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ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 EA-11 PM-06 INR-06 INRE-00 H-02 PRS-01
L-03 RSR-01 RSC-01 /059 W

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FM HICOMTERPACIS SAIPAN
TO SECINTERIOR
INFO SECSTATE
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COMTWELVE SAN FRAN CALIF
WHITE HOUSE
CINCPAC
CINCPACREP GUAM/TTPI

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| DEPARTMENT OF STATE A/CDC/MR | |
| REVIEWED BY <u>Sheep</u> | DATE FEB. 26 1987 |
| RDS <input type="checkbox"/> or XDS <input type="checkbox"/> EXT. DATE _____ | |
| TS AUTH. _____ | REASON(S) _____ |
| ENDORSE EXISTING MARKINGS <input type="checkbox"/> | |
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| RELEASE DENIED <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| PA or FOI EXEMPTIONS _____ | |

SAIPAN 11/15/71

SECRET SECTION ONE OF TWO
FROM POLAD 61C. INTERIOR FOR OFFICE OF MICRONESIAN STATUS NEGOTIATIONS

AND ASST. SECRETARY LOESCH. COMTWELVE FOR AMBASSADOR WILLIAMS. STATE FOR IO/UNP AND S/PC. DEFENSE FOR OSD/ISA AND JCS. WHITE HOUSE FOR MR. HOLDRIDGE (NSC). CINCPAC FOR POLAD.

SUBJECT: TTPI FUTURE POLITICAL STATUS -- " WHERE DO WE STAND?"

1. BETWEEN NOVEMBER 5-9 I BRIEFLY VISITED TRUK, PONAPE, AND MAJURO (MARSHALLS) TO ASSESS IMPACT HANA STATUS TALKS AND ACTIVITIES SINCE THEN

OF MICRONESIAN PARTICIPANTS THOSE TALKS. HAD INTENDED CONTINUE ON TO PALAU, BUT THAT SEGMENT OF DISTRICT TOUR POSTPONED IN ORDER PERMIT

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IMMEDIATE REPORT OF DEVELOPMENTS IN DISTRICTS ALREADY VISITED. IN VISITS TO EASTERN DISTRICTS I WAS ABLE TO MEET WITH MEMBERS STATUS COMMITTEE FROM THOSE DISTRICTS, PLUS ASSORTED OTHER MEMBERS CONGRESS EITHER RESIDENT IN OR VISITING THOSE DISTRICTS.

2. TRUK DISTRICT. RATHER SURPRISINGLY, NEITHER SENATOR AMARAICH NOR SENATOR NAKAYAMA TO THIS POINT HAS ENGAGED IN ANY ORGANIZED EFFORT BRIEF DISTRICT LEADERS ON STATUS TALKS -- ALTHOUGH THEY PLAN ENGAGE IN SUCH ACTIVITY IN NEAR FUTURE. FOR MOMENT, MOST TRUKES LEADERS ARE IN DARK, EXCEPT FOR THOSE FEW WHO HAVE SEEN WHAT HAS BEEN

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APPEARING IN GUAM AND TTPI PRESS. NAKAYAMA HAS, HOWEVER, DISTRIBUTED HIS "REPORT TO INDEPENDENCE COALITION" TO OTHER MEMBERS TRUKESE CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION AND IN THAT RESPECT SOME DAMAGE ALREADY ACCOMPLISHED. FURTHER, FRIENDS OF MICRONESIA, ULUDONG AND OTHER STATEMENTS AND STORIES DISTORTING US POSITION HAVING AFFECT. MY OWN STATEMENT REBUTTING FRIENDS OF MICRONESIA NEWS RELEASE WAS WELCOMED BY FEW TRUKESE LEADERS I SPOKE WITH WHO WERE AWARE OF EXCHANGE. IN THIS REGARD, THEY DO NOT NECESSARILY ACCEPT ALL ELEMENTS MY STATEMENT BUT AT SAME TIME NOW ACTIVELY QUESTION VERACITY STATEMENTS COMING FROM SOURCES NOT FRIENDLY TO US. AT MOMENT IT APPEARS MAIN DAMAGE MAY BE COMING FROM HANS WILIANDER

