The biggest political issue of the season is the October negotiations held in Hana, Mill. The following report is an analysis which quotes liberally from the soon-to-be-made public transcript of the talks.

1. america the fallacious Three basic fallacies dominate Amercan thinking regarding the future of Micronesia. First, the U.S. assumes that it has the right to mutual satisfaction", that it has the right to get something out of any settlement with Mioronesia. Second, the U.S. feels that its role is to make offers and that, with some compromise possible, the role of the Micronesian delegation is to say yes or no. Third, the U.S. assumes that whatever arrangement is made about the political future of Micronesia, it be in the form of an "association" with the U.S. set up by compact, not by treaty, as would be the case between independent people.

F. H. Williams, the American Chief negotiator, made these positions clear when he told the Micronesian delegation that "the fundamental divergence" between the U.S. and Mioronesia is this: "You have desoribed and proposed a relationship which would be so loose and tenuous, and the protection of U.S. interests so circumscribed and qualified, as to raise serious doubts as to whether my government could be responsive." Throughout the talks there are references by the Amerioans to "mutual consent" and "mutual satisfaction" as the road to an equitable settlement. To add a facade of legitimacy to the U.S. position, Williams resorts to such truisms as "In any negotiations there must be give and take on both sides, or the process cannot be logically called negotiations."

But how is it that the U.S. has a right to "mutual satisfaction" and the Micronesians must "give"? The Trusteeship Agreement, which was written by the U.S in 1947 and glided through a U.S.-controlled United Nations, says that the U.S. has an obligation to prepare the Mioronesians for self-government and economio self-sufficiency and that the Micronesian people have a right to freely decide their own future. Charged with adhering to changing circumstances and recommendations of the U. N. (Article 14 the U. S. would have difficulty in proving that only Micronesia, of the ten other trusteeships, is not capable of self-government but must remain in "association" with the U. S. and that the U. S. must receive "mutual satisfaction from any agreement. Certainly the U. S didn't feel that Britain, France, and Belgium deserved any "mutual setisfaction" when they lost their colonies.

In order to "maintain international peace and security the U.S. has the right to militarize Micronesia, but the obligation also allows the people of Micronesia to govern themselves and to fraely determine their political future The_wording_of_the_Agreement_suggests that the militarization of Micronesia should only take place with U. N. support as part of the actions of the Security Council and, most certainly, the U. S. has no right to secure narrow nationalistic or imperialistic satisfaction from such militarization, especially when it limits the freedom of the Micronesian people. It is piracy for the U. S. to suggest otherwise.

cont. p. 5

news briefs

HA WILLIAM CH

- OArson was responsible for the burning of High Commissioner Ed Johnston's house on November 30. The house was almost completely gutted and most of Johnston's possessions destroyed. Navy Intelligence was called in to investigate and a \$2,000 reward is being offered for information leading to the arrest of the arsonists.
- The next round of negotiations between the U.S. and Micronesia are tentatively scheduled for March and will be held in Palau.
- O District Administrators met in Saipan and, among other things, asked that they be included in future status talks. They also expressed a feeling that decentralization of decision-making be hastened.
- O Admiral Thomas Moorer, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, made an unannounced visit to Salpan and Arthur Hummel, a member of the American negotiating team, visited Micronesia from the end of November to December 18.
- oPhillip Burton, chairman of the House Subcommittee on Territorial and Insular Affairs, abruptly cancelled his trip to Micronesia citing a heavy work load and the unwillingness of his colleagues to leave Washington. His trip would have taken them to Tahiti, Samoa, and Micronesia.
- QA new reclassification scheme went into effect involving the raising of some salaries but not significantly altering the discrepancy in salaries between Micronesians and Americans. Public works employees in Salpan went on a wildcat strike one afternoon over the new classification scale and turned off all electric power on Saipan. Other workers struck in Saipan and Truk.
- QAccording to figures released by the Trust Territory Administration, Micronesia is "becoming more and more dependent on imports from other countries, while the value of her own exports is going down." Last year the T. T. imported over \$26.1 million, exports dropped 25%.
- OThe Congress of Micronesia meets in Palau beginning January 10. About 300 bills will be dealt with and it is expected that much of the session will be devoted to the political status question.
- OThe population of Micronesia is up 5% to 107.054 as of June 30, 1971.
- OThe remains of 1000 Japanese war dead were cremated on November 15 in Saipan by Japanese survivors of World War II.
- The Congress' right to investigate, a necessity of any legislative body, was denied by the HighCourt of the T.T. after a House committee tried to force American officials to testify on internal corruption in the T.T.
- OA medical team from the Japanese peace group, Gensuikin, accompanied by reporters from Japan's four largest papers, was ordered out of Micronesia on the "first available plane" when they tried to examine Rongalapese suffering from U.S. induced radiation sickness.

