

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Henry A. Kissinger

SUBJECT: Guam: Your Meeting with Micronesian Leaders

1. You will have a 15-minute meeting with Micronesian leaders and the High Commissioner of the Trust Territory of the Pacific, at 11:00 a.m. on Saturday, July 26, in Guam. A list of the suggested participants is at Tab A.
2. The Setting: You approved an action program in early May, intended to improve the administration of the Trust Territory and to persuade the Micronesians that their interests lie in coming into a permanent association with the United States.

An inter-agency committee led by Interior got the program underway very quickly.

- It has organized a special task force of experts in health, education, engineering, resources development and administration, to make recommendations on programs for the Trust Territory.
- Arrangements have been made for Defense to provide several small construction teams and small vessels, to be assigned to projects which the Micronesians themselves want.
- It has assigned surveyors from Interior to clear up the confusion of Micronesian land titles.
- Work is proceeding on legislation which will permit freer Micronesian travel to the US and will bring Micronesia within the US customs area.

Most important, a schedule has been set for the development of a statute governing the future relationship between Micronesia and the United States. About September 1, six Micronesian leaders will come to Washington to consult with the coordinating committee and with

E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5

NSC Memo, 11/24/98, State Dept. Guidelines  
By HR, NARA, Date 9/14/99



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Congress. (They have yet to be selected by the Congress of Micronesia, but will probably include most or all of the Micronesians you will see on Saturday.) A proposed statute should be ready by mid-autumn for the Micronesian leaders to take back to Micronesia.

A referendum is planned for 1970. It will offer the Micronesians an opportunity to express their views on the statute but it would not offer the option of voting for free association or independence.

If approved, the proposed statute would be submitted to Congress. Secretary Hickel has obtained promises of cooperation from Senators Jackson and Allott and Congressman Aspinall.

The action program has already begun to show results. A Micronesian district legislator in June asked that the Trusteeship Council of the UN defer its consideration of Micronesian land problems, because he believed that Washington's new attitude will enable the Micronesians to settle the problems.

The problem presently before us is to persuade the Micronesians that they themselves should seek a permanent association with the United States -- and to do so without offering the Micronesians a plebiscite involving any options other than a permanent relationship with the US. Our action program started almost too late, and the Micronesian Future Political Status Commission (which the Congress of Micronesia established in the absence of any action by the US Government) was ready last spring to recommend that Micronesia seek "free association" with the US -- a concept too loose and vague for practical execution.

After intensive politicking by Interior, the Commission is beginning to recognize the difficulties this formula will pose. However, it will not make its formal recommendation to the Congress of Micronesia until this week, and we do not yet know precisely what its language will be. We expect the Congress of Micronesia to accept the report and to pass a resolution calling upon the US Government to "consider the future political status of the Trust Territory." If it works out this way, we shall have a formal invitation to go ahead with consideration of an Organic Act governing our future relations with Micronesia. We think it will work out this way, but we have no guarantee that the Micronesians will not begin to chafe at the limits being placed on their freedom of choice, either now or in a few months when the discussion of their future status gets down to the unpleasant particulars.

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3. They Will Raise:

- The Micronesian leaders will wish to tell you of the recent decision of the Congress of Micronesia -- if in fact it has addressed the problem by Saturday.
- They will probably seek assurances that the new interest of the US in Micronesia is real and continuing.
- They will be interested in a continuing political relationship with the US, but they may hope for an arrangement which would give the Micronesians all the advantages (special tax status, control of their own affairs, US subsidy, etc. ).
- They may raise specific issues on which they seek redress.

I expect, however, that they will be rather tongue-tied in making the presentation.

4. What You Want: Your visit to Guam is a heaven-sent opportunity to underline for the Micronesians that the American President really is aware of them and interested in their well-being. Your purpose will be:

- to further their conviction that a permanent relationship with the US is in their best interest.
- to reassure them that the recent burst of US interest is not a momentary thing.
- to convey to them your belief that the process of working out a statute governing our future relations should be a two-way affair, in which Micronesia's interests will be well represented.