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(CHAIRMAN, CONGRESSIONAL INDEPENDENCE COALITION). REFERRING TO REMARKS ALLEGEDLY MADE BY UNDER SECDEF PACKARD BEFORE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE IN LATE OCTOBER, WILIANDER HAS BEEN USING RADIO AND MEETINGS WITH TRUKESE LEADERS TO STATE PACKARD'S REMARKS SHOW AMBASSADOR WILLIAMS AND U.S. DELEGATION AT HANA WERE "LYING" IN THEIR PRESENTATION OF LAND REQUIREMENTS. (WILIANDER MADE IDENTICAL STATEMENTS IN LONG RADIO INTERVIEW IN MARSHALLS DURING VISIT THAT DISTRICT LAST WEEK.)

3. LONG CONVERSATION I HAD WITH SENATOR NAKAYAMA INDICATED PART OF OUR PROBLEM WITH HIM IS ABSENCE HIS FULL COMPREHENSION OUR VARIOUS STATEMENTS ON LAND AND RELATED ISSUES. HE HAD BEEN ASSUMING OUR REQUIREMENT FOR RECIPROCAL FREE ENTRY OF MICRONESIANS AND AMERICANS WOULD MEAN NO MICRONESIAN CONTROL OVER AMERICAN PRIVATE ACQUISITION OF LAND FOR COMMERCIAL PURPOSES, AND OF AMERICAN INVESTMENT AND OTHER ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES. FOR HIM, THIS IS PARTICULARLY BASIC ISSUE. WITH REGARD LAND ISSUE IN TRUK, SO FEW PERSONS ARE AWARE OF DETAILS OF HANA TALKS IT IS DIFFICULT TO GAUGE REACTION LATTER. I DID BRIEF INDIVIDUALS I MET WITH AND THEY SEEMED SURPRISED AND ALMOST UNBELIEVING THAT WE HAVE NO PLANS TURN TRUK LAGOON INTO MAJOR NAVAL BASE. WITHOUT EXCEPTION THERE WAS

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INTENSE PLEASURE RE OUR GIVING UP EMINENT DOMAIN, BUT SUSPICIONS

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REMAIN THAT PROCEDURES FOR EMERGENCY LAND ACQUISITIONS MIGHT BE SOME SORT OF BACKDOOR EMINENT DOMAIN. IN OTHER WORDS, MASSIVE SUSPICION OF OUR MOTIVES WILL TAKE TIME TO BREAK DOWN.

4. PONAPE DISTRICT. IN MANY RESPECT PONAPE, WITH YAP, MOST UNINFORMED DISTRICT IN TERRITORY ON ALMOST ANY SUBJECT. THIS BASIC CONDITION AT PRESENT APPLIES TO HANA TALKS. REP. PAUL HAS SAID VIRTUALLY NOTHING TO ANYONE, EXCEPT FOR BRIEF COMMENTS TO A FEW LEADERS EXPRESSING OPTIMISM AND AT SAME TIME HIGHLIGHTING FACT TERMINATION ISSUE REMAINS TO BE RESOLVED. THUS FAR VARIOUS GUAM AND TTPI PRESS ARTICLES ON STATUS TALKS HAVE HAD ONLY VERY MARGINAL IMPACT AND THEN ONLY ON A VERY FEW PERSONS IN DISTRICT CENTER. AT THIS POINT,

ONE CAN ONLY STATE THERE ARE FEW PLUSES OR MINUSES EVIDENT, AND NO SERIOUS PROBLEMS HAVE YET EMERGED. AT SAME TIME, PONAPEAN LEADERSHIP ANXIOUS TO OBTAIN DETAILS OF WHAT DID HAPPEN AT HANA.

