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AIRGRAM

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Introduction and Summary

With the delayed return to Moen Island about November 24 of the ship carrying ballots from the western islands of Truk District, the count in the 1974 Congress of Micronesia election was completed, almost three weeks after the date of the election (Status LMO 341). Two incumbent senators (Fangelinan and Americh) out of the six who ran for re-election and eleven of the twenty-one incumbent representatives were defeated. It is difficult to perceive a common factor in these defeats, or a common program or characteristics among the victors; the results could perhaps best be characterized as a slaughter of the complacent, as several of those who lost rested on their laurels during the election campaign. The new Congress will, obviously, be different; but how, and to what extent, cannot be foreseen. But some comments on this November's results may provide insight into political and social developments in the Trust Territory as manifested in the most important TT-wide Micronesian institution, the Congress--which next July 12 will celebrate its tenth birthday.

Enclosure:
Congress of Micronesia General Election Results

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE A/CDC/MR

REVIEWED BY *W. Bergesen* DATE 25 MAR 1986

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Inasmuch as the election was fought primarily on personalities, rather than on the basis of TI-wide issues such as future political status or constitutional developments, the election results are discussed below on a district-by-district basis. Complete, though still unofficial, returns are tabulated in an enclosure.

Palau

In the Senatorial race, incumbent Roman Tmetuchl was barely reelected, receiving 2275 votes against John O. Ngirakad's 2197. Tmetuchl, considered by many the most powerful single figure in Palauan politics, reportedly was one of those who campaigned very little; his opponent, a well-known figure locally who received more votes as a delegate to the upcoming constitutional convention than any other Palauan, was a good deal more active, and may well try his hand again in 1976 against the other Palauan senator, JCPS Chairman Lazarus Sali, as he did in 1972. Sali, whose own power position in Palau is said to be shaky, took no active part in the election as far as one can tell from here; specifically, he did nothing to help his fellow Liberal Party Senator, Roman. In Micronesian politics, this is important; and Palauans have long memories.

In the House, two incumbents, Timothy Olkeril and Tarkong Pedro, both members of the Liberal Party, were defeated; the only incumbent returned was Polycarp Basilus of the Progressive Party. These results generally surprised observers, who after the fact blamed disunity in the indigenous religio-politico-social organization, the Modaknai, for the defeat of Olkeril and Pedro, and for Tmetuchl's poor performance.

Yap

Smallest of the districts, with a total population of about 7,000, Yap is regarded as the most traditional. Senator Petrus Tun and Rep. Luke Tman from Yap Island ran unopposed. Both candidates in Representative District 21, incumbent John Rugulimar and challenger (and victor) John Halielgam, come from outer islands. The defeat of Rugulimar, a member of the COM since its founding in 1965, was one of the most unexpected results of the 1974 election. Two explanations have been advanced: Halielgam was closely identified with Micronesian Legal Services, said to be well regarded in Yap. More interesting is the theory that the people of the outer islands of Yap were showing their displeasure at the high-handed action of Ulithi's senior traditional chief in restricting to their tiny island the entire population of Falalop because someone there had killed a green turtle and failed to turn it over to the chief as custom demanded. According to this theory, the failure of Rugulimar (who is related to the chief) to take issue with this old-fashioned

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punishment was a major cause of his defeat. This, too, was a contest between a campaigner (Halifaigan) who won, and a long-time CON member (Gugulimar) who epitomized--and has throughout his career--the non-campaigner, and lost.

The Marshalls

There were two noteworthy developments in the Marshalls: the powerful Senator Amata Kabua, who combines traditional high caste position (though not himself an Iroij) with considerable modern political and economic power, was openly challenged for the first time, and a woman candidate ran and was elected to the House.

It is difficult to draw firm conclusions about the Marshalls elections. Amata has become identified with Marshalls separation, though no one seems to know how far he will carry it; his opponent, Carl Heine, ran as a proponent of continued unity of the Marshall and Caroline Islands, but more specifically he ran against Amata's continued one-man rule. Given Amata's stature and undoubted ability, for Heine to receive 1671 votes against the incumbent's 2902 is regarded by many as a successful challenge, a reminder to Amata that he, too, must not be seen as too highhanded.

The success of the American-style campaign (complete with bumper stickers) of Carmen Milne Bigler probably aroused more comment than any of the results in this year's election. Since her opponent, incumbent John Heine, campaigned on a platform of Micronesian unity and Carmen's slogan was "Marshalls First", it would appear that separation here got a boost. However, Mrs. Bigler is more closely related to the Heines than to the Kabuas, and only time will tell whether she will support or discourage Amata's still-ambiguous purposes.

