



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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MEMORANDUM

TO: Ambassador Hummel
Chairman, Inter-agency Group

FROM: IO/UNP - John A. Armitage

SUBJECT: Marianas Separatism: Talking Points

The following is in response to your request for talking points that may be used in meetings with Marianas representatives during your forthcoming trip to the Trust Territory. While we do not feel that we can at this time indicate to the Marianas what administrative arrangements we might consider which would take into account their newly-expressed fear of "Re-integration" in near future, we can indicate to them that we are willing to consider proposals for holding separate discussions with them and to seriously consider any proposals that they may have which will satisfy their desire for close association.

Discussion

In public statements on the question of Marianas separatism -- comments on resolutions and statements to the Trusteeship Council -- the U.S. has repeatedly stated that, while we recognized their sentiment for permanent association and acknowledged that this sentiment would have to be accommodated at the time of self-determination, we were committed to searching for a satisfactory status solution for the Territory as a whole and that, regardless of the outcome of these discussions, the Territory would have to remain together until termination of the Trusteeship Agreement. This position was based on the hope that an agreement covering the whole Territory which would satisfy our strategic interests was still possible and the problems we would face at the UN if it appeared that we were attempting to split the Territory.

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However, in view of Senator Sali's opening statement at Maui acknowledging the determination of the Marianas for close association and since the threat of holding separate discussions with them no longer holds out any hope of forcing the rest of Micronesia into a more moderate stance, we should now take steps towards holding formal discussions with the Marianas. While we would still face problems at the UN over Mariana separatism, we do not feel that these would be insurmountable if the ground were properly prepared. Particularly helpful in this regard would be for the next session of the Congress of Micronesia to endorse, or at least acknowledge, the desire of the Marianas for separate discussions with the United States leading towards close association. On the other hand, we should not imply to the Marianas that the Congress would have any veto power over separate discussions being held. Conversely, we would not wish to encourage the Marianas to boycott the next session of the Congress or to bolt the Joint Status Committee at this time. In addition to the desirability of obtaining Congressional endorsement for separate discussions, the presence of a Marianas delegation in Palau would be most useful in countering distortions of the Maui talks by the pro-Independence forces. The same could also be said of the Marianas working within the framework of the Joint Status Committee until we and the Marianas conduct such formal and separate negotiations.

Previous contingency planning on means to accommodate the Marianas desire for close association were predicated on Re-integration with Guam. In addition to historical precedents, Re-integration would avoid the sticky problem of obtaining Congressional approval for a separate status for the Marianas and would present the least number of administrative and liaison problems for the Federal Government. However, while Re-integration is by far the most attractive option, Marianas statements at Maui now raise some doubts as to whether Re-integration would be acceptable to the Marianas at the time of termination. Though there may have been some movement back toward Re-integration in recent weeks, we may eventually have to face the question of devising some interim status for the Marianas.

While a number of possible interim statuses -- confederation schemes after termination or "transition" schemes leading up to termination -- might be devised which would provide for close association and, at the same time, prepare the Marianas for Re-integration, these would still present us with administrative headaches and the problem of obtaining Congressional approval for a separate status for the Marianas. Since inadequate staff work has been done on the feasibility of any of these schemes and since the Marianas leadership has obviously not considered what type of status they might prefer other than one which provides for U.S. citizenship and close association, it would be pre-mature and inadvisable to propose any of these possibilities to them at this time.

In addition to the above problems, any consideration of possible future relationship between Guam and the Marianas would have to take into consideration the desire of Guam for incorporated territory status -- with statehood as the ultimate goal -- and the present UN definition of Guam as a "non-self-governing" territory.

We thus feel that, if pressed, you should indicate to the Marianas that we have looked into a number of possibilities which might satisfy their desire for close association and eventual Re-integration, but we would prefer, at least at the outset, to explore with them measures which would protect them in a union with Guam on termination of the trusteeship.

Attachment:
Talking Points

Talking Points

1. If asked if the U.S. is now prepared to hold direct and separate discussions with the Marianas, you should respond that mutual steps should now be taken to prepare for formal discussions. We would prefer to postpone a decision as to whether the discussions should be wholly separate or at the same time with negotiations with the other five districts but we do not consider it necessary to wait until agreement has been reached with the other five districts before proceeding in earnest with discussions with the Marianas.

2. If pressed for answer on when such discussions might be held and what problems would have to be overcome before they could begin, you should state that, while there is general agreement within the U.S. Government that steps should now be taken leading towards such talks, we do need some preliminary clarification of their views. Conversely, we would want them to understand that a political status for the Marianas separate from the rest of the TTPI and Guam presents us with many difficult problems. We would, therefore, appreciate hearing their views on what measures they feel must be taken to protect their interests if they were reintegrated with Guam. We would also think it highly desirable

to have the Marianas and the Congress of Micronesia "on the record" for direct and separate discussion with the U.S. Perhaps the Marianas could put such a statement on the record at the January session of the Congress of Micronesia. We would hope that the Congress as a whole would endorse or take note of the Marianas' views.

3. If asked if we thought the Congress could or would exercise a veto over separate discussions being held, you should state that we feel that such an effort seems highly unlikely in view of Senator Salii's statement at Maui and earlier statements in the Congress of Micronesia. While failure of the Congress to "go on the record" could impede progress toward a separate status for the Marianas from the rest of Micronesia since we would have to consider how to handle criticism in the UN and Micronesia that we were attempting to split the Territory, we are nevertheless, obliged by the Trusteeship Agreement to take into account the "freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned," and the Marianas' desire for close association is already documented at the UN. We consider it essential that the UN understand that this desire for close association comes from the Marianas themselves, is not an attempt by the U.S. to

to split the Territory but rather is a political reality which we accommodated. Congressional endorsement of direct talks is, therefore, highly desirable.

4. If asked if we had considered any interim measures or alternate arrangements which would provide for close association and protect their interests against an influx of Guamanian labor and capital, we might wish to respond that a number of possible solutions had been looked into. However, any status short of "Reintegration" would present many administrative and Congressional problems. It is for this reason that we wish to hear them out on any proposals which they consider necessary to protect their interests and accomplish the orderly development of the Marianas.

5. If the Marianas respond with any detailed response to the above points you would, of course, have to accept it ad referendum. It should be emphasized to the Marianas that the present contacts are exploratory in nature and that any responses now or at a later date on proposals taken ad referendum do not imply official USG endorsement. However, if the Marianas respond in general fashion by stating that they wish to protect themselves against an influx of immigration

and capital from Guam, you might wish to respond that the crux of the question seems to be means of controlling land acquisition and investment. You might allude to the response provided last summer by the Department of the Interior to the Micronesian request for means under which they might control alienation of land under our Commonwealth proposal. (Details provided by the Department of the Interior.) Immigration and investments are unlikely to be great if alienation of land is controlled. Further, it is our understanding that Guam already has a serious labor shortage and it is highly unlikely that there will be any labor surplus on Guam in the very near future.

6. In general, you should endeavor to point the Marianan leaders toward a willingness to look toward a status involving association with Guam, rather than toward a separate status. Seek to elicit their views. Encourage Messrs Guerrero and Pangelinan to begin the process of consultation with other Marianan leaders, and ask them how they would propose to create a delegation with authority to negotiate for the Marianas. (Suggestion: a delegation might be appointed by resolution of the District Legislature with concurrence of the Marianas representative to the Congress of Micronesia.)

Drafted: IO/UNP:DJS^{SL}Sutter

Clearances: S/PC - Mr. Grant
IO/UNP - Mr. Feldman