



DECLASSIFIED *File 2* PACTT *10/75*
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PRS- DEPARTMENT OF STATE A/RSC/MB RSC-01	DATE MAR 5 1987
REVIEWED BY <i>Wheeler</i>	013096
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FOR OSN: STATE FOR IO/UNP.	

Saipan
6/2/72

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 TO SECSTATE
 COMTWELVE SAN FRAN CALIF

UNCLAS (SECTION I OF IV)
 FROM POLAD. PASS TO DEPT INTERIOR FOR OSN. STATE FOR IO/UNP.
 COMTWELVE FOR AMBASSADOR WILLIAMS.
 SUBJECT: TTPI--DRAFT POLAD ARTICLE

1. FOLLOWING IS REVISED DRAFT TEST ARTICLE MAILED UNDERCOVER MAY 22 LETTER. (THIS MESSAGE WILL HAVE NO DISTRIBUTION IN TTPI.)
2. "BY THE TIME THIS ARTICLE APPEARS IN THE MICRONESIAN REPORTER I WILL HAVE DEPARTED MICRONESIA FOR A NEW ASSIGNMENT IN THE DEPT OF STATE. WHAT FOLLOWS THUS CAN BE LIKENED TO THE PROVERBIAL "SWAN SONG" OF DEPARTURE, AND IS A VERY PERSONAL AND UNOFFICIAL ACCOUNT OF IMPRESSIONS AND OBSERVATIONS ON THE FUTURE OF MICRONESIAN/AMERICAN RELATIONSHIPS. MY DEPARTURE ALSO REPRESENTS AT LEAST A TEMPORARY END OF TEN YEARS' SERVICE ASSOCIATED WITH PACIFIC ISLANDS NORTH AND SOUTH OF THE EQUATOR, YEARS WHICH HAVE OFTEN BEEN EXCITING, ALWAYS FASCINATING, AND NOW TREASURED AND

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 CHARACTERIZED BY A NATURAL SYMPATHY FOR THE ASPIRATIONS AND HOPES OF THE PEOPLES OF THE PACIFIC. IT IS DIFFICULT TO SERVE IN ANY AREA FOR ANY LENGTH OF TIME WITHOUT SOONER OR LATER IDENTIFYING WITH THE PEOPLE OF THAT AREA AND THEIR CONCERNS. THIS IS PARTICULARLY SO IN MICRONESIA, GIVEN THE EXTRAORDINARY WARMTH AND HOSPITALITY WHICH MICRONESIANS CHARACTERISTICALLY EXTEND TO THOSE "OUTSIDERS" WHO ARE FORTUNATE ENOUGH TO LIVE AMONG THEM ON THEIR ISLANDS, AND TO GET TO KNOW SOMETHING OF THEIR CULTURES AND HOPES."
 3. "OF ALL MY ASSIGNMENTS IN THE PACIFIC AREA, THAT IN MICRONESIA HAS TRULY BEEN THE MOST REWARDING. MY ROLE OR FUNCTION HERE HAS PROVIDED AN UNUSUAL OPPORTUNITY OF NOT ONLY SERVING MY OWN

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COUNTRY, BUT ALSO OF ATTEMPTING TO SERVE THE ARTICULATED INTERESTS AND CONCERNS OF MICRONESIA. THIS PRIMARILY HAS INVOLVED ATTEMPTING TO ASSURE THAT ALL THOSE IN THE U.S. GOVERNMENT CONCERNED WITH MICRONESIA'S FUTURE HAVE THE BEST POSSIBLE UNDERSTANDING AND APPRECIATION OF MICRONESIAN VIEWPOINTS, ATTITUDES, CONCERNS, AND INTERESTS WITH REGARD TO THEIR OWN FUTURE. MY INTENTION HAS THUS BEEN TO REINFORCE THE FLOW OF INFORMATION, TO BROADEN CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION AND UNDERSTANDING, AND TO ASSURE THAT THE EXPRESSED VIEWS OF MICRONESIA'S LEADERS AND PEOPLES HAVE

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BEEN AT ALL TIMES PROMPTLY BROUGHT TO THE ATTENTION OF CONCERNED AMERICAN OFFICIALS. MY SUCCESSOR WILL HAVE THE SAME DUTIES AND OBLIGATIONS."

