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SPECIAL ISSUE



MSC's 7th ANNIVERSARY



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≈ About This Issue ≈

The first issue of the Micronesia Support Committee *Bulletin*, published in November 1975, was a single sheet mailed to about 100 people. Since that time both the size of the *Bulletin* and our readership has expanded.

Key economic and political issues, vital to understanding Micronesia today, have their roots in events occurring during the 1970's, before many of our current readers were receiving the *Bulletin*. Hence, our Special Issue covering many of these events to provide this background.

This Special Issue, marking MSC's 7th Anniversary, contains articles and excerpts of articles from many of our past issues. Each article bears the date and volume number of the issue in which it appeared. The six sections are largely in chronological order.

We chose the oil superport proposed for Palau as a starting point, as it reflects a critical problem in the Pacific today: That of **pollution export by Pacific-Rim countries to Island nations in need of economic development assistance**. Nuclear testing and nuclear waste dumping are two other forms of this pollution export.

Strong local, and then later widespread international opposition to "Port Pacific" at Palau, from 1976-1979, forced the Japanese to shelve their plans, perhaps only temporarily. In 1979, it was reported that Japan had withdrawn its public support for the superport to "cool off" the opposition. Palau's constitution prohibits the government from acquiring land if it is for the benefit of a foreign entity. But the Japanese still need a site for an oil superport. The Free Association Compact, with its provisions granting total U.S. military control of Palau for 100 years, if approved, would provide the needed stability for the immense Japanese investment in the superport. It may not be a dead issue at all.

Japan hopes to get approval for its nuclear waste dumping plan by providing increasing financial aid (see p. 18). The question is whether Pacific Islanders will allow their lands and waters to be purchased for highly polluting industry and waste unwanted by industrialized countries and supported by the U.S. military. The story of this Special Issue is the relationship between what the U.S. perceives as its strategic necessity in the Western Pacific and the economic and political aspirations with which the Micronesians are struggling.

Governor Mangefel on Survival

In a "State of the State message before the legislature, Yap Gov. John A. Mangefel declared that emphasis would shift to economic development as his administration's number one priority.

"The State of Yap needs economic development...as a matter of survival," he said. "Without it we will become, not the FSM, but the U.S.D.A., the United States Dependent Adolescents."

"Yap State is still 99.44 per cent on handouts from outside. Although I should like to note here, that the neighbor islands of Yap are much more self-sufficient than Yap Island," Mangefel explained.

...He suggested "bold steps" to improve the economy, such as:

- greatly increase the import-type taxes to promote use and production of local goods;
- decentralize the secondary school system and make all curricula more Yapese in nature;
- stress the importance of ...education which is practical to the people and their needs in the future;
- re-educate people that the current standards by which people measure their worth in the community - a truck, a speed boat, and electricity consuming appliances - are measurements of a developed country, not a poor state like Yap;
- Pay more of the real costs of such things as electricity, water, schooling and medical services;

"...The goal toward which our economic and political development is aimed ...is to provide a better quality of life for all the people of Yap, while still retaining our traditions and customs, and living within our means."

Marshall Islands Journal April 6, 1982

Marshallese: No to N-Arms Race

Sen. Imada Kabua, spokesperson for the Kwajalein Atoll Corporation, announced on April 19 in Honolulu that a referendum will be held on Kwajalein August 13, 1982 on the question "whether the Corporation should continue to permit development of nuclear weapons delivery systems using the lands, waters and airspace of the Kwajalein Atoll."

The press statement continued:

"My people view the United States, and the American people, as our closest friends. But the people of our country, the Repub-

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NEWS...NEWS...NEWS

With the total Palau budget at approximately \$10 million, the fledgling government is vulnerable to financial pressure from the new agreement with PAGE (Palau Association of Government Employees). Standing in the wings is the U.S. - with the money - and pressing for the military demands it has written into the Compact of Free Association.

Palau Workers Strike

About one hundred Palau Government employees walked out of their jobs on March 22 to demand implementation of their earlier demands for increases in pay and the September, 1981. The walk-out resulted in the closing of schools, and resulted in the closing of schools, and eight-hour power and water outages, and a delay in the opening of the Olbiil Era Kelulau (National Congress).

The Government employees, represented by Roman Tmetuchl, held meetings with Pres. Haruo Remeliik and the Presiding Officers of the OEK which resulted in a 7-point "Memorandum of Understanding" signed by the president and the leaders of the Palau Association of Government Employees (PAGE).

The Government of Palau agreed to re-constitute the Palau Political Status Negotiating Team to press for increased funding in the Compact; to send a mission to the U.S., Japan, Taiwan, Korea and other countries seeking aid to meet anticipated deficits; to extend pay schedules and COLA to government employees not now covered.

The PAGE members agreed to return to their jobs, to restore the power plant to its normal operations, and the government is to pay the strikers for work days missed and also to review criminal cases against PAGE members from the September 8, 1981 incident (see MSC Bulletin Vol. 6 #2) and "favorably consider" dismissing actions against them.

The September pay package amounts to \$6.4 million, and the COLA agreed to in March would add another \$1.4 million. As approval of the wage settlements will sap all of Palau's economic resources by mid-year, Pres. Remeliik flew to Washington to meet with White House budget staff in early April.

(Combined stories: Marshall Islands Journal 4/6/82 and Honolulu Star Bulletin 4/13/82)

Six Reasons Why Navy Wants Palau for Trident

By Robert C. Aldridge

Concern over Palau being a forward base for Trident submarines is a hot subject in Micronesia nowadays. Palau status negotiators are reportedly asking critical questions about such basing. US officials seem over-persuasive in their efforts to dispel such notions. Swaying in the balance is the Compact of Free Association allowing military land use and weapons storage. Strategic missile-launching submarines in Palau would violate its nuclear-free constitution.

Earliest in the current round of disclaimers came during congressional hearings in December 1981 when State Department spokesman Richard Teare said: "I want to dispel any impression that the United States expects to station nuclear weapons on Palau. We have no such intentions at this time." Teare did not go into intentions for the future.

In February 1982 the newly appointed US ambassador to Micronesia, Fred Zeder, called a Palau sub base "the most ridiculous thing I've ever read... There's no way the Defense Department would ever consider Palau as a Trident submarine base." A retired admiral once pointed out that 95 percent of Navy information stamped SECRET was to prevent other branches of the service, the State Department, Congress and the public from knowing what it is doing. It is unlikely that a State Department ambassador would be privy to Navy plans under normal circumstances. But given the infighting between Secretaries Haig and Weinberger there must be a communications blackout.

In March Rear Admiral Bruce DeMars, Commander US Naval Forces Marianas, said the Navy "has no plans now or in the foreseeable future for building a submarine base in Palau." The term "foreseeable" future is another Pentagon cliché with indeterminate meaning. However Demars boss, Vice Admiral M. Straser Holcomb, Commander US Seventh Fleet, did not disclaim plans to station Trident submarines in Palau. When asked to account for such reports he merely said he had not been informed on the matter: "You obviously know more than I." It seems strange that when the fleet admiral is not informed one way or the other that a subordinate officer would have such insightful knowledge.

Admiral DeMars then suggests that "one has to question the motivation of those individuals who purport to have information" about a Trident base in Palau... My motivations are clear—I unabashedly desire a nuclear-free Pacific with indigenous self-determination. For that to happen the people there have to be informed. The knowledge I have stems from over two decades of experience with submarine-based missile systems and many years of research into military programs...

WHY PALAU

1) Palau is geographically centered in the lower Pacific where

Kwajalein... continued from page 3

lic of the Marshall Islands, call no other nation our enemy.

"To the extent we assist the development of nuclear weapons delivery systems - and that is the U.S. activity at Kwajalein - we are involved in responsibility for their ultimate possible use.

"We are not naive. We know the owners of Kwajalein, who number only about 5,000 people living on our remote islands in the Pacific, cannot prevent a superpower from developing nuclear weapons. But we can insure that our islands shall not be used for such a purpose.

"No decision to end U.S. weapons development at Kwajalein will be easy. The payments we receive from the U.S. government for use of our lands are central to the economy of the Marshall Islands.

"Many, perhaps most, of my fellow-landowners wish to leave Ebeye Island, where we now must live, to return to our
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many Trident subs will patrol. Guam and Subic Bay, the only other suitable naval facilities close to that area, are farther north and Subic only opens directly into the China Sea.

- 2) Palau's Malakal Harbor is the only existing or proposed naval station in the Southwest Pacific which has immediate access to deep water. The sub can drive as soon as it casts away from the dock or its tender ship. It can hide immediately from Soviet "fishing trawlers" and become less vulnerable in an emergency.
- 3) Palau is the only Southwest Pacific port where the submarine commander has a choice of two exits to preclude being bottled up in port. This, however, will require blasting another opening through the barrier reef which protects Palau's vital marine resources.
- 4) Current Pentagon policy is to disperse forces so they cannot be so easily destroyed by an enemy nuclear attack. Guam and Subic are now heavily concentrated with military. Under this policy they would be poor candidates for a Trident port. The only other port in the area is planned for Palau.
- 5) Palau is in line with the deep water straits of Sunda and Lombok through which Trident could enter the Indian Ocean submerged. The wider Strait of Malacca is too shallow for that.
- 6) Probably the most attractive qualification is that Palau is little known to the rest of the world and there are few people there to present resistance. Given the growing global opposition to military bases—Trident bases in particular—Pentagon planners would be attracted by a remote location with few people.

A SIMPLE SOLUTION

These are the facts US officials prefer not to discuss. And their verbal disclaimers will carry no weight in future years—the experiences of Marshall Islanders are cogent reminders of that. But if US negotiators are sincere about not basing Trident in Palau there is a simple answer. Merely add a clause to the Compact of Free Association documents stating that no such base will be installed. That would be convincing from the US side and would allay the fears of Micronesians. In the absence of a binding restriction, however, Palau must expect the Tridents to come steaming in by the end of this decade. Micronesia will then have added one more item to the Kremlin's nuclear hit list.

Robert C. Aldridge is an aerospace engineer who helped design Polaris, Poseidon and Trident submarine-launched strategic missiles. Now a critic of the nuclear arms race, he is presently engaged in private research aimed at better public understanding of military programs.

Nakayama: FSM Firm on Denial

In an interview with the Honolulu Advertiser March 29, 1982, President Tosiwo Nakayama of the Federated States of Micronesia said that strategic denial has no part in the free association compact.

"If for some reason our...negotiators decide to have an agreement on deniability," Nakayama says, "I would not want it put in the compact because it would defeat the compact."

Not only that, the president vows to vigorously campaign against ratification of any agreement that includes a section on denial. Micronesians are to vote in a plebiscite on the arrangement when negotiations are completed....

"Nobody likes to be tied up into an indefinite arrangement. Many of us think that as long as free association endures, the U.S. has got its strategic interests protected." The disparity between Nakayama's position...and Washington's desires may help explain why the Reagan administration hasn't been able to get the negotiations out of first gear....

Palau Superport: Opposition Grows

(Vol.1 #4, February, 1976)

Tia Belau, Palau's independent newspaper, devoted an entire issue to what amounted to the first large-scale public information yet to appear in Palau about the proposed Japanese/American/Iranian giant oil facility. Although three reports have been prepared and high level discussion has been going on for many months, plans for the facility have long been kept secret from the people of Palau. Tia Belau printed 1,000 copies of its Superport Special edition, and they were all sold within 24 hours.

Only a few days later, opposition to the superport became organized with the formation of the Save Palau Committee. Headed by Ibedul Yutaka Gibbons, the high chief of Koror and southern Palau, the group plans a campaign of ads, movies, skits, posters, bumper strips and news releases.

The committee was formed only two days after the Palau District Legislature passed a resolution inviting Japanese and Iranian oil interests to conduct a study of the feasibility of an oil facility in Palau.

In response, a spokesperson for the Save Palau Committee said, "The invitation was suggested by Robert Panero Associates (the authors of the previous feasibility studies). Panero even included a rough draft of how the resolution should read. This is a matter of public record. That the legislature should be a puppet of oil so early in the game, and so shamelessly, is frightening. That the legislators should request a feasibility study before they have seen the "pre-feasibility" study, for which Panero claims to have spent \$1 million, is alarming. No one has seen a single report from the many scientists allegedly flown into Palau. No one has seen the 200-page Bechtel Corporation report on engineering feasibility. The Legislature is defaulting in its duty to protect the interests of the Palauan people. The Save Palau Committee is a response to that default."

U.S. to "Sacrifice" Palauans?

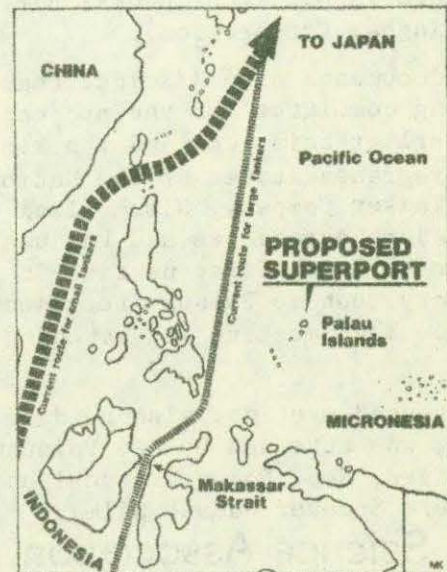
(Vol.1 #6, April, 1976)

"You realize that there are millions of people in Japan and only 14,000 people in Palau; we may have to sacrifice those 14,000 people."

Those are the words of Commander David Leete Burt to another American, Douglas

Faulkner, at Airai Airport on March 5, 1976 during a conversation concerning the controversial oil superport planned for Ngkesol Reef. Faulkner, an internationally known photographer and naturalist, then asked Burt, "Like the people of Bikini and Eniwetok were sacrificed?" Burt did not answer.

Burt was in Palau with a military team checking out the future of the Sea Bees and discussing various plans for military use of Palau. They took High Chief Ibedul Gibbons and Acting High Chief Reklai for an airplane ride over Palau. The superport was discussed, with Chief Ibedul restating his opposition. The High Chief, formerly in the military, opposes plans for military installations in Palau because he feels that the result would be disastrous for Palau.



HiCom Condemns Pacific Science Association

(Vol.1 #5, May, 1976)

The controversy over Palau's proposed oil superport has been heightened by a recent letter sent by U.S. Trust Territory High Commissioner Edward E. Johnston to Dr. Roland Force, director of the Bishop Museum in Honolulu and executive chairman of the Pacific Science Council of the Pacific Science Association.

...Johnston, in his letter to Force, criticized the association for "prematurely condemning the proposed superport project in the Palau District." Johnston condemns the PSA for voicing the same concerns bothering officials at the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency in Washington, D.C.

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Secret Meetings on Superport

(Vol.1 #13, December, 1976)

SAIPAN - Some of the confidential files on the proposed port, which have recently come to the Variety, read like pages out of Fortune magazine, listing industrial giants in Japan and the U.S. which have shown interest in the proposed multi-billion dollar oil port in Palau.

They also show that Iran...will participate in the project through its two oil arms, the National Iranian Oil Company, which will supply the oil, and the National Iranian Tanker Company, which will ship a portion of the oil to Palau.

The list of potential U.S. investors includes Cabot Corp., Capital Research and Management, Continental Oil Co., Mobil Oil, Esso Oil Company, Hunt Oil Company, Woods Hole Oceanographic, Continental Airlines and Dillingham Corporation.

The documents also disclose that a coordinating committee for the project was formed earlier this year and its members include representatives of the National Iranian Tanker Company, Nissho-Iwai Company, Robert Panero Associates and Palauans. The Committee held its first meeting in Teheran in February, but no Palauan representative attended. That meeting was attended by Panero.

The second meeting, also held in Teheran in March, was attended by two Palauan representatives, Sen. Roman Tmetuchl and Palau Legislature Speaker Sadang Silmai.

