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6. THESE ARTICLES OR STATEMENTS, ASIDE FROM DISTORTING POSITIONS

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5. BEGIN TEXT PROPOSED STATEMENT. SINCE CONCLUSION OF TALKS AT HANA, HAWAII ON THE FUTURE POLITICAL STATUS OF MICRONESIA, A NUM-BER OF ARTICLES AND STORIES ON THOSE TALKS HAVE APPEARED IN VARIOUS TRUST TERRITORY NEWSPAPERS, AND IN THE PACICIC DAILY NEWS. NO ONE CAN QUESTION THE RIGHT OF THE AUTHORS OF THESE STATEMENTS TO DISAGREE WITH OR OPPOSE POSITIONS TAKEN AND PROPOSALS MADE AT TTE HANA STATUS TALKS. HOWEVER, ONE SHOULD QUESTION SERIOUSLY THE DELIBERATE DISTORTION OF EVENTS, PROPOSALS, AND POSITIONS TAKEN AT HANA IN WHAT APPEARS TO BE A CAMPAIGN TO MISINFORM AND MISGUIDE THE PEOPLE OF MICRONESIA.

CHANGES DESIRED OR REVISED TEXT. 3. SINCE I WILL BE ABSENT FROM SAIPAN NOVEMBER 3-15, SLUG REPLY FOR HICOM AND POLAD WITH REQUEST HICOM RELEASE TO MNS AND ALL NEWSPAPERS WITH ATTRIBUTION TO STATE POLITICAL ADVISER. 4. SEPTEL FOLLOWS ON HANDLING HERE ANY RELEASE OF HANA TRANSCRIPTS.

PAGE THREE RUHJOSA7264 C O N F I D E N T I A L TALKS. IF APPROVED BY WASHINGTON, IT WOULD BE RELEASED TO MNS, ALL TTPI NEWSPAPERS, AND TO GUAM NEWSPAPER. STORY WOULD BE ATTRIBUTED TO ME RATHER THAN WASHINGTON THUS HOLDING TO LOW-LEVEL RESPONSE TO DIS-TORTION EFFORTS. IF WASHINGTON CONCURS IN THIS APPROACH, APPROVAL SHOULD BE DISPATCHED BY UNCLASSIFIED TELEGRAM, TOGETHER WITH ANY CHANGES DESIRED OR REVISED TEXT.

HIGHLIGHTING POSITIVE ASPECTS U.S. POSITION. AS FIRST POSSIBLE MAJOR EFFORT IN THAT DIRECTION, DRAFT TEXT FOLLOWS OF STATEMENT HANA

IOUS STORIES AND DISTORTION, AND TO MY OWN STATEMENT. 2° POSSIBLE FORTHCOMING RELEASE OF HANA TRANSCRIPTS WITH COVERING SUMMARY WOULD, OF COURSE, HELP ENORMOUSLY IN SETTING RECORD STRAIGHT. HOWEVER, IT WILL BE A FORMIDABLE DOCUMENT DIFFICULT TO WADE THROUGH, AND DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND EXCEPT BY A VERY FEW MICRONESIANS. IN CIRCUMSTANCES, NOT ONLY THAT APPROACH MAY BE DESIRABLE, BUT ALSO STEADY DRUMFIRE OF SPOT RELEASES COUNTERING ULUDONG TYPE ACTIVITIES AND

RELEASE SEEMS TO HAVE HAD POSITIVE EFFECT AMONG FEW KEY MICRONESIANS IN TTPI HEADQUARTERS WHO HAVE SEEN STATEMENT. AT SAME TIME, MANY MICRONESIANS HERE ARE ASKING WHY NOTHING IS BEING DONE TO BALANCE STORY AND INFORM MICRONESIA AS TO WHAT DID GO ON AT HANA. BALANCING THIS, I HAVE YET TO RECEIVE FROM OTHER DISTRICTS ANY REACTIONS TO VAF

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AND PROPOSALS, HAVE ALSO CHOSEN TO IGNORE THE VERY REAL PROGRESS MADE

PAGE FOUR RUHJOSA7264 C O N F I D E N T I A L THE HANA TALKS, WHILE HIGHLIGHTING THE REMAINING MAJOR AND SECONDARY AREAS OF DISAGREEMENT WHICH WILL BE TAKEN UP AT THE NEXT "ROUND" OF TALKS. IN THAT SENSE, THE STATEMENTS AND ARTICLES IN QUESTION ARE A DIS

SERVICE TO ALL OF THE PARTICIPANTS AT HANA. LET'S LOOK AT THE REAL RECORD.