4. " THE TASK COULD HAVE BEEN DIFFICULT, BUT FOR TWO BASIC FACTORS. FIRSTLY, THE MANY KINDNESS, THE COOPERATIONS AND THE UNDERSTANDING AND ASSISTANCE PROVIDED BY SO MANY MICRONESIANS HAVE MADE MY WORK NOT ONLY REWARDING, BUT ALSO EXCEPTIONALLY PLEASANT. SECONDLY, THE LONGER I HAVE BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH THE QUESTION OF MICRONESIA'S FUTURE STATUS, THE MORE I HAVE BECOME PERSONALLY CONVINCED THAT MICRONESIA'S AND AMERICA'S INTERESTS AND CONCERNS IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD ARE NOT INCOMPATIBLE, BUT RATHER LEND THEMSELVES TO A BENEFICIAL PARTNERSHIP. WITHOUT THIS PERSONAL CONVICTION, MY HEART COULD HARDLY HAVE BEEN IN MY JOB, AND MY TIME IN MICRONESIA WOULD HAVE BEEN AN EXCEEDINGLY FRUSTRATING ONE. BUT, TO THE CONTRARY, I TAKE ENORMOUS PRIDE AND PLEASURE IN THE FACT THAT I HAVE BEEN ABLE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE VITAL PERIOD OF MICRONESIAN POLITICAL EVOLUTION. AND IN TWO ROUNDS OF STATUS TALKS, WHICH HAVE SEEN MAJOR MOVEMENT TOWARD AGREEMENT ON THE CHARACTER OF A FUTURE MICRONESIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONSHIP-- A RELATIONSHIP CAPABLE OF SERVING OUR MUTUAL AND OUR SEPARATE

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INTERESTS."

5. SAME AS PARA TWO OF ORIGINAL DRAFT.

6. SAME AS PARA THREE OF ORIGINAL DRAFT, AT CLAUSE (B) CHANGED TO READ "A DEGREE OF GEOGRAPHIC DISPERSION AND ASSOCIATED PROBLEMS FAR SURPASSING THOSE OF ANY OTHER PACIFIC TERRITORY;"

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7. SAME AS PARA FOUR ORIGINAL DRAFT EXCEPT FOR FOLLOWING CHANGES. IN THIRD SENTENCE DELETE ALL WORDS AFTER "TWENTIETH CENTURY." CHANGE LAST SENTENCE TO READ: "BUT TO THE EXTENT THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS UNDERTAKEN, THROUGH THE TREATY OBLIGATION OF THE TRUSTEESHIP AGREEMENT, TO ASSIST IN THE ACHIEVEMENT OF MICRONESIAN GOALS, IT TOO IS INVOLVED, AND ITS VIEWPOINTS SHOULD BE CONSIDERED."
8. SAME AS PARA FIVE OF ORIGINAL DRAFT, BUT ADD AT END OF PARA FOLLOWING SENTENCE: " THEY HAVE BEEN A MOMENTOUS TWO YEARS, BUT ESPECIALLY THE PAST EIGHT MONTHS WHICH HAVE SEEN, IN THE HANA AND PALAU TALKS, MAJOR STRIDES TOWARD THE BASIC GOALS OF BOTH AMERICAN AND MICRONESAN NEGOTIATORS; TERMINATION OF THE U.S. TRUSTEESHIP AND ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW SELF GOVERNING MICRONESIA IN ASSOCIATION WITH THE UNITED STATES."
9. SAME AS PARA SIX OF ORIGINAL DRAFT EXCEPT DELETE FIRST SENTENCE AND CHANGE SECOND SENTENCE TO READ: "WHILE MANY COMPLEX

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DETAILS AND ISSUES REMAIN TO BE RESOLVED OR CLARIFIED, THE PROVISIONAL AGREEMENTS AND UNDERSTANDING REACHED DURING THOSE TALKS HAVE ESTABLISHED A POTENTIAL FRAMEWORK FOR A FUTURE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MICRONESIA AND THE UNITED STATES."

10. "A NUMBER OF FACTORS HAVE MADE POSSIBLE THE AGREEMENTS WHICH HAVE FLOWED FROM THE HANA AND PALAU TALKS, AND WHICH HAVE BEEN FORMALIZED IN THE JOINTLY DRAFTED, ISSUED, AND SIGNED COMMUNIQUE RELEASED BY THE HEADS OF THE AMERICAN AND MICRONESIAN DELEGATIONS AT THE CONCLUSION OF THESE TALKS. CERTAINLY A FOREMOST FACTOR HAS BEEN THE MANNER IN WHICH MICRONESIAN AND AMERICAN NEGOTIATORS HAVE MET IN A SPIRIT OF GOOD WILL, AND WITH A MUTUAL DESIRE TO EXPLORE FRANKLY AND SERIOUSLY EACH OTHERS CONCERNS, INTERESTS, AND REQUIREMENTS AS THEY MIGHT AFFECT MICRONESIA'S FUTURE STATUS. AS AN EXAMPLE, THE AMERICAN APPROACH, COMMENCING AT HANA, WAS TO GIVE PRIORITY CONSIDERATION TO THOSE ISSUES (SUCH AS CONTROL OF LAND AND LAWS) WHICH MICRONESIANS THEMSELVES HAD PREVIOUSLY DESCRIBED AS BEING CRITICAL ELEMENTS OF ANY AGREEMENT ON A FUTURE MICRONESAN-AMERICAN ASSOCIATION. TOO, U.S. PROPOSALS AND POSITIONS DISCUSSED AT HANA AND IN PALAU WERE SPECIFICALLY TAILORED TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT VERY LEGIMATE