Pacific Science Association...

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I have in my files a copy of a signed memo from David A. Eberly of the EPA Office of Water Program Operations to Adrian DeGraffenried of the Office of Micronesian Status Negotiations. Dated Oct. 1, 1975, it begins: "Since the report by Robert Panero includes virtually no information on environmental conditions at Palau, I am assuming that very little work has been performed in this area. Our primary recommendation would be that extensive baseline studies be undertaken to establish the nature of the reef eco-system."

I wonder if High Commissioner Johnston also wrote to Eberly asking him to stay silent too, "until all the facts are in."

Somehow, I doubt it.

from Ron Ronck's column, Pacific Daily News
March 4, 1976

The Iranian government, the documents show, did not commit itself to the project until the first meeting in February.

The documents also indicate that Iran's commitment was predicated on its being the exclusive supplier of oil to Palau and also on having an option to "participate in complementary projects."

At the second meeting, Tmetuchl and Silmai, the Palau representatives, presented their position as follows:

- they assured the committee of their "active participation and cooperation" in developing the superport concept,
- noted their ability to "secure land, reefs, shoals, and water areas for the port purposes" through the Palau Port Authority which would lease areas to the eventual consortium;
- stated that a "consensus existed in Palau in favor of implementing the concept with the Iranians, Japanese and Americans;"
- indicated that they had "recently petitioned the U.S. for direct commonwealth negotiations (similar to that accorded the Marianas) and that they expected that this formal and permanent tie to the U.S. would be formalized thereby assuring economic and strategic support and protection of the island group;" and
- said they were "pleased" to join the committee and assist in its deliberations now and in the future and that they welcomed and appreciated the Iranian-Japanese interest.

The meeting was also told by the Japanese participants that the Japanese government "has recognized the project as a national project and that a token contribution for the feasibility study is under consideration."

The March meeting also discussed a planned "informal" visit to Iran in April by Mr. Fred M. Zeder, director of the Office of Territories...It was agreed that "security must be assured by the United States."

Van Houten and Whitney issued last August a screening study naming five sites for further study. Acting High Commissioner Peter T. Coleman and the Japanese signed in April an agreement allowing the Japanese "exclusive" permit to enter Palau and perform feasibility studies which are to be "confidential" for five years.

(Marianas Variety, December 3, 1976)

Palau, can the Japanese pull it off?

by Roger Gale

(Vol.2 #2, February 1977)

Faced with difficulty in obtaining locations in Japan itself, the Japanese oil industry is considering central terminal storage (CTS) sites abroad. The Palau Island group, part of the Micronesian Trust Territory of the United States, is leading contender for the first of these mammoth depots outside of Japan. Construction could be underway by 1978, say American embassy officials in Tokyo, but opposition exists to the project on Palau and the project could be stymied by Palau's status as an American trust.

In the wake of the oil crisis of 1973, the Japanese government committed the nation's oil industry to developing a 90 day crude oil storage capacity. To attain a 75 day supply has necessitated only minimal expansion of existing storage depots. The added 15 days requires a major construction effort, and, despite government financial and political support, the goal now appears all but impossible to reach if the storage facilities are to be developed within Japan's boundaries. Because of growing pollution concern, and because all but two of Japan's ports (Kin Bay and Kiire) are too small to handle VLCCs and ULCCs, the CTS recently approved by the governor of Okinawa for Kin Bay, will likely be the last such depot in Japan...

Alternative sites

With tankers outgrowing the Malacca Straits, and oil spills there already a political problem, economic planners at the Industrial Bank of Japan and at Nissho-Iwai, a major trading firm, are jointly studying alternative CTS sites assuming Lombok will eventually become the main oil lifeline to Japan from the Middle East. A spokesman from Nissho-Iwai says, "almost all of Japan's oil will arrive via Lombok" in the years ahead. Three areas have been mentioned as possible locations for a new CTS: Indonesia, Australia and Palau...

Of the three alternatives, plans for Palau are furthest along. A specific site has been chosen, at least four reports completed by Nissho-Iwai, the Industrial Bank, by two American engineering firms — Bechtel and Mitre — and by a New York-based resource development consulting firm. Both MITI and the United States government have recently contracted with Nissho-Iwai to do a feasibility study that

might cost as much as \$5 million, part of which will probably be supplied by the United States. Numerous meetings have been held in Washington, Tokyo, Teheran and Micronesia.

On June 21, 1976, the United States Department of the Interior held an informational meeting in Washington attended by 39 persons representing 13 corporations and numerous government agencies. Among the Japanese firms represented were: Nissho-Iwai, the Industrial Bank, Hitachi Shipbuilding, and Ishikawajima-Harima Heavy Industries...

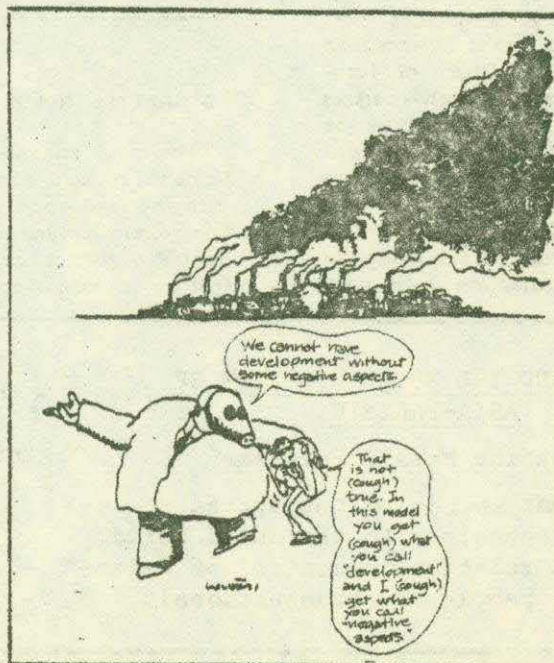
Go ahead

While it is difficult to estimate the probability of a supertanker port actually being built in Palau, Donald B Westmore, an economic specialist at the American embassy in Tokyo, says "chances have improved recently" and that by 1978, construction could be underway. The National Iranian Oil Company representative says that Iran has given the project the "green light" and privately estimated that it has a 50% chance of actually being built. He said he is certain that the Shah has already been made aware of Nissho-Iwai's proposals.

Robert Panero, a former director of economic development studies at Herman Kahn's Hudson Institute, and now head of his own consulting firm is

the creator and salesman for what he dubs "Port Pacific" at Palau, a crude oil trans-shipment port projected to cost at least \$300 million. In his 40 page conceptual study, he suggests that Palau be transformed into the "primary petroleum storage port in the Western Pacific" with an initial annual "throughput" of about 50 million tons, equivalent to one-fifty of Japan's oil imports in 1974. Actual storage capacity would be about three million tons. To take utmost advantage of the economies of scale, oil would be transported to Palau in ULCCs and transferred to smaller tankers for the remaining 2000 miles to Japan.

Among the attractions: Palau is directly astride the Lombok-Tokyo oil lane, only 500 miles east of Indonesia and the Philippines. It is closer to Japan by about a thousand miles than other sites being considered in Indonesia. Kossol Harbor in northern Palau is a natural, reef-protected, deep-water anchorage capable of handling tankers of up to one million tons. Enclosed by a two to six mile wide reef, it is larger than the harbors of New York, Singapore, Kobe or Rotterdam. On its southern fringe is Babelthuap, 154 sq miles in size and largely undeveloped. At most, only 1500 people would have to be moved from their homes. The rest of the 14,000 people in Palau District
continued on page 8



"Port Pacific": The Japanese Eye Palau...

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are concentrated further south at the district center in Koror. Taxes are low and tax holidays are possible. Pollution controls are minimal and enforcement procedures nearly non-existent. The fishing industry is relatively small, so even in the event of a major oil spill, compensation would be unlikely to cost anywhere near what has been demanded for the damage caused by the *Showa Maru* accident in Malacca or for damage caused by ruptured tanks at Mitsubishi's Okayama refinery.

The chief attraction of Palau, however, is political. In Panero's words, it is "the only site where stability and security is guaranteed by the United States," and which is "strategically located within the United States military sphere of influence." Hui says when it comes to loaning money, the decision will be "more dependent on political factors than on economic ones." The American embassy's Westmore says, "without the protection of the US navy, it will never be built."

Political status

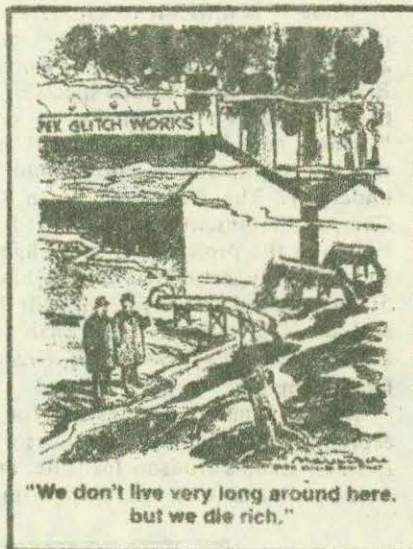
Since 1969, Micronesia has been negotiating for a new political status and support for independence has often been dominant in Palau. Today, however, the talks are deadlocked and both Nissho-Iwai and the Industrial Bank are confident that Micronesia will continue to remain a part of the United States for the foreseeable future. The favorable vote in the June 1975 plebiscite in the Marianas which has led to the creation of the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas under the permanent control of the United States, is viewed by the promoters of Port Pacific as an auspicious sign.

Fred Zeder, a Texas businessman who now heads the Office of Territories in Washington, which oversees Micronesia, is a strong backer of the Port concept and has held discussions in Washington and Tokyo. The Commander, Naval Forces Marianas, has openly welcomed the Port and, according to an internal memo from the Environmental Protection Agency in

Washington, "the Defense Department likes the idea, and sees it as supportive of their own elaborate designs on Palau as a military installation."

Dislocations

Now, say the critics, rather than a step-by-step development of industry that could be locally financed and controlled, Palau is faced with the prospect of massive economic and social dislocations within a very compressed time frame; that it would see 39%-74% of Palau's 188 square miles of land taken over by the military and the transnational petroleum industry. According to a petition from Palau's traditional leaders, it "would cause changes in the economic, social, cultural and environmental aspects of Palauan life of a magnitude unprecedented in Palau's history with the possible exception of World War II."



Palauan resistance

The major stumbling block is likely to be the resistance of Palauans to part with the land upon which traditional lineage, kinship and power systems are built. No district has been more insistent on a return of government owned

land than Palau - pressure for which has already culminated in American agreement to return control of government land to the Palau legislature and traditional leaders. Settling long-standing land claims is destined to remain a major problem for many years to come. Harvard anthropologist Douglas Oliver notes that local control of land is the single most important criterion to "test the survival value of a native community." Based on that measure, Palau is still a surviving community. Complicating matters is the Micronesian pattern of including adjacent waters within boundaries of landholdings. The people of Ollei Village, for example, claim ownership over Kossol Harbor.

Isaac Soaladoab, a member of the Palau District Legislature and a co-founder of the Save Palau Organization says that it is not that he opposes development, but rather that in his view it is the development of fishing and agriculture which must take precedence. Tourism is also an alternative emphasis to Port Pacific. Tourists would, he says, "be less dangerous to our environment and would enable us to tailor our development to our own goals."

All of the Port's promoters emphasize that construction of Port Pacific would not foreclose these alternatives. Panero suggests the superports financiers could also fund a marine research center in southern Palau and the Port's activities could be limited to one area far to the north. There is no escaping the basic intent, however: the idea of building a port in Palau is, as Panero says, to bypass the "political issues that make it more difficult each year to find sites for the required energy distribution and industrial harbor facilities, and for heavy industrial installations in general..." Selling the Port to Palau is premised on the idea that Palau will be eager for economic development to accept the consequences - and on that point may turn the question of whether or not Palau becomes Japan's first foreign CTS. ■

(Petroleum News, Dec. 1976)

JAPAN AND THE NUCLEARIZATION OF ASIA-PACIFIC

By Augustine Masaki Yokoyama

Excellent source on the spread of nuclear technology to the Third World and its relation to control of Asian-Pacific peoples by transnationals,

their governments and military, and encouragement of repressive regimes. Covers Japanese remilitarization and nuclear power development, also Korea and Taiwan, Pacific peoples' movement. Many maps and graphics. 60pp. Available from: Christian Conference of Asia, 480 Lorong 2, Toa Payoh, Singapore 1231. \$2 per copy.

No time for Palauans at senate superport hearing

(Vol.2 #5, May, 1977)

Five Palauans travelled 8,000 miles to Washington, D.C. at the invitation of Senator Henry Jackson in order to testify against the proposed superport for their islands at an informational hearing of the Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

They went at a personal expense of \$1400 each, but two were not allowed to testify at all, while the others were given only a few minutes to speak at the March 24 hearing.

Sen. Spark Matsunaga (Hawaii), filling in for Chairman Jackson who did not attend the hearing, cited lack of time as the reason for the limitation of the Palauans' testimony. However, Robert Panero, the American promoter of the multi-billion dollar superport, was given more than one hour of the brief hearing to testify.

Nine Palauans were present at the hearing, with four representing the Palau District Legislature. Johnson Toribiong, their spokesman, expressed a position of neutrality on the superport.

THE DELEGATION of five Palauans opposing the port represented a wide range of organizations and was headed by High Chief Ibedul, the traditional leader of Palau. Although others had written testimony prepared, only Chief Ibedul was allowed to read his statement.

"The risks of our traditional cultural and social way of life are not worth the small economic benefit that we would gain from the proposed superport," the Chief declared. He also presented a petition against the superport signed by more than 1,200 of the 14,000 Palauans.

When the Chief testified at the hearing, the first U.S. inquiry into the project, Sen. Matsunaga was the only one of 18 committee members present. Sens. Bartless of Oklahoma, Johnston of Louisiana and Weicker of Connecticut made brief appearances.

Roman Bedor, representing the people of Kayangel in northern Palau, was not permitted to testify. In a statement to the press later, he said, "I think the people of Kayangel should be heard

because the Superport has been proposed for their fishing ground . . .

"THE PEOPLE of Kayangel are against the project because it will deprive them of their fishing rights over Kossol Reef and cause the destruction of their home and culture by the 12,000 foreigners to be working on the project."

Robert Panero stated during his hour of testimony, "We believe in general that oil ports can be developed that provide adequate protection for the environment and maintain high environmental protection standards . . .

With reference to the social impact of the concept, we believe that an oil port is compatible with the (Palauan) culture."

Representatives of the Departments of State, Interior and Defense remained neutral or gave guarded support to the

superport. All paid allegiance, however, to the notion that after feasibility and environmental studies have been completed, the 14,000 people living in the Palau Islands will be allowed to make the final decision.

AT THE END of the hearing the Palauan superport opponents and environmental representatives, who also were denied the opportunity to testify, were angry.

"It was an outrage," said Ruby Comp-ton, attorney for the Natural Resources Defense Council present at the hearing. "The Senators were not familiar with the subject and they didn't allow the Palauans to explain it to them. They are turning their backs on the Palauans."

(Sources include: *Newsday*, *Washington Post* and *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*.)

Superport junket \$\$ from illegal loan

(Vol.2 #6, July, 1977)

By Francisco Uludong

KOROR — A committee of the Palau Legislature took an illegal loan earlier this year to finance various trips by its members in support of the proposed oil superport in Palau. The legislature last month appropriated \$20,000 to the Special Committee on Palau Port Authority, which borrowed the money.

The money, \$22,500 was borrowed from the Palau Savings and Loan Association although the legislature is not empowered to borrow money from any source.

The association is owned by Sen. Roman Tmetuchl, who previously has been linked in media reports to big business interests backing the proposed superport.