(For more news read the Micronesia Star (P.O. Box 822, Saipan, M.I. 96950) or the Micronitor (Majuro, Marshall Is. 96960).

PETRUS MAILO A MICRONESIAN CHIEF

Potrus Mailo was above all a man of his people. His people were the people of Moen Island, Truk, of Micronesia. His mission was to guide and protect his people in a world not of their making, a world of conquest and colonialism. That world was made by Americans. It is an irony which somehow illustrated the contradictions with which Petrus had constantly to deal that it is now I, an American and one of the architects of his colonial world, that is writing this tribute. Knowing this, why do I do so, aside from the fact that I knew him and loved him for many years?

Partly it is because writing words of praise for the dead is a foreign custom. It is not the Micronesian way and thus might as well be done by someone born to the tradition.

I write it, however, for a much more important reason. I hope by so doing to correct a terrible distortion which clouded the memory of Petrus almost as soon as he died. Petrus was a man of peace as well as a man of his people. Yet in extraordinary disregard of the feelings of a subject people, the funeral of Petrus Mailo was taken over, taken away from his family and his people by the American military and the American administration. In the presence of an admiral, navy seabees, and soldiers of the U. S. army, navy, marines and air force marching in full uniform, the Trukese were shocked to find they were left way in the rear. As an American I therefore write in shame and anger as well as love. The death of Petrus should remind us of other things than the fact that it was military power which captured and still holds Micronesia for the United States.

The memory of Petrus should remind us instead that as long as there are men of courage and wisdom in the world, the struggle for human dignity will not end until all men are their own masters, free to shape their own lives and fortunes.

Shortly before the onset of his final illness he declared that complete independence for Micronesia was the only possible alternative. This was for him a hard choice because he knew perhaps more clearly than anyone else the sacrifices and the mistakes his people would have to make as they learned to govern themselves.

He was a great chief from the first day he served. As he molded and taught his people (and in addition a number of administrators like myself), and commanded the respect of those whom he could not teach, he created around himself a totally new institution on Truk, the institution of paramount chief. Then as he grew in strength and wisdom and years he became something even more than that. He emerged as first amoung the paramount chiefs of all of Micronesia, known and respected by many people in all the districts. Before he died plans were under way for a meeting, which was his inspiration, to bring the wisdom and traditions of the past to help guide the work of the present. No longer, though, for Truk alone, but now for all of Micronesia. Petrus Mailo was in a true sense the first chief of Micronesia, and it is that memory of him which we must honor most.

(From an article by Thomas Gladwin which will appear in the Micronesian Reporter, 1972.)

Another well-known Micronesian died this fall, Jesus Filenug, better known as Double-Check, of Yap. The friend of all Americans he welcomed tourists to Yap and was entertainer in the local establishments.

(In reply to an editorial in the Pacific Daily News, 3 November, commenting on opinion our last opinion column.)

Dear Editor:

I have to send you this belated response, but I just cannot ignore the resentment and implicit arregance in your revealing editorial comment (Nov. 3.