A) THERE WAS AGREEMENT THAT MOCRONESIA'S FUTURE POLITICAL STATUS ULTIMATELY MUST BE DETERMINED NOT AT THE CONFERENCE TABLE, BUT BY ALL MICRONESIANS IN A SOVEREIGN ACT OF SELF-DETERMINATION.

B) THERE WAS AGREEMENT THAT MICRONESIA®S CONSTUTUTION, SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT, AND LAWS NEED NOT BE PATTERNED AFTER OR BE CONSISTENT WITH THOSE OF THE USS. RATHER, THEY WILL BE DETERMINED ONLY BY MICRONSESIANS AND NEED BE CONSISTENT ONLY WITH THE TERMS OF THE COMPACT OF ASSOCIATION BETWEEN MOCRONESIA AND THE UNITED STATES. THAT COMPACT CAN COME INTO FORCE ONLY WITH THE CONSENT OF THE MICRONESIAN PEOPLE. USS. RESPONSIBILITIES, PROGRAMS, AND LAWS WOULD APPLY TO MICRONESIA ONLY AS AGREED TO BY MICRONESIANS AND AS DETAILED IN THE COMPACT, OR AS AGREED UPON SUBSEQUENTLY BY THE MICRONESIAN GOVERNMENT.

CI IT WAS AGREED THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD EXERCISE NO RIGHTS

PAGE FIVE RUHJOSA7264 C O N F I D E N T I A L OF EMINENT DOMAIN IN MICRONESIA. UPON TERMINATION OF THE TRUSTEESHIP AGREEMENT, ALL FUTURE U.S. LAND REQUIREMENTS IN MICRONESIA WOULD BE MET ONLY IN ACCORDANCE WITH MICRONESIAN LAWS AND PROCEDURES, THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE MICRONESIAN GOVERNMENT, AND ONLY WITH THE CONSENT OF THAT GOVERNMENT. THIS PROCEDURE WOULD APPLY ESPECIALLY TO TEMPORARY LAND REQUIREMENTS THAT COULD OCCUR IN DEFENSE EMERGENCIES.

D) AS REQUESTED IN THE PAST BY PREVIOUS MICRONESIAN NEGOTIATORS, THE U.S. AT THE HANA TALKS DID DESCRIBE FORESEEABLE DEFENSE LAND REQUIREMENTS, AND OUTLINED THEM IN DETAIL. IT IS ANTICIPATED THAT THESE

REQUIREMENTS WILL BE MET THROUGH LONG.TERM LEASES WHICH REMAIN TO BE NEGOTIATED. THE U.S., AT THE HANA TALKS, MADE CLEAR THAT IT EXPECTS

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TO MAKE FAIR AND ADEQUATE COMPENSATION FOR SUCH LANDS. CONTRARY TO SOME REPORTS, THE U.S. DELEGATION DISCUSSED NO PLANS OR REQUIREMENTS FOR SUBMARINE BASES, OR FOR NUCLEAR WEAPON AND GAS STORAGE FACILITIES IN PALAU, INDEED, THE U.S. ASKED ONLY FOR OPTIONS IN PALAU AGAINST POSSIBLE FUTUREUSE. THE REQUIREMENTS UNDER THOSE OPTIONS MAY NEVER MATERIALIZE, AND THE OPTIONS MAY NEVER BE EXERCISED. THE U.S. DELEGATION ALSO STATED THAT THERE ARE NO NEW LAND REQUIREMENTS N

PAGE SIX RUHJOSA7264 C O N F I D EIN T I A L IN THE MARSHALLS, AND NONE AT ALL IN THE PONAPE, TRUK, AND YAP DISTRICTS. REQUIREMENTS FOR LAND IN THE MARIANAS DISTRICT, MAINLY ON TINIAN ISLAND, WERE DETAILED.

E) IT SHOULD BE EMPHASIZED THAT THE U.S. POSITIONS AND PROPOSALS ON LAND REQUIREMENTS TOOK INTO FULL CONSIDERATION PAST MICRONESIAN STATEMENTS ON THE LAND ISSUE, AND PAST MICRONESIAN COMMITMENTS TO MEET

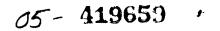
U.S. DEFENSE REQUIREMENTS. THE U.S. ALSO PROPOSED, FOR THE PROTECTION OF BOTH PARTIES TO THE COMPACT OF ASSOCIATION, THAT THE DETAILED ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE DEFENSE LAND REQUIREMENTS BE NEGOTIATED IN TIME TO GO INTO EFFECT ON THE TERMINATION OF THE TRUSTEESHIP AGREEMENT.

