

Editorial

Less Taiwan Jitters ●●●●●

It's sort of hard to figure, but Henry A. Kissinger, and President Nixon caused the great Guam land boom of 1971 and 1972—a boom that seems to be leveling off somewhat now.

At least that's our version of how the land boom happened. The initial visits to Peking by Kissinger in 1971, Taipei's loss of China's United Nations seat and President Nixon's trip to China in 1972 (and his stop over on Guam) caused dismay among the people and government of Taiwan. There was an acute period of anxiety among officials in Taiwan, although they did their best to conceal it. There was a temporary flight of capital out of Taiwan, much of it coming to Guam, and thus the start of the land boom. There was even a brief hesitation in business activity in Taipei, and some hasty departures by a few individuals to settle elsewhere, in a more stable place. There are some estimates that place the figure of \$100,000,000 as the amount of money the Taiwanese brought to Guam during that year long period.

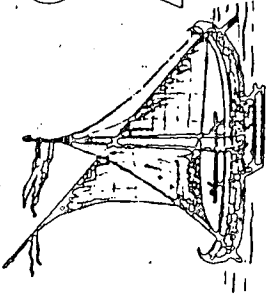
Now, however, the confidence has returned to Taiwan, and the money stopped flowing out. The government has lost international status in many respects, but this has had no adverse effects on the domestic scene. The economy has continued to grow dramatically, and rising prosperity has improved life for most of Taiwan's people.

The Republic of China still has firm faith in American support, militarily and economically. Taiwan knows that Washington will continue full diplomatic recognition of the Chinese Nationalist government, will observe their defense commitment to Taiwan, and will encourage American investments in Taiwan with sizable Export-Import Bank credits and guarantees, which now total about \$1 billion.

The last visit of Kissinger to China in November only caused minor jitters among the people of Taiwan. The mass of the people don't worry about such things anymore. Businessmen and the ordinary citizenry seem to assume things will go on the way they are more or less permanently. Kissinger's latest visit didn't produce any new steps towards "normalization" between the U.S. and mainland China.

Right now Taiwan only has full diplomatic relations with 38 nations, including Brazil, the Philippines, Thailand, South Korea and Saudi Arabia. They have diplomatic relations with only one country in Europe, Portugal. But in most of the larger nations with which Taipei no longer has full relations, Taiwan conducts growing trade and maintains contacts through trade missions, information offices, business concerns, and cultural and sports missions. In reality, it's just the name that has changed, and not the game.

Even with Japan, which suspended diplomatic relations, Taiwan has steadily increased its business arrangements. Taiwan's trade with Japan should total \$2 billion this year, much greater than Japan's trade with China. Taiwan is attracting some 400,000 Japanese tourists this year. So important are the 40 flights a week to Taipei by Japan Air Lines that Tokyo has refrained from jeopardizing them by meeting Peking's conditions for a joint air service between Japan and China.



**Guam's Status...
A Commonwealth?**

By Senator Frank G. Lujan
Chairman, Political Status Commission

Public Law 12-17 requires the Political Status Commission to study the following status alternatives for Guam: incorporated territory; statehood; independence; affiliation with another nation; commonwealth; or unincorporated territory. Our next few columns will, therefore, review these alternatives. They will not, however, be evaluated in order of preference, so that no significance should be attributed to the fact that any one particular status is considered before another.

In the course of our review, the reader should avoid the temptation of comparing Guam with the States of the United States. For the sake of discussion, the Commission's speculation will not be restricted to the relatively narrow framework of the political structure of the United States. The degree of self-government enjoyed by the various States under the umbrella of federal sovereignty does not necessarily present a valid ceiling or objective for Guam. On the contrary, Guam's future political status should be influenced by the realities which confront her in terms of social and economic stability — realities somewhat different to those prevailing on the U.S. mainland. Our frame of reference, therefore, is that entire spectrum of alternatives which lie between total dependence and full sovereignty.

