

September 30, 1971

13
517SECRETIV. MARIANAS SUB-NEGOTIATIONTalking Points

(Note: Dr. Williams will need to decide whether we do or do not wish to induce a Marianas expression of desire to separate from Micronesia and maintain close relations with us. This decision will be based upon his estimate as to whether the negotiations are proceeding well, i.e. how good are the prospects for a speedy agreement on Position I or II? State, Defense and Interior agree that, if separate from Micronesia, it would be best for the Marianas to join Guam, but no Department has expressed an opinion whether we want to see the Marianas separate from Micronesia.

Tactically, it would be best for the Marianas representatives to seek us out. This would put us in a good bargaining position, and would help to minimize charges that we were trying to split the Micronesian delegation.

No Department has expressed a view as to whether we would wish other Districts to seek to dissociate themselves from Micronesia. The Marshalls, Yap and Ponape are the ones most likely to seek closer association if Salii goes too far toward separation. Of these, only the Marshalls involve US basing requirements, and we could probably maintain the Kwajalein lease under almost any circumstances. This would suggest that we make no effort to encourage statements by other District representatives, but on the other hand it would be poor bargaining tactics and a dubious expression of our own self-interest to discourage them.

In any case, it will eventually be difficult in a plebiscite to avoid the issue of Marianas separatism. Even with other districts, we would find it difficult to justify forcing a district to join the Micronesian system if a majority in that district voted against such a proposal; we would have loud critics in Congress and elsewhere.

In talking with the Marianas, we must avoid seeming to promise them a Commonwealth relationship more favorable than Guam enjoys. On the other hand, we

have UN problems if we detach the Marianas from the Trust without offering them self-government, which Guam itself does not yet enjoy by UN standards.

The Talking Points below are set up to provide language for private talks (initiated by them or by us) and remarks in plenary.)

PRIVATE TALKS - Talking Points

If the Marianas representatives come to us:

-- We are aware of your long-standing feeling that the Marianas should separate from Micronesia and should perhaps join Guam.

-- We do not intend to force you into a relationship you do not want.

-- On the other hand, we do not wish to appear to be trying to split the Micronesian delegation. We would be willing to make a statement concerning our willingness to discuss a separate relationship with the Marianas, but it would be much easier for us to be forthcoming on this point if you would take the initiative in plenary session to put the Marianas wishes on the record.

-- We believe that it would be best if this were to come up after our discussions of land and laws have been completed. This would perhaps also be preferable from your standpoint: it would show that you had listened to our proposals concerning Micronesia as a whole and still preferred the separate relationship.

SECRET

3.

-- It would be highly desirable if you could persuade Senator Salii or other representatives to express an understanding of your position.

-- For my own information, could you tell me informally and in general terms what kind of relationship you would envisage? What sort of relationship with Guam would you prefer? (Note: encourage them to "think Guam".)

-- On the relationship with Guam, you believe that it will be important for our side to have discussions with the Government of Guam before we go very far down the road in discussions with you. This means that we will not be able to proceed very far during this meeting in Maui, but we intend to come back to you for more serious talks in coming months.

-- It would be useful perhaps for Marianas leaders to discuss the question themselves, informally, with leaders in Guam. It would also make the process of selling the concept to the US Congress and the world much easier if there could be expressions of the popular will in Guam and in the Marianas favoring union. We are aware that there are many such expressions, particularly in the Marianas, but it would be useful to have one which follows the present meeting in Maui. Moreover, an unequivocal expression from Guam would be desirable.

SECRET

401892

would have some difficulty offering it to a single District. Moreover, we would not wish to be put in the position of offering more liberal political terms to the Marianas than to Guam. This whole problem is one which we would have to discuss with Guam, with the US Congress, and with you. We would expect to have more solid propositions to offer you when we meet later for full-fledged discussion of the relationship between the US and the Marianas.

If we must take the initiative with the Marianas (a decision presumably taken at "The Fork", in a circumstance in which a satisfactory relationship with Micronesia was not clearly in sight and we wished to salvage at least a firm and permanent relationship with the Marianas):

-- We are aware of previous statements and votes by the Marianas favoring a close association with the United States, and perhaps with Guam.

-- We are on the point of having to make some fundamental decisions as to what course of action we take now. These decisions could foreclose some of the options available to the Marianas, and could even, for instance, involve a Micronesia-wide plebiscite in which the Marianas would have to go along with the majority.

SECRET

401893

-- Before taking any irreversible steps, we would like to have an expression of your views as to the relationship which the Marianas would want with the United States and with Guam, and how that relates to the present negotiations.

-- (If as anticipated the Marianas representatives express a wish to separate from Micronesia and keep the closer relationship with us, proceed with Talking Points immediately above, starting with the first point.)

-- (If the Marianas representatives are not forthcoming, drop the topic. We will need to proceed through other channels, later.)

PLENARY SESSION - Talking Points

-- We have been aware for some time of the expressed desires of the people of the Mariana Islands District for a close, permanent association with the United States, under which they would obtain United States citizenship, as well as the benefits and responsibilities thereof. (Note: Language to be varied according to what the Marianas representative said, and whether or not he said it in formal session.)

-- It has been our objective to work with you toward a politically and economically stable future for the people of Micronesia, and until recently it was our best judgment that this goal might be accomplished by a future political status for the six districts as a whole.

401894

SECRET

6.

-- If necessary, we will bow, as we believe the Micronesian leadership may already have done, and the United Nations may have to do, to the realities of the situation in Micronesia--the expressed views of the people of the Marianas and of Micronesia, themselves. We have seen the widening diversity of opinion expressed by leaders in the Marianas and some of the other districts, and must acknowledge the sincerity of the positions taken.

-- We believe that we can assure the Marianas a close, permanent relationship of some sort with the United States, although the details of such a relationship would have to be worked out with all the concerned parties.

-- We will hold further conversations with the leadership of the Marianas at a later time.

SECRET

Drafted: S/PC:LGrant:cv
9/30/71

401895