F) THE U.S. POSITION WITH RESPECT TO MICRONESIA'S LAND ALSO GAVE FULL RECOGNITION TO THE PRINCIPLE THAT MICRONESIA'S LANDS CAN IN NO WAY BE ALIENATED FOR ANY PURPOSE, INCLUDING FOR COMMERCIAL OPERATIONS BY NON-MICRONESIANS, EXCEPT BY PROCEDURES AND LAWS TO BE DETERMINED ONLY BY MICRONESIANS.

G) THE U.S. POSITION GAVE FULL RECOGNITION TO THE MICRONESIAN RIGHT TO DEVELOP AND CONTROL MICRONISIA'S ECONOMY. THUS MICRONESIA WOULD CONTROL ITS DEVELOPMENTAL POLICIES, INCLUDING FOREIGN GP=3

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PAGE Ø1 Ø3Ø918Z 18 ACTION ID-13 EA-11 INFO 007-01 SS-14 PM-06 INR-06 L-03 P • Ø3 PRS-01 RSC=01 CPR-02 E-11 ACDA=19 SCS-03 INRE-00 RSROP SCA-Ø1 1096 W 007587 P 030130Z NOV 71 FM HICOMTERPACIS SAIPAN TO SECINTERIOR INFO SECSTATE SECDEFENSE COMTWELVE SAN FRAN CALIF WHITE HOUSE CINCPAC CINCPACREP GUAM/TTPI C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION TWO OF THREE INVESTMENT. MICRONESIA WOULD ALSO BE ABLE TO DEVELOP ECONOMIC RE-LATIONS WITH OTHER NATIONS, AND WITH AGENCIES OF THE UNITED NATIONS. H) THE U.S. POSITION WITH RESPECT TO OPERATION OF U.S. PROGRAMS AND SERVICES IN MICRONESIA BASICALLY WAS THAT NONE WOULD BE PRESSED ON MICRONESIA, BUT THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT WOULD DO ITS BEST TO PROVIDE THOSE SERVICES AND PROGRAMS WHICH MAY BE DESIRED BY MICRONESIA + ALTHOUGH BOTH SIDES AT THE HANA TALKS BELIEVED IT WAS TOD EARLY TO DISCUSS IN DETAIL THE NATURE AND MAGNITUDE OF U.S. FINANCIAL AND OTHER ASSISTANCE TO MICRONESIA, THE BASIC U.S. POSITION WAS THAT THE U.S. WILL DO ITS LEVEL BEST TO ASSIST MICRONESIA'S CONTINUING DEVELOPMENT. THE MAGNITUDE OF U.S. ASSISTANCE TO MICRONESIA IN RECENT YEARS WAS CITED AS TESTIMONY TO OUR GOOD FAITH IN THIS REGARD. I) THE U.S. POSITION ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND DEFENSE RESPONSIBIL. ITIES WAS MODELED ON THE POSITION TAKEN BY THE FORMER MICRONESIAN STATUS DELEGATION IN ITS JULY, 1970 REPORT TO THE CONGRESS OF MICRONESIA. IN ESSENCE, THE UNITED STATES WOULD HAVE PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITIES IN THESE FIELDS, BUT BY AGREEMENT VARIOUS FOREIGN AFFAIRS FUNCTIONS WOULD IN FACT BY HANDLED BY MICRONESIA. THESE WOULD RELATE PRIMARILY TO ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH OTHER NATIONS AND WITH



- FOR WHAT PURPOSE IN MICRONESIA, AND WHO COULD OBTAIN LAND AND FOR WHAT PURPOSE. CONTRARY TO ANOTHER RECENT ARTICLE, NORTHING WAS SAID AT HANA ABOUT PROTECTING THE RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES OF AMERICAN
- MICRONESIAN IN RECENT ARTICLES, AMERICANS WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO ENTER FREELY INTO MICRONESIA AND "TURN OUR ISLANDS INTO LITTLE WAIKIKIS." ONLY MICRONESIANS AND THEIR GOVERNMENT COULD DETERMINE WHO INVESTED AND
- ALIENATION AND USE, FOREIGN INVESTMENT, BUSINESS LICENSING, AND OTHER ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES, INCLUDING MICRONESIAN CONTROL OF THE RATE OF HOTEL AND TOURIST INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT, WOULD ALL ASSURE EFFECTIVE CONTROLS OVER THE NUMBERS AND ACTIVITIES OF AMERICANS AND OTHER NON-MICRONESIANS. CONTRARY TO STATEMENTS MADE BY SOME