5. MARSHALL ISLANDS (MAJURO). SENATOR LANWI AND REP. SILK EXPRESSED TO ME ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS (INCLUDING ONCE IN PRESENCE SENATE PRESIDENT KABUAI) CONSIDERABLE PLEASURE AT PROGRESS MADE AT HANA, BUT ALSO HOMED IN AND PRESSED HARD ON TERMINATION ISSUE. SHORTLY AFTER THEIR RETURN TO MAJURO, THEY ALSO GAVE BRIEF REPORT TO PEOPLE VIA

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RADIO WHICH EXPRESSED OPTIMISM, AND SATISFACTION OF PROGRESS TO DATE, BUT WHICH ALSO HELD PRETTY MUCH TO LANGUAGE AND TONE OF HANA JOINT COMMUNIQUE WITH FEW DETAILS. NO DISTORTION IN THEIR REPORT FROM ALL ACCOUNTS I HEARD.

6. ON NEGATIVE SIDE, FRIENDS OF MICRONESIA, ULUDONG, AND SIMILAR REPORTS HAVE HAD MAJOR IMPACT AMONG MARSHALLESE LEADERS AT HOME IN ENGLISH, ALTHOUGH MY OWN EARLIER REBUTTAL OF FRIENDS OF MICRONESIA RELEASE ALSO HAD IMMEDIATE AND FAVORABLE IMPACT. MOST LEADERS I SPOKE TO URGE "MORE OF SAME". PARTICULARLY DAMAGING IN MAJURO IS WIDE AWARENESS AMONG EDUCATED LEADERS OF PACKARD STATEMENTS AND BELIEF HE HAS INDICATED MICRONESIA MAY BE TURNED INTO AN ARSENAL WITH REVERSIONS OF OKINAWA. ALSO, AMONG MOST LEADERS I SPOKE TO, THERE IS CONSIDERABLE

UNHAPPINESS OVER OUR CONTINUING REQUIREMENT FOR ENIWETOK, AND SOME SUSPICION OF OUR INTENTIONS WITH RESPECT ANY FUTURE TEMPORARY EMER-

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GENY LAND REQUIREMENTS. THERE IS EVEN BELIEF AMONG SOME (E.G. SENATE PRESIDENT KABUA) THAT WE INTEND CONVERT KWAJELEIN INTO OFFENSIVE (MINUTEMAN) MISSILE BASE.

7. GENERAL. IN SHORT TERM, MOST SERIOUS THREAT TO OUR CREDIBILITY WITH RESPECT LAND REQUIREMENTS ISSUE MAY BE DISTORTION OF REMARKS ALLEGED TO HAVE BEEN MADE BY UNDER SECDEF PACKARD. (POSSIBLY CONTRIBUTING

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TO THIS PROBLEM ARE SOME RATHER VAGUE REMARKS ATTRIBUTED TO GENERAL WESTMORELAND, APPARENTLY MADE BEFORE HOUSE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE, AND/REPORTED IN NOVEMBER 10 EDITION PACIFIC DAILY NEWS.) MOST CERTAINLY

STEADY FLOW OF ACCURATE INFORMATION EITHER FROM MY OFFICE, OR FROM WASHINGTON, NOW ESSENTIAL TO MAINTAIN COUNTERBALANCE TO DISTORTIONS AND SUSPICIONS. FURTHER, THERE IS NO DOUBT WHATSOEVER THAT WE NOW SHOULD RELEASE AND DISTRIBUTE AS WIDELY AS POSSIBLE HANA TRANSCRIPTS WITH COVERING SUMMARY. UNIVERSALLY THERE IS ANNOYANCE OVER SECRECY HANA TALKS, AND RESENTMENT "PEOPLE ARE BEING KEPT IN THE DARK." ALMOST EVERYONE I SPOKE TO ASKED "WHEN WILL WE BE TOLD WHAT HAPPENED AT HANA?" FURTHER, MOST MEMBERS STATUS COMMITTEE I SPOKE WITH VOLUNTEERED RECORD SHOULD BE MADE PUBLIC, AND SOONER THE BETTER. "HOWEVER, THAT IS DECISION FOR SENATOR SALII AND AMBASSADOR WILLIAMS."