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MICRONESIAN CONCERNS RELATING NOT ONLY TO SELF-GOVERNMENT, SELF-DETERMINATION, AND CONTINUING MICRONESIAN DEVELOPMENT, BUT ALSO TO THE REQUIREMENT TO PROTECT AND EVEN STRENGTHEN MICRONESIA'S IDENTITY AND CULTURES."

THE MANNER IN WHICH THE TALKS WERE STRUCTURED WAS ALSO A KEY TO SUCCESS. BOTH SIDES BELIEVED THAT FRANK AND HONEST EXCHANGES OF VIEWS REQUIRED A DEGREE OF PRIVACY AND QUIET, AN ENVIRONMENT FREE FROM EXTERNAL PRESSURES. HOWEVER, IT IS WRONG TO CHARACTERIZE THESE MEETINGS AS SECRET. THE FULL RECORD OF ALL FORMAL MEETINGS WAS RELEASED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AFTER EACH ROUND OF TALKS. TOO, THOUGH THE OFFICIAL MEETING OF THE TWO DELEGATIONS WERE NECESSARILY SOMEWHAT FORMAL BECAUSE OF THE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE INVOLVED, THIS IS ONLY A SUPERFICIAL IMPRESSION AND ONLY ONE SIDE OF THE COIN. THE NEGOTIATIONS SINCE THE SUMMER OF 1971 HAVE BEEN CHARACTERIZED NOT ONLY BY FORMAL PLENARY SESSIONS IN PALAU AND HANA, BUT ALSO BY FREQUENT CORRESPONDENCE AND INFORMAL MEETINGS BETWEEN THE HEADS OF THE TWO DELEGATIONS. IN THIS MANNER THE AGENDA AND MECHANICS OF THE OFFICIAL MEETINGS WERE SORTED OUT, VIEWS ON ALL ISSUES EXCHANGED AND CLARIFICATIONS OF POSITIONS MADE IN ORDER TO AVOID ANY MISUNDERSTANDINGS. THESE MOST PRODUCTIVE INFORMAL MEETINGS

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UNCLAS. (SECTION II OF IV)

FROM POLAD. PASS TO DEPT. INTERIOR FOR OSN. STATE FOR IO/UNP.
COMTWELVE FOR AMBASSADOR WILLIAMS.

WERE ESSENTIAL TO PROGRESS IN THE LARGER OFFICAL SESSIONS.
MOST IMPORTANTLY, THERE WERE ALSO AT HANA AND IN PALAU MANY
OPPORTUNITIES FOR MEMBERS OF THE TWO DELEGATIONS TO GET TO KNOW EACH
OTHER PERSONALLY. THE "TENNIS NUTS" WERE AT EACH OTHER ON THE COURTS
AT DAWN. (AND THE TENNIS SCORES OF THESE MICRONESIAN-AMERICAN
"CONFRONTATIONS" ARE THE ONLY "SECRETS" OF PALAU AND HANA.) THOSE
OF US INCLINED TOWARD LAZINESS (INCLUDING MYSELF) PREFERRED THE MORE
RELAXED AND QUIET "BULL SESSIONS" IN THE EVENINGS. WHATEVER THE
MANNER OF PERSONAL CONTACT, THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT THAT THE
ESTABLISHMENT OF PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS AND FRIENDSHIPS BETWEEN
MEMBERS OF THE TWO DELEGATIONS CONTRIBUTED ENORMOUSLY TO THE
UNDERSTANDING OF EACH OTHER'S VIEWPOINTS AND THUS HELPED PAVE THE WAY
FOR FORMALIZED UNDERSTANDINGS AND AGREEMENTS ON FREE ASSOCIATION

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BETWEEN MICRONESIA AND THE UNITED STATES."

12. BUT AS THE U.S. HAS COME TO ACCEPTANCE OF FREE ASSOCIATION, THE
QUESTION ARISES AS TO WHETHER THE GOALS OF THE CONGRESS OF MICRONESIA,

AS EXPRESSED IN 1969 AND 1970, REMAIN THE OBJECTIVES OF THE CONGRESS
AND THE PEOPLE OF MICRONESIA TODAY."