According to Johnson Toribiong, chairman of the Special Committee on Palau Port Authority, the loan was used to pay plane fares and per diem of its 11 members when they went early last

March to visit a superport complex in Singapore.

Toribiong said part of the money was also used to finance a trip taken by three members of the committee to Japan in late February to attend a meeting on the superport with Nissho-Iwai and Iranian officials. It also was used, he said, to pay part of the trip taken by Toribiong himself and two other members to Washington in late March to attend a Senate hearing on the superport.

Toribiong said the loan was "unanimously approved and agreed to by all the members of the committee."

Toribiong admitted the legislature lacks the authority to borrow money but said the committee's decision to borrow money was made after he received assurances from the legislature's Ways and Means Committee that the loan would be repaid with public funds...

High Chief Challenges Superport Plan

(Vol.1 #11 October, 1976)

The following letter appeared in *Asahi Shimbun*, Tokyo, Japan, 5/18/76.

In August, children from Japan will be visiting our island of Palau. They will walk through our villages where the paths are lined with coconut palms and fruit

trees. They will swim in our clear lagoons. We will welcome them for they are children, but with mixed feelings, for the Iwai Combo desires to make a super oil dump of our beautiful Palau.

A superport they call it - rejected by Okinawa, rejected by Singapore, rejected

continued on page 12

Special Committee submits controversial report

PALAU LEGISLATURE ENDORSES SUPERPORT

(Vol. 3 #1, January, 1978)

The House of Elected Members of the Palau District Legislature voted their support of a Special Committee report endorsing the superport plans for Palau, at a recent Special Session in December, 1977.

The report, submitted by chairman Johnson Toribiong on behalf of the Special Committee on Palau Port Authority, called for the people of Palau, through the District Legislature, to "undertake at this time to prepare the institutions and efforts to manage, direct, oversee and evaluate all studies, negotiations and activities concerning possible port development and environmental protection to assure participation and benefit to the Palauan people."

Kossol Reef, the original and most controversial site, was eliminated by the Special Committee, while it recommended location of the superport at either Barnum Bay near Peleliu or at Ngardmau Bay in northwestern Palau.

Both of these sites would have a "significant, beneficial economic impact on Palau," the committee report stated, adding that both sites "can be sealed off from the principal environmental zones."

While the resolution was adopted by the House of Elected Members, the House of Chiefs, chaired by superport opponent High Chief Ibedul Gibbons, tabled the resolution until the legislature's next regular session in April, 1978. According to a report in the Pacific Daily News, the "Elected Members then recalled the resolution from consideration by Palau's traditional leaders."

"Ibedul Gibbons said that immediately after the session ended, the House of Elected Members dispatched missions hand carrying the joint resolution to superport supporters in Japan and the United States," the PDN article continued.

"I want the people to know that the resolution was not approved by the House of Chiefs and therefore it is not the official position of the Palau Legislature," Chief Ibedul said.

THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE'S REPORT was written by Henry "Al" O'Neal, an associate of superport promoter Robert Panero, and by Guy Rothwell of the Oceanic Institute (O.I.) of Hawaii.

Robert Panero, the port's principal promoter, who went to Palau for the special session, denied any association with Rothwell or O'Neal. His denial, however, contradicts official documents naming O'Neal as his associate and as having done work for him, the Pacific Daily News reported.

O'Neal, who represented Panero Associates at a Department of Interior informational meeting on the port concept and who is listed as a co-author along with Panero in the acknowledgments section of the latest pre-feasibility study prepared for the superport promoters, was hired as a consultant to the special committee at the suggestion of Admiral Kent Carroll, former Naval Commander in the N. Marianas and a public superport supporter, according to Panero.

O'Neal, who has worked closely with Oceanic Institute, was the Field Coordinator for the initial O.I. proposal to conduct an independent and objective environmental study on Palau, which was submitted to the Department of the Interior for funding. He failed to document in the resume section of the O.I. proposal that he worked for the superport promoter Panero.

The special committee's report lists ten specific recommendations for the Palau Legislature to consider, among them that the Legislature should

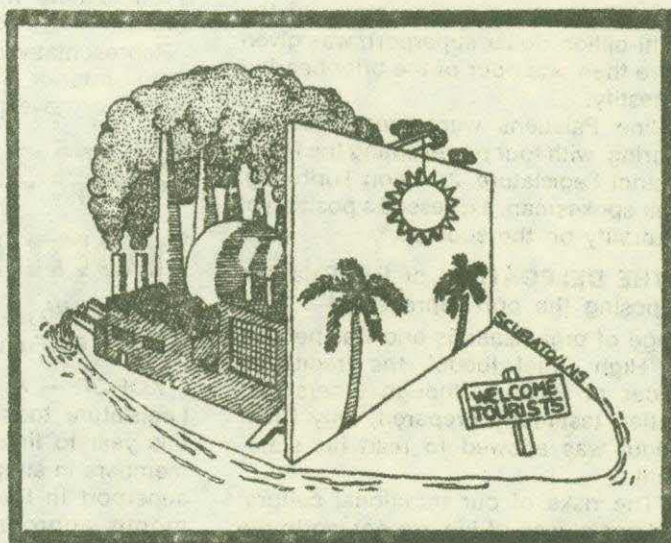
—enact legislation to combine under one agency the Environmental Protection and Port Development Authority

of Palau. A further recommendation called for the Legislature to expand the Special Committee to become the Standing Commission for Environmental Protection and Port Development until the port authority can be created to act as the "watchdog and overview" commission for the Legislature.

—appropriate \$50,000 to "accelerate development of environmental information and guidelines or port development" and to coordinate proposal for feasibility studies on the port project.

—request \$300,000 from the U.S. government to fund an environmental study by the Oceanic Institute of Hawaii.

—support a resolution initiating steps toward forming a Marine Institute which would carry out research and derive a "portion of its income from the Environmental Protection and Port Development Authority."



Suede Gibbons, attorney for Chief Ibedul, charged that "there is no evidence" that annex C of the committee's report titled Environmental Aspects of Site Selection "relied on any authoritative sources in coming up with" its conclusions.

"Likewise," she continued, "there is no authoritative study supporting the Draft Environmental Guidelines" written by O'Neal and Rothwell.

"Port Development and Environmental Protection are two very different subject areas," Gibbons commented. "In addition, port development goals and environmental protection goals may conflict."

In order that these issues be fully studied and any conflicts between them ironed out in an open and informed manner, Gibbons concluded that Environmental Protection and Port Development "should be administered by separate agencies, not combined in one."

The original proposal to combine the Environmental Protection and Port Development Authority came from Panero in his May, 1975 pre-feasibility study on the superport.

Opponents of the superport headed by Chief Ibedul charged the special committee with trying to railroad approval of the superport through the Legislature, according to PDN.

Mecca and the oil merchants

REMARKS BY

Robert E. Johannes

at the

OCEANIC SOCIETY SYMPOSIUM
ON PALAU AND THE SUPERPORT

(Vol. 2 #7, August, 1977)

Tropical marine biologists have two Meccas. One of them is Australia's Great Barrier Reef, the largest reef complex in the world. I'm sure that doesn't surprise you.

The other Mecca to which we figuratively bow may surprise you, however.

Until recently, at least, it was not at all well known outside marine biological circles because it is too far off any main tourist route.

This second Mecca is Palau. Not Hawaii, where the reefs and lagoons seem almost deserted by comparison—not Tahiti or Fiji or Andros or Jamaica or Belize or Madagascar—but most emphatically and specifically Palau.

Why? In part because the western equatorial Pacific contains the richest and most diverse marine biota in the world. And Palau, being the oceanic island group closest to this center of diversity appears to have more species of marine organisms than any other.

For example, in a two-hour period several years ago some marine biologists collected thirteen new species and one new genus of fish on a reef near Palau's district center. The significance of this can be appreciated if you consider that a total of only 75-100 new species of fish are described annually from collections made throughout the entire world in both marine and fresh waters.

There are more than 300 species of reef corals recorded to date in Palau, whose corals are poorly studied. There are fewer than 80 in the Caribbean whose corals are well studied.

In one 400-yard-long line transect in less than twenty feet of water in Palau's main harbor, 163 species of corals were found recently. This is twice as many species as have been found in the entire Caribbean to a depth of 300 feet.

On no other oceanic islands do either crocodiles or dugongs live and breed.

Palau's high marine diversity extends beyond species to habitats. There are, of course, fringing reefs, lagoons, patch reefs, barrier reefs and extensive mangrove communities. There are also seagrass beds far taller, richer and more varied than one can find in the Atlantic or almost anywhere else in Oceania. And there are more than twenty marine lakes—gorgeous, almost unique and with no sign of human presence.

There is also a coral atoll in the archipelago. One doesn't hear too much about Kayangel because it is hard to get to and not often visited. The atoll has two main islands. One is inhabited by about 250 people who live a relaxed life fishing and farming, and adhering more closely to the lifestyle of their ancestors than any other group in Palau.

Kayangel is adjacent to Kossol Reef, the most talked about of the proposed sites for the superport...

In addition to housing on the island, the Mitre Report states that the atoll "can be utilized for industries on the reefs with storage in the shallows."

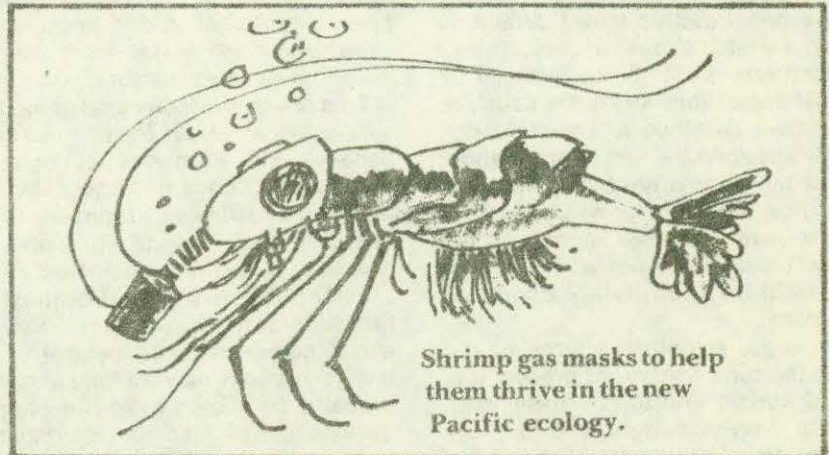
The report goes on to state: "This concept would keep all heavy industrial development well away from the populated part of the islands."

much larger areas of adjacent reefs.

I don't want to dwell very long on the impact of oil pollution, but I do want to point out two things that have not come up so far.

On low spring tides that occur for several days twice a month in Palau close to one hundred square miles of reef flat, seagrass bed and mangrove bottoms are exposed directly to air for an hour or two daily. As the water drains from these areas or subsequently floods them, oil floating on the surface would come into direct and full contact with extensive stands of corals, seagrasses and mangroves.

These shallow areas not only yield the bulk of the fish presently caught by Palauans, but are also the main nursery grounds of the young of reef fishes and



Shrimp gas masks to help them thrive in the new Pacific ecology.

According to traditional Palauan law, the people of Kayangel own not only their land resources but also the rights to the resources of the adjacent reefs and lagoon. As far as the people of Kayangel are concerned, their centuries-old rights to these reefs are inviolate.

The superport planners have a great deal more in store for Palau.

Dredging plans call for the deepening of channels so as to allow in super-tankers of up to 500,000 dead weight tons. The dredge spoils will be placed on top of nearby living reefs, piled up until they reach the surface, and then used as platforms on which to place a total of 250 acres of oil storage tanks alone.

Additional acreage is earmarked for transshipment facilities and other installations.

Experience in other reef environments indicates that if this plan is carried out, then the destruction brought to the reef by dredging and by burying the reef under dredge spoils will be minor—compared with the damage done by the associated sedimentation that will affect

crustaceans.

The second point concerning oil pollution has to do with the tuna fishery. Many, if not the majority of people concerned with Micronesia's economic future consider tuna to be potentially the single most important source of foreign exchange. And Palau is the center of this tuna industry. Up to 9,000 tons are caught annually in nearby offshore waters and there appears to be considerable potential for expansion.

Catching tuna in these waters depends upon the availability of two other animals—baitfish and seabirds.

No one has carried out studies on the resistance of Palau's baitfish to oil—but the larvae (a particularly pollution-sensitive stage) of a related species has been shown to be sensitive to concentrations of oil amounting to one teaspoonful in a million gallons of water.

Fishermen located tuna by searching for the flocks of seabirds that hover above them feeding on the small fishes they drive to the surface. These seabirds

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Mecca and the Oil Merchants...

continued from page 11

roost and breed on Palau. Seabirds are, of course, the most vulnerable of all marine animals to oil.

**If the baitfish and
birds are destroyed,
you can kiss
the tuna goodbye...**

Palauans have been told not to worry—that the superport would be built using "zero leak" technology. There is, of course, no such thing, nor will there be in the foreseeable future.

In this same report, it is written that Palau offers safe anchorages because it is "outside of the normal typhoon paths." We are left to assume apparently that the typhoon which hit Palau in 1967 was an "abnormal" typhoon...

All of the superport planning reports I have seen so far are laden with what can only be construed as either deliberate lies or manifestations of abject and sustained ignorance. Since virtually all this misinformation favors the cause of prospective developers, the evidence strongly supports the first interpretation: the Palauan people are being lied to.

The Palauan people need facts in order to evaluate the impact of the superport realistically. In addition, they want help in identifying economic alternatives.

One large, sustained source of revenue is the tuna fishery. At present it is pursued almost entirely by foreigners. Palauans have the right and the opportunity to take over this fishery and could harvest three-fourths of a ton of tuna for each man, woman and child in Palau annually if they did so.

Another large potential source of revenue is the reef fishery. Palau has the capacity to produce roughly as much reef fish each year as it currently produces in tuna—from five to ten times as much reef fish as it does at present. In some ways this is even more attractive than the tuna fishery because it would involve a lower capital investment per fisherman and provide employment for far more people than the tuna fishery.

These fisheries need have no damaging environmental impact and their yields could be sustained indefinitely, whereas a superport would not only be environmentally deleterious but would also probably be forced to close within 30 years as would oil supplies ran low.

From fishing alone, I calculate that Palauans could gross up to 10 million dollars per year. I suspect this figure will surprise some people—it's never been calculated before. That is because until quite recently we didn't know enough about sustained yields from reef fisheries to make such calculations.

This brings me to my final point. So far I have talked about Palau's marine life because I'm a marine biologist and because I'm concerned about the future of Palau's marine environment. But the fate of Palau's marine life worries me less than something else does.

Early in the twenty-first century, after the superport closed down, the reefs would begin to repair themselves. In a few generations most of the scars would probably be healed over. *But I know of no example of a shattered culture that has repaired itself.*

Cultures seem much less resilient than ecosystems. The impact of 12-15 thousand outsiders in Palau—a number

equal to the entire indigenous population, and the number estimated by planners to be necessary to build the superport—and the impact of hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of industrial development—on the values, the perceptions, the interdependence, the self-respect, the self-awareness of the people of these islands, can hardly be overestimated.

The people of Palau are not just another 14,000 people. They are unique. They think, work, joke and relate to one another in patterns unlike those to be found anywhere else in the world—in ways from which we can learn (just as they can learn from us).

If Palau and the world let Palauan culture slip forever into the void, then we will have lost something more precious by far than any species of turtle or crocodile or coral.

It's a question of priorities. There are a million-and-a-half species of plants in the world—there are only a few thousand cultures. And westernization seems to be erasing cultures roughly as fast as it is knocking off species. At this rate, we could run out of cultures long before we have done away with one percent of our species.

All cultures evolve, and Palauan culture is evolving very rapidly...

A superport and what it brought with it would turn Palau's already dangerously rapid cultural evolution into a full scale rout.