8. INDEPENDENCE ISSUE DID NOT POP UP FREQUENTLY, AND THEN MAINLY FROM TRUKESE CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS WHO ARGUE THIS NOW ONLY ALTERNATIVE.

HOWEVER, EVEN NAKAYAMA DID NOT SEEM TO TAKE THIS LINE TOO SERIOUSLY AND NOW SEEMS RESIGNED TO HAVING FREE ASSOCIATION AS FIRST STEP LEADING TO ULTIMATE AND RATHER DISTANT INDEPENDENCE ("MAYBE 25 OR 50 YEARS"). SOME MARSHALLESE, INCLUDING DISTAD DEBRUM, AND OTHER COMMUNITY LEADERS NOT AMONG IROIJ (TRADITIONAL LEADER GROUP) DROVE HOME POINT GP-3

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FM HICOMTERPACIS SAIPAN
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CINCPACREP GUAM/TIPI

Rec'd

S E C R E T /FINAL SECTION OF TWO
THAT "ONLY PEOPLE IN MARSHALLS WHO REALLY SEEK INDEPENDENCE ARE SOME OF KEY AIROIJ WHO WISH PRESERVE AND EVEN STRENGTHEN THEIR POSITIONS." FOR THIS REASON ALONE, MOST NON-AIROIJ OPPOSE INDEPENDENCE. HOWEVER, SAME OPPONENTS TO INDEPENDENCE ALSO ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS ADMITTED TO ME THAT IN ANY SHOWDOWN VOTE MOST MARSHALLESE AND OTHER MICRONESIANS WOULD SIMPLY FOLLOW GUIDANCE THEIR LEADERS. TOO, SEVERAL EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT CONGRESS OF MICRONESIA, GIVEN ITS TENDENCY TO COLLECTIVE IRRATIONALITY AND EMOTIONALISM WHEN IN SESSION, COULD TURN TO INDEPENDENCE OUT OF SHEER PIQUE AND PRIDE IF STATUS TALKS GO SCUR

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AT ANY POINT. (IN THIS REGARD, REP. MANGEFEL (YAP) RECENTLY MENTIONED TO ME CONGRESS QUITE CAPABLE OF VOTING FOR INDEPENDENCE IF TERMINATION ISSUE NOT RESOLVED. HE SAID HE WOULD VOTE AGAINST SUCH ACTION, BUT MAJORITY COULD SUPPORT SUCH A MOVE, IF ONLY TO STRENGTHEN MICRONESIAN BARGAINING POSITION. " BUT ONCE SUCH ACTION TAKEN, PRIDE AND FACE WOULD MAKE IT DIFFICULT TO STEP BACKWARDS." I CONCUR IN MANGEFEL'S ASSESSMENT.)

9. ONE FINAL UNRELATED POINT MIGHT BE MADE. QUESTIONED ABOUT RECENT STATEMENTS ATTRIBUTED TO SENATOR SALII TO EFFECT MICRONESIAN DELEGATION "WALKED OUT" OF STATUS TALKS OVER TERMINATION ISSUE, SILK,

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LANWI, MANGEFFEL, PANGELINAN, GUERRERO, AND PAUL ALL REDICULE THESE STATEMENTS AND NOTE SALII'S OWN REMARKS TO PRESS, MADE IN HONOLULU JUST

AFTER TALKS, CLEARLY INDICATE THERE WAS NO WALKOUT. LANWI AND MANGEFFEL

SUGGEST SALII NOW IS ATTEMPTING TO BUILD UP BARGAINING POSITION FOR NEXT ROUND OF TALKS.

10. FUTURE STATUS AND NEXT ROUND OF TALKS. IN PAST WEEK, EITHER ON TRIP OR ON SAIPAN, I HAVE TALKED WITH MOST MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WITH EXCEPTION OF PALAUANS. EXCEPT FOR SOME TRUKES (PARTICULARLY NAKAYAMA),

THERE IS STRONG SATISFACTION WITH PROGRESS MADE AT HANA, THOUGH FEW MEMBERS OTHER THAN THOSE AT HANA YET HAVE ANY ACCURATE SPECIFICS.

