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My dear Mr. President:

I am submitting herewith my report and conclusions with respect to Guam, American Samoa, and the former Japanese mandated islands (the Carolines, the Marshalls and the Marianas) and Okinawa. It is based on personal observation and information gathered during my recent tour of the Pacific Ocean areas.

x 197 7/11/47

The report of the special committee appointed by the Navy Department on the same general subject was released to the press on Sunday. This report has some additional useful information and I believe the end of maintaining and arousing public interest in the problem of self-government for American dependencies in the Pacific would be advanced by its release. I would appreciate hearing from you as to whether or not it will be satisfactory to release this report to the press.

x 18

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I am forwarding copies of this report to the Secretaries of State, War and Navy.

x 20 x 25

Sincerely yours,

Cap

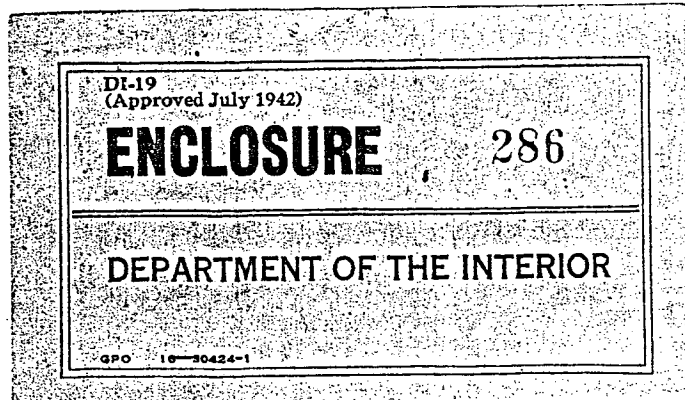
Secretary of the Interior.

x 6

The President,

The White House.

Enclosure 286.



REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT
PACIFIC ISLAND INSPECTION TOUR OF J. A. KRUG,
SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR
FEBRUARY - MARCH, 1947

I have returned from my tour of inspection of certain islands in the far reaches of the Pacific with a firm conviction that the United States must practice in the Pacific the democracy which we practice at home and which we hold out to the world as the American way of life. If we are to stand before the world as champions of free and representative government we must practice in our own dependent areas that which we preach abroad.

On thousands of American nationals and citizens in Guam and American Samoa and more thousands of Micronesians we are imposing a form of government which we would not tolerate on the mainland and would probably criticize if it existed under a foreign regime. The civil rights of these people can be granted or revoked at will by the military governors. The islanders have no trial by jury, no right of appeal to mainland courts, no effective voice in respect to education, public health, economic matters or other vital aspects of their community life. They are even taxed without representation. Contrary to the fundamental law which prevails in all of our states and territories, the governors exercise all authority -- executive, legislative and judicial.

In keeping with our basic philosophy of government, we should establish civil government for civil populations under our flag in time of peace. To that end, I recommend that you seek the enactment by the Congress of suitable legislation to establish local self-government in Guam and American Samoa. This legislation should grant full United States citizenship to the people of Guam and American Samoa, should extend to them so much of the Constitution and laws of the United States as can be applied together with the jurisdiction and protection of the courts of the United States, and should provide for civilian governors of the civilian populations at the earliest practical date.

I recommend further that the United States, in accepting trusteeship of the former Japanese mandated islands from the United Nations, do so with a declaration of intention to establish civilian administration throughout the area at the earliest possible moment. The Congress should then be called upon to define the civil rights and political status of the islanders in their new relationship to the United States. In my opinion it is vital that by act of Congress we



guarantee these people the maximum degree practical of the civil liberties and basic freedoms enjoyed by United States citizens. There should be a civilian administrator for the islands and a system of civil courts, free from control by the officials charged with administrative responsibilities, should replace the military government provost courts now in existence. Local municipal councils should be established looking toward the eventual establishment of regional legislative assemblies.

It is equally important that any action directed at improvement of the political status and civil rights of the Pacific islanders should be supported by a program of reconstruction and economic development to improve their material well-being. It is absolutely essential that the islanders, especially the inhabitants of the former Japanese mandated islands, should continue to receive economic assistance in the way of trade goods programs and the development of markets for copra and other local produce. Their economic ties with Japan and the Orient have been completely severed and ties with a new parent economy have not yet been developed. The postwar economic program for these islands should be integrated with the political administration in order to develop a sound economy geared to the well-being of the islanders.