5. Points to Stress:

- You are delighted that your travel plans permitted a stop in Guam, where you could see the Micronesians. You are sorry that time did not permit you to visit the Trust Territory itself.
- After taking office, you found that the affairs of Micronesia had been allowed to take a back seat to other problems in Washington for too long.



- You hope that the new economic and administrative improvements undertaken in the Trust Territory will further the well-being of the people. You know that the work has just begun. You are sure that Mr. Johnston has consulted with the Micronesian leaders in formulating these plans, and you hope that the Micronesians will continue to give their advice as to what is needed.
- The program which has been undertaken in Micronesia should be paralleled by changes in the US law to provide for closer relations between the US and Micronesia.
- You understand that the Micronesian Political Status Commission (Note: its Chairman, Mr. Salii is one of the participants in the meeting) has given much thought to Micronesia's future. (Note: Check with me or Mr. Holdridge as to developments this week. If the Political Status Commission made a recommendation favorable to our desires, and particularly if the Congress of Micronesia accepted the report and called for the US Government to consider the future status of the Trust Territory, this would provide a graceful point at which to congratulate the leaders and promise that the US Government will take its trust seriously.)
- This Micronesian interest underlines the need to proceed with our own thinking as to the Trust Territories' future, and you attach great importance to having Micronesian participation in our planning.
- You understand that several Micronesian leaders have been invited by Secretary Hickel to come to Washington to participate in the framing of the statute which will give effect to this resolution by the Congress of Micronesia. You wish to add your invitation to that of Secretary Hickel and to welcome the visitors to Washington. (Note: Refer to the "resolution" only if it has been passed.)
- Setting up a new political compact is not an exercise to be undertaken lightly. You know that there will be much difficult work in arranging for a mutually desirable relationship. You are confident that the work will be done in the spirit of cooperation, and you hope that they will look upon the completed document as their own.
- Your meeting today has necessarily been brief, but you look upon it as the beginnings of an exchange which will result in a beneficial and long term relationship.

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6. Brief biographies of the Micronesian leaders whom you will be meeting are at Tab B.
7. A brief background paper on the current political relationship between Micronesia and the US is at Tab C.

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PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH  
MICRONESIAN LEADERS

11 a.m. Saturday, July 26  
Admiral's Guest House, Guam

Suggested Participants

The President  
Dr. Kissinger

Edward Johnston, High Commissioner, Trust Territory  
of the Pacific

Dwight Heine, Special Assistant to the High  
Commissioner (Micronesian)

Leo Falcam, Special Assistant to the High Commissioner

Amata Kabua, President of the Micronesian Senate

Bethwel Henry, Speaker of the Micronesian House of  
Representatives

Lazarus Salii, Chairman of the Micronesian Political  
Status Commission

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JOHNSTON, Edward E.  
High Commissioner

Born 1918 in Jacksonville, Illinois

Education: Illinois College, Jacksonville, AB in Psychology and economics, 1939; Phi Beta Kappa.

Career: Appointed High Commissioner May 69. Advertising, newspaper and radio fields prior to WW II. In insurance industry in Hawaii since 1948. President and general manager of 50th State Insurance Associates, Inc., 1960-66; Merged into Hawaiian Insurance and Guaranty, Ltd., 1966 and became vice president of the firm. Secretary of Hawaii (Lieutenant Governor), 1958-59; Chairman Hawaii State Board of Economic Development, 60-63.

Political: Chairman, Honolulu County Committee, 55-58; National convention -- Delegate 1960 and 1968; Alternate Delegate, 1964; Chairman, Republican Party of Hawaii, 1965-69.

Military Service: USAF, Pvt. to Captain, 1942-48; Captain to Major 51-52.

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HEINE, Dwight

Special Consultant, Legislative Liaison  
Marshalls Home District

Born 1919 in Aur, Marshalls. Look clan.

Title: Alap. Languages: Japanese, English.

Education: U of Hawaii 48-50 & 57-59, BA Education; studied  
pub. sch. admin. U of Hawaii, Fiji, New Zealand, Western  
Samoa 53 under UN Fellowship.