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HOWEVER, WITH EXCEPTION OF YAPSE AND MARIANAS MEMBERS, ALL HAVE VOLUNTEERED THEY ARE NOT ABOUT TO GIVE IN ON UNILATERAL TERMINATION PRINCIPLE. MOST DID INDICATE SOME SORT OF COMPROMISE COULD BE MADE WITH RESPECT MANNER IN WHICH PRINCIPLE IMPLEMENTED. MOST COMMENTED TO EFFECT "WE NEED SOME SORT OF CLUB TO REMIND YOU WE ARE HERE. WE FEAR THAT, ONCE YOU HAVE OUR LAND, YOU WILL AGAIN FORGET US." RECENT U.S. SENATE ACTION ON FOREIGN AID APPEARS TO HAVE REINFORCED THEIR CONCERN ABOUT BEING "FORGOTTEN" AND THEIR FELT NEED FOR A LEVER ON US.

11. ALL MEMBERS (BUT ESPECIALLY THOSE ON STATUS COMMITTEE) STRESSED IMPORTANCE HAVING ANOTHER MEETING BEFORE JANUARY SESSION CONGRESS. REP. MANGEFFEL (YAP) AND SOME OTHER MODERATES EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER FACT CONGRESS WILL BE IN EXCEPTIONALLY "UGLY MOOD" OVER VARIOUS OTHER ISSUES AND COULD REACT QUITE IRRATIONALLY TO ANY STATUS COMMITTEE REPORT THAT DOES NOT INDICATE SATISFACTORY RESOLUTION TERMINATION ISSUE. AT SAME TIME, NUMBER MEMBERS (SILK, LANWI, NAKAYAMA, PAUL, AND MANGEFFEL) HAVE INDICATED THEY SEE NO NEED RESOLVE FINANCIAL ISSUES AT NEXT ROUND OF TALKS.

12. SEPARATE CONVERSATIONS WITH PEACE CORPS LAWYERS OF CONGRESS, CONGRESSIONAL LEGISLATIVE COUNSEL, AND SENATE CLERK ALL TEND CONFIRM

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IMPORTANCE ANOTHER ROUND TALKS BEFORE JANUARY CONGRESSIONAL SESSION

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AND OF RESOLVING OUTSTANDING BASIC ISSUES AT THAT TIME, BUT ESPECIALLY TERMINATION ISSUE. THEY ARE UNANIMOUS IN EXPRESSING VIEW FORTHCOMING SESSION WILL BE MOST EMOTIONALLY-CHARGED AND AGGRESSIVE (WITH RESPECT TO ADMINISTRATION AND U.S. POLICIES) OF ANY SINCE FORMATION CONGRESS. ASIDE FROM STRESSES OVER LEGISLATION VETOED THIS PAST SUMMER, U.S. POLICY WITH RESPECT FOREIGN INVESTMENT, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ISSUES, QUESTION OF ELECTED DESTADS, MILITARY PROBLEMS, CONGRESSIONAL BUDGETARY AUTHORITY, AND GROWING BELIEF "IT IS TIME FOR MICRONESIANS TO TAKE OVER POLICY POSITIONS IN EXECUTIVE BRANCH" ARE ALL GUARANTEED TO PRODUCE FIREWORKS. SELF-GOVERNMENT AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ISSUES LIKELY TO BE PARTICULARLY CRITICAL WITH MAJOR LEGISLATIVE ATTACKS ON US ACROSS A BROAD FRONT. IN DISCUSSING HOW STATUS COMMITTEE REPORT MIGHT BE HANDLED (IF THERE IS NO RESOLUTION OF BASIC REMAINING ISSUES PRIOR TO SESSION), SAME SOURCES BELIEVE THERE WILL BE MAJOR EFFORT BY INDEPENDENCE ELEMENTS TO ENSTRUCT STATUS COMMITTEE TO NEGOTIATE FOR INDEPENDENCE. SUCH AN EFFORT "PROBABLY WILL BE DEFEATED AT THIS SESSION," BUT COMPROMISE END RESULT WOULD BE "TOUGHER NEGOTIATING INSTRUCTIONS" FOR STATUS COMMITTEE ON WIDE RANGE OF ISSUES,