WOULD BE SUBJECT TO AMERICAN LAW. THE MICRONESIAN CONTROL OF LAND PAGE THREE RUHJOSA7285 C O N F I D E N T I A L

MUST BE RECIPROCAL, BUT POINTED OUT THAT MICRONESIA COULD EXERCISE EFFECTIVE INDIRECT CONTROLS OVER THE ENTRY OF AMERICANS AND U.S. PRO-DUCTS INTO MICRONESIA. AS AN EXAMPLE, THE MICRONESIAN GOVERNMENT'S POWERS OF TAXATION WOULD PERMIT THE LEVYING OF HIGH SALES OR LUXURY TAXES ON CERTAIN GOODS OR PRODUCTS TO LIMIT THEIR ENTRY. AS TO THE ENTRY OF AMERICANS, AND THEIR ACTIVITIES, AMERICANS IN MICRONISIA WOULD BE SUBJECT TO MICRONESIAN LAWS JUST AS MICRONESIANS IN THE U.S.

NATIONAL STATUS WHILE IN THE U.S., AND THE FULL PROTECTION AND SERVICES OF OUR EMBASSIES AND CONSULATES WHILE TRAVELLING ABROAD. K) AT THE HANA TALKS, THE MICRONESIAN DELEGATION DEMANDED FREE ENTRY OF MICRONESIANS AND MICRONESIAN PRODUCTS INTO THE U.S., BUT DID NOT ACCEPT THAT SUCH RIGHTS SHOULD BE RECIPROCAL. THE U.S. DELEGATION MAINTAINED THAT SUCH RIGHTS, AS A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE,

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS. DIFFERENCES WITH RESPECT TO THESE RESPONSIBILITIES DO REMAIN TO BE RESOLVED AT FUTURE TALKS, BUT THE EXISTING DIFFERENCES DO NOT APPEAR TO BE IRRECONCIBLE IN ANY WAY. J) ON NATIONALITY, THE $0.5 \cdot$ proposed that micronesian citizens, to

THEIR OWN ADVANTAGE, HAVE THE INTERNATIONAL STATUS OF U.S. NATIONALS. THIS WOULD ASSURE FREE ENTRY INTO THE U.S., THE PRIVILEGES OF U.S.

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CITIZENS AND BUSINESSES IN MICRONESIA. IT MUST AGAIN BE EMPHASIZED THAT AMERICANS IN MICRONESIA COULD DO BUSINESS ONLY ON MICRONESIAN TERMS. AS ALREADY STATED, AMERICANS WOULD HAVE TO ABIDE BY MICRONESIAN LAWS, AS MICRONESIANS VISITING OR LIVING IN THE U.S. WOULD HAVE TO ABIDE BY AMERICAN LAWS. L) FINALLY, IT WAS AGREED THAT ALL OF THE UNDERSTANDINGS REACHED AT HANA WERE PRELIMINARY IN CHARACTER, SUBJECT TO REVIEW BY BOTH PARTIES. AND CONDITIONED ON AN OVERALL AGREEMENT ON MICRONESIA'S

PARTIES, AND CONDITIONED ON AN OVERALL AGREEMENT ON MICRONESIA'S FUTURE POLITICAL STATUS.

THERE ARE, OF COURSE, A NUMBER OF ISSUES THAT REMAIN TO BE

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CLARIFIED OR RESOLVED. THE MOST BASIC ONE OF THESE RELATES TO HOW A COMPACT OF ASSOCIATION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND MICRONESIA MIGHT BE TERMINATED. THE MICRONESIAN DELEGATION HELD TO THE PRINCIPLE OF UNILATERAL TERMINATION, WHILE THE U.S. DELEGATION ASKED THAT CONSIDERATION BE GIVEN TO THE PRINCIPLE OF TERMINATION BY MUTUAL CONSENT, WITH BOTH PARTIES COMMITTED TO CONSIDER PROMPTLY AND IN GOOD FAITH A REQUEST FOR TERMINATION BY EITHER OF THE PARTIES. OBVIOUSLY THIS QUESTION OR ISSUE MUST BE PESOLVED BEFORE THEIR CAN BE AGREEMENT ON MICRONESIA'S FUTURE POLITICAL STATUS. HOWEVER, IT IS WRONG TO STATE, AS SOME HAVE, THAT THE CONCEPT OF MUTUAL CONSENT TERMINATION OF ITSELF STRIPS MICRONESIA OF HER FREEDOM. ANY FORM OF ASSOCIATION, INCLUDING THAT WHICH WOULD PROVIDE FOR TERMINA-TION

