

TINIAN TAKEOVER: A SIGN OF THE FUTURE?

By PACIFIC PEOPLES ALTERNATIVE SERVICE

The scene is Tinian, June 1, 1973. The night is cool but the humidity makes its presence felt. The villagers are angry and distraught. Such vocal and intelligent opposition was totally unexpected. A few hours earlier the Status Commission had landed and was met at West Field by half the village, or so it seemed, for on one side was a dancing lake of small cardboard placards proclaiming "We Love You Yankees!" and menacingly closer and closer to the passenger ramp of the gleaming new four-engine de Havilland rolled a huge sea of banners saying "No more Hiroshima Nagasaki," "We Love America But We Love Tinian More," and "UN Says Plebiscite Only After 3 years."

The public hearing that night to announce the U.S. military's intended takeover of the 39.25 square-mile island got off to a late start. The ambassador and his seven State Department and military advisers sweated through six hours of tense discussion in the national language of the Marianas, Chamorro, which was then translated into English though the ideas got somewhat shortened in this laborious process. It was not until after one o'clock in the morning that Haydn Williams, president of the Asia Foundation and personal representative of President Nixon, was able to call it a day. Showing signs of great strain, he began to tremble visibly as he walked out of the door. What had gone wrong? he must have been thinking as he clambered onto the Japanese-built village school bus taking his entourage and the seven Micronesian members of the Commission back to the Fleming's hotel a quarter of a mile away. What could have gone wrong?

This is the first part of a planned serial about the U.S.'s military plans for Tinian. The "scenario" was written by PPAS, or Pacific-Pas, as they prefer to be called, "because 'pas' means peace in the Chamorro language."

According to their statement of purpose, Pacific-Pas "grew out of research that began over a year ago on the role of Hawaii as the center for expanding domination of the highly profitable Pacific Basin by the United States' economic interests.... The need for a thorough examination of all economic, social and cultural alternatives is one of the most crucial needs at present. A fast-changing world requires a patient and exhaustive analysis of all future possibilities open to the peoples of the Pacific." -- Pacific-Pas, P.O. Box 5207, Barrigada, Guam 96913

"BUY" THE PEOPLE

Early this year students at Marianas High School in their newspaper, The Reformer, characterized their local government as "a government fool the people, off the people, and buy the people." Youth around the world are known to be somewhat hasty in their judgments but their basic honesty often results in embarrassment to their elders. The older people, however, especially those on Tinian two miles to the south of Saipan, have begun to appreciate the cynicism of their offspring. "Mayor ex-Mayor Says yes, People says No!" announced a sign at the noon airport welcoming party.

On the morning of the big meeting, an insider remarked how even pro-military Tinianese were expressing dismay at the extent of the military land grab. Some felt that the youth were being forced into a decision without much of a choice in the matter. And after the meeting was over, the chairman of the Political Status Commission for the Marianas was heard to say that "we made a mistake, we should have gone to the people right from the start." Is this an admission that the local gov-

ernment is indeed elitist, as the Reformer suggests? Perhaps the people of Tinian are receiving a valuable lesson in history and politics. And for the people of the other five districts this may be a foretaste of what to expect from the Administering Authority during the approaching period for termination of the Trusteeship Agreement.

THE PUBLIC HEARING

That land is clearly


felt to be the very basis of the Micronesian Chamorro way of life was fully expressed by the people at the public hearing on Friday. Some of the most defiant and emotional speeches revolved around the eventual loss of land, and for a few of the landless, the possibility of gaining some. Other issues brought out were a self-sufficient economy versus a single economy based on the military; the role of the United Nations in judging the legality of certain actions like the dislocation of people; the reasons for the necessity of military control; the distrust toward military administration, and finally, the disadvantages of the military: pollution, restrictions, accidental explosions, involvement in another war, etc.

LAND

The People: Do we have to give up our land in order to be part of the American family? How are we to live five to ten

Continued on page 9

foremost



Ice Cream & Milk

ALSO DISTRIBUTOR FOR

- * Armour .. * Dial
- * Keebler Cookies
- * Laura Scudder Snacks

INTERNATIONAL DAIRY ENGINEERING COMPANY
Phone Guam 746 3856 CABLE Formint Guca

Tinian Takeover....

