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Later in 1972!

Instructions for President's Personal Representative

1. General

You are authorized to undertake on behalf of the U. S. Government negotiations with representatives of the Mariana Islands with the objective of arriving as soon as possible at an agreement providing for the Marianas' close and permanent association with the United States' satisfying the following U. S. objectives:

Primary Objectives

-- To fashion on a priority basis a close and permanent political relationship with the Mariana Islands District which will extend U. S. sovereignty to those islands and satisfy U. S. security requirements. The latter include: denial of the area for military use by third parties; U. S. control over the foreign and defense affairs of the Mariana Islands; and the right to establish military bases in those islands.

-- To ensure establishment of a stable and friendly Marianas political unit through reasonable satisfaction of the political and economic aspirations of the people of the Marianas.

-- To satisfy U. S. obligations under the Trusteeship Agreement through an act of self-determination leading to self-government for the Marianas.

Secondary Objectives

-- To structure the status arrangements with the Marianas in such a manner as to have maximum favorable impact on the negotiations with the remaining five districts of Micronesia.

-- To keep United States' financial obligations to the Mariana Islands within reasonable bounds and relevant to the character of our future relationship.

-- To keep U. S. political, economic, and administrative relationships with the Marianas as simple as possible while accomplishing the above objectives.

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under provisions of E.O. 12356  
by F. Graboza, National Security Council

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-- To establish a relationship with the Marianas which will (in addition to meeting U. S. obligations under the Trusteeship Agreement) obtain United Nations approval, or at least that of a majority of the Security Council and of the Trusteeship Council.

2. Status.

You should seek initially to reach agreement with the Marianas on a commonwealth arrangement providing internal self-government under a locally drafted constitution. This arrangement should provide for U. S. sovereignty, full U. S. control of defense and foreign affairs, and access to the Federal Court system.

Should the negotiation of a commonwealth arrangement appear impractical because of a clear preference in the Marianas and on Guam, for a union of the two areas, or because of a strong preference in the Marianas for unincorporated territorial status, you may negotiate either status.

You should resist pressure from the Marianas to negotiate any status other than a territorial relationship. If pressed, you should note that your instructions are to negotiate a territorial status in response to the Marianas' expressed wishes and that discussion of any looser form of association would logically call into question the desirability of conducting negotiations with the Marianas separate from the rest of Micronesia. If, nonetheless, Marianas negotiators continue to resist territorial status, you should seek further negotiating instructions.

3. Land

The U. S. military and non-military land requirements should be satisfied by arrangements providing for purchase or long-term lease by the U. S. Government to take effect as soon as possible. You should make a serious effort to negotiate the land requirements defined under Alternative 1 and its variations in order to satisfy our priority land requirements on Tinian.

a. Alternative 1

Tinian. Purchase or lease the entire island (26,200 acres) but offer to lease back the southeast corner for population relocation (about

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7,000 acres). The U. S. Government would be willing to sign long-term leases, but would insist on controlling the uses the land can be put to and would not be obligated to lease back to anyone not currently a resident of Tinian.

Saipan

-- Conclude a Joint Use Agreement permitting U. S. military landing on and access to facilities of the civil airport.

-- Purchase or lease 500 acres adjacent to Isley Field runway. Part or all of the land could be leased back for agricultural purposes.

-- Purchase or lease 320 acres at Tanapag Harbor.

Farallon de Medinilla Island. Purchase or lease the entire island (229 acres). The acquisition of this island is to be included in all of the following negotiating alternatives.

Variants on the Saipan negotiating alternative:

(1) First Variant of Alternative 1

-- Tinian. No change.

Saipan

-- Conclude a Joint Use Agreement permitting U. S. military landing rights on and access to facilities of civil airport.

-- Purchase or lease 500 acres adjacent to Isley Field runway. Land can be leased back for agricultural purposes.

-- Obtain access and use rights to Tanapag Harbor (320 acres). As part of this proposal the Marianas representative would be asked to agree that any subsequent development of Tanapag Harbor would meet criteria set by Department of Defense to insure that Harbor could be used by U. S. forces. The U. S. Government would be willing to furnish planning advice for any subsequent development. The U. S. Government will negotiate and pay rental fees for any usage at the time of U. S. Government use.

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(2) Second Variant of Alternative 1

Tinian. No change.

Saipan

-- Conclude a Joint Use Agreement permitting U. S. military landing rights on and access to facilities of civil airport.

-- Obtain access and use rights to 500 acres immediately adjacent to Isley Field runway to develop some type of military installation for servicing equipment, etc., whenever the need arises. Any interim civil development would have to meet criteria established by the Department of Defense. In turn, the U. S. Government would furnish planning advice and reassure Marianas that in the event a military installation was built on this land it would be a high employer. The U. S. Government would negotiate and pay rental fees for any usage at the time of U. S. Government use.

-- Obtain access and use rights to Tanapag Harbor (320 acres). As part of this proposal the Marianas representative would be asked to agree that any subsequent development of Tanapag Harbor would meet criteria set by the Department of Defense to insure the Harbor could be used by U. S. forces. The U. S. Government would be willing to furnish planning advice for any subsequent development. The U. S. Government will negotiate and pay rental fees for any usage at the time of U. S. Government use.

b. Alternative 2

Tinian. Purchase or lease the minimum essential U. S. land requirement (18,515 acres), and relocate the population to the southeast corner of the island.

Saipan and Farrallon de Medinilla Island. Same as under Alternative 1.

c. Alternative 3. The same as Alternative 2, except that the Saipan requirements would be omitted. Whether this alternative would be used as a fallback from Alternative 1 or 2 is left to your tactical discretion.

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4. Financial Arrangements

You may propose sufficiently generous financial arrangements to make territorial status attractive to the Marianas, though the arrangements should encourage the Marianas' eventual economic self-sufficiency. Guaranteed minimum levels of direct assistance, based upon mutually-agreed program needs, can be in the range up to \$12 million. In addition, the U. S. expects to extend federal programs and services to the Marianas as appropriate. You may commit the U. S. to short-term assistance to cover any extraordinary transitional costs. You are authorized to negotiate, in coordination with interested agencies, land purchases or leases at reasonable rates, taking into account current land values in the Marianas District. It is important to make clear to the Marianans that all financial arrangements are subject to Congressional authorization and appropriation.

5. Interim Arrangements

Once an agreement on future status has been reached with the Marianas, the U. S. Government will seek to implement its terms, particularly those relating to separate governance of the District, as soon as possible, consistent with the need for Congressional approval. In your discussions with members of Congress you should outline the advantages of early implementation and explore Congressional receptivity to available alternative methods.

6. Congressional Consultation

You should keep the U. S. Congress informed of significant developments in the negotiations with the Marianas.

7. Responsibilities

Within the foregoing terms of reference, you are authorized to devise and implement the negotiating strategy best designed to achieve U. S. objectives in the negotiations and to determine the composition of the U. S. Delegation and appropriate procedural arrangements, taking into account the responsibilities and interests of the Departments of State, Defense, Interior, and Justice. All U. S. Government agencies and departments will provide you necessary assistance in seeing these negotiations carried to fruition.

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