ONLY BY MUTUAL CONSENT, WOULD HAVE TO BE ENTERED INTO FREELY BY THE MICRONESIAN PEOPLE IN AN OPEN, FREE, AND SOVEREIGN ACT OF SELF-DETERMINATION. SUCH ASSOCIATION (AND FOR THAT MATTER ANY OTHER FORM OF POLITICAL STATUS) WOULD NOT BE IMPOSED ON MICRONESIA AGAINST THE WILL OF HER PEOPLE. THE PRINCIPLE OF TERMINATION WOULD BE GIVEN FULL RECOGNITION, AND COULD BE IMPLEMENTED IF TERMINATION BECAME DESIRABLE OR NECESSARY. WHILE IN ASSOCIATION, MICRONESIA WOULD BE WTOLLY FREE AND SELF-GOVERNING IN EVERY SENSE OF THOSE WORDS. U.S. RESPONSIBIL-ITIES

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WOULD BE LIMITED TO THOSE AREAS AGREED UPON BY MICRONESIA; AND WOULD RELATE MAINLY TO FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND DEFENSES

8. SOME OF THOSE WHO ARE NOW WRITING ON THE HANA TALKS, AND WHO ARE DISTORTING THE POSITIONS TAKEN AND THE PROPOSALS MADE, PERHAPS ARE NOT FULLY AWARE OF THE TRUE CONCEPT OF NEGOTIATIONS AND OF ANY FORM OF ASSOCIATION BETWEEN NATIONS. ASSOCIATION, IS ESSENTIALLY A PARTNERSHIP, AND ANY PARTNERSHIP, TO BE PRACTICAL AND VIABLE, MUST OFFER ADVANTAGES TO BOTH PARTNERS AND NOT BE ONLY ON THE TERMS OF ONE OF THE PARTIES. THE MANDATE OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON FUTURE STATUS OF

THE CONGRESS OF MICRONESIA IS TO NEGOTIATE FREE ASSOCIATION WITH THE UNITED STATES. THE U.S. ALSO WOULD LIKE TO DEVELOP A MUTUALLY ADVANTAGEOUS ASSOCIATION WITH MICRONESIA. BUT JUST AS ASSOCIATION WITH

THE U.S. WILL AFFECT MICRONESIAN INTERESTS, SO WILL ASSOCIATION WITH MICRONESIA AFFECT U.S. INTERESTS. ONE CANNOT EXPECT ANY NATION TO ENTER INTO A PARTNERSHIP OR ASSOCIATION IN WHICH THE INTERESTS OF ONLY

ONE OF THE PARTIES ARE GIVEN DUE CONSIDERATION, ATTENTION, AND PRO-TECTION. THUS, IN A VERY BASIC WAY, THE NEGOTIATIONS RELATING TO ASSOCIATION BETWEEN MICRONESIA AND THE U.S. MUST BE DIRECTED AT ACCOMODATING THE INTERESTS OF BOTH PARTIES IN SUCH A MANNER THAT THE ASSOCIATION IS OF BENEFIT TO BOTH PARTIES. THERE CAN BE NO OTHER GP=3

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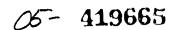
ON FUTURE STATUS OF THE CONGRESS OF MICRONESIA HAS AS ITS MANDATE THE NEGOTIATION OF FREE ASSOCIATION WITH THE UNITED STATES. THE JOINT COMMITTEE CAME TO HANA IN AN EFFORT TO IMPLEMENT THAT MANDATE. THE UNITED STATES WENT TO HANA TO EXPLORE MEANS OF ACCOMODATING THAT MANDATE IN A FORM OF ASSOCIATION WHICH WOULD SATISFY BOTH PARTIES. MAJOR PROGRESS WAS MADE TOWARD THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GOALS OF BOTH

PARTIES TO THE TALKS. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, ANY SERIOUS DISCUSSION OF INDEPENDENCE WOULD HAVE BEEN PREMATURE. END TEXT. 11. MESSAGE PREPARED OCTOBER 31. DORRANCE.

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