

May 25, 1972

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[also in book volume I,  
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The PRESIDENT: I call on Mr. Pangelinan to make his statement.

Mr. PANCELINAN: Mr. President, on behalf of the members of the special delegation from the Marianas, it is my privilege to extend to you and the members of the Trusteeship Council our appreciation for the opportunity to appear before the Council this afternoon as petitioners.

With your permission, Mr. President, I should like to take the opportunity to introduce to you the members of our delegation. On my far left we have Mr. Vicente N. Santos, President of the Mariana Islands District Legislature; next to him is Mr. Olympio T. Borja, Senator from the Marianas in the Congress of Micronesia; to my left Mr. Herman Q. Guerrero, representative from the Marianas in the Congress of Micronesia; and I am Edward Pangelinan, Senator from the Marianas in the Congress of Micronesia.

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Each one of us will be making individual remarks in this meeting this afternoon. At the conclusion of our statements we shall be very happy to respond to any questions which any member of the Council may wish to direct to our delegation.

Copies of our statements have been transmitted to you, Mr. President, and we should like to request that they be made available to members of the Council for their reference. At this time, I should like to make my remarks.

I appear before the Council today as a petitioner, an elected representative of all of the people of the Mariana Islands District of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and a special delegate of those people. I have come here today to speak on but one issue, yet perhaps it is this issue which concerns all of us in Micronesia most. It is the issue of our future political status.

The people of the Marianas desire a close political relationship with the United States of America, much closer than that presently being considered by the Congress of Micronesia and its Joint Committee on Future Status. For this reason, it is the position of the Mariana Islands delegation to the Congress that a separate Statement of Position on the issue of future political status is necessary.

Consequently, we have prepared this separate Statement of Position on the issue of future political status because, in our opinion, the actions of the Congress of Micronesia and, by its mandate, the Joint Committee on Future Political Status, have moved further and further away from a position of close political affiliation with the Government of the United States of America. The majority of the people of the Mariana Islands District, as expressed through our representatives in Congress, and through them, the District Representatives on the Joint Committee, feel that the direction endorsed by the Joint Committee is not in the best interests of the people of the Mariana Islands District.

It must be stated at the outset that mere separation for separation's sake is not and has not been our aim. We advocate our present position for the sole reason that we desire a close political union with the United States of America -- a membership in the United States political family, and a future political status which the Joint Committee, its predecessors, and the Congress of Micronesia as a whole has rejected.

More than any other nation with which we have had contact, the United States has brought to Micronesia the values which we cherish and the economic goals which we desire. A close political affiliation with the United States -- closer than that of "Free Association" -- holds a promise for our future of preserving those values and the implementation of those goals.

We have travelled extensively throughout our District with other members of our delegation. We have visited the Islands of Rota, Tinian and the northern islands, and have met with the people of Saipan, and we find that the vast majority of our people share the views presented to you in this statement.

What, then, are these values and goals? The values are human rights. Micronesia has for too long been dominated by autocratic Powers, with little regard for the rights of their own subjects, let alone of Micronesians. The coming of the United States, on the other hand, changed all this. The spirit of 200 years of democracy, of a society which practised the theory that a government should be "of the people, by the people, and for the people," of the Bill of Rights, ensuring that every man is created equal under the law and guaranteeing his human rights, of a country which has historically been a refuge for the oppressed and a land of opportunity for all people, was brought to Micronesia by the United States. Thanks to this great country, Micronesians now live as free men for the first time in four and a half centuries.

(Mr. Pangelinan)

Political union with the United States will ensure that we keep this freedom so long denied us. With this freedom, of course, come obligations. We recognize the United States position that political stability in Micronesia is the key to the effort to maintain peace and security in the Pacific. As a member of the Pacific Community, as a people which has been ravaged by war within the memory of every single member of this Council, we cannot say too strongly that peace must reign in the Pacific, and that war must never again destroy our islands. For this reason, we desire to make our contribution to the United States, which promises to keep the peace, as our share in the maintenance of peace and security in the Pacific.

The goal is economic development. Simply stated, we are of the opinion that the United States has more to offer Micronesia in this area than any other nation. It seems to be the general conclusion in Micronesia that some form of association is necessary to ensure the continuation of the process of economic development. A thorough study of the possessions, Territories, and other members of the United States political family makes it very clear that a close political relationship can ensure that degree of economic development which our people desire. American Samoa, an unincorporated United States Territory, as compared with independent Western Samoa, is one example. The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, with by far the highest per capita income and standard of living in the Caribbean, is another. And closer to home, in Micronesia, one has only to compare economic development on Guam, an unincorporated United States Territory, with that of its sister islands of Micronesia.

Further, a brief examination of world political and economic conditions shows a high correlation between political stability and economic development. We remain uncertain about a future for Micronesia when the relationship under which that future will take place is itself intentionally and specifically made uncertain. We are prepared to become a permanent member of the United States political family for the sake of political stability, without which there can be no economic stability.

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(Mr. Pangelinan)

We are not afraid of possible abuse under such an agreement with the United States. We know that the United States is not a perfect country; in today's world, we doubt that any country so large and complex could be. But we are satisfied that the United States Constitution offers us enough latitude to be able to protect our people from loss of their lands or wholesale economic domination by outsiders, and also to control the rate and nature of this development at a satisfactory level. Neither do we abrogate our rights to negotiate with the United States toward the most favourable resolution of our own position on such specific issues as may arise.