13. "IN 1969 THE CONGRESS OF MICRONESIA'S POLITICAL STATUS COMMISSION
STATED IN ITS REPORT THAT IT SOUGHT "NOT AN END .. BUT A REDEFINITION,

RENEWAL AND IMPROVEMENT OF MICRONESIA'S PARTNERSHIP WITH THE UNITED

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STATES." IN MAKING THAT STATEMENT, THE COMMISSION NOTED TWO INESCAPABLE REALITIES: FIRST, THE NEED FOR MICRONESIAN SELF-GOVERNMENT; AND, SECOND, THE FACT OF LONG-STANDING AMERICAN INTERESTS IN THIS AREA."

14. SAME AS PARA EIGHT IN ORIGINAL DRAFT.

15. SAME AS PARA NINE IN ORIGINAL DRAFT, EXCEPT FOR ADDITION AT END OF PWRA OF FOLLOWING: "THIS LATTER PRINCIPLE WAS AGAIN GIVEN RECOGNITION ON DECEMBER 2, 1971, IN A LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON FUTURE STATUS TO AMBASSADOR WILLIAMS. "IT HAS BEEN THE POSITION OF THE MICRONESIAN NEGOTIATING DELEGATION THAT RESPONSIBILITY FOR DEFENSE AND EXTERNAL AFFAIRS WILL BE IN THE HANDS OF THE U.S. WHEN A NEW STATUS COMES INTO EFFECT." FINALLY,

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THIS PRINCIPLE WAS AGREED UPON IN PALAU AND INCORPORATED INTO THE JOINT

COMMUNIQUE ISSUED BY THE HEADS OF THE TWO DELEGATIONS ON APRIL 13, 1972: "...AUTHORITY OVER AND RESPONSIBILITY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND DEFENSE WILL BE VESTED IN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES."

16. "THE ARRANGEMENTS AGREED TO PRELIMINARILY BY BOTH PARTIES DURING THE HANA AND PALAU TALKS HAVE MET THE SUBSTANCE OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR FREE ASSOCIATION, AS SET FORTH BY THE MICRONESIAN STATUS DELEGATION IN ITS 1970 REPORT, AND AS ACCEPTED BY THE CONGRESS OF MICRONESIA IN THE FATEFUL SUMMER OF THAT SAME YEAR. NEVERTHELESS, SOME HAVE BROUGHT UP THE QUESTION OF SOVEREIGNTY, ALTHOUGH AMBASSADOR WILLIAMS, IN A STATEMENT ON APRIL 19, SPECIFICALLY STATED THAT "... WE NOW HAVE THE FRAMEWORK OF A PROPOSED NEW RELATIONSHIP BASED ON THE PRINCIPLE THAT SOVEREIGNTY RESIDES IN THE PEOPLE OF MICRONESIA..." MOST CERTAINLY THAT SOVEREIGNTY WILL BE EXERCISED WHEN THE PEOPLE OF MICRONESIA DETERMINE THEIR FUTURE IN A SOVEREIGN ACT OF SELF-DETERMINATION. AND THE PROVISION FOR UNILATERAL TERMINATION IN A COMPACT OF FREE ASSOCIATION IS BUT ANOTHER IF MAJOR ONE OF THE INDICES OF THE MICRONESIAN PEOPLES SOVEREIGNTY. IF SOVEREIGNTY MEANS CONTROL OF A POLITICAL UNIT'S DESTINY BY THE PEOPLE OF THAT UNIT, THEN THERE WOULD APPEAR TO BE

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ADEQUATE GUARANTEES OF SOVEREIGNTY UNDER THE ARRANGEMENTS AGREED TO

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IN HANA AND PALAU."

17. "PERHAPS THE PROBLEM HAS BEEN ONE OF DIFFERENCES IN APPROACH. THE U.S. DELEGATION CONSISTENTLY HAS MAINTAINED THAT THE SUBSTANCE OF FUTURE ARRANGEMENTS IS OF MORE IMPORTANCE THAN THE NOMENCLATURE. THIS PARTICULARLY APPLIES TO THE VAGUE AND OFTEN ABUSED TERM OF "SOVEREIGNTY." MANY STATES OF THE UNITED STATES (SUCH AS MASSACHUSETTS

ARE DESCRIBED AS SOVEREIGN -- BUT MICRONESIA MOST CERTAINLY DOES NOT SEEK A STATUS SIMILAR TO THAT OF MASSACHUSETTS, OR OF ANY OTHER U.S. STATE. ON THE OTHER HAND, MICRONESIAN LEADERS FAVORING FREE ASSOCIATION

REQUENTLY CITE THE COOK ISLANDS' FREE ASSOCIATION WITH NEW ZEALAND AS A MODEL APPLICABLE TO A FUTURE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MICRONESIA AND THE UNITED STATES. YET THE COOK ISLANDS ARE NOT DESCRIBED AS "SOVEREIGN." IN SHORT, THE SUBSTANCE OF THE ARRANGEMENTS SHOULD BE OUR MUTUAL CONCERN, NOT LABELS WHICH NO LONGER HAVE A COMMON MEANING UNDER INTERNATIONAL OR ANY OTHER LAW."

