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11/22/71

UNCLAS SECTION ONE OF FIVE
FROM POLAD 76. INTERIOR FOR OFFICE OF MICRONESIAN STATUS
NEGOTIATIONS. COMTWELVE FOR AMBASSADOR WILLIAMS. STATE FOR IO/UNP
AND S/PC. DEFENSE FOR OSD/ISA AND JCS. WHITE HOUSE FOR MR
HOLDRIDGE (NSC).
SUBJECT: TTP1 FUTURE POLITICAL STATUS - DRAFT ARTICLE FOR
MICRONESIAN

1. PER NOVEMBER 18 TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH AMBASSADOR WILLIAMS,
DRAFT ARTICLE FOR MICRONESIAN REPORTER MAGAZINE FOLLOWS FOR HIS
AND OSN'S REVIEW, EDITING, AND APPROVAL. SINCE IT IS ALREADY
AT MAXIMUM LENGTH, NO CHANGES SHOULD BE MADE THAT WOULD STRETCH

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OUT ARTICLE.

2. REPORTER EDITOR WILLING HOLD PUBLICATION UP THROUGH NEXT
WEEKEND TO PERMIT EITHER CLEARANCE AND RECEIPT FOLLOWING
ARTICLE, OR RECEIPT AMBASSADOR WILLIAMS' LETTER AND SUMMARY FOR
PUBLICATION. ANY FURTHER DELAYS WILL BE COMPOUNDED BY PROBLEMS
OF XMAS SEASON WITH POSSIBLE CONSEQUENT ULTIMATE DELAY OF
MAGAZINE DISTRIBUTION INTO JANUARY. (MUST BEAR IN MIND REPORTER
PRINTED IN GUAM WITH CONSEQUENT LACK OF CONTROL OVER PRINTING
SCHEDULES.) URGE THAT WHATEVER TO BE PUBLISHED BE TRANSMITTED
TELEGRAPHICALLY, OR HANDCARRIED BY AMBASSADOR HUMMEL IF HE

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IS TO ARRIVE HERE BY WEEKEND. IF LETTER TO BE USED, BUT IS TRANSMITTED SUBSEQUENT HIS DEPARTURE FROM WASHINGTON, SUGGEST HE HANDCARRY SEVERAL SHEETS AMBASSADOR WILLIAMS LETTERHEAD STATIONERY PLUS SAMPLE SIGNATURE. AN "ORIGINAL" OF LETTER THEN CAN BE REPRODUCED IN REPORTER.

3. AFTER CONSULTING NUMBER OBSERVERS HERE, HAVE DECIDED "SIMPLE ENGLISH" HIGHLY PARTISAN APPROACH UNSUITABLE FOR MY DRAFT ARTICLE. REPORTER AUDIENCE IS SOPHISTICATED AND SIMPLE ENGLISH FORMAT COULD BE RESENTED. ARTICLE CONSEQUENTLY SHOULD BE PITCHED TO HIGHER LEVEL AND BE REASONABLY OBJECTIVE WHILE ALSO TELLING U.S. SIDE OF STORY. IN DETERMINING WHETHER FOLLOWING ARTICLE OR LETTER AND SUMMARY WILL BE USED

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BY REPORTER, FOLLOWING FACTOR MIGHT BE KEPT IN MIND. AMBASSADOR WILLIAMS' LETTER AND SUMMARY WILL HAVE ALREADY BEEN PUBLISHED AND FOR MOST PART, PLACED IN SAME HANDS AS REPORTER MAGAZINE. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES THERE IS VALUE IN HAVING REPORTER CARRY DIFFERENT ITEM AND THEME.

4. BEGIN TEXT. TITLE - THE HANA TALKS: BACKGROUND AND RETROSPECT. (FOLLOWING QUOTE INSET IN ITALICS.)

"WE ARE VERY CONSCIOUS OF THE IMPORTANCE WHICH THE PEOPLE OF MICRONESIA THEMSELVES ATTACH TO THESE DISCUSSIONS AND HOW THEY WILL RELATE TO THEIR LONG-TERM FUTURE AND WELFARE. WE RECOGNIZE THAT, IN THE PAST, MICRONESIANS HAVE BEEN CAUGHT UP AGAINST THEIR WILL MANY TIMES IN EVENTS WHICH THEY DID NOT CONTROL. WE UNDERSTAND FULL WELL AND RESPECT YOUR NATURAL DESIRE THAT, IN THE FUTURE, MICRONESIANS SHOULD CONTROL THEIR OWN AFFAIRS. WE ARE FULLY SYMPATHETIC WITH THIS LEGITIMATE OBJECTIVE AND THE ASPIRATIONS OF YOUR PEOPLE TO DETERMINE THEIR OWN DESTINY." AMBASSADOR WILLIAMS OCTOBER 4, 1971, HANA, HAWAII.

5. THE "THIRD ROUND" OF MICRONESIAN FUTURE POLITICAL STATUS TALKS AT HANA, HAWAII BETWEEN OCTOBER 4-12, 1971, WAS A TURNING POINT OR WATERSHED DEVELOPMENT IN THE LENGTHY, COMPLEX AND MOST SERIOUS QUEST FOR AGREEMENT ON THE FUTURE OF MICRONESIA AND HER SOME 100,000 CITIZENS. WHILE NO BASIC AGREEMENTS HAD BEEN REACHED IN EARLIER TALKS, THEY WERE AN ESSENTIAL

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PRELUDE, AND SERVED THE VITAL PURPOSE OF DELINEATING THE ISSUES THAT MUST BE RESOLVED PRIOR TO ANY AGREEMENT ON A COMPACT FOR ASSOCIATION BETWEEN MICRONESIA AND THE UNITED STATES -- THE GOAL OF BOTH PARTIES TO THE NEGOTIATIONS.