It has been noted that close affiliation with the United States will have the effect of assimilation of our culture into that of the United States. We recognize this. Our culture in the Marianas, however, has been already considerably affected by foreign cultures: Spanish, German and Japanese, as well as American. We view this phenomenon as a necessary adjunct to the process of economic development. Further, we find that this amalgamation has worked toward the strengthening of our people, and has reinforced our desire for social advancement.

In short, we believe that close political ties with the United States, such as were embodied in the 1970 Commonwealth Proposal, represent the ideal goal for the people of the Marianas. The Congress of Micronesia, and through it the Joint Committee, had rejected this proposal. We believe further that the concept of free association, as mandated by the Congress of Micronesia and interpreted by the Joint Committee on Future Status, does not and cannot meet the needs or satisfy the desires and aspirations of the people of the Marianas District.

The recent Third Round of Negotiations, held at Hana, Maui, and the Fourth Round of Negotiations held at Koror, Palau, has indicated to us that the Congress, through the Joint Committee, seeks goals other than those which we of the Marianas desire. While we respect and defend the right of all of the people of Micronesia to the free choice of political status, we are of the opinion that the direction taken within the past two years toward free association or independence differs so considerably from our own desired direction that we feel we cannot be parties to the achievement of that choice.

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(Mr. Pangelinan)

Accordingly, at the close of the Fourth Round of Negotiations in Koror, the Mariana Islands District representatives on the Joint Committee transmitted a request to the United States delegation asking whether the United States would be willing to consider separate negotiations with a Mariana Islands District Future Political Status Commission. The United States delegation responded affirmatively to that proposal. The only choice open to us is a separate political destiny.

I am, therefore, privileged to report to you today that legislation has been introduced in the Mariana Islands District Legislature authorizing the creation of a separate Future Political Status Commission for the Marianas District, empowered to enter into and conduct separate negotiations with the United States regarding a future political status for the Mariana Islands.

Members of the Council should be assured, however, that the Marianas delegation pledges its full, complete and unequivocal support of the right of the Congress of Micronesia and of the Joint Committee to seek the attainment of whatever future political status they aspire to, and respectfully requests that other delegations reciprocate with regard to the position of the people of the Marianas.

The people of the Mariana Islands District have asked me to express their hope to the members of this Council today that the Council will look favourably upon the political aspirations of the people of the District, and upon separate negotiations with the United States devoted to the achievement of that status. We believe that we, like all of the people of Micronesia and of the world, have the right to choose our own political destiny and, in making such choice, to assure for ourselves the freedoms guaranteed to us by the United Nations Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement.

At this point I would like to refer to one of the cynical remarks in the statement made by the Special Adviser on 22 May 1972 regarding the interest of the United States in attempting to foster disunity in the Trust Territory and to fragmentize Micronesia. I would like the record to show that the United

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(Mr. Pangelinan)

States has never taken the initiative to foster disunity or fragmentation in Micronesia. The record is very clear regarding the position of the Marianas: for the past 12 years we have petitioned this august body by resolutions of our District Legislature and our Municipal Councils, and we have appeared personally today in evidence of our interest.

That is all. I appreciate very much the opportunity to have spoken before the Council.

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Mr. GUERRERO: I am indeed very grateful for this opportunity to appear before the Council to present an issue which is very close and most important to our people -- that is, the future political status of the Mariana Islands.

The Mariana Islands District, together with the five other districts which comprise the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, were placed under the legal jurisdiction of the United Nations. Since the date of the Trusteeship Agreement between the United States and the United Nations -- 18 July 1947 -- the United States has exercised direct supervision over the Trust Territory as the Administering Authority. Under the terms of the Trusteeship Agreement the United States is obligated among other things to promote the inhabitants of the Trust Territory toward self-government in accordance with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned. This principle of self-determination is, I feel, the most important part of the entire Trusteeship Agreement, and it is that subject upon which I have come to speak to you today. In accordance with the principle of self-determination as recognized by the United Nations, and in my role as an elected representative of the people of the Mariana Islands District, it is my solemn obligation to advise this Council of the political aspirations of our people and of the long quest for the fulfilment of those aspirations.

Over the course of 451 years our people have experienced the dominance of four foreign Powers in Micronesia. By virtue of annexation or conquest, and without our consultation and consideration, our homes and lives were abruptly changed.

The first Western visitor to Micronesia, Ferdinand Magellan, claimed the islands in the name of Spain in 1521. Spain ruled Micronesia for almost 380 years. At the end of the Spanish-American war in 1899 most of ethnic Micronesia, and all the islands which now comprise the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, were sold to Germany. Our neighbouring island of Guam, inhabited by our Chamorro cousins, was ceded by Spain to the United States. The Germans, too, were unable to hold Micronesia due to increasing military pressures and demands in other parts of the world. As Germany moved out, Japan moved in. It later legitimized its claim to Micronesia through a mandate granted by the League of Nations. Micronesia remained a Japanese mandate until the closing days of the Second World War, when these islands were wrested inch by inch, at tremendous cost, from the Japanese by the forces of the United States. Within three years

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(Mr. Guerrero)

thereafter the United States had concluded and signed with the United Nations a Trusteeship Agreement for Micronesia. This Trusteeship Agreement has been in effect since 1947, or for almost 25 years.