18. "RECOGNITION APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN GIVEN TO THE ABOVE CONCEPT IN PALAU WHEN THE MICRONESIAN DELEGATION STATED, ON APRIL 10, "THERE SEEMS TO US NO PURPOSE IN SPEAKING TO CHARACTERIZE THE STATUS WHICH WILL ENSUE FROM THE COMPACT AS CONSTITUTING INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY, OR SOMETHING DIFFERENT. THE COMPACT WILL SPEAK FOR

ITSELF IN THIS REGARD. WHAT IS IMPORTANT IS THAT THE COMPACT BE THE PRODUCT OF THE EXERCISE BY THE MICRONESIAN PEOPLE OF THEIR INHERENT RIGHT OF SOVEREIGNTY AND THAT IT RECOGNIZE, AS IMPLICIT IN SUCH RIGHT, THE ABILITY TO CHANGE THE STATUS BY TERMINATING THE COMPACT IF THE RELATIONSHIP PROVES TO BE UNSATISFACTORY."

19. "BUT TO RETURN TO BASICS, THE U.S. HAS NOW PROVISIONALLY AGREED TO ARRANGEMENTS WHICH MEET THE SUBSTANTIVE REQUIREMENTS FOR FREE ASSOCIATION AS DEFINED IN THE MICRONESIAN STATUS DELEGATION'S REPORT TO THE CONGRESS OF MICRONESIA IN 1970. THESE RELATE PRIMARILY TO SELF-DETERMINATION, THE NATURE OF A COMPACT OF ASSOCIATION, CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS, CONTROL OF LAWS AND LAND, FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND DEFENSE RESPONSIBILITIES, AND THE MEANS OF VERY GREAT SIGNIFICANCE THAT THE PALAU TALKS SAW MICRONESIAN AGREEMENT TO THE U.S. SUGGESTION THAT A BROADLY REPRESENTATIVE MICRONESIAN CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION SHOULD BE HELD IN THE NOT

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DISTANT FUTURE IN ORDER TO DETERMINE THE NATURE AND STRUCTURE OF MICRONESIA'S FUTURE GOVERNMENT. IT IS ALSO OF MAJOR IMPORTANCE THAT, IN THE EVENT OF TERMINATION OF ASSOCIATION BETWEEN MICRONESIA AND THE UNITED STATES, A PRE-NEGOTIATED MUTUAL SECURITY PACT WOULD GO INTO EFFECT AND WOULD GOVERN REMAINING DEFENSE RELATIONSHIPS.

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UNCLAS. (SECTION III OF IV)
FROM POLAD. PASS TO DEPT. INTERIOR FOR USN. STATE FOR IO/UNP.
COMTWELVE FOR AMBASSADOR WILLIAMF.
THIS IMPORTANT AGREEMENT, REACHED IN PALAU, WAS THE RESULT OF A
WELL THOUGHTOUT MICRONESIAN PROPOSAL."
20. "THAT PROGRESS HAS INDEED BEEN MADE IN THE PAST YEAR SHOULD AND
DOES GIVE CAUSE FOR SATISFACTION TO BOTH U.S. AND MICRONESIAN
NEGOTIATORS, AND TO THOSE MICRONESIAN LEADERS AND PEOPLE WHO FAVOR THE
1970 CONCEPT OF FREE ASSOCIATION, AND THIS PROVIDES CAUSE FOR HOPE
FOR FUTURE PROGRESS TOWARD A TIMELY AND SATISFACTORY TERMINATION OF
THE U.S. TRUSTEESHIP. YET, EVENTS OF THE PAST YEAR, AT LEAST IN MY
VIEW, ALSO PROVIDE SOME CAUSE FOR CONCERN AS TO THE DIRECTION IN
WHICH WE ARE NOW HEADING. RECENT EVENTS AND NEW AS WELL AS UNRESOLVED
ISSUES STIMULATE QUESTIONS FOR WHICH THERE ARE AS YET NO FINAL ANSWERS
BUT THE QUESTIONS AND THE ISSUES DESERVE ATTENTION BY ALL THOSE
CONCERNED WITH MICRONESIA'S FUTURE. SOME EXAMPLE FOLLOW."