6. THE PROBLEMS FACING BOTH PARTIES TO THESE TALKS WERE FORMIDABLE AS THE THIRD ROUND APPROACHED. ON THE MICRONESIAN SIDE, THE DIVERSITY OF GEOGRAPHY, ETHNIC GROUPS, CULTURES, LANGUAGES, ATTITUDES, AND EVEN BASIC INTERESTS -- WHICH ALL MAKE UP THE MICRONESIAN WHOLE -- CONTINUED TO MAKE IT EXCEEDINGLY DIFFICULT TO WELD INTO ONE THE GOALS OF THE DISPARATE SIX DISTRICTS OF MICRONESIA. ATTITUDES ON POLITICAL STATUS RANGE FROM THOSE WHO FAVOR THE STATUS QUO, THROUGH "COMMONWEALTH" OR "FREE ASSOCIATION," TO UNQUALIFIED INDEPENDENCE. FURTHER COMPLICATING MATTERS, THERE NEVER HAS BEEN (WITH THE POSSIBLE EXCEPTION OF THE MARIANAS DISTRICT) A SATISFACTORY TEST OF PUBLIC OPINION ON THESE DIFFERING CONCEPTS. TOO, MANY MICRONESIANS HAVE TAKEN NO FIRM OR SPECIFIC POSITION ON THE STATUS ISSUE -- OFTEN BECAUSE OF THE HIGH LEVEL OF CONFUSION, AND EVEN "MISINFORMATION" DELIBERATELY DISSEMINATED, WITH RESPECT TO EACH OF THE "OPTIONS" UNDER DISCUSSION. EQUALLY, EVEN UNDERSTANDINGS OF THE CONCEPTS OR OPTIONS VARY WIDELY. SOME VIEW FREE ASSOCIATION AS A TRUE AND CLOSE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE MICRONESIAN AND AMERICAN PEOPLES. STILL OTHERS LOOK UPON THAT STATUS AS NO MORE THAN A CONVENIENT ALLIANCE WITH THE U.S.

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TREASURY. ASIDE FROM BROAD CONSTITUTIONAL CONCEPTS OR LABELS, DIFFERENCES ALSO EXIST WITH RESPECT TO PRESENT AND POTENTIAL RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE PEOPLES AND DISTRICTS OF MICRONESIA, AND OVER SUCH BASIC QUESTIONS AS HOW TO APPROACH ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT WHILE PRESERVING A MICRONESIAN IDENTITY. SHOULD MICRONESIA REMAIN A SINGLE IF SOMEWHAT ARTIFICIAL UNIT, OR SHOULD DIFFERENCES BE ACKNOWLEDGED AND MICRONESIA BE FRAGMENTED TO SOME DEGREE? SHOULD MICRONESIA FREELY ACCEPT FOREIGN INVESTMENT CAPITAL AND RAPID MODERNIZATION OF ITS SOCIETY, ECONOMY, AND PHYSICAL INFRASTRUCTURE, OR SHOULD MICRONESIA ATTEMPT TO REMAIN WHOLLY MICRONESIAN, EVEN AT THE EXPENSE OF NEEDED DEVELOPMENT? BETWEEN THESE EXTREMES LIE MANY OTHER POSITIONS, AND THE PROBLEMS INHERENT TO MOST: HOW TO PRESERVE A MICRONESIAN

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IDENTITY WHILE ALSO DEVELOPING MICRONESIA TO MEET THE NEEDS OF A PEOPLE NOW IRREVOCABLY LINKED WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD. TOO, THERE IS THE DILEMMA OF MICRONESIA'S UTTER DEPENDENCE ON THE OUTSIDE WOULD FOR DEVELOPMENTAL CAPITAL (E.G. OVER 90 PERCENT OF MICRONESIA'S PUBLIC REVENUES, DIRECT AND INDIRECT, DERIVE FROM U.S. ASSISTANCE). ABOUT THE ONLY ACCEPTED CERTAINTY AT THIS POINT IS THAT A MAJORITY OF MICRONESIANS APPEARS TO FAVOR ASSOCIATION WITH THE UNITED STATES IN A FRAMEWORK WHICH

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WOULD PRESERVE A MICRONESIAN IDENTITY WHILE ALSO PERMITTING HER DEVELOPMENT AT A PACE AND IN DIRECTIONS DETERMINED BY MICRONESIANS.

7. THESE ARE SOME OF THE PROBLEMS AND FACTORS THAT THE CONGRESS OF MICRONESIA AND ITS JOINT COMMITTEE ON FUTURE STATUS (AND THE LATTER'S PREDECESSOR COMMITTEES AND DELEGATIONS) HAVE HAD TO FACE AND MUST FIND ANSWERS TO. IN APPROACHING THE POLITICAL STATUS QUESTION, THE CONGRESS QUITE NATURALLY HAS BEEN SEEKING A SOLUTION WHICH WOULD PROVIDE TO MICRONESIA FULLFILLMENT OF THE INHERENT RIGHTS OF SELF-DETERMINATION AND SELF-GOVERNMENT, WHILE ALSO ASSURING TO MICRONESIA CONTINUING ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT. THE LATTER REQUIREMENT, COUPLED WITH MICRONESIA'S SLENDER RESOURCE BASE AND RELIANCE ON FRIENDLY FOREIGN ASSISTANCE, AS WELL AS OTHER PROBLEMS THAT FLOW FROM SMALLNESS OF POPULATION AND LAND MASS EXACERBATED BY GEOGRAPHIC DISPERSION, ALL SEEMED TO ARGUE AGAINST UNQUALIFIED INDEPENDENCE AT LEAST FOR THE MAJORITY OF THE CONGRESS. CLEARLY, TOO, MICRONEISAS STRATEGIC LOCATION ASTRIDE THE AIR AND SEA ROUTES BETWEEN NORTH AMERICA AND ASIA PROVIDE MICRONESIA A ROLE IN THE FREE WORLD'S SECURITY FAR BEYOND HER OWN CAPACITY TO HANDLE IN THE EVENT OF FUTURE REPETITION OF HISTORIC EVENTS.