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PARTICULARLY WITH RESPECT U.S. FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND DEFENSE RESPONSIBILITIES, AND LAND ARRANGEMENTS. SOURCES SUGGESTED THAT, AT MINIMUM, STATUS COMMITTEE IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES WOULD BE INSTRUCTED CONTINUE NEGOTIATIONS FOR FREE ASSOCIATION, WITH ENDORSEMENT VARIOUS POSITIONS TAKEN AT HANA. INSTRUCTIONS WOULD PROVIDE THAT, IF COMMITTEE UNABLE OBTAIN U.S. RECOGNITION OF UNILATERAL TERMINATION PRINCIPLE, THEN IT MUST NEGOTIATE FOR INDEPENDENCE. ALSO WOULD ANTICIPATE APPEAL FOR "SOME KIND OF UN INTERVENTION" INCLUDING PROBABLY AN INVITATION FOR COMMITTEE OF 24 TO VISIT TTPI AND ADVISE CONGRESS ON STATUS ISSUES. ANOTHER POSSIBILITY IS THAT OF ENTIRE STATUS COMMITTEE GOING TO NEW YORK TO MEET WITH COMMITTEE OF 24 AND OTHERS THERE.

13. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS. VARIOUS CONVERSATIONS REPORTED ABOVE AND JUST COMPLETED TRIP CONFIRM, AT LEAST FOR ME, IMPORTANCE MAINTAINING SPIRIT AND MOMENTUM ESTABLISHED AT HANA THROUGH ANOTHER ROUND OF TALKS PRIOR JANUARY, AND RESOLUTION TERMINATION QUESTION AND MOST OTHER BASIC ISSUES AT THAT TIME. IN ABSENCE MEETING AND RESOL-

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UTION ISSUES, WE CAN BE CERTAIN THAT, AT BEST, STATUS COMMITTEE WILL EMERGE FROM NEXT CONGRESSIONAL SESSION WITH MUCH MORE DIFFICULT (FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW) MANDATE THAN IS PRESENTLY CASE, AND ITS

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ABILITY COMPROMISE ON MANY ISSUES WILL BE SERIOUSLY RESTRICTED. IN SHORT, WE CAN GET A BETTER DEAL THIS YEAR THAN NEXT IN TERMS NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. FURTHER, WHEN ALL IS SAID AND DONE, I REMAIN UNCONVINCED THAT THOSE IN DISTRICTS WHO ARE UNHAPPY WITH CONGRESSIONAL LEADERSHIP ON STATUS ISSUES WOULD IN FACT STAND UP AND BE COUNTED IN ANY SHOWDOWN CONFRONTATION SHOULD WE OPT TO BYPASS CONGRESS ON STATUS QUESTION. THE CARDS ARE STACKED AGAINST US ON THIS ONE. ASSUMING INDEPENDENCE AS BEING ONE OF OPTIONS IN SUCH A SHOWDOWN, WE CERTAINLY WOULD RETAIN THE MARIANAS AND YAP, AND POSSIBLY PONAPE. BUT ALMOST EQUALLY CERTAINLY WE WOULD LOSE PALAU, TRUK AND PROBABLY THE MARSHALLS. THIS, OF COURSE, ASSUMES WE WOULD BE PUSHING FOR POSITION I (ONE). ON OTHER HAND, I REMAIN OPTIMISTIC POSITION II (TWO) CAN BE SOLD TO STATUS COMMITTEE AND CONGRESS. HICOM SHARES ASSESSMENT ON IMPORTANCE ANOTHER ROUND OF TALKS BEFORE JANUARY, AND REASONS THEREFORE.

14. MESSAGE PREPARED NOVEMBER 10. DORRANCE

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