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21. "IN NEGOTIATING TOWARD A FUTURE RELATIONSHIP, THE U.S.
DELEGATION HAS GIVEN ITS PRELIMINARY AGREEMENT TO THE SUBSTANCE OF
THE FOUR PRINCIPLES OF FREE ASSOCIATION SET FORTH IN THE 1970 STATUS
REPORT. YET SOME MICRONESIANS, WHILE CLAIMING TO ACCEPT THE PRINCIPLE
OF U.S. RESPONSIBILITY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND DEFENSE (AS OUTLINED
IN THE SAME REPORT), ALSO HAVE TENDED TO TAKE POSITIONS WHICH, IF
HELD TO, WOULD STRIP THE PRINCIPLE OF ITS MEANING. INCLUSION OF

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ADEQUATE U.S. FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND DEFENSE POWERS (BUT WITH SAFEGUARDS AND AN INTERNATIONAL ROLE FOR MICRONESIA) IS FROM THE U.S. VIEWPOINT AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT OF ASSOCIATION. PUTTING THE ABOVE ANOTHER WAY, THE U.S. HAS MET THE ESSENTIAL REQUIREMENTS FOR ASSOCIATION ALSO TO BE MET ADEQUATELY. IF THE FUTURE STATUS OF MICRONESIA IS TO BE A FORM OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION WITH THE UNITED STATES, THEN IT SEEMS OBVIOUS THAT AMERICAN INTERESTS MUST BE SERVED AS WELL AS THOSE OF MICRONESIA."

22. "YET, AS INDICATED ABOVE, POSITIONS TAKEN IN AND OUT OF THE CONFERENCE ROOM BY SOME OF MICRONESIA'S LEADERS NOW RAISE THE QUESTION

WHETHER THE NEGOTIATING GOAL REMAINS AS DESCRIBED IN THE 1970 STATUS REPORT. MICRONESIA'S LEADERS AND PEOPLE DO HAVE THE RIGHT TO ALTER THEIR GOALS. IF THEY CONTINUE TO SEEK PARTNERSHIP AND ASSOCIATION

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FREELY ENTERED INTO BY MICRONESIA'S PEOPLE, THAT IS ONE THING. ON THE OTHER HAND, IF WHAT THEY NOW SEEK IS LITTLE MORE THAN A FORM OF DISGUISED AND SUBSIDIZED INDEPENDENCE, THEN THEY SHOULD SAY SO, BUT THOSE WHO SEEK SUCH STATUS MUST NOT EXPECT THE UNITED STATES TO ACCEPT ARRANGEMENTS WHICH ARE POINTLESS FOR THE U.S."

23. SAME AS PARA FIFTEEN IN ORIGINAL DRAFT THROUGH "IT IS A SIMPLE STATEMENT OF FACT." REMAINDER OF PARA READS: "THE U.S. CONGRESS'S AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE'S ATTITUDES TOWARD PROVISION OF ONGOING FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE ABROAD ARE UNDERGOING RAPID CHANGE. TO AN INCREASING DEGREE PRIORITY IN THE ALLOCATION OF U.S. RESOURCE IS BEING

GIVEN TO THE PROBLEMS AND REQUIREMENTS OF THE AMERICAN NATION."

LAST SENTENCE PAGE SEVEN OF ORIGINAL DRAFT DELETED. NEXT PARA BEGINS AS FOLLOWS, REPLACING LANGUAGE AT TOP OF PAGE EIGHT OF ORIGINAL DRAFT

24. "YET THERE ARE SOME IN MICRONESIA WHO ADVOCATE A RELATIONSHIP WHICH WOULD NOT ADEQUATELY SERVE U.S. AS WELL AS MICRONESIAN INTERESTS, AND WHICH WOULD ESTABLISH A MICRONESIA THAT IN REALITY WOULD BE NO MORE THAN ANOTHER SEPARATE AND INDEPENDENT MICRO-STATE. AT THE SAME TIME, A FINANCIAL SUBSIDY IS REQUESTED WHICH WOULD REQUIRE THE U.S. GOVERNMENT TO DEVOTE MORE OF ITS FINANCIAL RESOURCES TO EACH MICRONESIAN CITIZEN, ON A PER CAPITA BASIS, THAN IT DOES FOR THE CITIZENS OF ITS OWN COUNTRY. IS THIS LOGICAL?