It is well to point out again that all this foreign domination in Micronesia -- domination over our land, our peoples -- was accomplished without consultation with or acquiescence by the people of Micronesia. Never was there an opportunity for our people to have the option to speak out on the important matters which faced them, such as the nature of their Government, the development of their country and their future.

The United Nations has always recognized the fundamental right of all people to determine their political future. The provisions of the United Nations Charter, which are reiterated in the Trusteeship Agreement, make it very plain that all people have the right to run their own lives and to have and be free to exercise the fundamental freedoms and rights which are the property of every man.

Over the many years of foreign domination our people have had the opportunity to examine the political and social systems of each of our foreign rulers. During all those years we have had a chance to observe closely the systems of the administrators and how they reflected themselves in the quality of our lives, especially in relation to human rights. The Spanish Administration brought us Roman Catholicism, which is today the faith professed by virtually all the inhabitants of the Marianas and well over half of all the people of Micronesia. Germany concentrated as much on commerce in Micronesia as did the Spanish on religion. The Japanese Administration achieved notable successes in the field of economic development, although it is true that most of that development accrued directly to the benefit of Japanese firms and individual entrepreneurs. The local people were afforded only a very limited opportunity to advance their educational level, and human rights and dignity were privileges reserved exclusively for the Japanese.

The coming of the Americans ushered in a new era for us. For the first time in four centuries we could enjoy the fundamental human rights to which all men are entitled. America brought us economic development, education and health care. More important, America taught us how to live as free men. Thus, after so many years, we have come to begin to see the day when we will be able to run our own Government. As a direct result, we are beginning to take

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(Mr. Guerrero)

more seriously our obligation to ourselves and our people -- our obligation to arrive at a system of government which will be most beneficial to our people, a government that will continue to assure the fundamental equality of all men and protect and preserve the other fundamental human rights.

Our people, after a quarter-century of American administration, have come to know the American system of government. The concept of democracy has become very important to us. As a result we have been very active in expressing our wishes as to the form our future Government will take. We want a political system which will incorporate us into political union with the United States.

For more than a decade our people through their duly elected representatives have on numerous occasions expressed both formally and informally to the Congress of Micronesia, to the Government of the United States and to the United Nations, through petitions and through plebiscites, our strong desire that the Marianas become a part of the United States. The plebiscites which have been held in the Marianas are probably the best indicators of popular sentiment. In the most recent district-wide plebiscite, conducted in 1969 by the Mariana Islands District Legislature, the people of the Marianas again voted for close political union with the United States. A 1971 survey, conducted after the commonwealth offer had been made, reaffirmed that result.

At this stage it must be pointed out that we do not as yet have any specific political arrangement in mind. The possibilities are, of course, numerous. They include reintegration with the unincorporated United States Territory of Guam, incorporation as a separate Territory, attaining a commonwealth status, and other possible arrangements. It is our intention to arrive at a solution to the problems of our political future through studies of the available alternatives, through discussions among our people and eventually by formal negotiations with the United States. We should like to assure this Council that whatever the nature of our future association with the United States may be it will provide for as much self-government as is possible within the system. And it will come into effect only after the people of the Marianas, in a sovereign act of self-determination, have voted and approved it.

(Mr. Guerrero)

In conclusion, we in the Mariana Islands are most appreciative to the Trusteeship Council for its long and dedicated assistance and guidance during these many years, and especially in the past few years, when our political maturity was in its formative stages. All of us would again like to express our gratitude not only to the members of the Council but to each and every Member of the United Nations for guaranteeing to us the inherent rights of all men everywhere to choose their own political destiny.

The people of the Marianas have officially announced that they are ready to exercise their basic right of self-determination. We have explored the possibility of negotiations with the United States Government toward a new and great future political status for our people, and we have received an encouraging reply to that exploration. We are hopeful that these negotiations can take place as soon as possible so that the matter of our future political status can be resolved. I am confident that our future promises a new and better government in political union with the United States and, as a result, a new and better way of life for our people.

Mr. President, let me express my thanks to you and to the members of the Council for allowing us to appear here today.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on Mr. Olympio T. Borja to make his statement.

Mr. BORJA: May I first express my deep gratitude to the Council for allowing me and the other members of the Mariana Islands delegation, Senator Edward Pangelinan, Congressman Herman Q. Guerrero and President of the District Legislature Vicente N. Santos, to appear before the Council today as petitioners.

We have come to speak to the Council today on the important subject of the future political status of the people of the Mariana Islands District. As the Council may know, the recent fourth round of negotiations between the United States and Micronesia, held at Koror, Palau, just this past April, saw a proposal by the representatives of the Mariana Islands District for separate negotiations on the issue of future political status for the Marianas to the United States. In that proposal Senator Pangelinan and Congressman Herman Guerrero said that the people of the Marianas desired a close political relationship with the United States and membership in the United States political family. With the Council's kind permission I should like to go into some of our reasons.

When American soldiers came to Saipan in 1944 they were truly our liberators. The yoke of the Japanese Empire weighed heavily on our shoulders for 30 years before that time; the people of the Marianas were little better than slaves, cogs in the Japanese military-industrial machine. We could not speak our own language in many places; we were relegated to menial jobs; we could not rise above an elementary education. Even the economic prosperity which the Japanese mandate had brought to the Marianas was a Japanese prosperity, not a Saipanese one.