Career: Scout and interpreter 44-45; educ. advisor 45-46;  
Supt. of Elementary Schools 46-55; Educ. Administrator, Marshalls  
District 55-65; Dist. Admin., Marshalls 65-68; Special Consultant-  
Legislative Liaison, 68.

Public Offices: App. District Judge 48-51; Elected Marshall Island Congress  
51-53; Elected House of Representatives, Congress of Micro., 65,  
served as Speaker.

Other: Special Advisor to US Delegation to UN Trusteeship Council,  
54. Special Ambassador to Western Samoan Independence  
Celebration 62; Special Rep. to Advisory Council of Gilbert and  
Ellice Island Colony 63.

Major Conferences: Indigenous Leaders Conference, Guam 60;  
Council of Micro. 61, 62, 63, served as Chairman.

Travel: Hawaii, Japan, New Zealand, Fiji, W. Samoa, United States.

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FALCAM, Leo Ammy

Special Assistant to the High Commissioner  
Ponape Home District

Born 1935 in Uh, Ponape, Naniek clan.

Title: Sihpwin Telonleng Uh. Languages: English, Spanish.

Education: U of Hawaii 58-62, BA Sociology; Minor-Political Science. Princeton University Parvin Graduate Fellowship in Public Administration and International Affairs.

Career: Teacher, Our Lady of Mercy School 56-58; Assistant Political Affairs Office, T. T. Government 62-63; Special Assistant to District Administrator, Ponape 63-64; Assistant District Administrator, Ponape 64; Special Assistant to the High Commissioner 67-present.

Travel: Philippines, United States, Caribbean Islands, South Pacific, Australia, New Zealand

Conferences: Accredited Delegate to South Pacific Commission Commissioner's Conference 1956 - Noumea, New Caledonia

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KABUA, Amata

Senate, President  
Marshalls

Marshall Islands, Senator, born 1928. He is in line traditionally for a very powerful Iroij Laplap title. During the second Congress he served as floor leader of the Senate. In the first Congress, he was chairman of the Senate Committee on Ways and Means. He was a member of the Political Status Commission and was chosen by the Senate to accompany the High Commissioner to the UN Trusteeship Council in 1967. He is President and Manager of the Marshall Islands Import-Export Company (MIECO). He was a member of the Marshall Islands Congress (Nitijela) from 1956 to 1968 and served the later years as President. He attended Inter-District Advisory Conferences in 1956 and 1958 and the Council of Micronesians in 1963. He holds an AA degree from Maunaolu College in Hawaii. He is a former school teacher and administrator. (Term expires in 1970.)

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HENRY, Bethwel

Representative-Speaker of the House  
Ponape

Ponape, Representative, Election District 12 (Sokehs and the atolls of Mokil, Ngatik, Nukuoror and Kapingamarangi). Born March 3, 1934 on Mokil. He served as Speaker of the House in the second Congress. During the first session of the first Congress, he was legislative secretary. He was a teacher at Pacific Islands Central School (PICS) from 1959 to 1968. He served as President of the Ponape District Legislature from 1959 until 1967. In 1959 he attended the Inter-District Advisory Conference and was the Micronesian advisor to the US delegation at the UN Trusteeship Council. He studied at the University of Hawaii.

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SALII, Lazarus

Senate, Chairman of the Status Commission  
Palau

Palau, Senator. Born November 17, 1936. Served in the House in the first two Congresses. In 1968, the Liberal Party of Palau selected him to oppose former President of the Senate, John Ngiraked. A native of Angaur, he is a member of the Bliub clan. He chaired the House Committee on Ways and Means in the first Congress and served as floor leader in the second session of the first Congress (1966). He was chosen by the House to accompany the High Commissioner to the 1967 UN Trusteeship Council hearings. He is chairman of the Future Political Status Commission. He was employed at Trust Territory Headquarters as a personnel specialist. He has served in the Palau District Legislature, the Council of Micronesia, and attended the National Legislative Conference in Hawaii in 1963. He has a BA in political science from the University of Hawaii. (Term expires at the start of 1973.)