Other races in the Marshalls saw the incumbents returned easily:

Rep. Charles DOMNICK	612	Lucky Lokboj	232
Rep. Ekpap SILK	729	Andrew Hiseiah	120
Rep. Ataji BALOS	1216	Tipne Philippo	188

Truk

The defeat of the respected Andon Amaraich was another major surprise. The final count was 6006 for Andon, 6382 for his successful opponent, Nick Bossy. Andon is from the Mortlocks, and strongly identified with

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the outer islands; it was the heavy vote Bossy ran up in the Truk lagoon islands that defeated Amraich. Amraich, as has been his custom, did not campaign; he felt his record spoke for itself. Bossy, a huge man (though not as fat as Palau's Tarhong Pedro) campaigned hard; reportedly, he made a major issue of Andon's alleged support for independence, claiming Micronesia was in no way ready for such a drastic step. If so, this would seem a considerable boost for the advocates of the status quo. However, from conversations which the reporting officer had in Truk soon after the election, it appears that the most important factor in Andon's defeat was that voters in Truk proper blamed him, as Chairman of the Joint Committee on Administrative Appointments, for the Committee's negative action on a couple of appointments of Trukese from the lagoon islands, most recently Mataro Denis who had been appointed as District Administrator of Truk. There are also reports that for unexplained reasons the vote in the outer islands, especially the Mortlocks, was smaller than it should have been, thus reducing the vote Andon might have expected. In any case, it is evident that the split in Truk, District between the lagoon and outer islands is becoming more accentuated, not improving.

In the House, two of Truk's five representatives, Ray Setik and Sasauo Haruo, were unopposed. The three who ran opposed were defeated. Vice Speaker Endy Dois lost to Chiro Albert, a former supporter, while Machima O'Sonis lost to Kalisto Rafonopei, a policeman. The reasons are obscure, but may be connected with the back-lash noted above with respect to the failure of the Administrative Appointments Committee to give its advice and consent to Denis' appointment: Dois and O'Sonis, both of whom represent Truk lagoon islands, failed to support adequately this appointment. It has also been charged that both winning candidates were, in fact, ineligible because of felony convictions; these charges are unresolved at present. In District 18 (the Hall Islands and the western islands such as Puluwat and Pulusuk), the vote was split three ways: Masauo Nakayama (the Senate President's younger brother) with 451 votes lost to Lambert Aafin with 609. The third candidate, Masachiro Cristlib, got 198 votes. The successful candidate is young, articulate, and outgoing; the reporting officer watched him in action in mid-November when Lambert served as an interpreter for some of the traditional Trukese leaders at a conference there. He put on a good show.

Fonape

Incumbent Senator Ambilos Iehsi defeated Edwel Santos by 3926 votes to 3106, a much smaller majority than initial returns indicated. Iehsi, Floor Leader of the Senate, is respected and well-liked, and his continued presence in the Senate is to everyone's advantage. In the House, Jacob

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Sigrah and Basio Moses were returned and Speaker Bethuel Henry was unopposed. The only incumbent who lost was Sungino Hadley, defeated by Edgar Edward. This district consists of two municipalities; Hadley and a third candidate, Lucas Ada, were from the same municipality (Matalania) and reportedly split its vote, while Edward swept the other (Kiti), which was his home area.

Marianas

In Status LMO 322C Senator Fangelinan's unexpected defeat in his bid for re-election was discussed. Of all the districts, the Marianas had the most American-style campaign: motorcades, advertising in the local weeklies, the exchange of charges and countercharges (some scurrilous in the extreme), TV spots, rallies, and cries of "freedom" by the losers. In the Marianas, all incumbents lost. (A request was requested in District 2, where the Popular Party's Herman R. Guerrero defeated the one Territorial incumbent, Pedro P. Tenorio, by but four votes, but the request was turned down by the District on technical grounds.)

In any case, the Territorial Party came through with flying colors: it elected a new Senator, Pedro A. Tenorio, and two young Representatives, Jose P. Mafnas and Oscar C. Raza. Raza has a reputation as a wild-eyed radical, but was willing to compromise on the length of his hair, at least, persuaded by the Territorial Party's chairman, Dr. Frank Palacios. Palacios assured the reporting officer some weeks ago that there was no need to be concerned about Raza's radicalism, but this remains to be seen. Raza continues to publish a weekly, the "Free Press," which publicizes a generally unruly, anti-establishment line.

Mafnas, a thirty-year-old police captain in Saipan, is married to an American citizen (born in Guam) and the father of three. He recently returned to Saipan from three years in college in the U.S. (He was Acting Chief of Police here before he went to the United States.) His campaign was managed, and he himself encouraged to undertake the race, by his older brother Jesus ("Sus") Mafnas, Chief of the Revenue Division in TI Headquarters and a long-time Territorial Party activist. Mafnas appears serious and responsible, and speaks English well. He is not yet well informed on status developments.

The Territorial Party has reassured Ambassador Williams through its chairman that they would stand by all previous commitments made to U.S. negotiators; Senator-elect Tenorio has noted only that they do not believe that the negotiations should be pushed to a conclusion in December since they feel that there is as yet insufficient general understanding of the terms and circumstances of the Marianas' future political status to guarantee the widespread public support which they believe is needed.