After the Americans came, slowly but surely things began to change. The American Administration guaranteed to us the fundamental freedoms which are the right of all men, as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights says. None of us had ever known these freedoms before. All of us, I think, wanted to make certain that we should never again lose them. Sentiment for joining the United States political family was born.

(Mr. Borja)

Over the years the people of the Marianas came to see how much a close relationship with the United States could be of great benefit. We had only to go to Guam, or to write to our many relatives there, to have constant reminders of how much better things could be economically, socially and politically.

Even before the early 1960s, when the administration of the Marianas Islands was turned back from the Department of the Navy to the Department of the Interior, sentiment had already begun to wax strong in the Marianas. Our people differed not in our goal, which was always union with the United States, but only on the best way of achieving that goal. The historic year of 1961 saw the formulation of political parties in the Mariana Islands District -- the first political parties in the Trust Territory. The Popular Party favoured integration with the present United States Territory of Guam and the Territorial Party desired direct, outright annexation by the United States. Since that time these two parties have remained strong, differing only in their emphasis from time to time. Their goals remained the same: membership in the United States political family.

All three referenda in the district, held in 1961, 1963 and 1969, showed that an overwhelming majority of our voters wanted close political ties with the United States.

Representatives of the district continued to play an important part in the deliberations of the Congress of Micronesia on the crucial issue of the future political status of our Trust Territory. In 1970, however, the ideological schism which separates our people from the people of the other districts became all too apparent and too pronounced to ignore any longer. The historic summer of 1970 saw the proposal by the United States of a new political status for Micronesia, one which very nearly reflected all the hopes and dreams of the people of the Marianas. Our people and our elected leaders believed that the so-called commonwealth offer should have been accepted. We were extremely disappointed when it was not. During that same historic session of the Congress, Micronesian law-makers gave a new and different direction to the future political status committee: the four principles and legal rights, including the proposal that the future relationship between the United States and Micronesia should be a "free association" the details of which would be spelled out

(Mr. Borja)

by a compact, a relationship which could be terminable unilaterally by either party. This principle was unacceptable to our delegation and to our people and inconsistent with all our goals and aspirations, with all we had come to know, to value and to cherish and with all our hopes and dreams.

The die was then cast; the schism grew unavoidably and inevitably wider. The 1970 elections saw the defeat of all congressional incumbents in the Marianas, including those who had favoured continued exploration of the idea of free association and remaining in unity with the rest of the Trust Territory. It also saw the passage by the Mariana Islands District Legislature of a resolution which stated that the people of the Marianas would resist the stripping of their desires for close political relationship with the United States "by force of arms, if necessary".

I once accepted the concept of free association with the United States. I firmly believed that the essential principles of free association, as I saw them, were written into the 1970 commonwealth offer. I spoke many times in the Congress that summer, strongly in favour of accepting that offer. But the Congress of Micronesia rejected it completely and proceeded to redefine the concept of "free association" by their four principles and legal rights to the point at which what was left was not free association at all but independence disguised as free association and to the point at which my people could no longer accept the position of the Congress and today are unable to foresee a future in political union with the other five districts of the Trust Territory.

As I noted during that 1970 session of the Congress, the people of the Marianas considered a close relationship with the United States to be a detour around the road block of political status which will release the energies of our people and turn them to the achievement of the deep, if less dramatic freedoms gained by self-reliance, education, security, economic fairness, administrative skill and productivity. Eventually it will bring forth the political status sired by the democratic institutions of the world. I believed then, as I do now, that under a relationship of close affiliation with the United States there is a great hope and a great future for the Marianas. There is hope for economic opportunities and prosperity; there is hope for the opportunity to live under a democratic system as free men, where our government is truly the servant of the people and responsive to their needs.

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(Mr. Borja)

With the recent developments at Koror, it is apparent that when our remaining ties with the other five districts are finally dissolved we will indeed be completely separate. There are many -- including, I would presume, some of the members of this Council -- who would have wished otherwise. But we have come before this distinguished body this day in the hope that you will see that the continuation of our relationship with the remainder of Micronesia would be contrary to the best interests of all.

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(Mr. Borja)

All the documents of the United Nations make it clear that the greatest right which men possess is the right to control their own political destiny. All of the great work of this Council has been directed towards assuring and protecting that right.

The United Nations Charter makes frequent reference to the right of self-determination as a corner-stone of its precepts. Article 73 b states that it is the obligation of United Nations Members which assume responsibility for Non-Self-Governing States:

"... to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples..."

Article 76 b reiterates this obligation with reference to the Administering Authorities of Trust Territories such as ours; article 6 (1) of our Trusteeship Agreement further reaffirms it. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples makes it perfectly clear.

We have asked the United States for separate negotiations on our political future so that we, too, may exercise our fundamental right of self-determination. We want a government for our people which will reflect our desires. We want a Mariana Islands in political union with the United States of America. We earnestly hope that this Council fully understands our situation and will give its blessings to our efforts in attainment of these political goals and aspirations.

The PRESIDENT: I call on Mr. Vicente N. Santos to make a statement.

Mr. SANTOS: Thank you for giving me the opportunity and privilege of appearing before you to re-express the wishes of the people of the Mariana Islands District to develop a permanent association with the Administering Authority.