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Background on Micronesia

Following World War II, the UN Trusteeship Council gave the mandate for control over the former Japanese-occupied Micronesian islands in the Pacific to the United States. These islands, which together comprise the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, are administered by the Interior Department through a High Commissioner. There is also an elected Congress of Micronesia, which in its relations with the High Commissioner functions much as the U.S. Congress does with respect to the President.

Two years ago, the Congress of Microneisa established a Future Political Status Commission to consider what relationship Micronesia wished to maintain with the U.S. This action reflected dissatisfaction over the lack of attention paid to Micronesian problems by past Administrations, and in its initial report the Status Commission recommended only the "free association" of Micronesia with the U.S., i. e. Micronesia in effect reserved the right to sever its ties with the U.S. However, with the visit of Secretary of Interior Hickel to the Trust Territory in May and the concurrent initiation by the U.S. of a major action program of economic and administrative improvements, this initial report was redrafted and now states that the future status of the U.S. and Micronesia as "partners" will be arrived at during discussions in Washington.

The Congress of Micronesia has now accepted this report, and has just passed a resolution calling on the President and the U.S. Congress to "consider the future political status of the Trust Territory." Six Micronesians will come to Washington in September to help in drawing up what will be an Organic Law, which in turn will be offered to the Micronesian people through a referendum to be held in 1970. President Nixon's meeting with the Micronesian leaders on July 26 provides him with an excellent opportunity to reaffirm his own and U.S. interest in the welfare of the Micronesians, and to express confidence that a mutually desirable relationship between Micronesia and the U.S. will be developed.

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## THE POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN US AND MICRONESIA

### History

Japan seized Micronesia (The Marshall, Caroline and Mariana Islands) from Germany at the outbreak of World War I. Japan began its formal administration of the area by mandate of the League of Nations in 1920. During World War II the area was secured by US forces.

### Status Since 1947

Micronesia, now called the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI) is now administered by the United States under a Trusteeship Agreement with the United Nations Security Council, approved by the President on July 18, 1947, pursuant to authority granted by a Joint Resolution of the Congress. The terms of this unique "strategic trust" give the United States full authority over the Territory, including the right to establish military bases. The terms require the United States to "promote the development of the inhabitants of the Trust Territory toward self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of the Trust Territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned. . . ."

Little has been done in 22 years to further Micronesian political, economic and social development.

### Actions in 1969

During April 1969 the NSC Undersecretaries Committee (USG) considered the status the USG should seek for the TTPI. It recommended that the US Government

- bring TTPI under US sovereignty at an early date.
- draft an Organic Act in close consultation with the Micronesian leadership.
- provide Micronesians a chance to express their views on Organic Act prior to enactment by US Congress, and take Congressional and UN views into consideration.
- not offer the options of independence or free association in view of overriding security and strategic interests.



- start a program of action to improve the US image in TTPI and promote Micronesian economic, political and social development.

Secretary Hickel was authorized to highlight the program of action and propose an Organic Act to the Micronesians on his TTPI trip during the first week in May.

The Secretary of Interior visited the TTPI during the first week in May. He announced the program of action and invited Micronesians to participate in drafting proposed legislation. It is anticipated that Micronesian representatives will arrive in Washington in September.

However, Chairman Aspinall of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee has asked Interior Secretary Hickel to submit proposed legislation incorporating the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands as a United States Territory to the Congress by September 15-20. This time schedule would not permit adequate consultation with the Micronesians, and high-level action may be necessary to persuade Chairman Aspinall to relax his proposed time schedule.

Current Status of Political Actions in Micronesia: The Political Status Commission of the Congress of Micronesia has been considering the future political status of Micronesia for the past two years. It is expected that this Commission's report will be submitted to the Congress during the week prior to your Guam arrival, and that the Congress of Micronesia will accept this report. Interior believes that this report will recommend a free association with the United States, the definition of free association to be ascertained through negotiations with the United States.

Interior expects that the Congress of Micronesia will pass a Joint Resolution prior to your arrival on Guam, petitioning you and the United States Congress to "consider the future political status of the Trust Territory."

Your arrival in Guam will occur just when these developments are taking place, but we do not yet have any assurance that they will take the form proposed, and it is possible that the Micronesians will take a less forthcoming attitude concerning a permanent political relation with the US.

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