Our aims with respect to the political and economic development should be supplemented by an educational program designed to assist these island peoples in raising themselves to a reasonably modern social and cultural level. There of course can be no argument with the proposition that there are many aspects of native culture which must be preserved but we have a responsibility to do more for these people than preserve them as an exhibit of bygone or "primitive" culture.

Civil administration will call for the cooperation of many specialized agencies. It will be necessary for the Navy or the Coast Guard, or both, to furnish such transportation and communication facilities as are vital to the administration and trade of the widely-scattered island areas. Education, public health, agriculture and fisheries will be major responsibilities of the various island governments and will require authorized assistance from specialized agencies of the Federal government and the states. In all of these matters, where inter-agency arrangements are required for the use of facilities or for the performance of services, full coordinating authority for civil administration must be vested in the central administering agency.



A fully coordinated organization from the start is dictated not only by the obvious considerations of economy and sound administration, but by the peculiar circumstances of the islands which urgently require rehabilitation and integrated development and by the special responsibilities assumed by the United States under the Trusteeship Agreement.

There is no question in my mind about the strategic importance of the islands and their value to the United States as forward outposts of defense. The Army, the Navy and the Air Forces must be assured free access to all of the islands at all times and must be allowed to set aside and exclusively control such islands or parts of islands and their surrounding waters as are necessary to the establishment and maintenance of military and naval installations. The armed forces of course, must have exclusive jurisdiction over military bases and reservations. I do not agree, however, with the belief that civilian administration of that portion of the islands which are not a part of the military bases is incompatible with effective provision for national defense.

Military or naval mastery of the civil governments of Alaska, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands was not found necessary for the effective prosecution of the recent war. The situation in Hawaii demonstrated that, in an emergency, military control can be expanded to the entire strategic area and withdrawn and confined to naval and military installations when the emergency has passed. The war offered abundant examples of civilian and military agencies working together in the national interest on the principle that their duties and objectives were complementary. To commit ourselves to a course of action requiring permanent military administration of the affairs of the Pacific islands in time of peace would imply an admission of a non-existent weakness in our basic principles of government.

It is my belief that civil governments should be established in Guam and Samoa, in the former Japanese mandated islands, and in the conquered areas of the Pacific, just as soon as possible. I fully concur in the belief that by actually practicing democracy in the Pacific the United States can best overcome the non-democratic philosophies of government which today are bidding for control of the whole of Asia.

Observations and comments of a more specific nature with respect to Guam, American Samoa, the former Japanese mandated islands, and Okinawa are set out below:

GUAM

The people of Guam appear to be cheerful and well-fed but somewhat impatient with the lag in the rebuilding of their communities and in the reconstruction of their economy. As a consequence of their experience of recent years, they seem to have developed a political consciousness far beyond that which existed in the island before the war. Local leaders feel that the time has come for the Congress of the United States to define the civil rights and political status of the people of Guam, thereby fulfilling the pledge contained in Article IX of the Treaty of Paris of December 10, 1898.

Evidence of the severe naval and air bombardment of the island and the destruction wrought in the fighting which followed the landing of American marines and soldiers can still be seen throughout the island. Structures of all kinds, even many isolated farm buildings, were wrecked in the fighting. Much of the best land was fought over and many breadfruit, coconut, and timber trees were knocked down by shell fire or cleared to make way for air strips, dumps and camps. Such livestock and poultry as the Japanese had not already taken were killed or driven into the jungles. The people themselves were herded together in refugee camps out of the way of the troops. After the island was secured temporary housing was provided for the homeless. Construction of permanent housing for the thousands of inhabitants of the destroyed villages of Agat, Sumay and Agana has not begun.