Continued from page 8

years from now in the small area you will give us? Think of our children's future...I don't want to leave my land. How did you decide that the Caroline area was best for farming? Are we to be restricted from our fishing and hunting areas all over the island? What about us homesteaders who have spent years farming the land? Who's going to decide who will get which new site after relocation? Who determines "the fair value" of our property? If you promised the Chamorros who had been living on Yap that you would give them land and electricity and if you failed to carry out these promises, how can we believe you now?

U.S. Response: To belong to the U.S. family each member must carry out certain obligations. We would like to control all of your island, but our minimum requirement is two-thirds. Therefore, we will own the whole island, but you will have your own civilian government elected by you. We are not forcing you into anything against your will. It is for you to decide. Your recreation area at the harbor will be open except on rare occasions. The entry restrictions for the rest of the island can be negotiated later. Homesteaders who wish to get land exchange may do so but we can only exchange

with you land located at the present military retention area in Saipan. There are certain "family problems" that only you and your district and municipal leaders can decide for yourselves, such as, who will get which new site and how much the "fair value" will be. We cannot be responsible for what the military promised 20 years ago. We're truly sorry. But, times have changed. Now you have your own elected government to protect your rights. Public Law 646 of the 91st U.S. Congressional session will ensure you a fair and equitable deal when we move you. We have consulted with Congress. They know what we're doing. However, I'm from the Executive Branch, I cannot speak for Congress.

Analysis: If a neutral observer were to make an initial judgment, he would probably start by criticizing the unfairness of the decision-making process. Because what irritated many people at the hearing was that the administering authority, via the President's personal representative, was saying "We are causing the problem, but you solve it." There is a long-time favorite American cartoon strip, "Pop-eye the Sailorman," in which a character, Wimpy, philosophizes, "Let's you and him fight." In a his-

tory class the instructor would describe this as "divide and rule" tactics in which a third party arrives on the scene and causes internal squabbling between the first two parties in order to achieve the goal of the newcomer, the outsider, the third party. A former elected official who was the youngest person ever chosen mayor of Tinian, very keenly realized this when he asked, "If we are the ones to suffer from the military presence, do we get all the revenues created by the military?"

The people indicated that land is their identity and that farming and fishing have made up the backbone of their culture for centuries. And it still is. A student from Tinian who is majoring in business at the University of Guam inserted into the discussion a fact that Williams admittedly didn't know. Williams acknowledged the people's use of the harbor area, but claimed that he didn't know that they also use other areas besides the harbor for hunting deer and ayuyu (coconut) crabs and for fishing and lobstering.

Such an admission of ignorance may make Williams appear naive, but a very important issue is at stake. What is the "best" use of land? This question of what is the proper

usage of land will be a fundamental stumbling block in future negotiations. An average citizen could easily be ignorant of the fact that the villagers have been using more than just the harbor area to hunt and fish. He probably never, read or heard that there are two conflicting attitudes toward land, two views as different as night is from day. One view considering land merely a commodity, a "thing" like a car, to be bought or sold. The other, claiming land as "mother," something to be taken care of tenderly so she could feed you and your community.

Therefore, the question posed to the ambassador about entry restrictions really put him on the spot. He couldn't have possibly answered the question honestly. If America's leaders ever conceded that the land should be preserved to feed the people, then they would be admitting that they were guilty of stealing millions of acres of land from not only the native Americans, but also from the Alaskan Indians, Hawaiians, Guamanians and Puerto Ricans. Many millionaires got their start from buying and selling land. They bought cheap and sold high.

It is because of this materialistic view of land usage that America has become the city of the world. Micronesia is becoming for America the

Continued on page 10

ALL WHOLESALE & RETAIL STORES

Will be Closed on June 27
for INVENTORY

AUSTIN CENTER

Tinian Takeover....

Continued from page 9

boonies where poison gas and dangerous weapons can be stored far away from population centers and where America's middle class officials and upper class executives can bring their families as tourists to briefly escape the polluted, decaying and overpopulated cities of America, the metropolis of the world. Perhaps this is why Kissinger, a member of the upper crust of the so-called Eastern Establishment, can so candidly express, "Who gives a damn about 100,000 people?" And, thus, to the ambassador, himself a member of the higher circles as well as personal aide of the head of the most highly urbanized nation, land in Micronesia is valued for either a defense installation or for recreation, but to the bright young man born and raised on a fertile island, the land is a source of his livelihood, breadbasket and pride.