I am Vicente N. Santos, President of the District Legislature of the Marianas, an elected position I have held since 1963. My ancestors have lived in the Mariana Islands for many generations.



(Mr. Santos)

The Mariana District is one of six districts composing the Trust Territories of the Pacific Islands that was unilaterally placed under the International Trusteeship System with the United States of America as the Administering Authority. My role here today is to acquaint this great international body with the efforts of the District Legislature to gain a permanent association with the United States of America.

I say re-express the political desires of the people because for nearly a decade the elected body representing the people of Rota, Tinian, Saipan and the Northern Islands, that make up the Mariana District, have been steadfast in their desire to develop a permanent association with the Administering Authority -- the United States of America.

The most important single incentive for the expressions of the District Legislature over the last decade has been the change contained in Chapter XIII, Article 76 b of the Charter of this Organization which states in part:

"... to promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its people and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned..."

The indigenous peoples of the Marianas have not been unaware of the commendable efforts of the United Nations since its founding to advance the great cause of self-determination. People in every corner of the earth have been encouraged and supported in their efforts freely to determine their own fate. We believe this Council will see the wisdom of our requests and continue this great tradition and support the freely expressed wishes of the Marianas to develop a non-Trustee relationship with the United States of America.

Quite frankly, we want to be included in what future historians will call "the era of self-determination".

Our desire for permanent association with the United States has a historical basis which I want briefly to call to your attention. The Treaty of Paris ending the Spanish-American war contained a "historical accident" which

(Mr. Santos)

separated the indigenous peoples of Rota, Saipan and Tinian from their historical economic, cultural, religious and common language ties with Guam. For 350 years prior to that treaty these islands had a common history under the administration of Spain. This accident of history which separated the indigenous peoples was perpetuated in the twentieth century by the League of Nations and later by the United Nations when it created the Trusteeship Agreement with the United States in 1947.

We are here today to advise this Council that our people have on many, many occasions expressed their desire to correct this error of history. In 1969, for example, pursuant to a petition of the Mariana Islands District Legislature, a special poll was held on a district-wide basis. This plebiscite set out a series of choices for the people and after full and free discussions all registered voters were asked to cast a secret ballot. The result confirmed the fact that the majority of the people want a permanent association with the United States of America. A copy of the result of this plebiscite is included as Exhibit A. Since 1969, numerous village town-hall type meetings have been held throughout the District and they reconfirm and in fact more strongly indicate the desire of the people for permanent association with the Administering Authority.

In addition to the plebiscite results, the records of this honourable body will show that since the creation of the Mariana Islands District Legislature in 1963, the people of the Mariana Islands District have expressed their political desire to become a permanent part of the Administering Authority.

Resolution 2 (1963), passed on 5 August 1963, requested the Administering Authority to conduct a plebiscite on the political future of the Mariana Islands District and to designate 24 October 1963 for that purpose.

Resolution 3 (1963) also passed on 5 August 1963, requested the Administering Authority to reconsider the petition requesting the reunification of the Mariana Islands.

Resolution 22 (1964), passed on 10 February 1964, requested this body, the Trusteeship Council, to reconsider the petition under resolution 7 that was enacted by the Saipan Municipal Legislature, relative to the reintegration of the Mariana Islands, directly under the Doctrine of Human Rights, and in

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consonance with the objective of the United Nations policy in the international Declaration of Human Rights.

Resolution 6 (1965), passed on 6 August 1965, requested the Administering Authority and the United States Congress to grant United States citizenship to the inhabitants of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

Resolution 43 (1965), passed on 19 August 1965, requested the United States Congress to consider favourably changing the political status of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

Resolution 56 (1965), passed on 23 August 1965, requested the Legislature of the Territory of Guam to request the United States Congress to amend the Organic Act of the Territory of Guam to extend the boundaries of that United States Territory to include the islands of the Mariana Islands District.

Resolution 4 (1967), passed on 10 February 1967, requested this body, the Trusteeship Council, to urge the Administering Authority to take concrete steps to prepare the people for self-determination and to set a deadline for a plebiscite in the Mariana Islands District.

Resolution 43 (1967), passed on 28 August 1967, requesting the Administering Authority to approve the reunification of the Mariana Islands District with the United States Territory of Guam.

Resolution 8 (1967), passed on 10 February 1967, requested this body to urge the Administering Authority to relax immigration restrictions and permit free entry of inhabitants of the Mariana Islands District into the United States.

Resolution 7 (1967), passed on 10 February 1967, requested the Administering Authority to unify the Mariana Islands District with the Territory of Guam as a Territory of the Marianas in consonance with the objective of the United Nations policy under the Declaration of Human Rights.

(Mr. Santos)

Resolution No. 4 - 1968, passed on 19 January 1968, requesting the Administering Authority to grant United States citizenship to the people of the Mariana Islands District and to permit the reunification of the Mariana Islands District with the Territory of Guam.

Resolution No. 8 - 1967, passed on 10 February 1967, requested this honourable body to urge the Administering Authority to relax immigration restrictions and permit free entry of inhabitants of the Mariana Islands District into the United States.

Resolution No. 7 - 1967, passed on 10 February 1967, requested the Administering Authority to unify the Mariana Islands District with the Territory of Guam as a Territory of the Marianas in consonance with the objective of the United Nations policy under the Declaration of Human Rights.

