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HANDLING INDICATOR **TO** : Department of State (IO/UNP, EA/ANZ, S/PC) **NO.** RS/R

**DEPT. PASS (WITH ENCLOSURE) TO:** INTERIOR DEPT. for Office of Status Negotiations and Asst. Secretary Loesch. DEFENSE DEPT. for OSD/ISA. WHITE HOUSE for Mr. Holdridge (NSC). COMTWELVE SAN FRANCISCO for Ambassador Williams.

**FROM** : Hicomterpaxis Polad, Saipan **DATE:** July 28, 1971

**SUBJECT** : TTPI - Marianas District Territorial Party's Views on Future Political Status

**REF** :

The Territorial Party of the Marianas District is now to all practical purposes only an opposition party. It has only minority representation in the key district level legislative bodies, and only one member (Senator Borja) in the Congress. At that, Senator Borja's views and actions are more closely related to those of the ruling Popular Party. During the last Congressional elections, Territorial Party candidates polled only about 45 percent of the vote, apparently because of the support given to the free association concept by key Territorial Party candidates.

The Territorial Party draws its support primarily from TTPI government employees, local businessmen, and from the 2000-strong Carolinean community.

During Ambassador Haydn Williams' recent visit to the Territory, the President of the Territorial Party, Jesus Mafnas, accompanied by Joe Tenorio (Saipan's leading businessman and the Party's financial backer), and Joe Screen (Tenorio's business manager and a former TTPI Assistant Commissioner for Administration -- often considered to be something of an eminence grise behind the Territorial Party) met with the Ambassador and presented to him a "Territorial Party Position Paper on Future Political Status." The paper was prepared specifically for that meeting. Although signed by President Mafnas, it was drafted by Mr. Screen. A copy is enclosed.

The paper is a hodge-podge of contradictions and some nonsense, but the basic thrust of the paper is an argument to turn the clock back on current Micronization and decentralization policies while also moving the TTPI, as a unit, toward permanent political association with the U.S.. Opposition to independence is expressed in strong

**ENCLOSURE 1. Territorial Party Position Paper**

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Clearances:

language, while separate territorial or commonwealth status for the Marianas, and reintegration with Guam for the Marianas, are stated as second and third preferences (after TTPI-wide permanent association with the U.S.). Following are some of the key points in detail.

1. "The Territorial Party is in favor of a unified Micronesia in close irrevocable political association with the U.S."

2. Micronization of key executive branch positions (particularly district administrators) and decentralization "has actually resulted in disunification and complete loss of administrative control of the districts. Further, the Hicom's policy of placing budget control in the hands of the Congress of Micronesia has presumed a certain confidence in their ability as legislators that still has to be proven."

3. The Commonwealth offer was "overly-generous" -- "we do not believe Micronesians are anywhere near politically mature enough to comprehend such an arrangement."

4. "The U.S. must devise an interim governmental arrangement between trusteeship status and whatever final form our political status may take and maintain an effective stewardship over our governmental processes during this interim period."

5. "Unalterable opposition" to independence.

6. Status quo and retention of the Trusteeship Agreement should be one of the options in an act of self-determination.

7. The preferred forms of status for the Marianas, in order of preference, are: (a) an unified Micronesia in permanent political association with the U.S.; (b) the Marianas as a separate U.S. Territory or Commonwealth; or, (c) reintegration with Guam.

8. Support for the Congress of Micronesia's "four principles" on status and the view that the U.S. should accept them "with the following conditions:" (a) "no conditions;" (b) free association to include commonwealth or any other form of status freely entered into; (c) any changes in Micronesia's future status to be only by plebiscite; and, (d) only an interim governmental arrangement or the status quo should be terminable, and then only at a specified time by plebiscite.

Comment. In general, it is probably safe to say that the real position of the Territorial party is simply to hold open all status options until such hopeful time as the Territorial Party achieves a dominant political position in the Marianas.

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Enclosure One  
Saipan A-30

Marianas District  
Territorial Party  
Position Paper on  
Future Political Status

General

The Territorial Party is in favor of a unified Micronesia in close, irrevocable political association with the United States of America.

We believe a strong central Government is required to furnish the expertise we will need for some time to come every field of endeavor, education, economic development, health services and administrative and logistical support required to furnish these basic services. In this regard, the High Commissioner's policy of appointing Micronesian District Administrators has come five years too soon; notwithstanding the fact that the Americans that the Micronesians replaced were hardly able administrators, we believe more competent Americans could have been found. At the same time, the Hicom's policy of "decentralization" of decision-making has proven completely counter-productive in many ways not the least is the creation of seven separate administrations in place of one and placing authority in personnel ill-equipped for the job. This situation of Micronesian Distads coupled with "decentralization" has actually resulted in disunification and a complete loss of administrative control of the Districts. Further, the Hicom's policy of placing budget control in the hands of the Congress of Micronesia has presumed a certain confidence in their ability as legislators that still has to be proven. This is not to say that we do not support the Congress of Micronesia, we do; however, we believe their role in the budget process should be limited to one of simply recommending priorities. We do not like the Congress of Micronesia tendency to want and get greater say in the administration. Those Micronesians that want to be legislators, let them, those that want to work in the Administration, train them and let them but separate the administrative

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decision-making process from the desires of the politicians.