8. WITH THESE DIVERSE HOPES, ATTITUDES, AND PROBLEMS IN MIND, THE CONGRESS OF MICRONESIA HAS DETERMINED THAT MICRONESIA'S

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INTERESTS LIE IN A RELATIONSHIP ALREADY BEGUN --
THAT WITH THE UNITED STATES -- BUT REMODED AS "FREE ASSOCIATION"
BASED ON THE "FOUR PRINCIPLES." IN FORMULATING THIS CONCEPT, THE
CONGRESS GAVE PUBLIC RECOGNITION TO VITAL U.S. SECURITY INTERESTS
AND COMMITTED MICRONESIA TO ASSIST IN PROTECTING THOSE INTERESTS
AS HER CONTRIBUTION TO A PARTNERSHIP.
9. HOWEVER, EVEN THIS POSITION AND NEGOTIATING MANDATE DID NOT
SATISFY ALL OF THE DIVERSE ATTITUDES AND INTERESTS OF MICRONESIA.
THE MARIANAS DISTRICT HAS DISSOCIATED ITSELF FROM THAT

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CONSTITUTIONAL APPROACH, AND INSTEAD SEEKS CLOSER, PERMANENT
LINKS WITH THE UNITED STATES ALONG THE LINES PROPOSED BY THE U.S.
DELEGATION AT THE MAY, 1970 TALKS. SOME LEADERS IN SOME OTHER
DISTRICTS APPEAR TO FAVOR THE OTHER EXTREME -- UNQUALIFIED
INDEPENDENCE REGARDLESS OF THE POTENTIAL COST TO MICRONESIA'S
DEVELOPMENT. AND ACROSS MICRONESIA, DESPITE CONGRESSIONAL DECISIONS
AND MANDATES, PUBLIC DEBATE CONTINUES TO RANGE OVER THE RELATIVE
MERITS OF THE STATUS QUO, COMMONWEALTH, FREE ASSOCIATION, AND
INDEPENDENCE.
10. WHILE THE CONGRESS OF MICRONESIA HAS WRESTLED WITH THESE
PROBLEMS, THE UNITED STATES, SINCE MAY, 1970, HAS BEEN FACED

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WITH EQUALLY SERIOUS IF QUITE DIFFERENT ISSUES. CLEARLY PAST U.S. CONSTITUTIONAL AND HISTORIC PRACTICES AND PRECEDENTS WOULD NOT APPLY TO MICRONESIA, AND A WHOLLY NEW APPROACH BECAME ESSENTIAL. AN INTENSE REVIEW OF PAST POSITIONS AND NEW REQUIREMENTS WAS IN ORDER, A REVIEW WHICH WOULD TAKE INTO FULL ACCOUNT THE DIFFERING ASPIRATIONS, ATTITUDES, AND HOPES OF MICRONESIA AS ARTICULATED BY MICRONESIA'S PEOPLE AND LEADERS WITHIN AND WITHOUT THE CONGRESS. THE REVIEW ALSO, QUITE NATURALLY,

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WOULD REQUIRE FRESH CONSIDERATION OF U.S. RESPONSIBILITIES TO THE MICRONESIAN PEOPLE UNDER THE TRUSTEESHIP AGREEMENT, AND OF CONTINUING IF CHANGING UNITED STATES AND FREE WORLD INTERESTS IN THE MICRONESIAN AREA. COUPLED WITH COMMENCEMENT OF THAT REVIEW, A SERIES OF BASIC NEW STEPS WERE TAKEN BY THE U.S. GOVERNMENT. THESE STEPS ILLUSTRATE THE SERIOUSNESS OF PURPOSE WITH WHICH THE QUESTION OF MICRONESIA'S FUTURE HAS BEEN APPROACHED AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS IN WASHINGTON.

11. THE FIRST, TAKEN WITHIN A MATTER OF WEEKS AFTER THE MAY, 1970 TALKS, WAS THE ASSIGNMENT OF THE AUTHOR TO SAIPAN. THEN ATTACHED TO THE AMERICAN EMBASSY IN CANBERRA, AUSTRALIA, I WAS ADVISED OF MY NEW POST IN JULY, 1970, AND ARRIVED ON SAIPAN IN EARLY OCTOBER (COINCIDENTLY ONE YEAR TO THE DAY PRIOR TO THE OPENING OF THE HANA TALKS IN HAWAII). I WAS INSTRUCTED TO ASSURE THAT AT ALL TIMES MICRONESIAN VIEWS AND ATTITUDES ON ALL ISSUES RELATED TO THE STATUS QUESTION WERE FULLY REPORTED TO AND UNDERSTOOD IN WASHINGTON. IT WAS FELT THAT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THIS NEW POSITION WOULD PERMIT A GREATER DEGREE OF U.S. RESPONSIVENESS TO MICRONESIAN ASPIRATIONS.

12. THE NEXT AND MOST BASIC MEASURE TAKEN WAS THE PRESIDENT'S APPOINTMENT, IN MARCH, 1971, OF AMBASSADOR FRANKLIN HAYDN WILLIAMS TO BE THE FORMER'S PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR MICRONESIAN STATUS NEGOTIATION THE PRESIDENT'S INSTRUCTIONS TO AMBASSADOR

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WILLIAMS WERE STRAIGHT FORWARD: NEGOTIATE AN AMICABLE SETTLEMENT OF THE STATUS QUESTION. THOUGH AMBASSADOR WILLIAMS ALSO RETAINS HIS POSITION IN PRIVATE LIFE AS PRESIDENT

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OF THE ASIA FOUNDATION, HE COMMITTED HIMSELF TO THE PRESIDENT AND TO MICRONESIA TO APPLY HIS TIME AND ENERGY TO THE STATUS QUESTION TO THE FULLEST EXTENT NECESSARY.