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An analysis in the Marianas shows the total senatorial vote in the last three elections as follows:

	Popular	Territorial	Third Party	Total	Gain*
1970	2171	1583		3754	
1972	2046	1883	370	4299	425
1974	2237	2617		4854	543

*Increase of Territorial Party vote compared with Popular Party vote

From this it appears that the Territorial Party has garnered an increasing share of new voters over the past four years, whereas the Popular Party has barely held its own. It also appears that the Popular Party's charge that the Territorials had pushed registration and voting by a large number of non-Mariana residents of this district should not be taken too seriously. (Such voting would not have been illegal if these non-Marianas were properly registered residents.)

Conclusions

The Sixth Congress of Micronesia will have thirteen new members (of a total of thirty-three), the largest proportion since 1968. Four representatives ran unopposed (one each in Ponape and Yap, two in Truk); all challengers won in the Marianas, Yap, and Truk. It seems fair to conclude that change was least in Ponape, as four of the five incumbents were re-elected; although the proportion was the same in the Marshalls, the fact that there was genuine and overt opposition to Senator Kabua may well indicate a new era in those far-flung islands. In Palau, as in the Marianas, the candidates ran as members of political parties, and the minority party increased its House membership from one to three. It was a bad year for incumbents. It was a good year for challengers who worked at their challenges, and the lesson to be drawn from this year's election may well be: campaigning pays off.

The new Congress will have a number of thorny problems to deal with: its own organization, including reapportionment, possible further amendments to the Constitutional Convention Act (traditional leaders meeting in Truk in early November came out strongly for voting rights for their ConCon reps), future political status (the Compact of Free Association

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should be ready for formal submission to the COM during its next session), finances, and possibly such troublesome subjects as revenue sharing and the return of public lands, though a meeting scheduled for early December has as its purpose arranging for land return by executive action.

The Compact was not itself an issue in the election; to the very limited extent that Micronesia's future political status was discussed, it would appear that the voters took a particularist view of their own district's interests but that no clear conclusions can be drawn about "Whither Micronesia?"

BERGSEN

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CONGRESS OF MICRONESIA GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS

MARIANAS

5th Senatorial District

Pedro A. YERURIO
 Edward DLG. Pangolinan

3,700
 2,417
 2,437

1st Representative District

Jose P. MAYNAS
 Herman T. Palacios
 Felipe Q. Atalig
 Joseph S. Inoc

662
 409
 243
 99

2nd Representative District

Herman R. COMBERO
 Pedro P. Tenorio

630
 352
 348

3rd Representative District

Oscar C. SABA
 Herman Q. Cuerrero

707
 1,232
 1,008

MARSHALLS

5th Senatorial District

Amata KANUA
 Carl Heine

2,902
 1,671

4th Representative District

Charles T. DOMNICK
 Lucky Lokboj

612
 232

5th Representative District

Carson M. BIGLER
 Chuji Chutaro
 John E. Heine

729
 276
 372

6th Representative District

Erpep SIK	729
Alea Alik	71
Andrew Hissiah	120

7th Representative District

Acaji BALOS	1,216
Tipoo Philippo	188

PALAU

4th Senatorial District

Komen TIRUOCHL	2,275
John O. Ngirahed	2,197

8th Representative District

Kunibo WAKAMURA	939
Timothy S. Olkerill	561

9th Representative District

Polycarp BASILINS	916
Moboo Swai	636

10th Representative District

Isidoro KUDIMCH	771
Tarkong K. Pedro	673

PONAPE

3rd Senatorial District

Ambilos IRISI	3,926
Edwel Santos	3,106

11th Representative District

Joab W. SIGRAH	1,117
Yosivo George	956

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Dist. No. 1
A-18 from Scipon

12th Representative District

Bethuel HENRY 1,420

13th Representative District

Rasio HOGES 1,143
Peter Christian 318
Heinrich Iriarte 360

14th Representative District

Edgar W. EDWARDS 648
Lucas Ada 423
Sungwo Hadley 399

TRUK

2nd Senatorial District

Nick BOSSY 6,382
Andon Ameraich 6,006

15th Representative District

Raymond SETIK 2,120

16th Representative District

Sasuo HARUO 1,947

17th Representative District

Andy DOIS 1,171
Chiro ALBERT 1,748

18th Representative District

Lambert AAFIN 609
Masao Nakayama 8431
Masahiro Christlip 198

19th Representative District

Kalisto REPOHPI 2,259
Machine O'Sonis 1,237

DECEASED

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YAP

1st Senatorial District

Peter T. TUSIK

388
2,800
800

20th Representative District

Luke T. TUSIK

1,350
1,475

21st Representative District

**John R. KALIKIAN
John R. KALIKIAN**

1,741
974
306
1,021

22nd Representative District

John R. KALIKIAN

1,741

23rd Representative District

John R. KALIKIAN

1,741
2,000
4,795

24th Representative District

John R. KALIKIAN

1,741

25th Representative District

John R. KALIKIAN

1,741

26th Representative District

John R. KALIKIAN

1,741

27th Representative District

John R. KALIKIAN

1,741

28th Representative District

John R. KALIKIAN

1,741

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