Resolution No. 4 - 1968, passed on 19 January 1968, requested the Administering Authority to grant United States citizenship to the people of the Mariana Islands District and to permit the reunification of the Mariana Islands District with the Territory of Guam.

Resolution No. 27 - 1969, passed on 26 February 1969, created a Select Committee to continue the study of the reunification of the Mariana Islands District within the governmental framework of the Territory of Guam and of the methods available for bringing about such reunification.

Resolution No. 13 - 1969, passed on 25 August 1969, authorized the President of the Mariana Islands District Legislature to appoint a Plebiscite Committee to hold public meetings throughout the Mariana Islands District to explain to the people the purposes of the district-wide plebiscite to be held in November, 1969.

Resolution No. 13 - 1970, passed on 18 February 1970, requested this honourable body to effect the immediate reunification of the Mariana Islands District with the Territory of Guam as is envisioned under the Doctrine of Human Rights, and in consonance with the objectives of the United Nations adherence to its International Declaration of Human Rights.

Resolution No. 12 - 1970, passed on 21 August 1970, endorsed the proposal of the Administering Authority to establish a Commonwealth of Micronesia and urged that the Administering Authority submit that Commonwealth proposal to the people of the Mariana Islands District for endorsement and to proceed with its implementation in the Marianas until the people of the other districts are ready to decide their future political status.

(Mr. Santos)

Resolution No. 11 - 1970, passed on 20 August 1970, extended an invitation to the Administering Authority to meet and discuss with the Mariana Islands District Legislature the proposal to establish a Commonwealth of Micronesia.

Resolution No. 13 - 1970, passed on 24 August 1970, requested this honourable body to recognize the cultural differences between the districts of the Trust Territory and to allow each district to choose its own political future.

Resolution No. 30 - 1971, passed on 19 February 1971, advised the Security Council and the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations that the Mariana Islands District will secede from the Trust Territory by force of arms if necessary.

These resolutions clearly manifest the deep-seated wishes of our people to seek their desired future political determination that we are confident will be achieved, hopefully with the blessings of this honourable body, whose assistance to the inhabitants of the Trust Territory has been of immeasurable proportions.

The underlying fact expressed in the resolutions mentioned above is the desire of the Marianas peoples to belong.

Our history is one of third parties deciding our fate. One need only review our history of control by the Spanish from the sixteenth century; the Germans from 1898 to 1923; the Japanese (League of Nations) from 1923 to 1947; and the United States (United Nations) from 1947 to the present, to understand that we long now to belong on our terms and in accordance with our freely expressed wishes. There is no doubt in my mind that great economic, social and educational developments will take place if we are successful in gaining permanent association with the United States of America.

In furtherance of this manifested desire, the Mariana Islands District Legislature has enacted a law that would provide for the establishment of the Marianas Future Political Status Commission. Permit me to insert this law and resolution No. 1-1972, into the record for the Council's review and information.

On behalf of our people of the Mariana Islands District, I wish to again express our deep and sincere appreciation to the members of this honourable body for all of its assistance and understanding.

The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on any members of the Council who wish to put questions to the petitioners.

Mr. ASHWIN (Australia): I do not think any member of this Council is not well aware, from the statements we have heard today and from the statements that the Council has heard in many previous years, of the strength of the wishes of the Marianas people. At the same time, I am sure that members of the Council also feel to some degree uneasy about this situation. It is a problem that confronts the world and the United Nations continuously -- that is, the problem of a part of an existing political organization that wants to achieve separation. There is certainly no virtue in holding a political organization together just for the sake of holding it together when a section of it wishes to leave. What is important is the manner of the separation, the way it is achieved.

I come to my question. Senator Amaraich yesterday, as the petitioners from the Marianas no doubt heard, raised the issue of the role of the Congress of Micronesia in relation to this question, and I note from the list of resolutions that President Santos has read out to us that they are all directed either to the Trusteeship Council or to the Administering Authority. But I see no resolutions directed to the Congress of Micronesia. My question therefore is, what efforts has the District Legislature made, particularly in the period since the third round of joint status negotiations, to enter into formal discussions with the Congress of Micronesia to attempt to get the Congress' agreement to your negotiating separately with the United States?

The PRESIDENT: I call on Mr. Pangelinan.

Mr. PANGELINAN: I should like to respond to that question. As the members of the Council will recall, the Congress of Micronesia was established in 1965. Prior to that time there was no Congress of Micronesia. Consequently, most of the earlier resolutions were directed either to this body or to the United States Government. At the present time we do have one resolution which has directed its concern not only to this Council but also to the United States Government as well as to the Congress of Micronesia, endorsing the statement of position transmitted to the United States delegation by members of the Marianas

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delegation in the Joint Committee of Future Status, which in essence expressed the desire of the people for permanent association with the United States and for an opportunity to negotiate on this matter.

During the time that I have been a member of the Joint Committee on Future Status, the Mariana Islands District Legislature has given us the opportunity, as the highest elected officials, to express the interest not only of the District Legislature but of the people of the Marianas throughout the district, and we have been expressing this interest to the Joint Committee on Future Status and to the Congress of Micronesia.