13. IN JULY, 1971 THAT DEVELOPMENT WAS FOLLOWED WITH THE ESTABLISHMENT IN WASHINGTON OF AN OFFICE OF MICRONESIAN STATUS NEGOTIATIONS -- AN OFFICE CREATED SOLELY FOR THE PURPOSE OF ASSISTING AMBASSADOR WILLIAMS IN HIS PURSUIT OF A STATUS SETTLEMENT. AMBASSADOR ARTHUR W HUMMEL, JR. (AT THE TIME AMBASSADOR TO BURMA AND FORMERLY A DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL AFFAIRS) WAS, WITH LITTLE NOTICE, RECALLED FROM RANGOON AND APPOINTED AS DIRECTOR OF THAT OFFICE. HE AND AMBASSADOR WILLIAMS IN A MATTER OF WEEKS PUT TOGETHER A TEAM TO STAFF THE OFFICE; A NAVY CAPTAIN AND SEVERAL DEPARTMENT OF STATE OFFICERS, WITH ARRANGEMENTS TO USE EXPERIENCED OFFICERS IN OTHER DEPARTMENTS (MAINLY STATE, INTERIOR, JUSTICE, DEFENSE -- PLUS THE WHITE HOUSE) ON A PRIORITY "ON CALL" BASIS.

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14. MEANWHILE, THE REVIEW OF MICRONESIAN ASPIRATIONS AND U.S. POSITIONS AND INTERESTS, INCLUDING DEFENSE LAND REQUIREMENTS FLOWING FROM MICRONESIA'S STRATEGIC LOCATION, CONTINUED AND PEAKED DURING THE SUMMER AND EARLY FALL OF 1971. THE PROCESS OF REVIEW AND CHANGE OF POLICY WAS A LONG, ARDUOUS, AND COMPLEX BUSINESS FOR ALL CONCERNED. THIS WAS NOT SOMUCH BECAUSE OF DIVERGENT OPINIONS BETWEEN GOVERNMENTAL DEPARTMENTS (AS HAS BEEN SUGGESTED BY SOME), BUT RATHER BECAUSE MANY DIFFICULT AND BASIC DECISIONS HAD TO BE MADE WHICH INVOLVED MANY DEPARTMENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT, AND ULTIMATELY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. MOST OF THESE DECISIONS HAD NO PRECEDENT IN U.S. CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY. FURTHER, THE DECISION (MADE FAIRLY EARLY IN THE REVIEW) THAT MICRONESIA'S CONCERNS WITH RESPECT TO THE EMINENT DOMAIN ISSUE REQUIRED A NEW APPROACH TO THE HANDLING OF U.S. LAND REQUIREMENTS CREATED ENORMOUS PRACTICAL PROBLEMS FOR DEFENSE PLANNERS. TO SUM UP, THESE PLANNERS, IN THE MIDST OF RAPIDLY CHANGING SECURITY AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS AND CIRCUMSTANCES IN THE ASIA/PACIFIC AREA, WERE ASKED TO DEFINE SPECIFICALLY U.S. LONG-TERM LAND REQUIREMENTS IN MICRONESIA. FURTHER, THESE REQUIREMENTS WOULD HAVE TO TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION A WIDE RANGE OF POSSIBLE FUTURE CONTINGENCIES. FINALLY, IN DEFERENCE TO LEGITIMATE

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MICRONESIAN CONCERNS ARISING FROM LIMITED LOCAL COVERAGE

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ROLE OF LAND IN MICRONESIAN SOCIETY, THE PLANNERS WERE
DIRECTED TO HOLD THEIR REQUIREMENTS TO AN ABSOLUTE MINIMUM.
FROM THIS STUDY FLOWED THE DEFENSE LAND REQUIREMENTS AND
PROPOSALS DETAILED BY THE U.S. DELEGATION AT HANA.
15. AT THE SAME TIME, IN RESPONSE TO MICRONESIAN POSITIONS ON THE
NATURE OF MICRONESIA'S SELF-GOVERNMENT IN A COMPACT FOR
ASSOCIATION, LAWYERS AND OTHER OFFICIALS OF THE STATE, INTERIOR,
AND JUSTICE DEPARTMENTS CAST ASIDE THE "TEXTBOOK" TO SEEK MEANS
BY WHICH MICRONESIAN REQUIREMENTS FOR ASSOCIATION COULD BE MET

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WITHIN THE LIMITATIONS IMPOSED BY THE U.S. CONSTITUTION AND
LEGISLATION. THE END RESULT WAS A SERIES OF LEGAL BREAKTHROUGHS
IN WHAT AMOUNTED TO EXPLORATION OF NEW "CONSTITUTIONAL FRONTIERS."
16. BUT THE POINT OF THE FOREGOING IS THAT A MASSIVE, COERCED
EFFORT WAS MADE BY MANY PEOPLE AT MANY LEVELS OF MANY DEPARTMENTS
OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT TO FIND THE WAYS AND MEANS OF SATISFYING
MICRONESIAN REQUIREMENTS FOR A FORM OF ASSOCIATION WHICH WOULD
BE WITHOUT U.S. PRECEDENT, BUT WHICH COULD BE MUTUALLY
SATISFACTORY AND BENEFICIAL.
17. A VITAL SIDE-PRODUCT OF THE ABOVE REVIEW, ONE THAT WAS TO HAVE