In the meantime, I hope that the Mecca to which I bow does not itself bow to the oil merchants.

High Chief Challenges Superport Plan...

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by Japan - because it kills the fish, and oil covers the beaches.

We are told Iran will pay for it. Iran's resource is oil, not islands. But Japan knows islands, so how can Japan plan a superport for Palau in good conscience?

Some of our leaders have been bribed. Our businessmen have been promised quick fortunes. Our house in Palau has been divided. We are gathering evidence. But we do not look forward to another Lockheed.

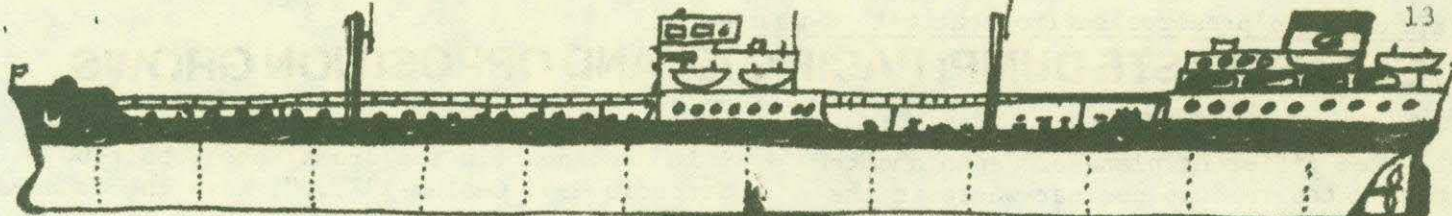
In the report prepared by the Iwai Combo, it is said no other place in the Pacific Basin would accept the superport - could they be saying that no other place is as inexperienced in dealing with a multinational corporation like the Iwai Combo?

Our future, beyond the short lifetime of your oil line, depends on the preservation of the reefs, islands and culture.

There is a Japan we would like to be close to - Japan planning its garden islands - Japan that fights to preserve its fishing grounds and soil - Japan that understands it cannot take its neighbor's resources, be they Malaysia's, Indonesia's, or Palau's - that new Japan preparing for a future not dependent on oil - that old Japan of great inner beauty.

We open our hearts to your children that they may love the earth and the sea - and always care for it. By the same token, please honor our beautiful islands.

Yutaka M. Gibbons,
High Chief Ibadul, Palau



On the Heels of Marianas Port

Palau Superport Issue Heats Up

(Vol.4 #1, March, 1979)

The oil superport planned for Palau, despite earlier predictions that it was a "dead issue," is alive and well on drawing boards in Tokyo and Koror. In December, representatives of Nissho-Iwai Co., one of two major Japanese backers of the superport, arrived in Koror, Palau's district center, for discussions with a committee of the Palau Legislature.

The Nissho-Iwai representatives, traveling as tourists to avoid confrontation with anti-superport forces, went to several of the proposed port sites, informed sources in Palau reported. Additionally, the Japanese met with the Special Committee on Port Authority, chaired by Johnson Toribiong, which is already on record supporting the port plans.

The Special Committee was the subject of a major controversy and possible conflict of interest in late 1977, when it published a report on the superport's economic potential for Palau, **including environmental guidelines for the port development**, that had been written by a colleague of superport promoter Robert Panero.

Opposition Slows Superport

Strong Palau opposition, coupled with international protest against the superport, forced the joint Japanese, Iranian and American project to be temporarily shelved. The renewed Japanese interest comes on the heels of a proposal for a massive oil storage facility to be located at Maug Island in the Marianas. The initial Maug plan calls for a \$400,000,000 investment, with construction of 75 tanks that will hold up to 750,000 barrels of oil each.

IDC International, promoter of the Maug concept, must gain an amendment to the Marianas constitution before it can begin construction. Currently the constitution stipulates that Maug Island is to be preserved as a wildlife sanctuary. IDC representatives are pushing to have their port plan OK'd, prior to a firm commitment on the Palau superport, because it is not feasible to locate two storage and transshipment facilities in the same area, say Company representatives.

Informed sources in Palau earlier had indicated that the proposed superport plans there would be delayed, pending resolution of the Micronesia-U.S. political status negotiations by 1981. At that time, the sources said, superport proponents in Palau would be able to negotiate with the Japanese freely, without U.S. interference. Under the U.N. Trusteeship Agreement, the U.S. must approve all foreign investment. Additionally, U.S. environmental laws—that helped the anti-superport movement—presently apply to the T.T., but will not apply after 1981 with a new political status in Micronesia.

It is not clear whether the IDC proposal for Maug is definite at this time, because of possible financial problems, but it appears to be forcing Nissho-Iwai's and the Special Committee on Port Authority's hand concerning the plans for Palau.

The IDC proposal is quite similar to Panero's plan for Palau in many ways. The IDC representatives claim "two

entries to the natural harbor of Maug will be sealed off to protect against the danger of oil spills." Panero claimed that Palau would have a "zero leak" capability, although it has been shown, even in modern oil ports, that there is always oil spillage during **normal operations**. In fact, Milford Haven, England, is considered an exemplary port, as it loses only a tiny percentage of all the oil handled—yet that fraction amounts to more than **800,000 gallons of oil spilled annually during regular port operations!**

One reason Japan is looking outside its borders is because a similar storage facility planned for the Ryukyu islands in Okinawa was defeated recently in a referendum by farmers, fishermen and environmentalists.

Which is exactly the dilemma facing people in Micronesia: the Pacific islands are being asked to pay the price for the increasing energy consumption of western nations, by being convenient locations for these industrialized nations to export the unwanted pollution, social and political problem inherent in these port/industrial complexes. Why else would people in western countries continue to reject these massive projects?

Rota Eyed For Major Oil Port

(Vol.1.3 #6, October, 1978)

A proposal to build a multi-million dollar oil superport in the N. Mariana Islands is being discussed by Marianas Governor Carlos S. Camacho and representatives of Northville Industries, a New York-based oil company.

Mendel Grynstejn and Theodore C. Sorensen, Northville representatives, were in the Marianas in September to discuss the port plan with government officials. They also went to Rota, inhabited by about 1,800 residents, to look at possible sites for the superport.

In a letter to the governor in April, Sorensen said "Northville is definitely and specifically interested in the possibility of building and operating, in partnership with the Marianas government, a deepwater supertanker transshipment port which would receive and unload the largest available crude-oil carriers, store their oil, and reload it into tankers of a size small enough to be accommodated in their ports of destination."

In the letter, Northville stressed that financing the oil complex—initial investment of \$300 to \$400 million—will be available to only one such oil transshipment port in this part of the Pacific; it must become fact before the proposed Palau superport project.

Sorensen said it is the company's main interest to promote economic development for the Marianas. He explained that he got to know about the Marianas from a Puerto Rico friend who served as Deputy High Commissioner in the 1960's. The friend introduced him to Marianas-Washington rep. Ed Pangelinan and from there he became interested in helping the Marianas.

Sorensen is a former counsel to President John F. Kennedy.

NUCLEAR WASTE DUMP: PACIFIC ISLAND OPPOSITION GROWS

(Vol.5 #2, Summer, 1980)

Three different plans of Japan and the United States to dump nuclear waste in the Pacific have surfaced in the last several months, threatening the health and safety of people in all parts of the Pacific region.

Japan's announcement that it will begin ocean dumping of low level radioactive waste north of the Mariana Islands in early 1981 has sparked the strongest protests from Pacific Island leaders.

"It would have indirect as well as direct impact on our economy," said Guam's Lt. Governor Joe Ada, adding "Can you imagine the psychological impact alone? Who would want to come to Guam or eat migratory tuna from a region with a nuclear waste dump?"

The Japanese plans call for "experimental sea dumping...to demonstrate operational safety...and to confirm the environmental safety of sea dumping of low level radioactive wastes."

The "amount of radioactivity which will be released into the sea has not been determined yet," states a paper prepared by the Japanese Embassy in New York. In the same statement, however, the government says ocean dumping is considered "acceptable" internationally "if carried out under specific conditions which will preserve the environment."

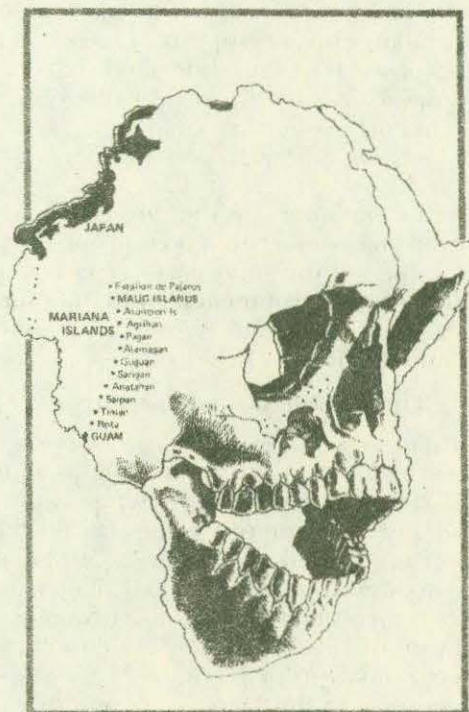
During an August 13 meeting on Guam of the Association of Chief Executives of the Pacific Basin, Japanese officials were invited to explain their nuclear dumping plans. Hiroshi Goto, a Japanese scientist, said that if someone were exposed to the contents of a waste container it would be no worse than getting a chest X-ray. "If you don't believe me," Goto said, "I would welcome you in Japan where I will bare myself naked and embrace a drum."

Northern Marianas Commonwealth Governor Carlos Camacho was not impressed. He responded: "The record of miscalculations in this field for the last 30 years is monumental, and I say that before I am willing to commit the lives and well being of our citizens and our descendants for the next thousands of years, these scientists must refine their methods."

But the Japanese government, despite opposition from every Pacific Island government and governmental organization, is firm in its plans to proceed with the dumping of 5,000 to 10,000 cement solidified drums. "The

main nuclides (in the drums) are Cobalt-60, Strontium-90, Cesium-137...", says the Japanese report.

These elements -- in particular Cesium-137 -- are known to have presented a major health hazard in the food chain in the Marshall Islands. Their concentration in the food chain, and subsequent consumption by the people forced the re-evacuation of Bikini in 1978, because the people had ingested high levels of radioactivity in their bodies.



The Japanese say that the U.S. and European countries have carried out sea disposal of radioactive waste and "no significant effects on marine products and human health have been reported as a result of these operations."

A 1979 Federal Interagency Task Force created by President Carter reported, however that even small doses of radiation "may cause some risk of cancer or other injury."

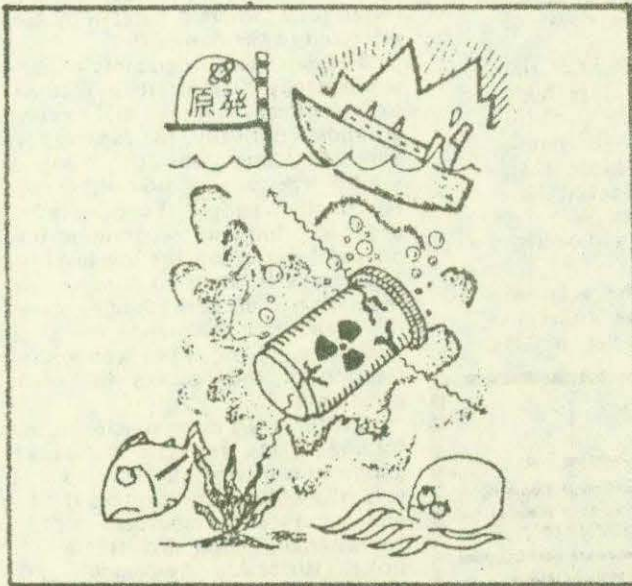
According to a detailed report in the Guam Pacific Daily News, several surveys of dump sites were conducted in the 1950's and early 1960's. The findings were inconclusive: although 11,000 underwater photographs of the dump site were taken, they were unable to even find any of the more than 50,000 drums that had been dropped at the site and the scientists said more studies were needed.

NUCLEAR WASTE DUMP

continued from page 14

Clearly no "significant" effects have been detected because no thorough studies have ever been undertaken to document the risk. Additionally, the Japanese government's interpretation of "significant" risk probably differs from Pacific nations' view.

While the Japanese plan is the most imminent, the American plans to both dump nuclear waste in the ocean and, jointly with Japan, build an "interim storage" site for spent nuclear fuel on a Pacific island, loom in the background.



A secretly conducted 5 year old study by the U.S. Department of Energy has looked at the feasibility of dumping high level waste in the seabed. (This study came to light after the research vessel "Vema" was noticed in port at Guam and investigated.)

The U.S. is also looking at the area north of the Marianas, an area which could contain all the nuclear waste that is being produced in the world in corrosion-proof containers, said government scientist John E. Damuth.

But past experience shows that no such "corrosion-proof" containers exist, nor do small amounts of radioactivity "preserve" the environment, as the Japanese suggest.

There is no doubt that the U.S. is watching the Pacific reaction to the Japanese plans with more than a causal interest. If the protests are strong enough to block the Japanese dumping, it may force the Americans to abandon their plans as well.

"We don't want their waste in the Pacific," said a spokesman for Antonio Won Pat of Guam. "Everyone in the Pacific must get together to block this."

It may take just that and direct action on the part of Pacific Island nations to force a confrontation with Japan on this. Because the Japanese point to their legal "right" to dump, according to the London Dumping Convention, legal means are likely to fail. Both the Americans and Japanese in selecting a site 600 miles north of the Marianas hope to avoid a legal confrontation within the Mariana Islands' 200 mile territorial waters.

Pacific nations, once again, are being asked to bear the burden of industrialized countries unwilling to deal with the problems of nuclear waste in their own backyards.

Nuclear Fuel Storage in Micronesia?

(Vol.3 #1, January, 1978)

A recent article in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin raised the possibility of Micronesia becoming a storage site for radioactive nuclear fuel wastes. The article, datelined Hiroshima, Japan, said:

"Senator Edward Kennedy says he sees 'great merit' in an international nuclear fuel bank.

"The Massachusetts Democrat said the United States and Japan should establish a storage center for spent nuclear fuel on a **U.S. territory in the Pacific.**

"Kennedy, speaking in the city devastated by an American atomic bomb at the end of World War II, did not say where such a facility should be situated."

Any guesses?

Marshalls, Carolines eyed as potential site Nuclear Fuel Center Plans

(Vol.1.3 #4, June, 1978)

The United States has asked Japan to take a strong initiative to construct a regional nuclear fuel center in the Pacific region, according to informed sources.

Regional nuclear fuel centers have been proposed by the U.S. as part of President Carter's nuclear non-proliferation package.

The idea is to separate the free world into three blocks—Latin America, Europe, and the Pacific region—and to concentrate nuclear fuel storage and reprocessing facilities in each block.

At the moment, **the Marshall Islands and the Caroline Islands in Micronesia are likely to be the location for the nuclear fuel center for the third block.**

The center will be jointly constructed and shared by Japan, Australia, and Southeast Asian countries.

The sources said that the U.S. has unofficially sounded out the Japanese government for leading the project.

Under the U.S. proposal, the center will have an enrichment plant, a reprocessing plant, and storage facilities for plutonium and nuclear wastes.

The sources said that the U.S. will officially present the details of the plan at a meeting of the International Nuclear Fuel Cycle Evaluation later this year.

(From Mainichi Daily News, Japan 6-11-78)

Pacific Ocean: A Nuclear Sewer for Rim Nations?

(Vol.6 #1, Spring, 1981)

Japan is planning to dump radioactive wastes in the Pacific. Jackson Davis reveals new information that shows that leakages from past US dump sites have contaminated edible fish and that some dump sites are situated in prime commercial fishing grounds.