Let me come directly to the point: American education is the most effective means today in the process of Americanization of Hieronesians. And more than that, education can be used as, or have the effect of, political indoctrination. Just as language viewed in the same light can be ultimately political. Much more than the physical teke-over of Micronesia, the imposition of foreign languages has always been a first step by each of the ruling powers in taking political control over the Micronesians. Isn't it smart of you to consider it important to point out the educational levels of Micronesians during the Spanish. German, Japanese, and American regimes? Congratulations to America for topping the list of colonial powers who, out of the sheer goodness of their national hearts, have fed Mierenecians their particular brands of that time-honored key to power: education. I'll take your word for that bit of historical knowledge, as I realize which side has traditionally been the "decoiver" in the privileged art of historicgraphy. However, I regret to inform you that the "noble, honorable cause" of education has brought, at least to a few Micronesians, not freedom, as you claim, but spiritual pain and orisis of cultural identity.

I would have preferred that old adage "Ignorance is bliss" to an education that onchies no only to perceive the subtle double-cross and exploitation (call 10 what you wish -- necoclonialism?) of which I am -- how shall I put it? -woll, a domed victim. Deemed forover, unless F. H. Williams agrees to negotiate with the Micronesians, say in Palavan in the forthcoming political status talks. Or, unless he agrees to out out the "mutual consent" phony nonsonse.

About that question of doublo-cross and subversion. How shall we begin? Maybo by erasing from memory the inferences regarding the substance of the Solonon Report? How about J. D. and his role out there in Saipan? Political Advisor, on? How about all those breaches of international how cited by Dr. Harrop Freeman? You, the sweet, altruistic heart says, "There are only 90,000 people out there. Who gives a damn?" Even on flinsy evidence alone, I think I have a legitimate reason to believe that education can-and as usually the case-is translated into political power, or vice versa, and that the crucial question to ask is: Whore do the decisions concerning educational and fiscal policies in Micronesia criginate? D. C.

Even granting that education in Micronesia represents "a great American belief in education", your nation, "as great and powerful as it is" (confound that mauseating arrogancel) is definitely not the answer to what you call, as befits your world-viou, "a group of islanders for out here in the Paciflo," Your nation has never been quite the enswer, lot me remind you with modesty, to a whole alienated segment of its own people, so I take it that either you are somewhat quaintly brave or unforgivably neive to assume that it is, parhaps, the chamer for paople of the Pacific.

Perhaps the answer can be found by reading J. William Fulbright's The Arragance of Power thoroughly or by taking an overdose of medesty-inducing pills.

Yinug, a young Micronesian

Talks cont

2. you are free, but. . .

The U. S. claims that it will renounce its right to eminent domain
and will allow Micronesians to write
their own constitution and laws but
all of this is within a context of
a "mutually beneficial relationship"
where the Micronesians "would have
full and complete authority to govern their own affairs except for areas for which the U. S. would be responsible." Among the best examples
of this:

- 1. "The U. S. would agree to forego the legal right to exercise eminent domain, if in return the Micronesian government would work out firm arrangements for satisfying our forseeable land needs."
- 2. The Micromonesians could write their own constitution but "it would be our hope that your constitution might wish to take full advantage of the experience of our constitutional development" and "we would seek a mutual agreement that your constitution and any amendment thereto be consistent with the basic understanding and terms of the compact which we conclude."
- 3. "The U. S. would recognize that the government and people of Micronesia have full authority, including the right to enact, amend, or repeal your own legislation, over all areas of self-government except those exercised by the U. S. pursuant to our compact and agreed to by mutual consent."
- 4. Micronesians would be citizens of Micronesia, but also U.S. nationals.
- 5. If American postal or currency services were retained then U.S. laws and regulation by U.S. agents would be necessary.
- 5. Micronesians could appropriate funds in any way, but if funds come from the U.S., technical advisers would help in deciding their proper illocation.
- 7. If American services and pro-;rams like public health, CEO, Man-

power Training. Secondary School Development. Library Services. etc., were extended then the U.S. would insist on American regulations being followed and on enforcement by U.S. officials.

plest terms, the American position is:
"You are free but you must remain closely associated with the U.S." The original offer of the U.S. was for a commonwealth status; this time the U.S. has
refrained from labelling its proposal
but it remains a status of submission
and would mean a continued colonial relationship.

