURNMENT LAST AUGUST, THE UNITED STATES HAS TAKEN SIGNIFICANT ACTION. IT HAS APPOINTED A LIASON OFFICER FROM ITS STATE DEPARTMENT TO REPORT REGULARLY ON ALL POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE TRUST TERRITORY. THAT GENTLEMAN HAS BEEN WITH US CONSTANTLY, MONITORING OUR ATTITUDES AND OPINIONS. I BEAR NO ILL WILL AGAINST HIM FOR THIS. IT IS HIS JOB, AND HE HAS TOLD US THIS MANY TIMES.

IN ADDITION, OUR NEGOTIATING OPPONENT HAS RECENTLY APPOINTED A MAN WITH THE STATUS OF AMBASSADOR TO ACT AS THE PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE WHITE HOUSE TO THE POLITICAL STATUS NEGOTIATIONS.

AND WHAT HAS THIS CONGRESS DONE SINCE ITS ADJOURNMENT LAST AUGUST? SADLY, THIS AUGUST BODY, EACH OF WHOSE MEMBERS IS A DEPOSITORY OF THE DREAMS AND IDEALS OF A MICRONESIA HELD IN ESTEEM AND HONOR AMONG THE NATIONS OF THE EARTH, HAS LAIN ALMOST DORMANT.

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DURING THIS PERIOD OUR BROTHERS IN THE MARIANAS HAVE BEEN OVERCOME BY IMPATIENCE, AND HAVE UNDERTAKEN UNILATERAL MEASURES TO SECEDE FROM THE TRUST TERRITORY. THE MOST RECENT EVIDENCE OF THEIR DISSATISFACTION WITH THE TRUST TERRITORY ADMINISTRATION AND WITH THIS CONGRESS IS THEIR FAILURE TO ATTEND THIS SPECIAL SESSION.

OUR BROTHERS ARE NOT HERE, YET WE BLANDLY PROCEED, WITH NO EFFORT TO PROMOTE DISCUSSIONS WITH THEM OR TO DISCUSS THE CRISIS AMONG OURSELVES. OUR INACTIVITY IN THIS REGARD INDICATES THAT OUR RESOLVE ON THE STATUS ISSUE IS WEAKENING, THAT OUR DETERMINATION TO CONTROL OUR FUTURE IS WAVERING. MY COLLEAGUES, I AM NOT SO SURE THAT THE TYPHOON WHICH DEVASTATED THIS BEAUTIFUL LAND ON THE VERY EVE OF OUR CONVENING WAS NOT, IN FACT, AN OMEN. IT COULD WELL BE A SIGN THAT THE DAYS OF THE TRUSTEESHIP AGREEMENT AND THE TRUST TERRITORY ADMINISTRATION ARE NUMBERED. IT COULD ALSO HAVE BEEN A WARNING THAT UNLESS WE BEGIN TO DEAL WITH OUR FUTURE POLITICAL STATUS EXTENSIVELY, AND PERHAPS EXCLUSIVELY, THE DAYS OF OUR IDENTITY AS MICRONESIANS ARE NUMBERED.

AS FOR ME, GENTLEMEN, I CANNOT AND WILL NOT CONTINUE TO APPROVE BUDGETS REFLECTING EXPENSIVE AND WASTEFUL FOREIGN GOVERNMENTAL PROCEDURES. I CANNOT AND WILL NOT CONTINUE TO APPROVE PAY RAISES THAT TEACH OUR PEOPLE TO BUY CARS FOR THEMSELVES BEFORE THEY PROVIDE ADEQUATE HOMES FOR THEIR FAMILIES, PAY RAISES THAT MAKE US EVER MORE DEPENDENT ON OUTSIDE INCOME, AND EVER MORE SUBSERVIENT TO FOREIGN CONTROL. I CANNOT AND WILL NOT PERMIT THE DECISION OF MY FUTURE POLITICAL STATUS TO BE MADE BY DEFAULT.

PAUSE /

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THE LEGISLATORS FROM THE MARIANAS HAVE TAKEN A STRONG POSITION WITH REGARD TO THEIR FUTURE STATUS. THEIR ACTIONS, PERHAPS, MAY BE TOO RADICAL. BUT THERE ARE PEOPLE IN OTHER DISTRICTS WHO CAN UNDERSTAND THEIR IMPATIENCE. THESE PEOPLE, TOO, DESIRE IMMEDIATE ATTENTION TO THE RESOLUTION OF THEIR FUTURE POLITICAL STATUS. THEY WATCH THE PROGRESS OF THE MARIANA ISLANDS DISTRICT IN ITS UNILATERAL STATUS ACTIVITY, WITH THE EXPECTATION THAT THE TIME MAY SOON BE NEAR WHEN THEY TOO CAN NO LONGER PERMIT SLUGGISH INACTIVITY TO FORFEIT THEIR DREAM OF A PERMANENT IDENTITY AMONG THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD.

I THINK THERE IS NO MORE URGENT MATTER THAT THIS CONGRESS CAN CONSIDER THAN THE FUTURE POLITICAL STATUS OF ITS CONSTITUENTS. ALL OTHER ACTIVITY IS MERELY EXERCISE, THE RESULTS OF WHICH MUST, IN MOST CASES, PROPERLY AWAIT THE OUTCOME OF THE STATUS QUESTION.

OUR COURSE OF ACTION IS CLEAR. WE MUST REQUEST THE OTHER FOUR MEMBERS OF THE MARIANAS DELEGATION TO COME HERE AND DISCUSS WITH US THE DIRECTION THEY WILL TAKE. AT THE SAME TIME, WE MUST EXAMINE OUR OWN POSITIONS, AND THE COURSE UPON WHICH WE WISH TO EMBARK. IF WE DO NOT DO THIS, WE HAVE NO OTHER CHOICE BUT TO ENDORSE THE MARIANAS' DESIRE FOR COMMONWEALTH, PERMIT THEM TO PROCEED ON THEIR SINGULAR ROUTE, AND WISH THEM GODSPEED.

VERY EARLY I REMARKED HOW IMPRESSED I WAS WITH THE COOPERATIVE EFFORT THAT Poured FORTH FROM THE PEOPLE OF TRUK SO THAT THE CONGRESS COULD MEET WITH A MINIMUM OF DELAY. WE MUST NOW ADOPT THIS SPIRIT OF COOPERATION AND SYMPATHY TO PROMOTE HARMONY AND MUTUALITY OF PURPOSE IN SEEKING A RESOLUTION TO THE POLITICAL STATUS QUESTION.

I HAVE ALSO TOLD YOU THAT THE IDEAS I WOULD EXPRESS TODAY WOULD BE CONSERVATIVE, AND THEY HAVE BEEN. THEY WERE ADDRESSED TO NOTHING LESS THAN THE SURVIVAL OF OUR MICRONESIAN IDENTITY AND MY GREAT FEAR IS THAT OUR INACTIVITY ON THE STATUS QUESTION, ALONG WITH SIGNIFICANT TRENDS AND

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RECENT DEVELOPMENTS, WILL SOON FORECLOSE ANY MEANINGFUL CHOICE FOR
US. OUR FAILURE TO TAKE IMMEDIATE ACTION ON THE STATUS QUESTION WILL
INDICATE TO THE WORLD THAT WE ARE WEAK, AND THAT WE ARE NOT READY FOR
ANY STATUS OTHER THAN SERFDOM.