SANTA CRUZ, US For 24 years beginning in 1946, the United States of America Government dumped radioactive wastes into the oceans. An alleged 7,000 curies of high-level nuclear garbage was packaged in used 250 litre drums and casually jettisoned at sea at 50 sites up and down both USA coasts and in mid-Atlantic and Pacific oceans.

After several years of incessant prodding the US Environmental Protection Agency was forced to release the results of 1977 surveys of the major US nuclear dumpsites, including one that occupies 12,500 square kilometres near the Farallon Islands off San Francisco. As scientific advisor to Quentin Kopp, Supervisor of San Francisco, I analyzed the EPA data and found:

- plutonium levels 2,000 times above background in ocean bottom sediment
- deteriorating containers, with the worst contamination yet to come
- extensive animal life in the dumpsite
- released radioactivity stuck to the ocean bottom in the dumpsite, rather than dispersed by diffusion
- radioactivity 5,000 times background in animal life, including edible fish.

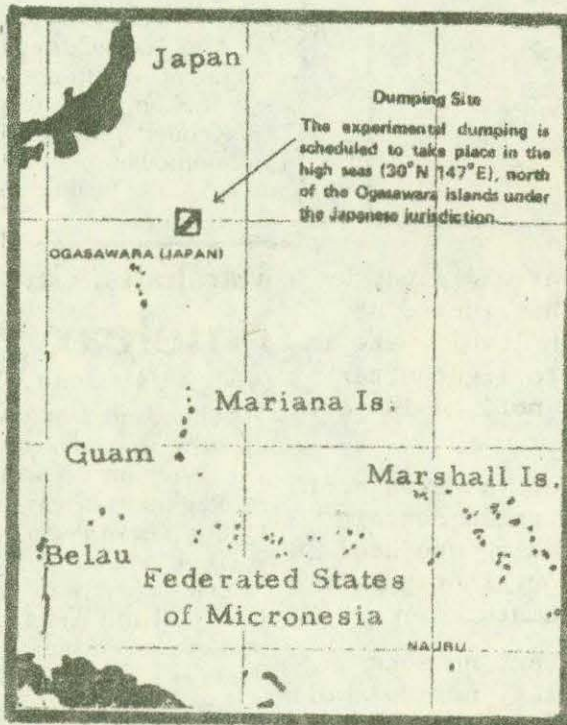
In sworn testimony before Congressional Hearings last October the EPA could deny none of these disclosures.

The US seadump programme was ended in 1970 not to protect the environment but to save money. It simply became cheaper to dispose of nuclear wastes on land. But now that land sites are filling up, the nuclear industry is again turning to the sea to bury its wastes. There are no fewer than six active programmes in the USA involving ongoing or resumed nuclear dumping at sea, including

- The US Nuclear Regulatory Commission plans to deregulate biomedical wastes, permitting research laboratories to pour more radioactive materials down the drain into sewers and hence into the sea.

- The US military currently dumps alleged low-level radioactive waste into the oceans at will, refusing to disclose how much and where for 'security' reasons.
- The US military wants to bury worn out nuclear submarines at sea by sinking them off the coast of California.
- The US and other Pacific rim nations are planning to store high-level radioactive wastes spent reactor fuel on mid-Pacific Islands.
- The US has invested more than \$USA20 million in its Seabed Disposal Programme, aimed at depositing high-level radioactive wastes in the ocean floor.

Although the US is the acknowledged leader in radioactive contamination of the oceans, Great Britain has



dumped ten times more radioactivity at sea than the US. But all past sea dumping programmes pale before the planned Japanese programme, scheduled to begin as early as September 1981. This would entail sea dumping of 100,000 curies per year indefinitely — more radioactive garbage annually than the US claims it dumped in 24 years. The site of the planned dumping is the Pacific waters just north of Micronesia.

Why Micronesia?

16

Henry Kissinger put it bluntly: "There are only 90,000 people out there. Who gives a damn?"

The Japanese Government has testified at length on the 'safety' of their programme, but their testimony and their documents reveal fundamental flaws in their evaluation of its safety. They have assumed, for example, that the massive quantities of radioactivity they plan to dump will disperse evenly in the entire Pacific Ocean and thus be diluted to 'acceptable' levels. In fact the Farallon experience shows that the released radioactivity sticks to the ocean floor in concentrated form, where it is eaten by animals attracted to the dumpsite.

The Japanese programme is not only scientifically flawed; it is illconceived on political, moral and economic grounds. Politically, the Japanese would have to carry out the programme against the unanimous wishes of the Micronesian people. Economically, the proposed dumping programme borders on the bizarre. All the low-level wastes Japan says it wants to dump at sea for the next two decades could be stored on the Japanese mainland in a single medium-sized industrial warehouse at a fraction of the cost of the seadump programme.

But there is a more sinister theme unfolding in the Japanese dumping programme, involving the US. The US is legally obliged to "protect the health and natural resources" of the Micronesian people by its United Nations Trusteeship Agreement, and yet has adopted a strict hands off policy with regard to the Japanese radioactive dumping programme. Why? The US research vessel *Vema* has just concluded an extensive survey to assess the suitability of this area of ocean for disposal of high-level wastes by the US. The chief scientist on board the *Vema* reported that the area studied could hold "all the nuclear waste that has been or ever will be produced by the world."

The lesson of the Farallon incident is clear: what we put into the ocean eventually returns to us in our food. The fate of the world's oceans, and we who depend on them, hangs in the balance.

Dr Jackson Davis, is Professor of Biology and Environmental Studies and Chairperson of Psychobiology at the University of California, Santa Cruz.

Reprinted from *Chain Reaction*
Friends of the Earth, Australia,
11a, March 1981

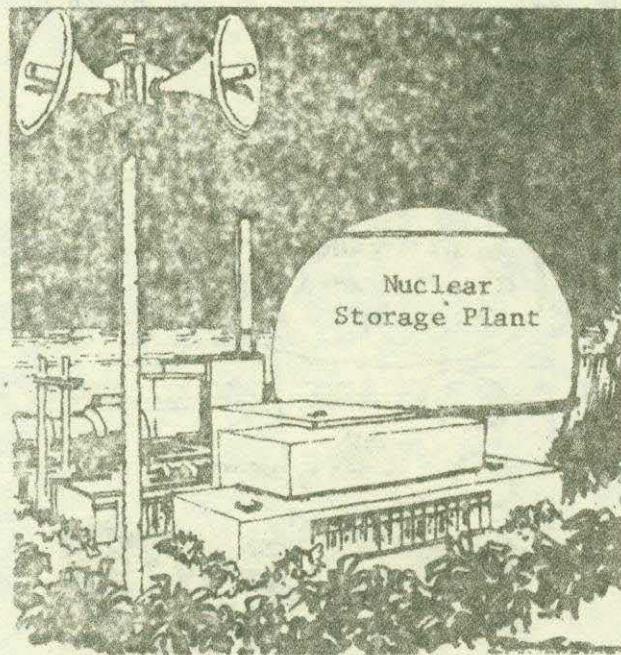
Nuclear Fuel Center: "Very Much Alive"

(Vol.4 #2, May, 1979)

The United States government is canvassing the possibility of strong the reprocessing the world's nuclear waste on a Pacific Island.

While the Interior Department denies that Micronesia is under consideration for such plans, a State Department spokesman confirms that Micronesia has been discussed as a possible site for nuclear waste storage. At a meeting on nuclear non-proliferation policy, Thomas Pickering, Assistant Secretary of State for Oceans and the International Environment, said that in talks with Japan about regional multinational nuclear-waste storage facilities, Micronesia had been mentioned.

Although Japan has gone ahead with its own experimental nuclear-waste reprocessing plant and appears to oppose the regional center, an American official closely associated with nuclear energy policies says the idea for a regional nuclear storage center for Asia is still "very much alive."



"In case of emergency, repeat after me: Our father...."

The Asian Wall Street Journal said "some experts have suggested locating the regional center in a Pacific island, where waste disposal doesn't constitute a hazard to large populations."

Such a policy fits with President Carter's nuclear non-proliferation policy whereby radioactive wastes produced by

nuclear power plants in other nations, which can be used to make atomic bombs, must be brought back for storage and reprocessing.

Other countries are unwilling to offer sites for the regional centers because of their concern about the risks of nuclear wastes and the dangers of long term storage in the Asia region where earthquakes and typhoons often hit and volcanoes occasionally erupt.

Dr. Ted Greenwood, a senior White House adviser in the office of science and technology, said transport costs in the Pacific would be low enough for this center to handle nuclear fuel from all around the world. He said one area under consideration was the "Pacific island Trust Territory."

John Young of International Energy Associates in Washington, D.C. unveiled plans for a \$6.3 billion Pacific nuclear waste storage project. His plans call for the facility to start operating after 1985 and service Japan, Taiwan, South Korea and other Pacific Basin countries, including Mexico.

KABUA PROPOSES BIKINI N-DUMP

(Vol.6 #2, Summer, 1981)

Marshall Islands President Amata Kabua has suggested the Japanese abandon their ocean dumping plans and consider storing radioactive waste on land that is already contaminated.

Speaking at the Third Annual Meeting of the Association of Chief Executives of the Pacific Basin on September 2, Kabua suggested the use of Bikini and Enewetak Atolls, that were contaminated by nuclear bomb tests by the United States.

"Is it possible that a tragic misfortune which befell our people could be turned around to provide a safe, practical way to deal with a world problem and provide a form of economic recovery for people who have lost so much?" Kabua said. The ocean, he said, must be protected, and offering the Japanese an alternative may be the best way to achieve that end.

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Kabua said his government wants to begin a feasibility study on the temporary storage of low level nuclear waste on land. Kabua stressed that he would have to see the results of a study, poll his people and win the support of his Pacific Island neighbors before recommending that Japan store nuclear waste in the Marshalls.

Kabua said he saw the nuclear storage idea as a source of revenue for the Marshall Islands and said later, "We could charge the Japanese a fee for disposing on the islands."

Other government heads sharply opposed Kabua's plan, noting that to allow nuclear waste storage in the Pacific would set a "dangerous precedent."

There was no immediate response from the Japan delegation to Kabua's proposal. One Japanese official, who declined to be named, said "The proposal is in return for a commitment from Japan that there will be no ocean dumping. There would have to be a lot of talking to a lot of people in the government of Japan before there could be such a commitment."

Bikini representatives responded strongly to Kabua's statements. "It is the desire of the people of Bikini to return to Bikini, their homeland," Senator Henchi Balos said. "We cannot welcome nuclear waste on Bikini."

Balos said he went with Kabua to Japan in July at Kabua's request to talk to the Japanese about storing nuclear waste in the Marshalls. "I told him it was premature for me to speak," said Balos, adding that "Bikini has its own independent study of the contamination going on so I couldn't say yes or no to the Japanese about storing waste on Bikini."

Balos said he has personally told Kabua that storing wastes on Bikini is out of the question. "Even if it was stored on another islands in the Marshalls I would oppose it."

Kabua contended that many Bikinians favor storing nuclear waste on Bikini. They might be compensated by the Japanese for allowing the storage, he said.

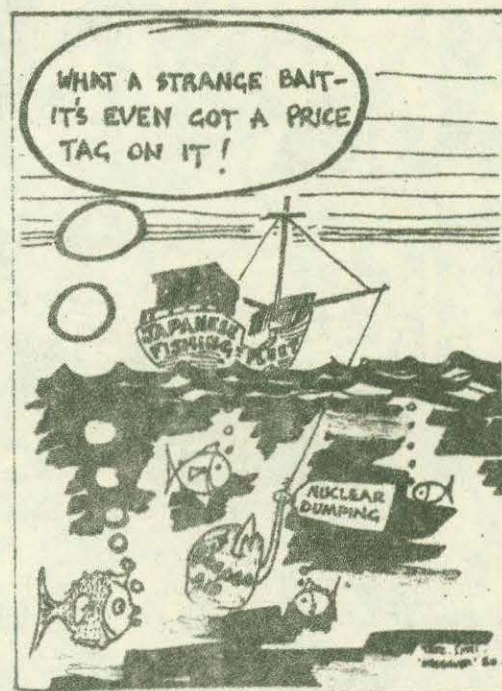
(Combined from Pacific Daily News 9-3, 9-4; UPI 9-2, 9-3, 9-4; and President Kabua's speech to Guam conference.)

Japan: Purchasing Consent to Poison the Pacific

(Vol.6 #1, Spring, 1981)

The Japanese government had been planning to start an experimental dumping of nuclear wastes in the Pacific in the autumn of 1981. According to the newspapers of January 9, 1981, however, the Japanese government has been forced to give up carrying out this experimental dumping in the 1981 fiscal year....Why were the expenses not appropriated this year and why was the plan postponed? It is because the scientific delegation sent four times to the Pacific Islands by the Japanese government was unsuccessful. Instead, it made the Pacific people more and more angry. The postponement of the dumping is the result of the struggles of the Japanese people and, above all, of the Pacific people.

However, the Japanese government has not abandoned the plan. Until now, the Government has expressed different views about the execution of this plan. One is a hard line voice: We will never give up the plan even if the countries concerned do not consent to it. The other is a more prudent one: We will not enforce the plan disre-



garding the opposition. Though the attitude of Government differs according to its power relationship with the opposition move-

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Japan: Purchasing Consent to Poison the Pacific...

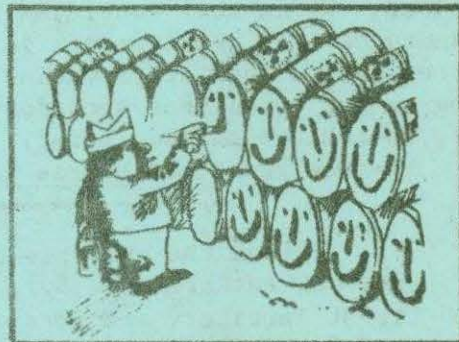
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ment, its real intention is: We will never withdraw the plan.

...It has already obtained Diet approval last May...The other necessary international procedures are only: the participation of the multi-national monitoring organization of the OECD, Nuclear Energy Agency and notification to this organization a year before the execution of dumping.

The Japanese government...is now thinking of a new means. The Science and Technology Agency is planning to invite delegates from the Pacific Islands to Japan, and explain to them safety through the inspection of nuclear power plants there. However, this plan does not seem enough to them. Toshio Doko, honorary president of the Federation of Economic Organizations, said, "The problem of the nuclear waste dumping cannot be settled unless Japan gives security and some benefits to the Pacific people." (*Energy* Jan., 1981) In short, they intend to settle the matter with money....For example, Japan's Interna-

tional Exchange Fund decided to present textbooks to the high schools of Kusaie (sic) Island as a New Year's gift. (*Asahi Shimbun* Dec. 31, 1980) From now on, plans of



economic cooperation or economic aid will be formed one after another in exchange for the lives of Pacific islanders.

Reprinted from *Don't Make the Pacific A Nuclear Dumping Ground*, Jishu Koza, Japan, January 21, 1981.

The Micronesian Economy

UN Report on Development Program:

PRESENT POLICIES ENCOURAGE DEPENDENCY

(Vol.1 #13, December, 1976)

A recent report by a member of a UN team states that drastic changes are called for if Micronesia is to move in the direction of economic self-sufficiency.

The author, a development economist with the United Nations Development Programme based at Suva, Fiji, refers to the "Jackson Report" (staff report to U.S. Senate Committee on Interior and Territorial Affairs Feb. '75) and the "Zeder Report" (to U.S. Dept. of Interior Jan, '76). Both reports indicate serious mismanagement of Capital Improvement Programmes, including a) lack of stated goals for long term programme, b) lack of planning, no priorities, c) public facilities installed without physical or economic means to maintain and operate and d) serious lack of accountability in management of federal funds and property going into Micronesia.