At no time in its modern history has the island of Guam been economically self-sufficient. There is no industry. Timber and natural resources are practically non-existent. In normal times cattle, poultry and hogs thrive on the island in sufficient numbers to satisfy the needs of the local community. The soil is fertile and will grow tropical food crops in abundance. Under postwar circumstances, however, a large part of the island (about one-half of its total land area) will be retained for military purposes. Many Guamanian farmers will therefore be landless. Others who in the past were able to supplement their meager incomes by gardening and light farming are now forced to live in so-called military government villages and exist entirely as wage earners. This condition will persist in postwar Guam.

At present the laws of Guam are promulgated by a Naval Governor in whom are centered the executive, legislative, and judicial powers of government. Neither the 23,000 people of Guam nor the American civilians who reside on the island and who are also subject to local law have an effective part in the enactment of the laws under which they live. There is an elective local Congress from which the



Governor seeks advice on occasions; but that body is completely without authority. The Naval Governor has absolute authority to legislate on local matters even including the authority to tax.

The same authority which enacts and promulgates the law, namely the Naval Governor, also creates the courts which interpret and apply the law. He appoints and removes the judges who, without a jury, pass on questions of both law and fact. He also sits in review on the decisions made in the courts which he has created, by the judges he has appointed to interpret and apply the law which he himself has promulgated. Since the war, the Naval Governor has stated his intention to submit capital cases to the Secretary of the Navy for review before execution of the sentence; but there is no right of appeal beyond the island, even in capital cases, for either the local inhabitants or the American citizens residing on the island. The native policemen and the Naval and Marine Corps personnel are in the employ of the Governor who has made the law which they are called upon to enforce and are subject to discipline or outright removal at his will. I do not wish to imply that the Naval governors have not been very judicious in the administration of their trusts but it is my firm belief that any system in which such complete power is vested in a single individual is intolerable, and it is certainly completely out of character for people under the American flag to be treated thus.

During the disaster-relief period following reoccupation of the island and up through June 30, 1945, the functions of Naval Military Government for the local inhabitants were wholly financed with Federal funds. Following the reestablishment of Naval Government and the appointment of the first postwar Naval Governor, a local tax program was reestablished. The prewar personal tax of \$2.00 for each male resident of 18 years of age or over has been revived. This personal tax together with a 10 per cent sales tax on all supplies procured from military establishments and various license and permit fees and import duties, all of which are prescribed by the Naval Governor, are the principal local sources of Naval Government revenues at the present time. This revenue income will fall off when private business on the island has sufficiently recovered to be able to supply all of the food, clothing, and other needs of the local economy. Except for the land itself, much of which is still in use for military purposes, practically all of the taxable realty in the form of buildings and improvements no longer exists. Many people are still housed in temporary disaster-relief housing which they do not own and which therefore cannot be taxed.

The civilian health function, which is considered a proper responsibility of the medical profession and the local government in most communities of equal size and population in Hawaii and in mainland America, is regarded as a responsibility of the Navy in Guam. I believe that the health services and facilities currently being extended by the

adequate and of a high quality. The sanitation, mosquito control, and rat and vermin control programs of the Army and the Navy have done much to make the island a healthy place of residence for both civilians and service personnel. It is significant to note that the Navy is at present conducting an educational program in medicine and health under which the local inhabitants may soon aspire to perform for themselves some of the services now rendered by the Navy with commissioned and enlisted personnel.

The Naval Government has general supervision over the educational program of the local inhabitants. It prescribes the curriculum, selects the teachers, and determines the general policy and program of education to be followed in the public schools of Guam. In almost 50 years of Naval administration much has been done to raise the cultural level of the people and to teach them the general principles of the American way of life. The local inhabitants speak English with remarkable facility, and all business and social functions are conducted in the English language. I am informed that prior to the war the United States contributed in the neighborhood of \$50,000 each year to the Naval Government of Guam. Most of this amount was expended on education. The remainder of the bill for education was paid from locally collected tax receipts.

The Bank of Guam, which is the only institution of commercial credit on the island, is owned and operated by the Naval Government. It serves as the government depository and as a banking facility for the local inhabitants. Its policies are formulated by the Navy and executed in accordance with the general accounting policies of the Federal government. It is therefore not a private commercial institution and does not take many of the normal commercial risks which might be taken by a privately owned and operated bank.