Mr. ASHWIN (Australia): Could I ask then, have the Mariana members of the Joint Committee on Future Status in fact used the opportunities of the third and fourth round of negotiations with the United States delegation as a forum to discuss with the other members of the Joint Committee on Future Status the procedures which should be used to achieve the objective they want, in an attempt to get a firm agreement, if not at this stage from the Congress, at least from the other members of the Joint Committee on Future Status?

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The PRESIDENT: I call on Mr. Pangelinan.

Mr. PANGELINAN: The members of the Marianas delegation in the Congress of Micronesia have -- at least for the past two years -- expressed the interests of the Marianas regarding future political status in relation to the United States of America. Unfortunately, the mandate of the Joint Committee is restricted and as such it has to work in the interests of the whole Territory and not of the separate districts. Consequently, we are at a disadvantage in expressing our sentiments without the benefit of having them expressed to the Administering Authority. There is, however, a note that was made in the third round of negotiations in Hana, Maui, where the Chairman of the Joint Committee on Future Status, Senator Salii, said that the people of the Marianas aspired to become a part of the United States. Also, in the last special session of the Congress of Micronesia, Senator Salii noted that any discussion on political status should also entail the special interests of individual districts and we have been expressing this interest to the Joint Committee. Unfortunately again, the Joint Committee has a mandate which restricts its discussion to the Territory as a whole. During the fourth round of the negotiations, in Koror, Palau, we transmitted a request to the Joint Committee and the Joint Committee made it very specific that we had to get permission from the Congress. The members of the Joint Committee, however, voted that we could present our special interests to the United States delegation, and we did present a statement of position.

Mr. ASHWIN (Australia): I should like to follow that up with just one more question. I found that last statement most interesting. Have the Marianas members of the Congress of Micronesia ever consulted, within the last year, with the other members in an attempt to obtain legislation in the Congress of Micronesia authorizing the Marianas District to go ahead and negotiate in that way?

The PRESIDENT: I call on Mr. Pangelinan.

Mr. PANGELINAN: Yes; during the last regular session, in January, we called the attention of the Joint Committee on Future Status to legislation authorizing the Mariana Islands District to negotiate separately. That request was delayed for consideration by members. It was hoped that during the last negotiation the matter would be taken up for consideration again. Unfortunately,



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the matter was rejected, again on the ground that the Joint Committee had no authority to speak on behalf of the Mariana Islands representatives. We take the position in the Marianas that the nature of political matters arises from the United Nations Charter as well as the Trusteeship Agreement. For that reason, we have taken the initiative to present our aspirations directly to this body, which made possible the Trusteeship Agreement for the administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

Mr. WEIR (United Kingdom): I should like to ask for clarification of the last reply. Was the petitioner saying that the Marianas had in fact taken up this question in the Congress of Micronesia or in the Joint Status Committee? And if it was in the Congress that the suggestion was rejected, have they the intention of taking it up again there?

The PRESIDENT: I call on Mr. Guerrero.

Mr. GUERRERO: Ever since Senator Pangelinan and I joined the Congress Committee on Future Status in 1970 and were duly appointed by our Marianas delegation to that status, we have been working through the Joint Committee of the Congress on Political Future. As my colleague has pointed out, prior to the negotiations in October 1971 in Hawaii we advised the Congress Status Committee of the long-standing aspiration of the people of the Marianas to belong to the United States administration. Again on 11 February 1972, during the regular session of the Congress of Micronesia, we were prepared to introduce legislation requesting the Congress of Micronesia to recognize the outstanding position of the Marianas District. We have recognized our obligation as members of the Status Commission in working with the Joint Committee on Future Status, having received a mandate from the Congress on the negotiation of the political future of the Trust Territory. We have submitted for the consideration of the Commission -- and hopefully for transmission to the Congress -- the official position of the Mariana Islands District. Unfortunately, the Joint Committee on Future Status felt it would not be possible to enact legislation of the kind we have been working for. During the recent Koror, Palau, negotiations in April of this year, we again formally requested our Joint Committee on Future Status to present on behalf of

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our people the aspirations of the peoples of the Marianas. They decided that this was outside their jurisdiction, but they authorized the representatives of the Marianas in the Joint Committee on Future Status formally to present the petition of the Marianas to the United States delegation, and we accordingly did so on 11 April 1972.

Mr. SAFRONCHUK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): In his statement Senator Olympio Borja said that disagreement between the representatives of the Marianas and the other delegations in the Congress of Micronesia was particularly acute in 1970 -- in other words, after the delegation of the Congress of Micronesia had rejected the proposal of the United States to solve the problem of the future political status of the Territory of the Pacific Islands on the basis of a so-called commonwealth. We should like to seek clarification. Would it be correct to assume that the present demands of the representatives of the Marianas can be explained by the fact that the delegation of the Congress of Micronesia rejected the proposal of the United States and demanded self-determination on the basis of the well-known four principles?

03014

Mr. BORJA: I would say that it is correct to make that assumption because of the fact that the Congress of Micronesia completely rejected the proposal made by the United States delegation for a form of commonwealth. Thereafter, instead of adopting that proposal the Congress of Micronesia went ahead and asserted as its mandate the same four principles of legal rights that had been unacceptable to the people of the Marianas.