The magnitude of the problems is summed up in the quote from the Jackson Report (p.44): "This review of the conduct and accomplishments of the Public Works programme revealed circumstances which raise significant doubts about the competence of high-level management, if not possibilities of outright wrongdoing. Contractor performance in some cases has been incredibly deficient, and yet additional contracts have been let to the same firms."

The UNDP report suggests that this legacy of problems may take years to undo and recognizes that Micronesia's future will be handicapped by problems in completed projects and others underway.

Current lines of thinking which complicate decision-making for the five-year indicative development period 1976-81 are criticized. Some of them are: that placement of infrastructure such as roads, airports, harbors etc. will somehow lead to economic development, without consideration of time lag or of relationship between the cost of the infrastructure and the economic development hoped for; the urgency of constructing as many projects as possible before the end of the capital infusion from the U.S. Trusteeship, with no consideration of the subsequent burden of operation and maintenance (approximately 8 to 10% of total investment) of the facilities; and planning projects without taking stock of regional needs and capacities or redundancies. He says: "Right now, the entire Capital Improvement Programme (CIP) budget for the next five years is a narrow, single purpose: provision of a basic minimal infrastructure. All CIP funds are earmarked for construction oriented projects in transportation and utilities. No direct CIP funds may be available for economic development projects in agriculture, marine resources, mariculture or tourism for the next five years. The placement of the proposed infrastructure may leave Micronesia more economically dependent by 1981... (It is merely a continuation of past trends... both infrastructural and development projects should be undertaken simultaneously in a coordinated fashion. Otherwise, no real change in direction toward economic self-supporting status can occur."

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Economic Woes Cited at Trusteeship Council

(Vol. 6 #2, Summer, 1981)

"Generally speaking, it must be admitted that the Federated States of Micronesia still awaits the establishment of functional basic infrastructure and coordinated effective social service institutions. While work continues towards the completion of a program of primary capital improvements initiated by the U.S. some years ago, we suffer from a lack of provisions for maintenance and the lack of a program for concurrent secondary development, both of which are necessary to achieve maximum benefit from the primary development projects."

--Vice President Petrus Tun, Federated States of Micronesia.

"From the analysis of the report transmitted by the Administering Authority (U.S.), it appears that the inhabitants of the Trust Territory are more dependent than ever on American assistance which supplies more than 90% of their financial resources to them. In this respect, the fact that the income received from copra and tuna fishing has declined compared with the preceding year is certainly disturbing."

--Paul Poudade, Representative of France, U.N. Trusteeship Council.

"The new Republic of Belau is of the opinion that no amount of political autonomy will produce the kind and quality of independence that we seek unless that political autonomy is accompanied by a substantial degree of economic independence. To date economic development in the Republic of Belau has been wholly inadequate."

--Vice President Alfonso Oiterong, Republic of Belau.

UN Report: Continuing Dependency...

...continued from page 19

The report spells out a planning and decision-making process which would radically change the current system of arbitrariness by a few decision-makers. "Implicit in this suggested planning process is public involvement. Opportunities for public involvement should be available from development plan to the start of project construction...The planning and selection of projects should involve the Congress of Micronesia, the TTPI Government, and the public on a formal basis."

The report concludes with evaluation of various economic development projects, both in the public and private sector, and suggests that detailed foreign investment policies are needed for each District to encourage the types of private projects desired, at the same time resolving uncertainties about foreign exploitation and loss of control.

Other recommendations include careful control of funds for operation and maintenance and consolidation of funds for economic projects in one clearly defined budget.

Nakayama:

No Capitol and No Money

Excerpted from a statement by Federated States of Micronesia President Tosiwo Nakayama at the October, 1981 status negotiations held in Maui, Hawaii.

When we initialed the Compact of Free Association, thereby agreeing to its terms, it was with an understanding that certain basic Trusteeship responsibilities would be completed by the United States prior to termination and through its funding resources. For instance, we have agreed with the United States that a national capital of the Federated States of Micronesia would be built on Ponape with construction to begin in 1982. We now learn that funding for this project is in jeopardy. This project is essential to the Government of the Federated States of Micronesia. Similarly, a first-level CIP program was agreed upon years ago, which would leave us with some of the minimum infrastructure necessary for self-government at termination. Funds were designated for this program by the Trust Territory. Less than 50% of this program is complete, but costs were seriously underestimated and approximately 70% of the funds have already been utilized. Completion of this program is absolutely essential.

REAGAN CUTS WORRY OUTER ISLANDS

(Vol. 6 #2, Summer, 1981)

Federated States of Micronesia President Tosiwo Nakayama led a large group of FSM and Truk state officials on a six day tour of the Mortlock Islands, an outer island chain in Truk. A report on their trip noted that the sentiment of many outer islands' people was summed up by leaders on Oneop who declared: "Lead us into self-sufficiency, deliver us from canned mackerel."

During the fact finding field trip, the people of Kuttu, the first of the flat low lying lagoon islands in the Mortlocks, expressed anxiety over the announcement by the Reagan administration that it will terminate on October 1 the U.S. Department of Agriculture family feeding program.

Municipal Council Chairman Masao Mark asked the government visitors to urge Washington to continue the USDA surplus commodities program, because the island was still unable to feed its population since a 1976 typhoon flooded the island with sea water about four feet deep.

Typhoon Pamela had damaged all of the islands visited, but Kuttu was hit hardest. An inspection revealed most of the breadfruit trees were yellowing and barren and the taro patch which provides the main staple of the island was filled with stunted plants because the soil is still contaminated with salt water. It will take another three to five years of the rain and efforts to replenish the soil in the taro patch to take effect, Mark indicated.

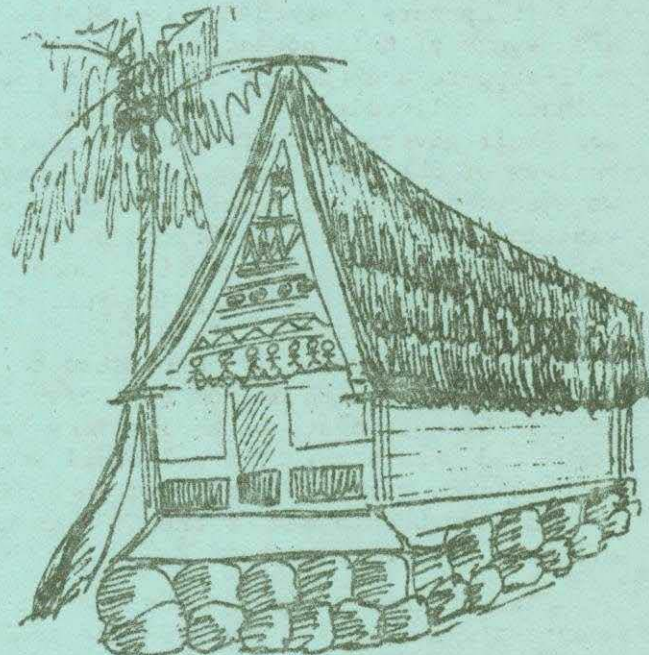
The problem, noted Truk Governor Erhart Aten during the visit, is that the more fortunate neighboring islands share their food stocks with islands such as Kuttu to the point that all of their food supplies are depleted, so all are depending on USDA food to supplement their subsistence diets. Termination of the food program could cause many of the Mortlock islanders to migrate to the state capitals in Moen and Ponape where they would be a drain on the limited resources there, the governor indicated.

The group was entertained by singing groups everywhere on the trip, but the songs began to take on a special meaning in Satawan where they told of the hardships of living under Japanese rule during World War II and the desire to be out from under U.S. administration and control their own destiny.

The 900 residents of Satawan requested

funds to complete construction of a sub-hospital which began in March. The Saipan based builder defaulted, but the Trust Territory administration provided funding to continue construction so that now it needs only finishing work and lacks funds for installation of equipment and operation of the dispensary, which is the closest thing to a hospital outside of Moen which is about 200 miles away.

Satawan proved to be the foremost example of bureaucratic bungling by the T.T. administrations. Junior high school dormitory rooms were rendered useless because a builder ran out of roofing materials but continued to install ceilings which were ruined by rain;



and a water catchment tank was built at least 14 feet high, or twice as high as the seven foot eave of the junior high building it was supposed to serve -- despite the protests of the Satawan people that this would make it useless.

"It is our turn to try and solve these problems," Nakayama told the audience, calling them "a victim of bureaucracy."

A brand new 375 foot dock at Oneop was dedicated by the visitors. Anther Philip, at age 30 the youngest chief magistrate in Truk, who spearheaded the dock construction project, said the dock "shows the will of the people of Oneop to be economically and socially stabilized."

Excerpted from an article in the National Union (Ponape) 8-15.

Micronesia: World's Biggest Exclusive Ocean Economic Zone?

(Vol. I #13, December 1976)

Elected and traditional leaders from Truk, Ponape, Kusaie, Marshalls, Yap and Palau are attending the first Micronesian Conference of the Law of the Sea.

Despite differences over the issue of future political status, one question remains: Can the districts agree on a common position on Law of the Sea, such as the proposed 200-mile exclusive economic zone for Micronesia? Delegates at the meeting are aware that a united front on the Law of the Sea issue could make the islands one of the largest single exclusive ocean resource zones in the world. Such a zone could prove to be an invaluable asset for a territory such as Micronesia, which is now overly dependent on the United States for survival.

It appears that the United States is also aware of this potential for economic self-support and what it could mean for the islands' collective, or separate march for more self-government. On Saipan, representatives of the U.S. State Dept. and Navy were seen on several occasions this week visiting the government offices of Public Information seeking information concerning the progress of the meeting in Truk. It is almost certain that the State Dept. and Navy officials are especially interested to learn if delegates from Palau and the Marshalls attend the meetings. Both districts have requested separate future political status negotiations with the U.S., and both districts have been armed by the U.S. as having military land requirements.

The recent declaration by the U.S. Congress claiming its own 200-mile economic zone has been viewed as a major reason why

Micronesia should maintain a unified position on the sea resource issue. The new U.S. law, effective March 1, 1977, will permit U.S. control over all fish in its zone, except tuna....

Tuna is presently Micronesia's most valuable resource. At present between \$75 and 100 million worth of tuna is taken annually from Micronesian waters by foreign ships. The only way Micronesia can benefit from its tuna resource is to claim control over all tuna in Micronesia's 200-mile exclusive economic zone.

At the international meetings on Law of the Sea, the majority of nations favor coastal state control over tuna resources. Micronesia agrees with this position. The United States disagrees.

Micronesia must now make a choice between the U.S. and the rest of the world on this important issue.
Micronesian Independent 11/26/76

"We tend to think of economic development and political status as separate, unrelated problems. But they are not. An economically self-sufficient Micronesia can stand up to the world and proclaim itself a nation and negotiate with the United States from a position of strength. An economically dependent Micronesia must deal with the United States from a position of weakness. How much different the political status negotiations would be if we could negotiate with confidence that with or without the United States grant funds our nation and our people would thrive."

(Spring 1973)

Sasauo Haruo (Truk)

11,000 Residents Eligible

Legislature Supports Food Stamps for Marianas

(Vol. 3, #4, May/June, 1978)

A resolution requesting implementation of the federal food stamp program in the Northern Mariana Islands (NMI) was unanimously adopted in early May by the NMI Senate.

Guidelines established by the Office of Management and Budget set the level of annual income eligibility for participants at \$6,201 for a four-person household, and \$8,236 for a family of six.

Under OMB's income eligibility standards almost 76 percent (or 11,000) of the NMI population would be eligible for the program, receiving annual benefits of about \$5.5 million.

The survey also says that of the \$7.3 million value of food consumed in the NMI, \$5.8 million consists of food store

sales, \$1.4 in USDA Family Food Distribution and \$287,000 in home-produced food. About 90% of the NMI food sales comes from imported products, mainly from the U.S., Japan and Australia.

Some government officials are already voicing concern that the introduction of food stamps would lower the production of home-produced food items, contributing to greater dependence on this and other federal welfare programs, and increased imports of foreign foodstuffs.

"Agriculture in the present setting is a minor economic sector in terms of acreage and labor devoted to it," states the USDA survey, adding that figures show only 0.5 of available lands are presently used for the production of farm and garden crops.

Micronesia's Future Status:

Self-determination Vs. Strategic Interests

A POEM

Dedicated to the Wonderful and Inspiring Men
Who Comprised the Solomon Mission
July-August 1963

On the 18th of April in '62
With a fresh wind blowing, and skies of blue
The Pres approved memo one-forty-five
And the Solomon Committee sprang alive.
Eight summers ago—in '63
Nine men came out from the Land of the Free
To the sunny trust isles, facts to find—
As well as assess the islanders' mind.

Their search was simple—just find what's right
To insure a favorable plebiscite,
And see that the long-shelved Micro-nation
Would be American-owned by affiliation.

Yes, out they came, these nine great guys
To serve as the President's personal eyes
And determine which way the natives would go
When the status winds began to blow.

The objectives were stated as a, b, and c
And were geared to do everything rapidly.
Their outline proclaimed that the Trust Islands' fate
Could be sealed and delivered by late '68.

In motif their work was 'American Colonial'
But knowing this bothered them not one i-on-ial.
For these were old men who remembered the WAR

By Joe Murphy, founder of Micronitor Publishing Company
and Publisher of the Marshall Islands Journal, Majuro.

And knew that the islands had long been a whore
To Spaniards and Germans and Nippons and such
—'Protectors' who screwed without paying much.

Their final plan was really quite simple,
And resembled the act of picking a pimple.
After starting a TT-wide Congress as head
They fill it with loads of Commonwealth bread,
And when it gets soft and ready to flow
They pump in some plebiscite fever and blow.

The name of the game was 'Follow the Leader'
And the Solomon crew swore nothing was neater.
They also suggested that leaders be caught
By leadership grants and to Washington brought.

And even commented that kids in school
Could be curriculated toward American rule,
Adding that scholarships in gay profusion
Could win the voters through confusion.

To top this off, they said PCV's
Will Teach "The West" for chicken feed
And a dash of Social Security, please
(To replace the function of coconut trees)
Will guarantee, without a doubt,
That Micronesians won't get out.

New Colony in the Pacific

By Jose Cabranes

(Vol. I, #3 January, 1976)

The Ford administration is quietly attempting a major political and diplomatic coup: the dismemberment of the United Nations Trusteeship in the Western Pacific (Micronesia) and the annexation of its most compliant archipelago, the Northern Mariana Islands. The move to convert the Northern Marianas into an "unincorporated territory" of the US (the euphemism for what others call a colony) has been timed and executed to avoid serious congressional opposition. Liberals in both houses...have been among the loudest supporters of this effort to expand the territory of the US for the first time since 1917. (Liberal complicity in winning for the Pentagon unimpeded access to lands for future base-building will come as no surprise to historians of American expansionism. Woodrow Wilson's interven-

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U.S. Policy Disrupts Unity

(Vol. I #5, March, 1976)

What effect is the separation of the Marianas having on the rest of Micronesia? What happened in the recently completed session of the Congress of Micronesia can provide us with some clues. On the same day that the U.S. Senate passed the Marianas Covenant, the Palau delegation to the Congress introduced a declaration stating that "the time has come to formally announce that Palau District is prepared to take whatever steps are necessary to separate itself politically from the rest of Micronesia." Many observers are predicting that after the separation of Palau, the Marshalls will soon follow - leaving the "non-strategic" districts of Ponape, Kusaie, Truk and Yap to fight it out among themselves for the few remaining crumbs. Thus the dream of a united Micronesia, which seemed to be moving toward

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New Colony in the Pacific...

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tions in Latin America made Theodore Roosevelt seem timid.)