There has been considerable discussion on Guam concerning commonwealth status, and some have suggested that it might be a stride in the right direction for Guam. Since, however, the term "commonwealth" has many different and conflicting interpretations, this column will consider some of the terms of the Commonwealth Arrangement originally proposed for the Northern Marianas, as it might hypothetically apply to Guam.

Under this proposed Commonwealth Arrangement (never accepted, incidentally, by the Marianas), sovereignty would be vested in the

be annulled by the federal government. Freedom to draft their own constitution is what the people of Guam have aspired to since the day the Spaniards first settled Guam. Under the American commonwealth system, however, it should be noted that the right of the people to draft their own constitution would be circumscribed by the right of Congress to disapprove any provision inconsistent with federal law. Thus, in effect, if such a commonwealth proposal were offered to Guam, Guam's constitution would be compelled to follow patterns set by federal law. Guam might not have the freedom to design a government patterned after the parliamentary system, for example, nor would it be free to experiment with any other type of government should the people so desire. Thus, if Guam were to enter into such an agreement, her mode of government would scarcely change from what it is now under the present Organic Act.

The proposed Commonwealth Arrangement for the Marianas also provides that the "United States would have responsibility for and complete authority in the fields of defense and foreign affairs." This provision might offer a small defenseless territory like Guam protection against aggression by other world powers. At the same time, however, it has been Guam's experience that U.S. defense and foreign policies have tended to involve Guam in the front line of international strife. U.S. policies have had a profound and sometimes injurious impact upon Guam's social and economic development. Moreover, this same provision, coupled with Congress' plenary powers, could grant the Department of Defense a blank check for expansion of its activities in the territory. Thus, if Guam is looking toward greater control over its own destiny, it should weigh the dubious advantages of identification with U.S. foreign policies against the dangers of possible aggression by other colonial-minded powers.

Other provisions of the Commonwealth proposal

by meeting Peking's conditions for a joint air service between Japan and China.

The world trade for Taiwan is expected to total more than \$8 billion this year. No wonder why the people of Taiwan are growing less nervous about their international situation, and no wonder why the flow of Taiwanese money to Guam has eased up a bit. J.C.M.

We're Spoiled Rotten

The trouble with the people of Guam—and the rest of the country—is that we're all spoiled rotten by luxuries, convenience and comfort, and refuse to accept anything less in our standards. There has been talk, but no action on a bus system proposal, there hasn't even been any discussion about car pools, or anything that would take our blessed automobiles away from us.

All of us would rather wait an hour or so in a gas line than spending that hour walking to work, or cutting out some unnecessary trips.

"It should give us pause that West Germany, Denmark, Switzerland and Sweden now have higher per capita GNPs (Gross National Product) than we do, though their per-capita energy consumption is only about one-half ours," said Sierra Club President Laurence I. Moss in a speech given at a forum on "Growth With Environmental Quality?" at Tulsa, Oklahoma. "Indeed, if growth in GNP is our goal, present energy policies run counter to it. They encourage a diversion of limited capital resources into conventional energy technology and non-energy investments which yield a higher rate of return," Moss said. He also said that we are often told that a technologically advanced civilization requires extraordinary quantities of energy. "But is it a mark of technological advancement that a person requires a 2-ton vehicle to move within a city?" he asked. Moss wondered too, why many buildings are designed such that air conditioning is required for comfort even when outside temperatures approach the freezing point? That lighting standards are set at absurd levels? That opportunities for energy conservation in industry are often neglected? He calls it technological crudeness.

Moss pointed to the computer industry as a model of technological sophistication in that it has freed millions of people from menial jobs and has operated on the principle "of doing more with less." On the question of growth and environmental quality, he said, "We should remember that the nature and pattern of growth is all-important. It is clearly desirable to encourage growth in certain areas, as in developing and implementing technologies to provide for the reasonable demands of people, including the demand for a quality environment."

