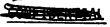


### United States Department of the Interior

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY WASHINGTON, D.C. 20240



16 March 1972

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Memorandum

To:

OSN - Captain Crowe

From:

TTPI POLAD - John C. Dorrance 1/7

Subject:

TTPI - Transitional Change in Preparation for Termination

of the Trusteeship

It is clear from various reports, and from Senator Salii's remarks at Hana, that the Status Committee will wish to discuss transitional changes during the Palau talks, and that the Committee may wish to offer some specific proposals. This will be particularly so should we reach broad agreement in principle on the nature of Micronesia's future status. (If the talks go sour and breakup with disagreement on key issues, the Committee may then consider discussion of transitional change irrelevant pending agreement on future status.) We should be prepared to respond to any such initiatives by the Committee, and if possible, preempt the Committee from making specific recommendations or requests which may be unacceptable (e.g., appointment of a Micronesian Hicom and full Micronesian Congressional authority over programming of the U.S. grant).

I would urge that we take the initiative on transitional change. Once it is clear we are moving toward a basic agreement on key issues, we should bring up the subject with statements and proposals along the following lines.

Basic Operative Principles of Transitional Change - We should state that any transitional change should be based on the following principles.

(a) There should be an agreed upon time-frame for transition from a basic agreement on future status to actual termination of the trusteeship. (From our point of view, the shorter the period the better to minimize any danger of an agreement coming unraveled owing to the emergence of new pressures, or the strengthening of oldpressures.) We could suggest two or three years but be prepared to accept five years. It seems likely the Micronesians would prefer a period of three to five years.

(b) Changes during that time-frame (which will be a flexible goal) should be introduced on a step-by-step, phased basis in order to give Micronesians maximum experience in these largest of government

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which will be critical to a self-governing Micronesia. Further, the pace of change should be such that Micronesia will be almost fully self-governing in the last stages of the trusteeship. The final transition from trusteeship to the new status should be a simple shift of authority rather than a traumatic shock, i.e., termination will represent in the main a de jure recognition of a de facto situation.

(c) Changes introduced in this transitional period should be directed at assuring that the trusteeship government institutions, programs, policies, laws, financing arrangements, etc. inherited by a self-governing Micronesia will be compatible with those of the new Micronesia. As an example, the structure of government in the last days of the trusteeship should be similar to that which will exist under Micronesia's new status.

Requirement for a Constitutional Convention - Enabling legislation for a constitutional convention is clearly a Micronesian responsibility, though the U.S. Government will be happy to provide any advisory services needed, including to the convention itself. The important thing is that Micronesia will require a constitution which can go into effect immediately upon termination of the trusteeship. Further, in terms of assuring a smooth transition to the new status, it will be necessary to know, as soon as possible, the nature of Micronesia's future governmental structure, i.e., the organization of the district and central governments, and the relationship between the district and central governments. Only a constitutional convention can determine these arrangements. Therefore, to assure early, orderly, and appropriate transitional changes, we would urge the Status Committee and the Congress of Micronesia to arrange for a constitutional convention at the earliest possible date. The convention will have a complex, most serious, and lengthy task to perform. As much time as possible should be given to that convention by making it possible to commence its work in the near future.

The Mechanics of Achieving Transitional Changes - The U. S. Government, as the Administering Authority, and Micronesians both have a major interest in the nature of the transitional changes and their implementation. Such changes also should have the approval of both, and will require the cooperation of both sides in their implementation. Thus, there should be established orderly procedures and means for the consideration, approval, and implementation of such changes. To this end we would propose the establishment of a Joint Micronesian-American Commission (or Commissions) whose sole purpose will be to arrange for an orderly transition to termination of the trusteeship. In this regard, there appear to be two basic approaches.