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DOES ANYONE BELIEVE THAT THE U.S. CONGRESS OR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WOULD ACCEPT SUCH ARRANGEMENTS? FURTHER QUESTIONS CAN BE ASKED ABOUT THE NATURE OF THE REQUESTED FUNDING. UNDER THE ASSOCIATION ARRANGEMENTS NOW BEING DISCUSSED, THE U.S. IS TO BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DEFENSE OF MICRONESIA, AND IS TO AS WELL AS FINANCIAL PROVIDE FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FOR ITS PEACEFUL DEVELOPMENT, COMPENSATION FOR LANDS THAT MIGHT BE LEASED BY THE UNITED STATES." LAST THREE SENTENCES THIS PARA, AS ON PAGE EIGHT ORIGINAL DRAFT, REMAIN UNCHANGED.

25. SAME AS PARA SIXTEEN OF ORIGINAL DRAFT. PARA SEVENTEEN OF ORIGINAL DRAFT DELETED.

26. SAME AS PARA EIGHTEEN IN ORIGINAL DRAFT UP THROUGH END OF FOURTH SENTENCE. REMAINDER OF PARA READS: "BUT THESE CENTRIFUGAL FORCES AND DIFFERING OUTLOOKS CANNOT BE IGNORED. THESE QUESTIONS OF UNITY ARE MAINLY MICRONESIAN CONCERNS REQUIRING MICRONESIAN SOLUTIONS -- PERHAPS WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF A MICRONESIAN CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION AS WELL AS THROUGH THE FUTURE POLITICAL STATUS NEGOTIATIONS.. BUT THE ISSUES AND PROBLEMS ARE SO BASIC THAT THEY CANNOT BE BRUSHED ASIDE BY ANYONE CONCERNED WITH MICRONESIA'S FUTURE."

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27. SAME AS PARA NINETEEN ORIGINAL DRAFT, THROUGH FOURTH SENTENCE. REMAINDER PARA READS: "MERE MAINTENANCE OF GOVERNMENT SERVICES IN SUCH AREAS AS HEALTH, EDUCATION, TRANSPORTATION, AND COMMUNICATIONS WILL REQUIRE OUTSIDE BUDGETARY SUPPORT IN THE FROM OF MAJOR AND RELIABLE FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE. SUCH ASSISTANCE MAY NOT BE AVAILABLE IN ADDITION TO THAT BASIC ASSISTANCE, AN INFRASTRUCTURE CAPABLE OF SUPPORTING MAJOR EXPANSION OF MARINE RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT, TOURISM, AND AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES (ALL OF WHICH IN TURN COULD CONTRIBUTE IN SOME DEGREE TO INCREASED ECONOMIC SELF-SUFFICIENCY) ALSO REQUIRE CONTINUING AND LARGE-SCALE INJECTIONS OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE. AND AGAIN ASSISTANCE OF THIS CHARACTER IS NOT LIKELY TO BE FORTHCOMING IN NEEDED AMOUNTS FROM INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS OR OTHER FOREIGN SOURCES."

28. SAME AS PARA TWENTY ORIGINAL DRAFT.

29. SAME AS PARA TWENTY ONE ORIGINAL DRAFT.

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30. SAME AS PARA TWENTY TWO ORIGINAL DRAFT UP THROUGH END THIRD SENTENCE. REMAINDER PARA READS: "THE EXAMINATIONS AND CHOICES ARE FOR MICRONESIANS TO MAKE. BUT BEFORE FINAL DECISIONS ARE MADE, THE RAMIFICATIONS OF EACH OF THE CHOICES SHOULD BE MADE KNOW TO THE PEOPLE OF MICRONESIA. THE ULTIMATE CONSEQUENCES OF THE DECISIONS

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UNCLAS. (FINAL SEC OF IV)
FROM POLAD. PASS TO DEPT. INTERIOR FOR USN. STATE FOR IO/UNP.
COMTWELVE FOR AMBASSADOR WILLIAMS.
WILL FALL ON ALL OF THEM, AND ON THEIR DESCENDENTS."
31. "SUMMING UP THE MANY DECISIONS AND CHOICES THAT MUST BE MADE BY
MICRONESIA'S LEADERS AND PEOPLES, ONE TURNS BACK TO THE BASICS
INVOLVED IN THE STATUS QUESTION. MOST MICRONESIANS SEEM TO WANT A
MAXIMUM DEGREE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT AND AT THE SAME TIME MAXIMUM
SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. THE TWO OBJECTIVES TO THE EXTENT
THEY ARE IN CONFLICT, REQUIRE RESOLUTION IN A MANNER WHICH WILL NOT
PREJUDICE BASIC MICRONESIAN RIGHTS TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND SELF-
GOVERNMENT. IN 1970 FREE ASSOCIATION, AS DEFINED IN THE STATUS
REPORT OF THAT YEAR, WAS SEEN BY THE CONGRESS OF MICRONESIA AS
PROVIDING A SATISFACTORY COMPROMISE CAPABLE OF PROTECTING AND
SERVING ESSENTIAL MICRONESIAN POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND CULTURAL