The freight transportation needs of the civilian population of Guam are supplied in part by the Navy and in part by the American President Lines. Figures as to the amount of tonnage actually allocated to civilian cargo on Naval vessels are not available. American President Lines' freighters have been making unscheduled runs to Guam which seem to occur about once each month. These vessels also carry mail for the civilian population. It appears that large quantities of light consumer goods are imported into Guam by regular mail and by air mail facilities which were made available to the civilian population upon the reestablishment of the United States post office on the island.

Passenger service for civilians desiring to travel to and from Guam is generally inadequate at the present time. In the past a few persons were able to secure accommodations on the American President Lines' freighters, but this service is being discontinued in the near future. Some civilians have been able to secure transportation to and from Guam on Naval vessels and on Navy and Army aircraft. Pan-American Airways facilities, which were available in prewar Guam, have recently been reestablished. Regular scheduled service connecting Guam with

Manila, China, Japan, Hawaii and the mainland of the United States will soon be available. Guam is a relay station on the Trans-Pacific Commercial Cable facility, and regular cable facilities are available to the civilian population at commercial rates.

It is my opinion that the people of Guam are ready for autonomy in the conduct of their local affairs under a civil governor appointed by the President of the United States. They have made remarkable progress under American sovereignty. They speak our language with facility; they understand our political philosophy and have the same social organization and institutions that we have on the mainland. They have been devout Christians for generations and their loyalty to the United States is attested to in suffering and bloodshed. The elective Guam Congress, which has existed on a representative basis since 1931, as an advisory body to the Naval governor, is qualified to assume genuine legislative powers. The people of Guam are ready to enact local tax laws and such educational, economic and other measures as they themselves deem essential for their needs, and to have a determining voice in the appropriation and expenditure of locally-collected tax and customs receipts. They are also entitled to a part in the making of the local civil and criminal laws under which they must live. We must withdraw the American Marines who have been set over the people as village policemen since our arrival in the island at the turn of the century. The local courts must be freed of the heavy hand of executive control and supervision, and the right of appeal to the Federal courts of the United States must be made available to the Guamanian litigant and the American citizens who reside on the island.

AMERICAN SAMOA

The people of American Samoa, who today number around 17,000, seem to have enjoyed less contact with mainland Americans than have the people of Guam. They appear to be healthy and well-fed and are adequately housed according to native standards. Those who live in and around Pago Pago and have worked and associated with the American naval and civilian colony speak our language, practice our religions and social forms, and have a good understanding of our political philosophy. The Samoans of the back country, however, still live in a so-called "native" society and enjoy a form of "native" economy based on the cultivation of taro and other tropical crops and the manufacture and sale of "native" handicraft. Many of the rural Samoans still retain their tribal customs relatively intact and speak our language with difficulty.

The laws of American Samoa, like those of Guam, are promulgated by the Naval Governor who has absolute and final authority in this respect. In him are centered the executive, legislative and judicial powers of government. The courts of Samoa are constituted on his authority to interpret and apply the law according to rules of procedure which he prescribes. He appoints the judges and has complete control over the officers of the court and the police authority which enforces the law. Although convictions in capital cases are referred to the Secretary of

the Navy for review if requested by the defendant, there is no right of appeal to the courts of the United States either in capital or other cases.

As in Guam, the Naval Governor's absolute authority on local matters includes the authority to tax. A general personal tax, known as a poll tax, is levied upon each male inhabitant 18 years of age or older. Failure to pay this tax, which is levied at the rate of \$10.00 per annum, is regarded as a contempt of court and is punishable by imprisonment. Another source of revenue of particular interest is an ad valorem customs duty of 20 per cent which is levied on all goods and merchandise imported into American Samoa from any country including the United States. Certain items are permitted free entry, but in general this levy is assessed against all importations including food and clothes.

A Commodity Administrator appointed by the Naval Governor and subject to removal at his will has absolute authority to regulate imports and exports and the supply and price of foods and consumer supplies stocked for sale by Samoan merchants. A Department of Samoan Industry, composed of six Directors who serve at the pleasure of the Governor without pay, serves as a governmental cooperative marketing agent for Samoan products and is authorized to prescribe fair practices and inspection regulations to be observed by all producers of Samoan products. The profits from this enterprise are deposited to the credit of the Naval Government of American Samoa. Copra and related palm products may not be exported unless they are consigned to persons in the United States, except upon specific authority of the Naval Governor.