THE ELITE

Ignorance, real or imagined, is often a symptom of elitism and an elitist attitude results in poor leadership. Good leaders are firmly rooted in the villages just as coconut palms will blow and bend with strong winds but always stand firm even in the sandiest of atoll soils from where they get their nourishment. The elite soon lose contact with the everyday problems of their people. The creation of a class of rulers who grow increasingly distant from the people is, however, encouraged by a system which stresses competition, ambition and self-serving. Furthermore, this elite ruling class cannot exist for long without two factors: legal advice and money. For this reason, Roger St. Pierre has a wide base of support. And for this reason, the Department of

Defense has a budget of \$200 million a year for public relations; and reportedly, Cornavmar has a comparatively huge budget of \$6 million for improving the image of the military in Micronesia and Guam.

Secrecy and elitism exist together when you have around high-powered lawyers like Lloyd Cutler and members of his firm. Cutler's big law factory is Wilmer, Cutler and Pickering [legal counsel for the Marianas Political Status Commission], which has very intimate ties with big business, among them the Rockefellers and Kaiser, who control some of the world's biggest monopolies. WC&P's conspiracy with the auto industry in America over pollution devices resulted in an attack by Ralph Nader, the lawyer who has been combatting bigness in American business. Because of its proven success as "high priests of American politics," the firm was also hired by the drug industry to beat the accusations of the late U.S. Senator Kefauver, who claimed that the public was being cheated by drug prices which had been inflated by the drug manufacturers up to ten times their value. Other clients of WC&P are American Airlines and CBS, one of the Big Three in TV networks.

In a recently published book, the Superlawyers, the author analyzes the power behind Cutler and puts the discussion into the proper focus. The writer is a super-detective in the Jeffersonian tradition, which in U.S. politics is the minority that speaks for the common people. In contrast, the Hamiltonians speak for the rich and the privileged. (This faction in American political history is named after Alexander Hamilton, who laid the foundation for the U.S.

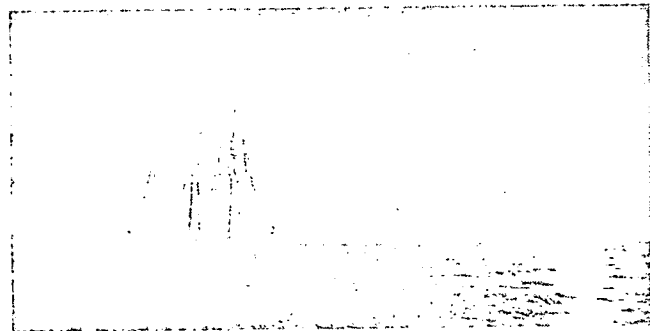
banking system, which today stands at the pinnacle of power in the world.) Some observers have labelled the recent presidential candidate, Senator McGovern, as a Jeffersonian. Obviously describing Cutler as being in the opposite camp, the author says, "A good deal of the Washington Lawyer's clout is by virtue of delegated power. 'When I used to look across my desk and see Lloyd Cutler, I didn't think of him as an attorney, but as an emissary of General Motors,' says a former Senate Committee staffer. 'You know that he's speaking for \$40 billion, and that's a lot of voice, regardless of the identity of the man doing the talking.'"¹

1. Joseph C. Goulden, The Superlawyers: The Small and Powerful World of the Great Washington Law Firms, Weybright and Talley, New York, April 1972, 408 pages. Quotes, from pages 12, 336.

In the same book is a quote by Ralph Nader that gets directly to the point of the law firm's involvement with the automotive giants: "Cutler's special task from the beginning was to prevent the law from including criminal penalties for willful and knowing violations that would endanger human life." What these two critics are saying is that Cutler's firm helped the auto industry to delay installation of anti-pollutant devices for 16 years.

