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October 19, 1973

MEMORANDUM FOR THE MARIANAS CONGRESSIONAL  
RELATIONS FILE

Subject: Meeting with Congressmen Clausen and Regula -  
October 18, 1973

In accord with arrangements made by Mr. Dunmire, I met yesterday with Congressman Clausen, the ranking minority member of the House Territorial and Insular Affairs Subcommittee, and Congressman Regula of Ohio. I understand from Mr. Dunmire that Congressman Clausen has recently decided to involve Congressman Regula more intensively in the affairs of the Subcommittee. Congressman Regula is a lawyer in his forties who has reputedly had approximately 20 years of experience in the Ohio State Legislature. Mr. Dunmire had prepared a package of materials for Congressman Regula but he had not had an opportunity to review them before our meeting.

The discussion lasted for approximately one hour with Congressman Clausen present for only about 40 minutes. His absence gave me an opportunity to respond to some of the first questions put to me by Congressman Regula, who was very interested in why the separate status negotiations with the Marianas had originated and how they could be justified. Congressman Regula was quick to recognize that there were many practical considerations involved in these negotiations, both for the Marianas and the United States, and at one point during the meeting suggested that the practical considerations, rather than the idealistic ones, should be emphasized.

I indicated to both Congressmen that we had prepared a memorandum for their background information. Since neither of them had read the memorandum, I tried during the course of the meeting to touch on the major subjects being discussed during the current negotiations. I have the following impressions of their reactions.

- (1) In the course of discussing the United States proposals for a military base on Tinian, I was able to list the positions taken by the Marianas Commission in response to the U.S. proposal. Both Congressmen appeared to understand the nature of the Marianas' objections and neither of them indicated that any of the objections

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were unreasonable. They did not appear to be briefed as to the importance of the military base, but they seemed impressed with the fact that the Marianas people are prepared to have a substantial military presence in the islands. Congressman Regula ventured the opinion that the economic benefits to the Marianas citizens would, obviously, be significant and served to explain why the Marianas people would be willing to have a military base on Tinian. On more than one occasion during this part of the discussion, I emphasized the need for the United States negotiating team to be reasonable, to reevaluate their proposals in light of our comments, and perhaps to compromise a little bit so that the members of our Commission could defend the resulting agreement to the people. I took the opportunity to explain to the Congressmen that most of the members of the Commission were politicians who had an understandable need to make certain that the agreement with the United States would be acceptable to their constituents.

- (2) On the subject of economics, I made reference to our request for funding for an overall planning effort. Congressman Regula seemed to understand the reasons for this request, and my comments about our desire to avoid the kind of development which was occurring in Guam did not appear to strike the Congressman as objectionable. With regard to long-term financial need, I mentioned the Commission's desire for a multi-year commitment and gave the Congressman some idea of the monies involved. When I mentioned that the annual level of support might be in the range of \$15 - 20 millions no one blinked an eyelash. I made reference to this figure in the process of describing what a good deal it would be for the United States to have a military base on Tinian.
- (3) On the subject of political status, I was able to speak several times about the desire of the Marianas for meaningful self-government. I alerted the Congressmen to the fact that the particular status relationship we desire may not be in the traditional mode and explained that I would not be doing my client any service if I were to recommend a status, such as that in Guam, which is currently viewed as less than completely desirable by the people in Guam. They seemed to understand this point. I emphasized the need for flexibility on this subject on the part of the U.S. negotiating team. Congressman Clausen did make a comment at the end of our discussion about "learning to walk before learning to run," but we did not have any opportunity to discuss exactly what he meant. I did stress, however, that the

people of the Marianas were well educated and thoroughly competent to exercise their rights of self-government.

Both Congressmen did express the strong view that it would be virtually impossible to get a non-voting delegate for the 15,000 inhabitants of the Marianas. They did not explain why they reached this conclusion, except to make reference to the difficulties in securing this option for Guam and the Virgin Islands. I emphasized the need for some voice in Congress for the people of the Marianas and suggested that perhaps it might be possible for the delegate from Guam to assume this responsibility. (I qualified this by stating that I did not know whether such an arrangement would be acceptable to any of the parties concerned, including my own client).

Throughout the meeting both Congressmen indicated that their role at this stage of the negotiations was that of interested bystanders and that they did not want to interfere in the negotiations. They stated that they were prepared to receive information about the negotiations from everyone involved but recognized that it would be sometime before the end result of the negotiations would be presented to Congress. I said several times that I appreciated the opportunity to speak informally with them to let them know what our perspective is of the negotiations. At the end of the meeting, Congressman Clausen asked me not to reveal the fact that I had met with the two Congressmen by name, although he recognized that I had need to be able to advise my client that I had had some discussions with people on the Hill. I do not know whether this reflected his sensitivity about the majority members of his subcommittee or the sensitivities of Ambassador Williams.

After the meeting I asked Mr. Dunmire to find out whether Congressman Clausen would have any objection to my circulation of the memorandum to other members of the subcommittee. He said that he would do so.

H. P. Willens

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