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- (a) A single Joint Commission for Transitional Change could be established with equal numbers of Micronesians and Americans. Presumeably the Micronesian Members would be appointed by the Congress of Micronesia, but that is a decision for Micronesia. The U.S. Members would be representative of the concerned departments of the U.S. Government. The Commission could be jointly funded by the U.S. Government and the Congress of Micronesia and would have access to expertise on various issues from the U.S. Government, and from Micronesians and Americans in the Congress of Micronesia and the TTPI Administra-Further, as appropriate and necessary, it could employ outside consultants. The Commission probably would require a permanent office staff in both Saipan and Washington, D.C.. The Commission would be empowered to consider and make recommendations for transitional changes in all prospective areas of change, i.e., changes in governmental structure, land policy and arrangements, financing arrangements, economic development policy and programs, laws, education, personnel policies and operations, the operation of U.S. programs and services, and so on. The Commission would also draw up proposed timetables for implementation of changes. The recommendations of the Joint Commission then could be passed to the appropriate Micronesian and American authorities for approval and implementation. The nature of the change proposed would in large measure determine which authorities would be responsible for implementation. Some changes would require legislative action by the Congress of Micronesia, other changes might only require administrative action by the U.S. Government or TTPI administration. Still other changes might require action by all three. In any of these circumstances, the Joint Commission would have the further responsibility of monitoring action on the changes to assure their effective implementation.
- (b) The other possibility is only a variant on the above and envisages the creation of a number of Joint Commissions rather than only one, with each Joint Commission having responsibility in only one or several functional areas. As an example, there could be a Joint Commission on Constitutional Change and Laws, and others on Lands, Financing Arrangements, Development Policies, and so on. Obviously the various Commissions would have to work together and they probably could share a common permanent staff. Other arrangements and responsibilities could also be much the same as for a single Joint Commission. Perhaps the main drawback to a series of Joint Commissions, as against one, is the risk that coordination of-change proposals between various Commissions could be difficult, and there would be the risk of conflicting recommendations and changes. Further, there is no question but that this variation would require far more manpower from both sides than would be the case of a single Commission, and the expenses could be significantly greater.

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Whichever varient might be ultimately decided upon, there would be a requirement for internal working arrangements, e.g., voting procedures, selection or appointment of Chairman, and so forth. However, these matters can be worked out in further discussion at another time if the above basic proposals are acceptable to the Status Committee.

Micronesia's Future Capitol - (This subject should be touched upon only if we are already on a "separate status track" with respect to the Marianas.) It seems clear from past initiatives by the leaders and people of the Marianas District, and from statements made during these talks, that termination of the trusteeship will result in a separate and different status for the Marianas as against the other five districts of Micronesia. In these circumstances, we assume it will become necessary to establish a new capitol of Micronesia for those five districts of Micronesia. We also are aware that your Congress has already given serious consideration to this problem, including the possible location, and the costs of establishing a new capitol. Although the physical location of such a capitol is a Micronesian responsibility, we all recognize the need for early planning and action in this area if Micronesia is to have a functioning capitol at the termination of the trusteeship. In these circumstances, I would like additionally to propose that, whatever varient of a Joint Commission or Commissions may be decided upon with respect to other transitional changes, a special Joint Commission on the Establishment of a New Micronesian Capitol be established. The primary purpose of this Commission would be to see to the timely establishment of the physical plant or infrastructure of a new Micronesian capitol during the remaining years of the trusteeship. In short, a joint effort would be made to assure that a future Micronesian Government would have a "home" upon termination of the trusteeship.

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The above "talking points" assume broad agreement on Micronesia's future status, at least with respect to the key issues of foreign affairs, defense, and termination. There is the possibility that we will not achieve such agreement in these areas, but will have made significant progress toward agreement. In these circumstances it may still be desirable to have some discussion of transitional change, though encouragement of a constitutional convention could be out of order. (The Micronesians might maintain there is no point in a constitutional convention until the precise nature of Micronesia's future is known.) Nevertheless, the suggestions for establishment of a Joint Commission (or Commissions) could and should be made, implementation of recommendations could not take place until there is a basic agreement on the character of Micronesia's future status. This

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but with the understanding that in most areas of change,

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Another possibility exists - that we will be further apart than ever at the conclusion of the status talks, and there will be no prospect of early settlement of the status question, at least via the negotiations route. In these circumstances, quite another approach may be appropriate. We could be faced with the decision of whether to bypass the Congress and go directly to the public with a plebiscite, or alternatively to stay on the negotiations route but with the anticipation of several years of negotiations. In either event, it will be necessary and desirable to promote a far higher degree of self government than is presently the case in order to "keep the lid on" pending termination of the trusteeship. In these circumstances, we probably should not go the joint commission route, but rather should simply state that, although it appears an early status settlement is not feasible, we intend to continue to exercise our responsibility to develop Micronesia toward self-government. Accordingly, we will be considering at an early date possible changes in that direction, and will be consulting with Micronesian leadership on such changes as may be appropriate.

An earlier memorandum on this subject, dated March 8, is attached for reference purposes.

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