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MAJOR IMPLICATIONS FOR THE HANA TALKS, WAS AN EARLY DECISION THAT IT WOULD BE VASTLY PREFERABLE NOT TO PLACE ON THE CONFERENCE TABLE A DETAILED "BLUEPRINT" OF AN AMERICAN SOLUTION TO MICRONESIA'S FUTURE. RATHER, IT WAS DEEMED PREFERABLE TO APPROACH THE TALKS WITH AN OPEN MIND AND EXPLORE TOGETHER WITH THE MICRONESIAN DELEGATION

THE MANY ISSUES BASIC TO ANY AGREEMENT ON A COMPACT FOR ASSOCIATION. IN THIS MANNER AN AGREEMENT COULD BE PUT TOGETHER WITH A FULL APPRECIATION FOR AND UNDERSTANDING OF EACH PARTY'S INTERESTS AND VIEWS. THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON FUTURE STATUS, THROUGH ITS CHAIRMAN, SENATOR LAZARUS SALII, WAS CONSULTED ON THIS APPROACH

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IN THE SPRING OF 1971. HE FULLY AGREED WITH IT (AND, INDEED, HAD HIMSELF BEEN PRESSING THAT COURSE). PARTLY AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THAT DECISION, AMBASSADOR WILLIAMS ALSO DECIDED THAT IT WOULD BE BETTER, IN HIS DISCUSSION OF THE ISSUES AT THE HANA TALKS, TO FOCUS ON THE SUBSTANCE RATHER THAN THE OUTWARD LABELS OF ASSOCIATION. THROUGH THE ABOVE APPROACHES, IT WAS AND IS HOPED THAT AN AGREEMENT CAN BE FASHIONED WHICH WILL EMBRACE THE WIDEST POSSIBLE RANGE OF DIVERGENT INTERESTS AND VIEWS IN MICRONESIA.

18. TO SOME OUTSIDE OBSERVERS, IT STILL APPEARED ON THE EVE OF THE HANA TALKS THAT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN U.S. AND MICRONESIAN INTERESTS

WERE IRRECONCILABLE. THIS WAS AND IS DEMONSTRABLY FALSE. THE MICRONESIANS CAME TO HANA WITH A MANDATE TO NEGOTIATE ASSOCIATION WITH THE UNITED STATES, AND WITH A RECORD OF PREVIOUS COMMITMENTS AND PLEDGES TO SATISFY U.S. SECURITY INTERESTS AND REQUIREMENTS IN MICRONESIA, INTERESTS AND REQUIREMENTS WHICH THE CONGRESS OF MICRONESIA HAS ACKNOWLEDGED ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS.

19. AMBASSADOR WILLIAMS AND THE U.S. DELEGATION CAME TO HANA COMMITTED

TO NEGOTIATE A FORM OF ASSOCIATION THAT WOULD BE RESPONSIVE TO DIVERSE MICRONESIAN INTERESTS AND VIEWS. HE WAS PREPARED FROM THE OUTSET TO GIVE FULL AND IMMEDIATE RECOGNITION TO MICRONESIA'S

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INHERENT RIGHTS TO SELF-DETERMINATION, SELF-GOVERNMENT, AND

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CONTROL OF ITS LANDS AND ECONOMY IN AN ASSOCIATION WITH THE UNITED STATES. TOO, HE WAS PREPARED TO AND DID RECOGNIZE THAT ANY COMPACT FOR ASSOCIATION SHOULD BE CAPABLE OF BEING CHANGED OR TERMINATED AS CIRCUMSTANCES MIGHT WARRANT. HE MODELED HIS PROPOSALS IN MOST INSTANCES ON POSITIONS PREVIOUSLY TAKEN BY MICRONESIANS. AMBASSADOR WILLIAMS ALSO CAME TO HANA (IN TERMS OF THE BENEFITS TO THE U.S. OF ASSOCIATION) TO EXPLORE HOW PAST MICRONESIAN COMMITMENTS TO MEET U.S. SECURITY INTERESTS WOULD BE MET, PARTICULARLY AS THEY RELATED TO DEFENSE LAND REQUIREMENTS. BUT ABOVE ALL, AMBASSADOR WILLIAMS APPROACHED THE HANA TALKS WITH A VIEW TO ACHIEVING FULLFILLMENT OF U.S. RESPONSIBILITIES UNDER THE TRUSTEESHIP AGREEMENT TO ALL OF THE PEOPLE OF MICRONESIA. (IN THIS REGARD, IT HAS BEEN ARGUED THAT A POSITION OF UNQUALIFIED INDEPENDENCE FOR MICRONESIA WOULD DISCHARGE U.S. RESPONSIBILITIES TO THE UN NATIONS, AND SATISFY THE ARTICULATE MINORITY WHICH PREFERS SUCH STATUS. HOWEVER, SUCH A POSITION WOULD BE CONTRARY TO THE MATTER OF THE CONGRESS OF MICRONESIA, AND WOULD ALSO BE A DERELICTION OF U.S. RESPONSIBILITIES TO THE MICRONESIAN PEOPLE AS A WHOLE.

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IN THE ABSENCE OF ANY EVIDENCE THAT A MAJORITY OF MICRONESIANS SEEK UNQUALIFIED INDEPENDENCE. THE CORRECTNESS OF THE PRESENT NEGOTIATING COURSE ULTIMATELY WILL BE TESTED BY A SOVEREIGN ACT OF SELF-DETERMINATION OF THE MICRONESIAN PEOPLE.

20. THOUGH ONLY NINE DAYS PASSED AT THE HANA TALKS, A NEW SPIRIT WAS EVIDENT AND MAJOR PROGRESS WAS MADE TOWARD FULFILLMENT OF THE GOALS OF BOTH DELEGATIONS. AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE TALKS ON OCTOBER 12, BOTH SIDES, IN A JOINT COMMUNIQUE, "EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE SPIRIT AND ATMOSPHERE SURROUNDING THE THIRD ROUND OF TALKS ON MICRONESIAN FUTURE POLITICAL STATUS, AND "FOUND THE OPEN EXCHANGE AND EXPLORATION OF EACH OTHER'S POINTS OF VIEW HIGHLY USEFUL AND BOTH AGREED THAT SUBSTANTIVE PROGRESS WAS MADE IN NARROWING DIFFERENCES." THE RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENT, FOR SO SHORT A PERIOD, WAS IMPRESSIVE. FOLLOWING ARE SOME OF THE HIGHLIGHTS OF AGREEMENTS MADE AND POSITIONS TAKEN.