What Moss is saying is better pin-pointed on Guam. We don't want to make the automobile dealers mad, but the facts are that we can't continue to put more and more cars on the highways of Guam. The day will come when these vehicles will be unable to proceed—and in some parts of the community, this has already happened. Oh sure, we can build more roads to carry more cars, and on and on, until the ultimate day, when the island is completely paved over.

The private car is a great instrument, a great luxury, and a joy to all of us. But we've let it become our master, instead of the other way around. We're afraid that the end of unlimited driving is in sight for all of us. We wish that some planner, or some private business firm would come up with a solid workable proposal for mass transit on Guam, as one alternative to our present dilemma. J.C.M.

Arrangement (never accepted, incidentally, by the Marianas), sovereignty would be vested in the United States. Maximum self-government, however, would be granted "consistent with relevant portions of the United States Constitution and Federal law." This provision immediately places a territory within the category of unincorporated status—a status which Guam already enjoys—for the definition of "unincorporated" is that only selected provisions of the U.S. Constitution govern the territory.

Another provision in the proposed Commonwealth Arrangement is that once signed it could be amended only by mutual consent. This mutual consent clause could work to the advantage or disadvantage of a territory like Guam. Should the terms of the agreement prove advantageous, it would offer Guam a measure of security. On the other hand, should the agreement prove uncomfortable over the years, there would be no way the territory could relieve the hurt without federal consent. Thus Guam should be wary of entering into such a potentially padlocked type of agreement, unless it were fully prepared to suffer the consequences. The advantage of Guam's current status today is that she has never yet voluntarily signed away her rights to demand a change in status.

The terms of the proposed Commonwealth Arrangement also provide that Article IV, Section 3, clause 2 of the U.S. Constitution would apply to the territory. This clause provides that "...Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States..." This, if accepted by Guam, would grant Congress full and continued powers over the territory. On the basis of this authority, Congress could enact any laws it wishes governing the island, and it could condemn, lease or sell lands within the territory. It would be difficult to reconcile Congress' plenary powers with the granting of "maximum self-government." Moreover, if Guam were not also granted a voting delegate to Congress, this particular provision could be said to amount to government without representation, and absentee landlordism.

The most attractive provision in the proposed Commonwealth Arrangement would be the authority of the people to draft their own constitution. The constitution, however, would have to be "...consistent with the relevant provisions of the U.S. Constitution..." and any other relevant federal legislation. Moreover, the constitution would have to include a bill of rights, provide for the separation of powers, and for a popularly elected chief executive. Once accepted by the people, the constitution would then be subject to review and approval by the U.S. Congress. Also, any subsequent amendment could

ARRANGEMENT BY OTHER COLONIAL-MINDED POWERS.

Other provisions of the Commonwealth proposal—such as citizenship—already apply to Guam as an unincorporated territory. One significant provision, however, declares that following the signing of the Commonwealth Arrangement, it would be decided "whether to provide for formal periodic review." It should be noted that there is no commitment here by the United States to review the compact, and should it prove favorable to the United States there would be little inducement for it to sit down again at the negotiating tables.

Finally, the Commonwealth Arrangement would, in all probability, list those major federal laws which would apply to the territories. These laws would most likely include taxation, immigration, customs, banking, social security, maritime laws, labor standards and postal services. These laws currently apply to Guam, and Guam has learned that they directly influence or control the development of the economy. They are the very same laws which Guam would now like to amend.

A Commonwealth Arrangement such as this has been described as a potential step forward for a territory like Guam. The question the people of Guam must decide is—would a Commonwealth agreement similar to that originally offered the Marianas constitute an improvement over Guam's current political status?

Pacific Daily News

ROBERT E. UDICK Publisher

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Daily except Sunday at Agaña, Territory of Guam, U.S.A.
P.O. Box DN-Agana, Guam 96910

PHONE: 777-9711

Entered as Second Class Matter at the Post Office, Guam
Under Act of Congress March 3, 1879
Published by Guam Publications, Inc.
A Member of the Gannett Group

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