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INTERESTS. THE U.S. HAS BELIEVED A CLOSER AND ENDURING RELATIONSHIP
BETWEEN MICRONESIA AND AMERICA WOULD BETTER SERVE MICRONESIAN
DEVELOPMENTAL REQUIREMENTS, WHILE ALSO PROTECTING MICRONESIAN
POLITICAL RIGHTS, PRESERVING A MICRONESIAN IDENTITY, AND PROMOTING
MICRONESIAN UNITY, THAN WOULD A LOOSE AND MORE TENUOUS "FREE
ASSOCIATION." BUT IN PALAU THE U.S. DELEGATION DID TENTATIVELY
AGREE TO A FREE ASSOCIATION RELATIONSHIP IN RECOGNITION OF THE
CONGRESS OF MICRONESIA'S KNOWN DESIRES, AND OF ITS NEGOTIATING
MANDATE TO THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON FUTURE STATUS. THAT AGREEMENT WAS
PROVISIONAL AND REMAINS DEPENDENT UPON MICRONESIAN AGREEMENT TO
ARRANGEMENTS WHICH WOULD ALSO MEET U.S. REQUIREMENTS FOR ASSOCIATION."

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32. ALTHOUGH THE RELATIONSHIPS ENVISAGED UNDER FREE ASSOCIATION ARRANGEMENTS CANNOT PROVIDE TO MICRONESIA THE FULL ADVANTAGES AND BENEFITS OF THE CLOSER ASSOCIATION THE U.S. HAD PREVIOUSLY PROPOSED, THE NEGOTIATION OF THE SUBSTANCE OR CONTENT OF FREE ASSOCIATION STILL PROVIDES OPPORTUNITIES FOR DEVELOPMENT OF A MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL AND INTER-DEPENDENT PARTNERSHIP."

33. " BUT EMERGING PRESSURES AND TRENDS, AS ALREADY POINTED OUT, RISK REDUCING THE FREE ASSOCIATION CONCEPT TO ONE-SIDED AFFAIR OF LITTLE INTEREST OR VALUE TO THE UNITED STATES. IN THESE

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CIRCUMSTANCES, MICRONESIANS MUST DETERMINE WHETHER OR NOT THEY WISH A TRUE PARTNERSHIP CAPABLE OF ADEQUATELY SERVING THE INTERESTS OF BOTH PARTIES. IN THE WORDS OF AMBASSADOR WILLIAMS (PALAU TALKS, APRIL 8, 1972): "...WE DO NOT SEE HOW IT IS POSSIBLE, OR REALISTIC, TO TALK ABOUT INDEPENDENCE AND FREE ASSOCIATION AT THE SAME TIME-- ABOUT THE HOPED FOR ADVANTAGES OF ONE AND THE BENEFITS OF THE OTHER BEING COMBINED IN ONE ARRANGEMENTS."

34. " WHILE MICRONESIA IS MAKING ITS DECISIONS, I WOULD ASSUME THAT THOSE WITH FINANCIAL RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE U.S. EXECUTIVE BRANCH AND IN THE U.S. CONGRESS ARE ALSO PERFORMING SOME SOUL-SEARCHING, AND ARE ASKING THEMSELVES WHETHER MICRONESIA DESIRES A MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL ARRANGEMENT, OR ONLY A VERY TEMPORARY MARRIAGE OF FINANCIAL CONVENIENCE. ONLY MICRONESIANS CAN DETERMINE AND DEFINE MICRONESIAN OBJECTIVES. BUT AMERICAN WILLINGNESS TO ENTER INTO ASSOCIATION WITH MICRONESIA, AND THE NATURE OF THE OBLIGATIONS THE UNITED STATES CAN ASSUME, WILL BE DETERMINED BY THE NATURE OF MICRONESIAN INTENT. I EARNESTLY HOPE THE MICRONESIAN RESPONSE OR DECISION IS FOR A MUTUALLY ADVANTAGEOUS PARTNERSHIP WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF FREE ASSOCIATION. IF SUCH IS THE CASE, I AM CERTAIN

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THE U.S. GOVERNMENT WILL RESPOND IN A POSITIVE MANNER TO SUCH AN OBJECTIVE."

35. SAME AS PARA TWENTY EIGHT ORIGINAL DRAFT, BUT DELETE FIRST TWO SENTENCES. END DRAFT. DORRANCE

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