A) THERE WAS AGREEMENT THAT MICRONESIA'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 CONSTITUTION, SYSTEM OF

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GOVERNMENT, AND LAWS NEED NOT BE PATTERNED AFTER NOR BE CONSISTENT WITH THOSE OF THE U.S. RATHER, THEY WILL BE DETERMINED ONLY BY

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MICRONESIANS AND NEED BE CONSISTENT ONLY WITH THE TERMS OF THE COMPACT OF ASSOCIATION BETWEEN MICRONESIA AND THE UNITED STATES. THAT COMPACT CAN COME INTO FORCE ONLY WITH THE CONSENT OF THE MICRONESIAN PEOPLE. U.S. 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.

C) IT WAS AGREED THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD EXERCISE NO RIGHTS 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 INDEFENSE 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 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
FUTURE USE. THE CONTINGENCIES NECESSITATING THOSE OPTIONS MAY NEVER
MATERIALIZED; THUS THE OPTIONS MAY NEVER BE EXERCISED. THE U.S.
DELEGATION ALSO STATED THAT THERE ARE NO NEW LAND REQUIREMENTS IN
THE MARSHALLS, AND NONE AT ALL IN THE PONAPE TRUK, AND YAP DISTRICTS.
REQUIREMENTS FOR LAND IN THE MARIANAS DISTRICT,

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MAINLY ON TINIAN ISLAND, WERE DETAILED.
E) 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 US 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 LAND CAN IN NO

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MAY BE ALIENATED FOR ANY PURPOSE, INCLUDING FOR COMMERCIAL OPERATIONS BY NON-MICRONESIANS, EXCEPT BY PROCEDURES AND LAWS TO BE DETERMINED ONLY BY MICRONESIANS.

GI) THE U.S. POSITION RECOGNIZED THE MICRONESIAN GOVERNMENT'S RIGHT TO DEVELOP AND CONTROL MICRONESIA'S ECONOMY.

HI) 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, UNDER A RELATIONSHIP OF CLOSE ASSOCIATION WITH MICRONESIA, THE U.S. GOVERNMENT WOULD DO ITS BEST TO PROVIDE THOSE SERVICES AND PROGRAMS WHICH MAY BE DESIRED BY MICRONESIA. ALTHOUGH

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BOTH SIDES AT THE HANA TALKS BELIEVED IT WAS TOO 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 RESPONSIBILITIES WAS MODELED ON THE POSITION TAKEN BY THE FORMER MICRONESIAN STATUS DELEGATION IN ITS JULY, 1970, REPORT TO THE CONGRESS OF MICRONESIA. IN ESSENCE, BUT BY AGREEMENT SOME FOREIGN AFFAIRS FUNCTIONS WOULD IN FACT BE HANDLED BY MICRONESIA. DIFFERENCES WITH RESPECT TO ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH OTHER NATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, AND OTHER ASPECTS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS REMAIN TO BE RESOLVED AT FUTURE TALKS, BUT THE EXISTING DIFFERENCES DO NOT APPEAR TO BE IRRECONCILABLE IN ANY WAY.

J) ON NATIONALITY, THE U.S. 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. NATIONAL STATUS WHILE IN THE U.S., AND THE FULL PROTECTION AND SERVICES OF OUR EMBASSIES AND CONSULATES WHILE TRAVELLING ABROAD.

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K) AT THE HANA TALKS, THE MICRONESIAN DELEGATION REQUESTED FREE ENTRY OF MICRONESIANS AND MICRONESIAN PRODUCTS INTO THE U.S., DELEGATION MAINTAINED THAT SUCH RIGHTS, AS A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE, MUST BE RECIPROCAL, BUT POINTED OUT THAT MICRONESIA COULD EXERCISE EFFECTIVE INDIRECT CONTROLS OVER THE ENTRY OF AMERICANS AND U.S. PRODUCTS 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 MICRONESIA WOULD BE SUBJECT TO MICRONESIAN LAWS JUST AS MICRONESIANS IN THE U.S. WOULD BE SUBJECT TO AMERICAN LAW. THE MICRONESIAN CONTROL OF LAND 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.

ONLY MICRONESIANS AND THEIR GOVERNMENT COULD DETERMINE WHO INVESTED AND FOR WHAT PURPOSE IN MICRONESIA, AND WHO COULD OBTAIN LAND AND FOR WHAT PURPOSE. THUS, AMERICANS IN MICRONESIA COULD DO BUSINESS ONLY ON MICRONESIAN TERMS.

L) FINALLY, IT WAS AGREED THAT ALL OF THE UNDERSTANDINGS REACHED AT HANA WERE PRELIMINARY IN CHARACTER, SUBJECT TO REVIEW BY BOTH PARTIES.