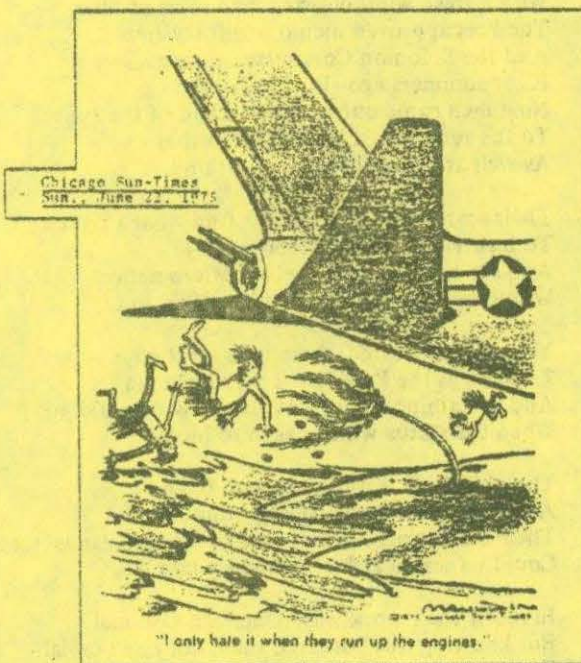
The first role of the expansionist game is simple enough: if there is no domestic constituency to question or oppose the interests of a major bureaucratic force, the bureaucracy will have its way with Congress. ...That is especially true when island-grabbing is packaged in a way that appeals to the liberal passion for extension of the benefits of American civilization to less-favored races. A proposal (H.J. Res. 549) to enter into a "Covenant" with the people of the Northern Mariana Islands and extend US citizenship to its people does not sound horrifying, especially when added to it are pledges of federal subventions amounting to well over \$1000 per year for every man, woman and child, for a period of at least seven years. The final flourish was a solemn plebiscite in June in the Northern Marianas, in which "78 percent of the electorate" proclaimed eternal fealty to the US.

Need one say more about why...the administration proposal (moved) through the House in less than three weeks in July (culminating in a voice vote on the floor of the house)? The now pending Senate bill, managed by Sen. Jackson, would also have sailed through unchallenged but for the alertness of Senators Gary Hart, Harry F. Byrd, Jr. and Claiborne Pell, who demanded that the Senate Armed Services and Foreign Relations Committees review the matter independently of Jackson's Interior Committee. These are strange bedfellows united in the simple belief that this is no time to establish a new colony in the western Pacific, even if the arrangement has the endorsement of the colonial people concerned.

Critics of the proposal to annex the Northern Marianas note that the US began status negotiations with the Northern Marianas only after a Micronesia-wide status commission proved too demanding in its search for self-government, and asked for too much political freedom in exchange for the coveted bases.

The administration ignored repeated urgings of the UN that the US maintain the territorial integrity of the Trust Territory and give no encouragement to secessionist sentiment in the Marianas; limited its plebiscite to the 5000 voters in the

Marianas, thereby ignoring the overriding right to self-determination of the remaining 100,000 Micronesians; invited the UN merely to "observe" the plebiscite (rather than to conduct it and frame the question); and now plans to ignore the UN Charter requirements that political changes in Micronesia be approved by the Security Council.



The grant of a second-class form of US citizenship is designed permanently to unite the Marianas to the US, foreclose other political status options in the future and establish unalterable (and highly dubious) US security commitments in the Western Pacific.

The US should look to its own long-range interests before making irrevocable and unnecessary commitments for the government of a distant and dependent people, notwithstanding liberal piety about the supposed right of self-determination of the Northern Marianas' 12,000 people.

Finally and most simply, territorial annexation is a policy that should hardly be favored by the American people in the year of their bicentenary.

MOVING?

Send MSC your new address to save us \$ and to keep you on the mailing list.

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reality after the successful completion of the Constitutional Convention in December, is rapidly disintegrating.

It can hardly be called a coincidence that the three districts in which the U.S. has definite military interests are the same districts that already have - or are on the verge of - separating. After the United States' offer of Commonwealth Status was rejected by the Congress of Micronesia in 1972, Ambassador Williams elected, unilaterally, to accept a request from the Marianas delegation to begin separate talks - while the other districts were still attempting to resolve their own political status.

Since 1972 there has been no substantive progress in the talks between COM's Joint Committee on Future Status and the U.S...

It is obvious that the U.S. has encouraged separatist tendencies in the Northern Marianas since they were administered separately by the Department of Navy (CIA) between 1953 and 1962. But there is little doubt that the Commonwealth Covenant represents the will of the majority of the people of the Northern Marianas for closer ties with the U.S. However, serious questions can be raised about the "permanent" nature of the agreement and the timing of the events leading up to the formal separation. If the U.S. had not pushed for the Plebiscite to be held before the TT-wide referendum and the convening of the Constitutional Convention last July, the hope for Micronesian unity might be alive and well today...

The seeds of discontent are still being sown because of the military's obsessive need for future bases planted firmly on U.S. - not Micronesian - soil. Ambassador Williams has already initiated informal talks with selected Palauan leaders about military needs on Babelthaup, according to several sources. Admiral Kent Carroll recently pointed out that the proposed superport would make Palau a "pinnacle of strategic importance in the world."

"Divide and conquer" is one of the oldest and most effective military tactics known to man. The U.S. has just shown how effective it can still be, even in today's nuclear age.

Maybe the idea of a united Micronesia as envisioned under the original six-district Trusteeship was unworkable to begin with, but the U.S. simply never gave it a fighting chance.

It is a tragic irony that on America's 200th Anniversary - when 13 weak, fragmented colonies managed to come together and write a Constitution providing the framework for a new nation - that the U.S. has effectively destroyed this same hope for Micronesia. One can only imagine what might have happened if England had offered the leaders of Pennsylvania a few thousand pounds and "other benefits" to remain a part of the British "political family" before the convening of the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia - would they have taken the offer? (from Micronesian Independent editorial, March 12, 1976)

FSM Constitution: Unicameral Legislature and Respect for Chiefs

(Vol. 1, #4, February, 1976)

After four months of work, the Micronesian Constitutional Convention adopted, on Nov. 8, a Constitution of the Federated States of Micronesia. The final document was signed by 52 out of the 56 delegates, including a majority of the delegates from the Mariana Islands.

The chief feature of the proposed new national government is a unicameral congress which will elect a president and vice-president from its membership. Members of the legislative body will be chosen from apportioned districts for two year terms. Each island group will also have at least one at-large representative, who will serve a four-year term.

The Con-Con was marked with uncertainty

from the beginning. The Marianas delegation agreed to participate only at the last minute, and threatened to withdraw if the U.S. Senate accepted the commonwealth bill. The traditional chiefs in the Marshall Islands refused to attend. The Palauan delegation presented an ultimatum to the Convention demanding that the capital be in Palau and all foreign monies be equally divided between the states. Palau had also demanded that the government be limited in its taxation powers and land control. Both the Marshalls and Palau are leaning toward separate negotiations with the U.S., and that cast an additional shadow on the proceedings.

The traditional powers of the chiefs were respected to a certain extent. A provision continued on page 26

of the constitution calls for the establishment of a Chamber of Chiefs. Each state may also set aside one of its seats in the legislature for a chief. As an official statement, the Con-Con passed a resolution affirming that "all due honor and respect continue to be accorded the traditional leaders of Micronesia, and nothing in the Constitution...is intended in any way to detract from the role and function of traditional leaders."

Finally, a special effort was made to exactly define the maritime territorial boundaries of Micronesia. Historic right, custom, and legal title were all given a role in determining the natural resources which Micronesia may claim from the sea. Waters connecting the islands are considered internal waters, and jurisdiction extends to 200 miles outward from island baselines. Micronesia's interest in this whole issue

puts it at odds with the major Pacific powers. Technology is beginning to make it possible to exploit the seas' natural resources at greater depths than ever before, and the U.S.S.R., Japan and the U.S. all hope to cash in on that. The Micronesian claim raises the possibility of valuable sea-mineral income, but so far the U.S. has been unwilling to defend the Micronesian position at the UN Law of the Sea Conferences.

The Micronesian Constitution, besides being a working document, is also tangible evidence that unity in Micronesia is not only possible but something that the Micronesian people are willing to work hard to achieve. The Con-Con managed to overcome some serious difficulties and differences of outlook. There are still problems, but unity seems to be a stronger possibility all the time.

(Excerpted from an article by David Westman)

Palau, Marshalls Reject "Federation" Central Carolines Approve Micronesian Constitution

(Vol.3 #5, July-August, 1978)

The Constitution for the Federated States of Micronesia has passed in four of the six districts, the minimum needed for its ratification. The other two districts, Palau and the Marshalls, led by separate status commissions, rejected the Constitution in the referendum held July 12 throughout the Trust Territory.

The referendum, considered by many to be the last chance for Micronesian unity, was marked by a high voter turnout in all the districts.

The vote was taken on a district-by-district basis, and those districts rejecting it are not bound by the Constitution. The central Caroline Islands, as expected, ratified the Constitution by large margins. The final, but still unofficial vote count by district was: Ponape 5,970 in favor to 2,020 against; Truk 9,631 to 4,225; Kosrae 1,003 to 650; and Yap 3,359 to 186.

In Palau, the vote was 3,339 against and 2,720 for the Constitution, a much closer margin of defeat than earlier predicted. The Marshalls went slightly less than 2 to 1 against the Constitution, at 6,217 to 3,888.

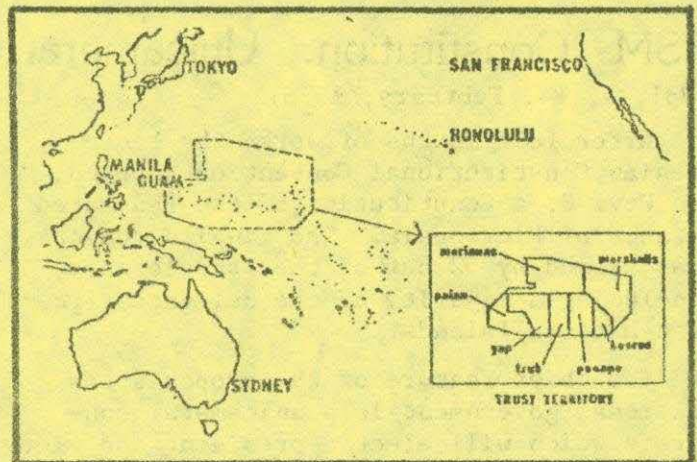
The vote was much more than a vote to approve or reject the Constitution—at stake was the much broader question of whether a Micronesian "Federation" of all the six districts should exist at all.

The Constitution was drafted in 1975, in the face of the emerging separation movement in the Palau and the Marshalls—the Constitutional Convention was marked by disagreement and uncertainty. While the Constitution was signed by all the districts in the closing moments of the Convention, it could not hide the move for separate political status negotiations with the U.S. by the Marshalls and Palau.

According to informed sources in the Marshall Islands, the Marshall Islands Political Status Commission (MIPSC) has had assurance from the Interior Department that separate administration of the Marshalls will begin January 1,

1979. Rejection of the Constitution by a large majority was needed before Interior would consider separate administration procedures, indicated the sources, adding that a 2/3 vote against the Constitution would "insure" Interior action by the beginning of the year.

A March 3, 1978 letter to MIPSC from Ruth Van Cleve, Director of the Office of Territorial Affairs (Interior) supports this: "If the Marshallese electorate does not ratify the Federated States of Micronesia Constitution, appropriate



measures reflecting and implementing the people's decision have to be taken. Disapproval of the Federated States of Micronesia Constitution can also be deemed to justify alterations in the current administrative practice in the Trust Territory."

It is not clear what Interior's position is on separate administration of Palau, but informed sources have indicated that the Palau Political Status Commission will request separate administration within a year.

Demand \$60 Million For Denial Rights

MICRONESIANS REACH UNITY IN TALKS WITH U.S.

By Giff Johnson

(Vol. 2 #10, November, 1977)

Several major issues highlighted the first round of renewed Micronesia-U.S. negotiations over the future political status of Micronesia, some 2,000 islands in the western Pacific ocean. Micronesia is currently an United Nations strategic trust territory administered by the United States. The negotiations ended Oct. 27, after three days of meetings on Molokai, Hawaii.

In a key development, the Micronesians presented a proposal to the U.S. demanding specific compensation for denying the more than **three million square miles** of ocean area in Micronesia to any third nation for military purposes. For this "denial right," the proposal called on the U.S. to pay \$60 million to Micronesia annually.

"The Marshalls and Palau are prepared to share whatever is negotiated for this valuable resource (strategic denial) on the basis of 1/6 for Palau, 1/6 for the Marshalls and 2/3 for the central Carolines," stated Amata Kabua, Chairman of the Marshall Islands Political Status Commission in his opening remarks. "This aspect of the proposal," he continued, "is designed primarily to advance the interests of those districts which do not share the affirmative use value of the Marshalls and potentially, of Palau."

"The concept of military denial is like a fence," commented a Palauan negotiator. "The U.S. intends to put a fence around Micronesia, to keep other nations out and Micronesians in. We believe that we will accommodate the U.S. need to deny our lands, waters and sky to others for a period of time, but the value of this accommodation should not be ignored or hidden."

Captain James Elster, of the office of the Assistant Secretary for Defense for International Security Affairs, articulated the U.S. position against military denial payment. From a military perspective, he stated, "denial is worth a great deal to us, particularly with our global defense interests and responsibilities. However," he added, "I'm not willing to put a price on it."

Outright Form of Blackmail

The most unsatisfactory base posture for the U.S. has usually occurred, according to Elster, where the host country has tried to establish a landlord-tenant relationship. "I know of several cases where the demand for rent was seen by the U.S. Congress as an outright form of blackmail . . ."

Ambassador Peter Rosenblatt, President Carter's personal representative to the negotiations, stated bluntly, "The concept of denial . . . is unworthy of discussion."

Commenting on Elster's reference to blackmail, Stuart Beck, the legal counsel for the delegation from the Palau Islands, said "When one extends the concept (of blackmail), one must of course accuse (the Micronesians of being) the blackmailers." Referring to the fact that the U.S. has subjected the Marshall Islands and its people to nuclear testing and radiation contamination, Beck concluded, "The history of Micronesia will render fears of blackmail to be groundless."

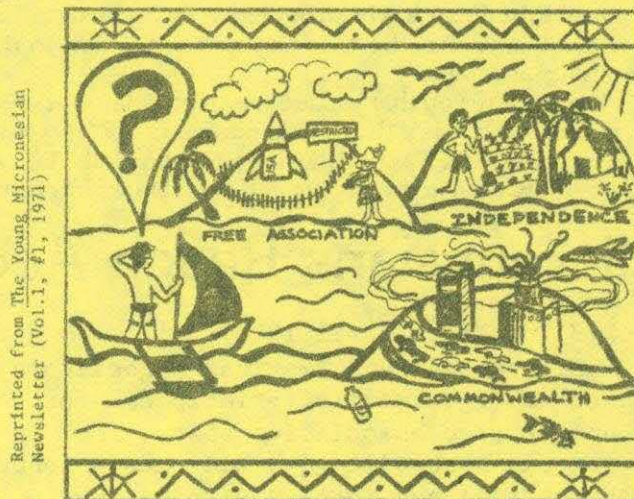
Following the precedent set when the Mariana Islands separated from Micronesia to become a commonwealth of the U.S. in 1975, the Palau and Marshalls status commissions have been pushing for separate negotiations with the U.S. apart from the other districts in Micronesia.

In a move that recognized the Marshalls and Palau status commissions, in July of this year, the U.S. proposed a new "two-tier" negotiating format. On one level this new format would include all the issues that will be negotiated on a

multilateral (all-Micronesia) basis and the other level would include issues such as defense land requirements and economic assistance in individual districts to be negotiated on a bilateral or district basis.