Health and sanitation in Samoa are regarded as a special responsibility of the Naval Government and are handled there as in Guam. A large new hospital has recently been made available to the civilian community where treatment is given by Naval doctors and hospital corpsmen. The principal threats to native health are hookworm and filariasis. It is difficult to combat hookworm since the majority of the natives are barefooted.

The Naval Government maintains and operates a system of elementary education. As in Guam, the Naval Government prescribes the curriculum, selects the teachers, and determines the general policy and program of education in the public schools. In addition to the public school system, there are a number of church schools. The public schools in Pago Pago include one high school which was recently established; and some apprentice and shop training is given to a limited number of selected Samoan young men in the shops and yards of the Naval Station. The schools in the rural areas are somewhat primitive and should be improved



in respect to both physical plant and teaching standards. Although the Samoans can help pay for the public school system, the United States should continue to bear some of the cost of public education.

The Bank of American Samoa, like the Bank of Guam, is owned and operated by the Naval Government. It is the depository for Naval Government funds and serves as the only commercial credit institution in Samoa. Non-Samoans are prohibited by law on pain of fine or imprisonment from extending credit to Samoans in excess of \$25.00 without the permission of the Naval Governor.

There are no civilian communication facilities available in Samoa. Naval radio facilities are at times available to the Samoans. Civilian passengers and mail are carried by the Matson Line passenger vessels which call at Pago Pago on an average of once each month. The overseas freight needs of the civilian community are served by the Matson Line on unscheduled runs. An inter-island freight and passenger service, which was under private ownership until the outbreak of the war, is now owned by the Naval government and operated at a substantial profit. It is understood that the Naval Government plans to return this vessel to private ownership and operation in the near future.

The annual "fono" (general meeting) of chiefs and native officials is the only semblance of a legislative body in American Samoa. The "fono" is convened and presided over by the Naval Governor and is nothing more than an advisory council. Although I am of the opinion that the Samoans must be given a greater part in the making of the laws under which they live, I am not convinced that the "fono" as it is presently constituted can be transformed into a democratically-elective legislative assembly. The positions of the chiefs and family heads is such that at the outset of the establishment of any election system under conditions of universal suffrage they might unduly influence the vote of the members of their clans. It does not follow, however, that the people of American Samoa should forever be governed by executive fiat. We should proceed without delay to establish an elective legislative assembly for American Samoa, without regard for the present-day hierarchy, even though for a time the membership of the assembly may be elected in part by a system of bloc voting under the guidance of family heads. With experience in the use of the franchise, American Samoans would soon adapt themselves to democratic institutions.

In order to afford full protection of the civil liberties of the people of American Samoa, the local courts should be freed from the control of the Governor and our Constitution and laws should be extended to American Samoa so far as they can possibly be made applicable. The executive power in the local government, duly restricted by legislative enactment of the Congress, should be divorced from the legislative and

judicial functions and should be placed in the hands of a civil governor appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate.

FORMER JAPANESE MANDATED ISLANDS

During the course of my hurried tour of the Pacific, I did not visit the former Japanese mandated islands, except Kwajalein, and had no opportunity to converse with the local inhabitants. I was informed, however, that the local inhabitants of the Marshall, Caroline, and Marianas islands are glad to be rid of their Japanese masters and are quite friendly to the United States.

I am informed that the Micronesian peoples are law-abiding to a remarkable degree. Their affairs are administered from Naval Military Government centers on certain of the more accessible and populated islands. Outlying islands are administered by means of periodic visits. Government is through local chiefs who also have power to try petty offenses and issue mild sentences. Military provost courts try serious cases, especially those involving infractions of Military Government regulations.

According to information I have received, the economy of the islands has been completely disrupted and is in a chaotic condition. Action for the permanent improvement of the economic circumstances of the islanders is long overdue.

