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April 11, 1973

TO : OMSN - Mr. Wilson
FROM : EA - Arthur W. Hummel, Jr.
SUBJECT: TTPI - Study of Long-Term Aspects of Micronesian-American Relationships

State has reviewed each of the several proposed outlines for the subject study, including the most recent circulated on March 29 under cover of a memorandum from OMSN.

Although we do not object to consideration of the issues and programs proposed for the long-term study, we are concerned about the focus of that study. It is State's view that there are only two issues of basic importance.

(a) Assuming continuing progress toward and early conclusion of a satisfactory negotiated status settlement, how fast and by what means can we most effectively implement Micronesia's new status?

(b) Assuming a breakdown in the status negotiations, or their continuation over a protracted period (perhaps several years), by what means can we best provide, in the interim before an ultimate settlement, increased self-government which will at least slow down if not arrest the present deterioration of the U.S. position in Micronesia?

State agrees that many programs in Micronesia need reassessment, and that some can be improved to the advantage of the U.S. position in Micronesia. But it is highly doubtful that reassessments and program changes can, of themselves, improve more than marginally the political climate and attitudes in Micronesia. The U.S. has reached a point in Micronesia's political development that has been paralleled in most other dependent territories and trusteeships--the point where local ambitions and aspirations are

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in sharply increasing conflict with the operational and program requirements of the administering power. In short, we are now at a time in Micronesia's political evolution where there is no way to be "right." The frustrations and ambitions of the key leadership or Micronesian elite will ensure a continuing search for confrontations between the administered and the administering.

Our primary concern therefore should be to lay the foundations of amicable long-term relationships with the leadership of a future self-governing Micronesia in order best to protect our interests in Micronesia. This requires recognition of the fact that efficient programs have little to do with political attitudes, and that the longer the delay in implementing self-government, the looser and less amicable will be our ultimate relationships with Micronesia.

Aside from the above considerations, three other factors strongly argue for early moves to self-government, regardless of the status negotiations. (a) Any real degree of self-government (including in particular electorally responsive participation in the executive branch) would deflect Micronesian concerns from their relationships with the U.S. toward their internal problems--to our advantage. (b) The responsibilities and problems that go with real self-government could provide the most convincing argument yet that Micronesia can not only live in association with the U.S., but requires such association. (c) Whatever Micronesia's future political status, the Micronesians require more preparation for that status than they are acquiring through the present slow movement to self-government which tends to accentuate legislative irresponsibility. It is in the U.S. interest, as well as the Micronesian interest, that the Micronesians gain experience in exercising executive responsibility while the U.S. remains present to provide a helping hand.

State believes accordingly that any assessment of and recommendations on TTPI policies, operations, and programs in the long-term study should be geared to the above needs.

I would be grateful if you could arrange distribution of this memorandum to the other Interagency officers concerned with the long-term study.

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