Beyond all the quid pro quos is an adamance on the most fundamental pointthat of termination. To the Micronesian demand that any agreement be unilaterally terminable, the U.S. replied:
"Precipitate change or termination against the will of the U.S. would have
to be weighed against the continuing
need for political stability in the
Pacific Ocean area."

3. the willtary

When details of the military's plans for Micronesia were first revealed in our last newsletter, there was immediate response from the State Dept. and later from F. H. Williams. Their basic claim was What the military interests were limited and that most of what the U.S. had in mind was "options" not real desires. They never questioned the veracity of our claim that an H-bomb and/ or toxic gas storage facility would be built on Babelthuap. During Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings, Sen. Clifford Case, quoting from our newsletter, asked David Packard, until recently the deputy defense secretary. what he knew about bases in Micronesia. His answer: "the U.S. would have the right to place (military facilities) there." To further foul the American case, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Adm. Thomas Moorer, showed up on Saipan unannounced right in the middle of Dorrance's stream of frothy denunciations.

Although Williams talks about the need for "give and take" he is primarily interested in taking. How can one

bargain with an opponent who already has the right-to build bases and who has already done extensive surveying and softening up of the people? The Micronesians asked for a promise that the U.S. would not build any bases until an agreement is reached, but the U.S. refused to limit itself.

Within a month of the negotiations the U. S. has already stepped up its efforts. Adm. Paul Pugh, Navy commander in the area visited Tinian and his visit was followed by a survey team headed by Guam's highest ranking military man. Col. V. T. Blas whose credentials as a surveyor might be lacking but whose willingness to soften up his people is not. Although many of the people of Tinian may want an air base, they do have a right to bargain with the U.S. and not have to accept American pablum. passively. They have recently expressed just that point of view.

Like the island people of ancient Greece, the Micronesian people are being told by the U. S.:

"You know as well as we do that right as the world goes, is only in question between equals in power, while the strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must. The fact that you are islanders and weaker than others rendering it all the more important that you should not succeed in baffling the masters of the sea."———Thuoydides.

opinion

-peace & stability for whom?

Since it is obvious now to everyone that the U.S. government's sole interest in Micronesia is not the "welfare of the Micronesian people" we are hearing a more honest excuse for our "permanent partnership"; that the Micronesians have the responsibility to help America in its mobligation to maintain peace and stability in the Facific."

As an American, let me ask some questions: To whom does "my" government

owe this obligation? What kind of peace is the U.S. maintaining? What kind of stability does it want to see? What is the role and responsibility of the Micronesian people as regards "peace and stability in the Pacific"?

The American government has certainly not obligated itself to the Asian people: few Vietnamese asked the U.S. to drop napalm from B-52's leaving Guam. Pres. Eigenhower himself admitted that if the U.S. had not atolen their right to self-determination in 1956, 80% of South Victnam's people would have freely chosen to join with North Vietnam under a socialist government. And none of the workers or students that I met in Japan wanted to see American troops and planes on their islands. And if it it is obligated to the American people. then why have "we" voted in the last two elections for Presidents who promised to end the war?

The kind of peace the U.S. is maintaining involves the murder of thousands of
East Pakistanis with American equipment.
Vietnam has not seen any true peace in
30 years, ever since the people have
fought to take their freedom back from
Japanese, French, and U.S. imperialists.

So, it is clear what the government means by this obligation—it is obligated not to the peoples of the Pacific or to the American people, but to American big business which is given the peace and stability it needs to build banks, mines, machine guns, and bomber planes.

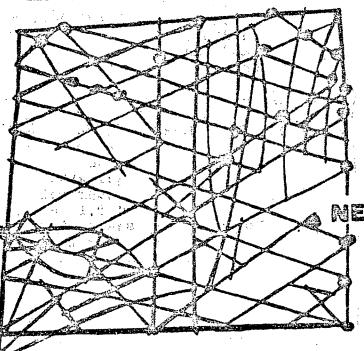
But what is the responsibility of the Micronesians? To help the U.S. build bisger nuclear bombs and better napalm? NOIL Their first responsibility is to themselves, to make sure they can decide their own future freely. Their second responsibility is to their neighbors in the poor countries of the Pacific-to make sure the U.S. does not use them to destroy the cultures and peoples of countries around them. True peace and stability in the Pacific means no more foreign troops and bombs where they don't belong and no more foreign control of a country's own wealth and resources. No more Bikinis and no more Vietnams!!