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

21. THERE ARE, OF COURSE, A NUMBER OF ISSUES THAT REMAIN TO BE CLARIFIED OR RESOLVED. THE MOST BASIC 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 QUE-

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TION OR ISSUE MUST BE RESOLVED BEFORE THERE CAN BE AGREEMENT ON MICR-
ONESIA'S FUTURE POLITICAL STATUS. HOWEVER, IT IS INACCURATE 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 TERMINATION 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

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FULL RECOGNITION, AND COULD BE IMPLEMENTED IF TERMINATION BECOMES
DESIRED OR NECESSARY. MOREOVER, TERMINATION BY MUTUAL CONSENT WOULD
ASSURE A CAREFUL CONSIDERATION OF BOTH PARTIES INTERESTS AND VIEWS
BEFORE TERMINATION IS RESORTED TO, THUS POSSIBLY PERMITTING CONSIDER-
ATION AND ADOPTION OF LESS DRASTIC MEASURES TO SATISFY LEGITIMATE
GRIEVANCES. TOO, IT WOULD SEEM CLEAR THAT IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS TER-
MINATION WOULD BE ASSURED IF AT ANY POINT CONTINUING ASSOCIATION
BECAME INTOLERABLE FOR EITHER PARTY, AND BECAME INCAPABLE OF BEING
SATISFACTORILY MODIFIED.

22. SINCE THE TERMINATION ISSUE DOES SEEM TO BE THE SINGLE REMAINING
MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE AT HAND, IT WOULD BE WELL TO QUOTE PRECISELY SOME

OF AMBASSADOR WILLIAMS' COMMENTS ON THE CONCEPT OF "MUTUAL CONSENT
TERMINATION." (FOLLOWING QUOTES INSET AND IN ITALICS.)

23. "WE BELIEVE THAT THERE SHOULD BE SPECIFIC PROVISION IN OUR COMPACT

STATING THAT AFTER A CERTAIN PERIOD OF YEARS, DURING WHICH THE ASSO-
CIATION COULD BE GIVEN A PRACTICAL TEST, EITHER PARTY MIGHT PROPOSE
AMENDMENTS OR EVEN TERMINATION OF THE COMPACT. SUCH A PROVISION WOULD
CONTAIN AN EXPRESS PLEDGE THAT THE PARTY TO WHICH SUCH PROPOSALS WERE
DIRECTED WOULD AGREE TO CONSIDER THEM PROMPTLY, TO RESPOND TO THEM
WITHIN A REASONABLE AND SPECIFIED TIME, AND TO NEGOTIATE THOSE PROPOSALS.

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FOR AMENENMENT, MODIFICATION, OR TERMINATION IN GOOD FAITH. WE WOULD PROPOSE IN ADDITION THAT AS PART OF THE COMPACT OR AS A SUPPLMENTARY AGREEMENT WE MIGHT ESTABLISH EFFICIENT PROCEDURES AND MACHINERY FOR SUCH NEGOTIATIONS SO THAT THEIR LATER CREATION WOULD NOT BE A CAUSE OF DELAY.

24. "THIS SUGGESTION CLEARLY CONTAINS A SIGNIFICANT CAPACITY FOR FLEXIBILITY TO MEET THE INTERESTS OF EITHER PARTY, GUARANTEEING THE OPTION FOR REVISION OR ABANDONMENT OF PARTY OR ALL

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OF THE COMPACT. THIS NEW PROPOSAL ALSO ENTAILS A GUARANTEE THAT BOTH PARTIES WILL PROCEED TO NEGOTIATE ANY DIFFERENCES SPEEDILY AND IN GOOD

FAITH. I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT MY GOVERNMENT WOULD MAKE SUCH A COMMITMENT." AMBASSADOR WILLIAMS, OCTOBER 7, 197, HANA, HAWAII.

25. AS OF THIS WRITING IT IS NOT YET CERTAIN WHEN THE NEXT ROUND OF TALKS THERE WILL BE IS NOT YET CLEAR. BUT IT IS CERTAIN THAT THE CONTINUING NEGOTIATIONS FOR ASSOCIATION BETWEEN MICRONESIA AND THE UNITED STATES WILL BE A LENGTHY AND COMPLEX PROCESS GIVEN THE NEW GROUND THAT MUST BE BROKEN ON BOTH SIDES.

26. BEYOND THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS ITSELF, THERE ARE LOOMING ON THE HORIZON RELATED PROBLEMS OR FACTORS WHICH MUST BE GIVEN INCREASING

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ATTENTION BY ONE PARTY OR THE OTHER .. OR BOTH. ANY COMPACT FOR ASSOCIATION MUST, TO BECOME VALID, BE ENDORSED NOT ONLY BY THE CONGRESS OF MICRONESIA AND THE MICRONESIAN PEOPLE, BUT ALSO BY THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS. IMPLEMENTATION OF THE COMPACT ALSO WILL REQUIRE MASSIVE U.S. LEGISLATIVE ACTION IN TERMS OF ENACTMENT OF NEW LAWS AND AMENDMENT OF OLD LAWS. TOO, THE FINANCIAL IMPLICATIONS FOR THE U.S. ARE MAJOR AND CANNOT BE TREATED LIGHTLY. AT ALL STAGES OF NEGOTIATION, AT THE CONFERENCE TABLE, BUT ALSO WHAT WILL IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS BE BEACCEPTABLE TO THE MICRONESIAN PEOPLE AND TO THE U.S. CONGRESS. THE U.S. CONGRESS, FOR OUR PART,