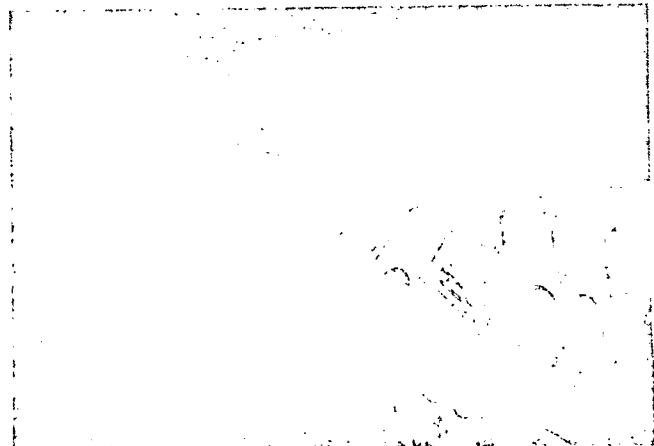
The role of the lawyer has been analyzed best by sociologists and historians. In a book called the Wall Street Lawyer Erwin Smigel says "the large law firms are indisputably the spokesmen for big business." In the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, A.A. Berle details the concept of big business and how the lawyer has a relatively new role in serving the new

Continued on page 11



You only go around once in life.
So reach for all the gusto you can.
Even in the beer you drink.
Why settle for less?

When you're out of Schlitz, you're out of beer.



Tinian Takeover....

Continued from page 10

economic phenomenon of the multinational corporation: "The law firms become virtually an annex to some group of financial promoters, manipulators, or industrialists; and such firms have dominated the organized profession... what they have contributed... is the creation of a legal framework for the new economic system, built largely around the modern corporation."

But what is their legal framework and how does the lawyer fit in exactly? According to a highly controversial although widely-used college sociology textbook, the author, a well-known sociologist, maintains that "today the success of the corporation depends to a considerable extent upon minimizing its tax burden, maximizing its speculative projects through mergers, control-

ling government regulatory bodies, and influencing state and national legislatures. Accordingly, the lawyer is becoming a pivotal figure in the giant corporation,"² (emphasis added).

A recent report claimed that 90% of the lawyers today are serving only 10% of the population, the 10% that can afford the high prices of legal counsel. This can be understood by realizing that 40% of U.S. diplomats, including Haydn Williams, 50% of federal politicians and 100% of the Supreme Court justices have been lawyers. Who, then, are the lawyers serving? Perhaps this is what Donald Matthews meant when he talked of lawyers as "the high priests of American politics" in The Social Background of Political Decision-Makers.

If lawyers and their

firms are so powerful, then on what criteria was the Cutler firm of WC&P chosen? Is he another St. Pierre to help the poor people free themselves after years of outside influence? Of whom among the huge companies have the Cutler people been in pay? Who are Cutler's business associates? Are these questions public knowledge? (Continued next week)

2. Robert Lefcourt (Ed.), Law Against the People; Essays to Demystify Law, Order, and the Courts, Vintage, New York, April 1971. Page 6 quote from C. Wright Mill's The Power Elite

CORAL REEF ENTERPRISES INC.

INFLATABLE BOATS
DIVING AND MARINE EQUIPMENT
POWER AND SAIL BOATS
P.O. BOX 2792,
AGANA, GUAM 96910,
TEL. 772-8786,
MARINE DRIVE, ASAN

SAL-SHIP
CARGO & PASSENGERS SERVICE IN THE MARIANAS &
MAZDA DEALER
(ROTARY ENGINE)
ALSO SALES AIR CONDITIONERS AND REFRIGERATORS. REPAIR SHOP & SERVICES FOR YOUR NEEDS. CALL 3107

\$150. & \$125. & \$100.

PRIZE TO FISHERMEN AT

A FISHERMEN'S TOURNAMENT

SPONSORED BY:

MIU Micronesian Insurance Underwriters

Next Weekend June 30, & July 1st.

YOU, YOUR BOAT AND TWO-MAN CREW GO FISHING FOR TWO DAYS, LEAVING IN THE MORNING AND COMING BACK IN THE EVENING. THE BIGGEST FISH AND THE HIGHEST WEIGHT WILL WIN THE PRIZE, AND THE FISH IS YOURS. REGISTER NOW AT MIU OFFICE, JOETEN CENTER, AND ASK FOR MORE INFORMATION

Micronesian Insurance Underwriters

Trachtenburg

Index of CLS, Inc

Fact

Answer

10100

823

Quotes stat.,
notes objections from
bar assn's, gov.,
public officials,
told viable program ready,
determined to sustain