Specifically, under the terms of the proposal, the compact would be made on a revocable basis and could be terminated unilaterally. This is the point that the people of the Marianas consider entirely unacceptable, because while we do want to have closer association and stronger ties with the United States, we do not want there to be the possibility of termination without the consent of both parties, and we do not wish to have a revocable compact. We would like to have something that would give assurance, security, permanency and stability to our Government. For this reason we are at this time advocating closer ties, and it is correct to assume that it was the denial of commonwealth status by the Congress of Micronesia that made the Marianas people come to this Council and present this petition.

Mr. SAFRONCHUK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): Does that mean that the Marianas delegation fully accepts the proposals of the United States delegation regarding the future political status of Micronesia; or are there any dissensions with the view held by the United States delegation or with the original proposals made by the United States?

Mr. BORJA: I would say at the outset that the original proposal made by the United States is not really completely satisfactory to the delegation of the Marianas or to its people -- the 11 points which the Congress of Micronesia first requested and which were put into commonwealth form. But I would say that we could go ahead and retain that proposal of the United States delegation and the Congress of Micronesia worked together to polish it up so that some of the problems we may have with the commonwealth proposal could be reduced to the extent that the proposal would be satisfactory to the people. We feel that that commonwealth proposal is much better than any other proposal that has been presented.

Mr. BLANC (France) (interpretation from French): The reports which have been submitted indicate that the district legislatures deal with important matters such as alcohol control and questions of inheritance, land and domestic matters. I do not see any heading regarding the conditions for the secession of a district. Perhaps the petitioners could explain how they have found in these provisions regarding land tenure and alcohol an open door for the creation of a committee which is to negotiate on the future of the Territory, since to negotiate on the future of a part of the Territory means, in fact, to negotiate on the future of the whole Territory.

Mr. PANGELINAN: That question is most difficult for us to respond to at this time. However, I would just like to mention that we are working toward the ultimate termination of the Trusteeship Agreement, and after that we will be entering into separate status. At the present time we take the position that if we have to work toward one status for the whole Territory and overlook the fact that one district has a very diverse aspiration, and do not give it an opportunity to present its case, we would be defeating the whole purpose of negotiation.

In the Marianas we are working towards the future termination of the Trusteeship Agreement, with the hope that as the five districts of the Trust Territory proceed towards negotiating their status we will also have the opportunity to negotiate our status so that in the event the Trusteeship Agreement is terminated we will know what we are entering into.

I do not know whether I have responded adequately to the question of the representative of France.

Mr. BLANC (France) (interpretation from French): It might be premature to ask the petitioners whether they have studied in substance a matter which for the time being is the subject only of discussions; but I assume that since they are interested in this problem, and have been for a number of years, they have some ideas on this subject. I am referring particularly to the economic effects of secession, particularly on their own district. I am interested in other districts as well, but I imagine that they must have examined this question of the economic situation that would

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result from such a secession of their own Territory, the District of the Marianas. Perhaps they could give us whatever information they have on this matter.

Mr. PANGELINAN: We have considered all the ramifications involved in a political secession. At the present time we are not seceding; we are asking for the opportunity to negotiate with the United States of America for separate status upon termination of the Trusteeship Agreement; I would hope that this is understood by members of the Trusteeship Council. But we would also like to advise the members of the Council that unless we are given the opportunity to negotiate separately, we shall not know what kind of status we would be entering into, and that is the problem we share at the present time.

We also believe that economic stability is very much correlated with political stability, and that, as we said in our statement of position, economics and politics should be considered jointly. I am afraid that the Joint Committee at the present time is not cognizant of the special interests of the people of the Marianas, or of their aspirations; and the problem of the lack of authorization by the Congress has been a stumbling block in presenting our aspirations to the Congress of Micronesia. For this reason, we are bringing them before the United Nations.

Mr. BLANC (France) (interpretation from French): A moment ago Mr. Guerrero referred to a 1971 report. We had heard about the referendum of 1969, but I do not recall having seen any details about the 1971 report. Could he shed some light on this matter?

Mr. GUERRERO: I am afraid I may have given the wrong impression that there was a plebiscite conducted in 1971. If I did, I apologize to the representative of France. I did not intend to say that there was any plebiscite conducted in 1971. The most recent plebiscite in the Marianas District on its political future was in November 1969.

Mr. BLANC (France) (interpretation from French): I have not referred to a plebiscite, and I think Mr. Guerrero referred to a report, not a plebiscite. I should simply like to know how that report was established and by whom and what its results and conclusions were.

Mr. GUERRERO: The report to which I have referred is the record of the plebiscite held on 9 November 1969, which indicates that those in favour of reintegration with the United States Territory of Guam totalled 1,942. I was merely referring to that report.

The survey of 1971 to which I referred in my report was conducted by my colleague Senator Pangelinan and myself as members of the Status Committee of the Congress of the Marianas. We toured all the islands of the Marianas and all their inhabited districts and came up with the record that the people of those districts wanted a close affiliation with the United States.

Mr. BLANC (France) (interpretation from French): That is the reply I wanted. Thank you.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to thank the petitioners on behalf of the Council.

The petitioners withdrew.

The PRESIDENT: Following its decision of this morning, the Council will complete the questioning period at its meeting tomorrow morning. It will also hear further petitioners who may arrive from the Trust Territory. In addition, the Council will consider all communications and written petitions to which I referred this morning. If there are no comments on this plan for tomorrow's meeting, it will be so decided.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 5.45 p.m.