#### Commonwealth Status

We believe the United States "overly generous" in its offer of Commonwealth. We say overly generous because we do not believe Micronesians are anywhere near politically mature enough to comprehend such an arrangement. (See discussion on political education). Further, to impose self-government to the extent envisioned by the Commonwealth offer within the next ten years would be extremely premature. One must realize that the Congress of Micronesia is only 6 years old, in many areas of Micronesia people still vote as their traditional and hereditary leaders indicate and we have a dearth of trained, experienced public administrators. The United States must devise an interim Governmental arrangement between Trusteeship Status and whatever final form our political status may take and maintain an effective stewardship over our governmental processes during this interim period.

#### Independence and Independence with Free Association

We are unalterably opposed to any such status for the Marianas. We are opposed to any plebiscite within the foreseeable future that might result in Micronesia attempting any such path. It should be noted here that we believe no plurality would be voted for any status if as many as three choices were offered.

#### Status Quo

It is sufficient to say that the Status Quo and retention of the Trusteeship Agreement should be considered as an alternative to a different interim governmental status.

However, the U. S. would be in a stronger position to train public

*Erica Johansen*

administrations, deal with the Congress of Micronesia and the various District Legislatures and Administrations and in developing and implementing meaningful political education if in the interim leading up to a plebiscite the United Nations did not have an overview. We say this because in the interim, required changes in personnel may be considered a step backwards where Micronesians are replaced with competent Americans. Good Government by competent appointed officials is better than bad Government by elected officials or Micronesian officials appointed solely to appease the cry for a greater involvement at higher levels by Micronesians.

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Political Education

Stated simply, nothing has been done. We do not want a crash program in this all important area that has been so long neglected. We want a political education program, professionally developed by the Administration, not by the Congress of Micronesia. We want an honest program, honestly translated and we want it to be thorough in every regard. To do this takes time, so take the time and do not rush us into a political status determination before the program has been completed. Again simply stated, tell it like it is or will be depending on the choices to be offered. Given this, our basic objective set forth in paragraph one will be accomplished by Micronesians at the voting booth.

Reintegration with Guam

Our position on future political status for the Marianas District is as follows in the order named:

1. A unified Micronesia in a permanent political association with the U. S.
2. The Marianas as a separate Territory or Commonwealth of the United States.
3. Reintegration with Guam.

It is for this reason that reintegration with Guam must be examined. We are culturally, ethnically and linguistically related to Guam. We are also twenty years behind Guam in educational achievement, economic and

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political development and we still have a better quality of life than most Guamanians. We also have a large minority group of native born Carolinians who do not possess the ties that we Chamorros have. As a last resort, if the rest of Micronesia goes independent and we cannot achieve a separate U. S. territorial status, we will clamor and the Carolinians will join us with all of the Marianas to join with Guam.

We ask only that political education be developed honestly and that the entire story be told as to what each possible choice in the Marianas would mean to the people of the Marianas as well as to all of Micronesia. Our people that want and espouse reintegration with Guam do not know the meaning of losing unproductive land for failure to pay real estate taxes. Sons subject to the draft, U. S. income tax, ten per cent of the representation in the Guam legislature and the current ownership of what would become ninety per cent of the joint public domain are only a few of the minuses in such a political status.

#### Four Principles

We accept the four principles and legal rights set out by the Congress of Micronesia Political Status Delegation in their Report to the Third Congress in July 1, 1970 (Page B-2 of the report). We believe the U. S. should accept them under the following conditions.

a. No conditions

b. "free association" is defined as an association freely confirmed by the people in a plebiscite and could be Commonwealth status or whatever.

c. Amendments, changes or revocation of the constitution or governmental plan could only be in accordance with the people's decision made in accordance with b. above.

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- d. Only the interim governmental arrangement (and/or the status quo) should be terminable and that at a specified date in the future (which could be ten to twenty-five years hence) and then only upon the freely expressed wishes of the people in a plebescite.

After the plebescite, the political status of Micronesia must be one that affords a stable government, economy and position in the world for a long time to come. Our political situation is much too volatile and too immature to permit completely unilateral termination.

#### Conclusion

Implied in the foregoing is the failure of the United States to recognize in advance the complexities of this area of the world. We have been administered by anthropologists, political hacks and lately by some of our own people too soon. Hopefully, it is not too late to reverse this process in an interim governmental arrangement under stewardship of the U. S. There will be some cries from political "leaders" and from some radical students. From the great majority of the Micronesian people; however, there will be the ever grateful understanding that they made a free informed choice of the government that will control their children's destinies.

We have given you a simplistic approach to be sure but the United States has a moral obligation to all the people of Micronesia. If the U. S. acts to satisfy the vocal politicians too quickly or lacks the fortitude to do the job here correctly in the interim period leading up to the plebescite then history will have another and unique record of an area of lost U. S. influence.

6 a 30 pages

Respectfully submitted to:

Ambassador Franklin Haydn Williams  
on Saipan, M. I., July 19, 1971

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Jesus Mafnas, President  
Territorial Party  
Marianas Islands District