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DOES NOT TREAT LIGHTLY ITS RESPONSIBILITIES, PARTICULARLY AS THEY RELATE TO THE APPROPRIATION OF U.S. TAX DOLLARS. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, THE COMPACT, GIVEN THE FINANCIAL IMPLICATIONS INHERENT TO IT, MUST BE SEEN AS BEING MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL TO MICRONESIA AND THE U.S. NOT ONLY BY MICRONESIA AND THE U.S. EXECUTIVE BRANCH BUT ALSO BY THE U.S. CONGRESS. THE U.S. CONGRESS' (AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLES') ATTITUDES TOWARD FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO FOREIGN NATIONS ARE UNDERGOING MAJOR AND RAPID CHANGE. TO AN INCREASING DEGREE PRIORITY IN THE ALLOCATION OF LIMITED U.S. FINANCIAL RESOURCES IS BEING GIVEN TO THE PROBLEMS AND REQUIREMENTS OF THE AMERICAN NATION. THUS, ANY DEPENDABLE FINANCIAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MICRONESIA AND THE UNITED STATES WILL REQUIRE THAT THE CONGRESS AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE VIEW MICRONESIA AS BEING A "FAMILY RELATION" ENTITLED TO THE BENEFITS OF THAT STATUS. TO THE EXTENT THAT MICRONESIA IS VIEWED ONLY AS ANOTHER FOREIGN NATION WITH JUST ANOTHER CLAIM ON U.S. GENEROSITY, THE FINANCIAL RELATIONSHIP IN A COMPACT FOR ASSOCIATION COULD INDEED BE A SHAKEY ONE FOR MICRONESIA. 27. ON THE MICRONESIAN SIDE, THERE ARE ALSO MAJOR PROBLEMS AND ISSUES TO BE FACED AND RESOLVED, ALTHOUGH MAINLY AS A FUNCTION OF A FUTURE

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MICRONESIAN CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION. TO DATE DISCUSSION OF MICRONESIA'S FUTURE POLITICAL STATUS HAS FOCUSED ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY ON THE NATURE OF MICRONESIA'S LEGAL STATUS IN THE WORLD ABROAD, AND OF HER TIES WITH THE U.S. IN THE LONG RUN, GIVEN THE FRAGILE QUALITY

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OF MICRONESIAN UNITY, AN EQUALLY SERIOUS QUESTION MAY BE THE CHARACTER OF MICRONESIA'S INTERNAL POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGMENTS. ONLY MICRONESIANS CAN MAKE THE NECESSARY DECISIONS, BUT THE ISSUES THEY WILL HAVE TO RESOLVE RELATE NOT ONLY TO THE STRUCTURE OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT (E.G. APPLICATION OF THE SEPARATION OF POWERS CONCEPT OR, ALTERNATIVELY, SOME VARIANT OF THE PARLIAMENTARY CONCEPT OF GOVERNMENT), BUT ALSO TO THE ROLE OF TRADITIONAL VERSUS ELECTED LEADERS, THE QUESTION OF A STRONG OR WEAK CENTRAL GOVERNMENT, THE DIVISION OF RESPONSIBILITIES IN SUCH CRITICAL AREA AS LAND MANAGEMENT, CONTROL OF MARINE RESOURCES, AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT POLICY FORMULATION AND IMPLEMENTATION. IN PARTICULAR, THERE WILL BE THE THORNY ISSUE OF ALLOCATION OR DISTRIBUTION OF MICRONESIA'S SLENDER INTERNAL REVENUES AND OF ANY EXTERNAL FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE. CUTTING ACROSS ALL OF THESE ISSUES, AND MOST BASIC OF ALL WILL BE THE QUESTION OF DETERMINING PRIORITIES BETWEEN THE PRESERVATION OF MICRONESIA'S IDENTITY

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(OR IDENTITIES) AND LIFE STYLES AS AGAINST DEMANDS AND REQUIREMENTS FOR

DEVELOPMENT WHICH INEVITABLY, WHEN IMPLEMENTED, WEAKEN THE FABRIC OF TRADITIONAL MICRONESIAN CULTURES. ON HOW THESE VARIOUS ISSUES AND QUESTIONS ARE HANDLED WILL LARGELY DEPEND, IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, THE SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF MICRONESIAN SELF-GOVERNMENT OR UNITY.

28. BUT ONE THING IS CLEAR. AN AMERICAN WILL EXISTS TO ESTABLISH A MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL AND HOPEFULLY LASTING ASSOCIATION BETWEEN THE MICRONESIAN AND AMERICAN PEOPLES, ONE BASED ON COMMON INTERESTS, MUTUAL RESPECT, AND ON AN HONEST RECOGNITION OF DIFFERENCES OF CULTURE

AND LIFESTYLES THAT CAN AND SHOULD BE ACCOMMODATED. BUT SUCH A VENTURE, IF IT IS TO BE PRACTICAL AND VIABLE, MUST OFFER ADVANTAGES TO BOTH PARTNERS AND NOT BE ONLY ON THE TERMS OF ONE OF THE PARTIES. 29. THE MANDATE OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON FUTURE STATUS OF THE CONGRESS OF MICRONESIA IS TO NEGOTIATE AN AGREEMENT FOR FREE ASSOCIATION WITH THE UNITED STATES. THE U.S. WOULD LIKE TO ACCOMMODATE THAT MANDATE. BUT JUST AS SUCH AN AGREEMENT WILL AFFECT MICRONESIAN INTERESTS, SO WILL U.S. INTERESTS BE AFFECTED. ONE CANNOT EXPECT ANY NATION TO ENTER INTO A PARTNERSHIP IN WHICH THE INTERESTS OF ONLY ONE OF THE PARTIES ARE GIVEN DUE CONSIDERATION, ATTENTION, AND

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PROTECTION. THUS, IN A VERY BASIC WAY, THE NEGOTIATIONS RELATING

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TO AGREEMENT BETWEEN MICRONESIA AND THE U.S. MUST CONTINUE TO BE DIRECTED AT ACCOMMODATING THE INTERESTS OF BOTH PARTIES IN SUCH A MANNER THAT THE ARRANGMENT IS OF BENEFIT TO BOTH PARTIES. THERE CAN BE NO OTHER BASIS FOR A PARTNERSHIP. THE U.S. HAS NO INTEREST IN A TEMPORARY MARRIAGE OF FINANCIAL CONVENIENCE. END TEXT.

30. THIS MESSAGE GIVEN NO REPEAT NO DISTRIBUTION AT TTPI HEADQUARTERS. SUGGEST REPLY BE SLUGGED "THIS MESSAGE FOR POLAD DORRANCE ONLY. NO REPEAT NO OTHER DISTRIBUTION". DORRANCE

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