----Len Menzie, RPCV (Micro VII)

response

John Dorrance, the State Dept. errand boy on Sail. claims that Friends of Micronesia, the Micronesian press and members of the Congress of Micronesia have deliberately distorted events which took place at the negotiations in Hana, Maui. The more he says, the more clear it is that he is in a defensive position and is hard put to establish a convincing case for the U.S. The truth of our claims has never been questioned. By depresating the conclusions of those who have outlined U.S. plans for bases and H-bomb storage in Micronesia, he has only succeeded in convincing more and more people that the U.S. does indeed, have an overwhelming precooupation with the militarization and permanent colonization of Micronesia.

Abraham Lincoln said, "It is better to say little and be thought a fool than to say a lot and remove all doubt of it." Dorrance and the others who work out of the Office of Micronesian Status Negotiations, ought to follow that patriotic advice.



Stephen Connolly & Peter Shapiro, "Micronesia: Staging Area Imperialism." The Nation. October 11, 1971.

Don Smith, "Pawn in the Pacific," The Progressive, December 1971.

Mary Browning, Oceans Magazine, January/February, 1972.

NEW ARTICLES

P.F. Kluge & Hanson Baldwin, Reader's Digest, December 1971.

E.J. Kahn, "A Reporter At Large, Micronesia Revisited," The New Yorker, December 18, 1971.

Tear off and return

PAY NOW (mot later)

To continue receiving the Newsletter, we must hear from you immediately. Send at least a \$3 donation. This will barely cover our costs. If you can't afford a donation let us know.

Return to Arlene Mowhat, Friends of Micronesia 2325 McKinley Avenue, Berkeley, Ca. 94703

letters

mSirs: Is there more han one kind of fire? Why is it that the HiCom's clothes are so much more important than the Congress of Micronesia and all of its records?

When the Congress buildings were burned nothing was done but in the latest case, as soon as Johnston ordered a new queen-size bed to be flown in from San Francisco, he had Navy Intelligence called in and offered a \$2,000 reward.

It's too bad the Americans think their clothes are more important than the Congress and what it stands for."

Name Withheld

portant information for Micronesians. I didn't know what was really the interest of the U.S. government in Micronesia until I read the Newsletter. Thanks a million for your concern and work for the sake of Micronesia. You are Micronesia's best friend. Enclosed is a check for \$5. Thank you.

Rosie Donerong Columbia, Mo.

happenings

eNew groups of Friends are being organized in New York, Chicago, and Chapel Hill. Write to the Boston office for details. CAn organizer from the International Longshore h's and Warehouseman's Union met with some of the San Francisco Friends to discuss conditions among Micronesian dockworkers and the possibility of their unionization.

OThe San Francisco Friends arranged the appearance of Senator Lazurus Salii on San Francisco's award-winning "Newsroom" TV program on December 29.

The Boston office has moved to: 129 Audubon Avenue Braintree, Mass. 02184

eIn early December the Boston Friends held a meeting at Harvard University with members of the anthropology faculty and students at which the TV multimedia show was presented. All of the districts were represented by RPCVs.

GMembers of the Boston group recently attended various national conferences: the American Historical Assn., American Linguists, and the American Anthropological Assn. conventions. At the AAA meeting in New York, the Friends of Micronesia table offered buttons, pamphlets, and reprints of recent articles, along with the presentation to about 300 people of our multi-media show. Generous contributions were colleoted. We were encouraged with the enthusiasm shown by the anthropology students, former PCVs and T.T. employees. who were happy to see that at last some efforts were being made to present the situation in Mioronesia to the public.