Prewar sources of supply for the simple types of consumer goods needed by these people no longer exist and prewar Japanese and oriental markets for their produce and articles of local production are no longer available. Communication is difficult and inter-island shipping facilities are not available to the local inhabitants on a commercial basis. As a consequence it is especially important that the Government continue to aid the natives in procuring trade goods and in disposing of their copra, shells, native handicraft and other local products. Over the years this aid should be withdrawn and replaced by forms of private enterprise in which the local inhabitants will participate as owners and operators. In the interim reasonable regulation of commercial activity of outsiders in the area must be continued in order to prevent exploitation of the inexperienced islanders. This should not require, however, that the area be kept forever closed to legitimate traders and commercial enterprise operating under appropriate safeguards.

The commander of the Japanese naval squadron which took possession of these islands from the Germans in October 1914 established a military administration as part of the garrison force. On July 1, 1918, the Japanese garrison force relinquished its administrative functions to civil administrators. Control of the Civil Administration Department was allowed to remain in the hands of the commander of the Provisional

Naval Garrison. In March 1922, after Japan's administration of the islands had been confirmed by League of Nations mandate, the provisional Naval Garrison was abolished and was superceded by a civilian administrative organization, the South Seas Bureau. Thereafter and until several years preceding the outbreak of World War II the Japanese governed the islands under a form of civil administration presided over by a civilian governor with headquarters at Koror in the Palaus.

While it is evident that in the interest of national security these islands must be under the control of the United States, it does not follow that they must continue indefinitely to be governed by us under a form of military administration. The civilian populations of these islands are entitled to a civilian form of government in which they may be permitted and encouraged to participate. As a matter of principle these Pacific islanders, like the Samoans, the Guamanians, and such other non-enemy peoples as will remain under the jurisdiction and control of the United States, should be given a maximum measure of local self-government. Self-government, as I understand it, does not necessarily require the replacement of native by American political forms and methods on every island. In many island communities, the native customs are not undemocratic in character. At least at the outset, however, there should be representation for the island peoples in municipal councils based upon a democratic franchise. I assume that in the Trust Territories, as elsewhere, administrative action should be subject at all times to public criticism and responsible to the democratically-expressed needs of the people.

I note that Article 11 of the proposed Trust Agreement provides that the islanders shall be given the status of citizens of the Trust Territory and shall be afforded diplomatic and consular protection when outside of the territorial limits of the Trust Territory and the United States. I assume that nothing in that Article or in any other provision of the proposed Agreement will prevent this Government from extending to the island peoples all of the fundamental rights which are enjoyed by citizens of the United States. Their rights should be guaranteed by act of Congress and they should be given a system of civil courts to replace the military government provost courts now in existence.

It is my belief that these objectives can be realized under civilian administration without danger to our military security. In fact, a local society of self-respecting human beings, imbued with the love for democracy which comes to those who enjoy its benefits and who themselves perpetuate its existence, can be the greatest asset to our own security and a forward bulwark of the American way of life.

OKINAWA

The island of Okinawa, which is a part of the Ryukyu group, is a part of the sovereign territory of Japan under military occupation by the armed forces of the United States. So much of the island as I saw during the course of my short visit was utterly devastated. It is literally and actually true that not one stone remains on another. The population has suffered physical hardship and complete economic destruction. They have been reduced to a pitiful plight and could well use such additional economic aid as we could provide.

Under the able direction of Army Military Government, the Okinawans have returned to their devastated lands and by sheer physical force, practically without the aid of draft animals or machinery which were nowhere in evidence, are restoring their lands to productivity. With the assistance of Military Government they are providing themselves with temporary housing. Schools have been reestablished and, under the guidance of Military Government officers, these industrious people are learning the ways of democracy and are participating to a limited extent in their own government.

It is my belief, and I am supported in that respect by General MacArthur, that as the Okinawans progress on the road to democracy we should prepare for the early withdrawal of military government and replace it with a form of civilian administration in which the Okinawans will be given an increasing share in the conduct of their own affairs, looking ultimately toward self-government. We must be prepared to permit these people to practice the democracy we preach. The form and not only the words of our way of life must be established in Okinawa as proof to the peoples of the Far East that democracy is suited to oriental peoples living in an oriental economy. A truly democratic Okinawa and Japan, lying as they do off the mainland of Asia, can serve as a spearhead of our way of life.