Free Association Status Negotiated

Through eight previous rounds of negotiations with the U.S. which began in 1969, the Congress of Micronesia's negotiating team represented all the districts of Micronesia and produced what is known as a draft "Free Association Compact." This draft, although initialed by both the U.S. and Micronesia, has never been ratified. The Free Association status would give Micronesia internal self-government, but would hand over authority on foreign affairs and defense of the islands to the U.S.



The U.S. hopes these renewed negotiations will simply "modify" but not substantially change the existing draft Free Association Compact, according to a position paper presented at the negotiations.

The present draft Compact can only be terminated by mutual consent of both the U.S. and Micronesia, effectively tying Micronesia to the U.S. for the entire period of the Compact.

The American negotiators, under the new Carter administration, intend to complete the negotiations within the next eight months to stay on schedule for termination of Micronesia's U.N. Trusteeship arrangement by 1981. This termination date was set arbitrarily by the U.S. and has met sharp criticism from the Congress of Micronesia Commission on Future Political Status and Transition (CFPST).

U.S. Hasn't Lived Up To Trusteeship Obligations

"Our position is and has been that the end of the trusteeship period should mark the accomplishment of the purposes of the trusteeship," stated Bailey Olter, speaking for the CFPST.

"I am speaking of modest accomplishments, not of unrealistic goals. For example, putting in place basic infrastructure . . . facilities of a productive nature which are necessary to sustain economic development.

"Instead," Olter said, "we see the U.S. freezing funds needed in this area while without explanation it steps up funding in non-developmental areas which many Micronesians feel tends to promote dependence rather than self-sufficiency."

During Ambassador's Recent TT Visit TRUK COM DELEGATION BLASTS ROSENBLATT ON INTERFERENCE, DENIAL

(Vol.3 #1, January, 1978)

Public comments by Chief U.S. negotiator Peter Rosenblatt on the Micronesian Constitution and status issues were the subject of a critical letter by Truk Congress of Micronesia (COM) delegation chairman Julio Akapito.

The letter, dated December 5, 1977 was written in response to an invitation to meet with Ambassador Rosenblatt. Akapito's letter noted that he would not be able to meet Rosenblatt during his visit, and said "It is my position that all status discussions which you desire should be held between yourself and members of the Commission on Future Political Status and Transition."

Regarding the subject of military "denial" in the status talks which was raised by Palau and the Marshalls at Molokai, Rosenblatt has been quoted as saying that the issue was "dead" and that the U.S. had nothing to add to their comments at Molokai.

"I can assure you that you are mistaken when you say the issue of denial rights is dead," Akapito said. "It is very much alive in Truk, as well as in Palau and the Marshalls. You will ignore this issue at great risk to the United States' interests in

Micronesia" he continued.

Concerning the Micronesian Constitution and the idea of Free Association which Rosenblatt said were at "loggerheads," Akapito said "I do not find your comments on the proposed Micronesian Constitution very helpful.

"First, I believe your legal analysis is incorrect, and that the relationship of Free Association which remains to be defined for the U.S. and Micronesia, is not necessarily incompatible with a sovereign Micronesia, as you have stated.

"Second, your visits to the districts, and your comments regarding the upcoming referendum are viewed as attempts to influence the outcome of the referendum, and linking the level of Capital Improvement Project funding and future financial assistance to the degree in which Micronesia is dependent upon and subservient to the United States will not intimidate the Micronesians," Akapito stated. He said that "such tactics" could only further the development of "nationalism in Micronesia, and cause increased resentment against the U.S."

(Compiled from Micronesia News Service and Marianas Variety 12/77)

Micronesians Reach Accord With U.S.

(Vol.3 #3, March/April 1978)

Micronesian and American negotiators signed an "agreement of principles" for an unique free association status for Micronesia that will give Micronesia control over internal and foreign affairs, while reserving authority on defense matters to the United States.

The agreement, called an "historic accord" by Amata Kabua, chairman of the Marshalls Political Status Commission, was signed April 9 by the chairmen of the three status commissions representing the Marshalls, Palau and the central Caroline Islands, and Peter Rosenblatt, the American Ambassador to the negotiations.

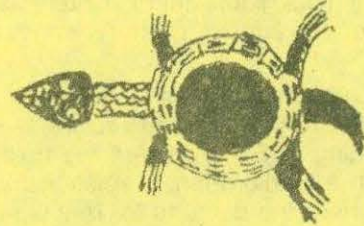
This statement of principles will provide the basic framework for the future overall free association agreement. While the duration of the agreement is to be 15 years, the right to unilaterally terminate the agreement at any point is reserved by all the signatories.

U.S. TO CONTROL DEFENSE

Point five of the agreement gives the U.S. "full authority and responsibility for security and defense matters" for a period of 15 years and "thereafter as mutually agreed."

According to the agreement, the Micronesians will have full authority over their

foreign affairs, including marine resources. However, in exercising this authority, they must "refrain from action which the U.S. determines to be incompatible with its... responsibility for security and defense matters."



The agreement is signed by the three different status commissions. Observers close to the negotiations said this will give each of the island groups the power of unilateral termination. However, any termination prior to the end of the 15 year period will be "subject to the continuation of the U.S. defense authority."

The right of unilateral termination is a breakthrough, in view of the past eight years of negotiations in which the U.S. refused to recognize the right of Micronesia to unilaterally terminate, instead insisting on mutual termination.

The agreement also marks concessions on both sides according to Ambassador Rosenblatt: "It protects significant Ameri-

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can interests in the area while granting to the Micronesians the scope (of relationship) they had been asking for since negotiations began."

COM SIGNATURE NOT BINDING

Signed at the three-day session in Hilo, Hawaii, the agreement marked a quick progression of events in the Micronesia-U.S. negotiations that began in 1969 and have languished since the early 1970's.

Bailey Olter, signing the agreement for the Congress of Micronesia, (representing the central Caroline Islands), did so ad referendum. Because this means his signature is subject to the approval of the COM at a later date, legally the Congress is not bound by his signature.

The Congress has never recognized Palau and the Marshalls as equal negotiating partners, maintaining that it is the sole negotiating commission for Micronesia.

Observers at the negotiations saw the Congress approval of the agreement as clear recognition of Palau and the Marshalls.

MARSHALLS VOTE GOES AHEAD, DESPITE PROTEST

(Vol.4 #1, March, 1979)

The Marshalls Constitution referendum went ahead March 1, despite a lawsuit to delay it and protests that the referendum was being "rushed." Early indications were that the Constitution had been approved by a majority in the district centers of Ebeye and Majuro, but that a number of the outer islands voted against it.

An editorial in the Marianas **Commonwealth Examiner** said: "The referendum in the Marshalls on the proposed 'parliamentary' constitution raises some disturbing questions.

"First, the referendum involved a lengthy 61-page document which is foreign in content and difficult to understand, even for many legal experts.

"Second, little time was made available for the people of the Marshall Islands to attempt to understand what form of government it intends to establish for the future.

"Even though T.T. Associate Judge Robert Hefner admitted that he was 'puzzled' as to why there was such a rush to get the referendum over with, he saw insufficient grounds to postpone the vote.

"He went so far as to say that 'maybe if you get it done quickly enough there won't be a lot of opposition ...'"

"The referendum (was) a monumental step in the constitutional developments of the area. But why the urgency? Two short months are not enough, given the logistics of the Marshall Islands.

"The people of the Marshalls deserve to make an informed choice about their future. It appears that they have been asked to vote on a document that the vast majority does not understand."

The Constitution, if approved, will take effect May 1, 1979.

(The Marshalls' Constitution was approved by a majority of votes cast on March 1, and on May 1, 1979, the constitutional government -- Micronesia's first -- took office in Majuro.)

No Water, Electricity or Phones-- But Lots of "Talks"

(Vol.4 #1, March, 1979)

The latest round in the 10-year political status negotiations between the U.S. and Micronesian negotiators ended January 24, after two weeks of meetings at Saipan on transition and economic and defense matters.

On the U.S. defense position, Amata Kabua, Chairman of the Marshall Is. Political Status Commission, said, "Somehow we must find a way to bridge the present gap between the current U.S. insistence on a mechanism that permits the U.S. to **resolve all disputes in its own favor regardless of how unreasonable such action might be** in any given case, and our fundamental need to be protected against arbitrary abuse."

Bailey Olter, spokesman for the Commission on Future Political Status, emphasized the urgency of concluding the status talks and added that the Micronesian side has already told the U.S. their needs. "If we are to govern ourselves we cannot continue indefinitely . . . in an elusive quest for the bottom line of the U.S. position," Olter said.

Representatives from both the U.S. and Micronesian delegations termed each others' negotiating position on finance "unreasonable," according to a newspaper report. The Micronesian delegations indicated, however, that the financial positions presented are realistic appraisals of their needs, and are non-negotiable.

To illustrate the difficult day-to-day conditions facing people throughout Micronesia, Yoich Rengil, spokesman for the Palau delegation said: "Yesterday in my home, my family was boiling our tap water because our local water supply has been declared contaminated by the U.N. World Health Organization. My family was unable to finish boiling this water, as the power plant in Koror broke down again. Also, when I needed to place an urgent phone call to Saipan concerning these negotiations, the one telephone line from Palau to the outside world was tied up for the day."

Latest Compact Change: U.S. Demands 100 Years

(Vol.6 #1, Spring, 1981)

Now that the Compact of Free Association and a number of the subsidiary agreements are in final form, it is possible to look at the implications of Free Association for Micronesia.

Most significant is that the Compact is no longer a 15 year agreement. At least for Belau (and it likely will be similar for the Marshalls and FSM) a subsidiary agreement on military land use will be effective for 50 years, while "denial rights" will remain in effect for 100 years. Donald Topping pointed out the significance of this issue in *Pacific Islands Monthly's* January issue:

"Closely related to the defense needs is the notion of 'strategic denial,' which has always been in the background, but surfaced with some force at the status negotiations held in Kailua-Kona (Hawaii) in the first week of October 1980. Before the Kona talks, the assumption was that strategic denial would be maintained during the 15-year life of the Compact. At Kona, the new U.S. position on denial was announced, a move that severely alienated the Micronesian negotiators. . . . The U.S. (was) seen as changing an agreement. . ."

Micronesians Have the "Trust"; U.S. Wants the Territory

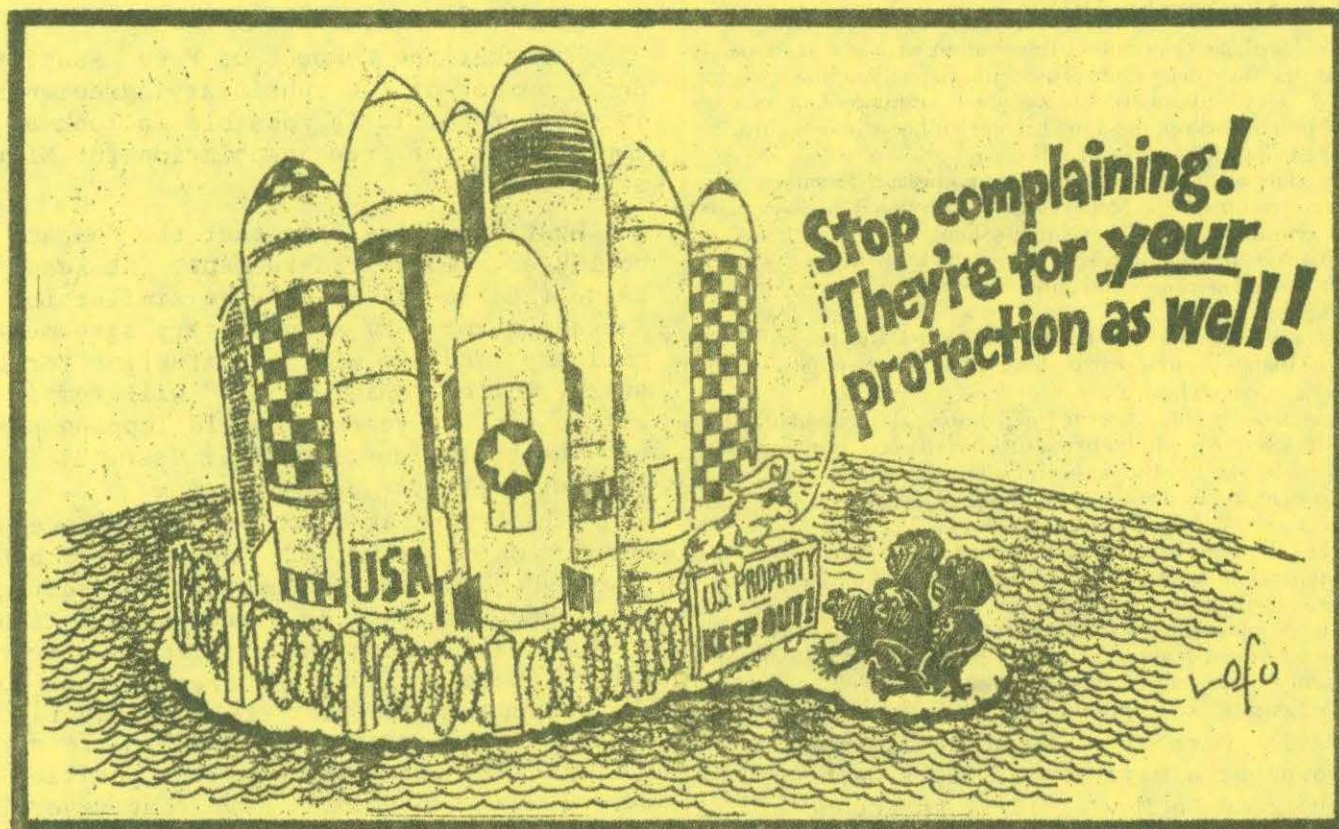
"The only feasible fall back position (from Asia) is unquestionably located in Micronesia where islands bases unlike those in S.E. Asia would be under permanent U.S. control. Because of its excellent facilities and permanent political relationship with the U.S., Guam would certainly be the center of any increased U.S. military activity in the area. It has minimal value, however, without U.S. control of the entire Trust Territory.

"Palau has excellent anchorages, Ponape and Babelthwap have land areas in excess of 100 square miles and are suitable for nuclear weapons storage and training areas."

--Lt. Co. A.R. Giroux, U.S. Army War College, 1973.

"...The Government of the United States may conduct within the lands, waters and airspace of Palau, the Marshall Islands and the Federated States of Micronesia the activities and operations necessary for the exercise of its authority and responsibility (for defense)."

--Section 312, Compact of Free Association.



Whose Protection, Whose Defense?

A Marshallese Perspective

Statement of Marshall Is. Rep. Ataji Balos
to the Congress of Micronesia, July, 1976
(Vol.1 #9, August, 1976)

This month while the great nation of America celebrates its 200th birthday as an independent nation, I am saddened because the principles of freedom and liberty do not apply to the people of the Trust Territory, and especially to the people of the Marshall Islands. Furthermore, I am greatly disturbed that after three decades of no productive economic development in our islands, we are now being asked this month to accept the draft Compact of Free Association. The proposal will, in effect, place our islands under American sovereignty for the life of the agreement.

I believe that on the 200th anniversary of American independence, the true story behind the negotiations must be told. The United States, for example, has never given us a pledge of financial aid for an independent Micronesia. Yet, we were promised the option of independence under the United Nations Trusteeship Agreement. Instead, we have only been promised aid provided that we give America our lands for military purposes as listed in the so-called Free Association Compact. We have been promised aid only if we forbid other nations from doing what the United States wants to do in our islands - that is, dominate us militarily.

I find such a situation on the 200th anniversary of American independence hypocritical and contradictory in that real freedom of choice does not exist for our people. As long as we do not have an economy, and as long as the United States controls our political development as well, we have no real freedom of choice. And to make matters worse, the basic underlying principle throughout these negotiations has been this: the closer the relationship, the more aid we will receive from America.

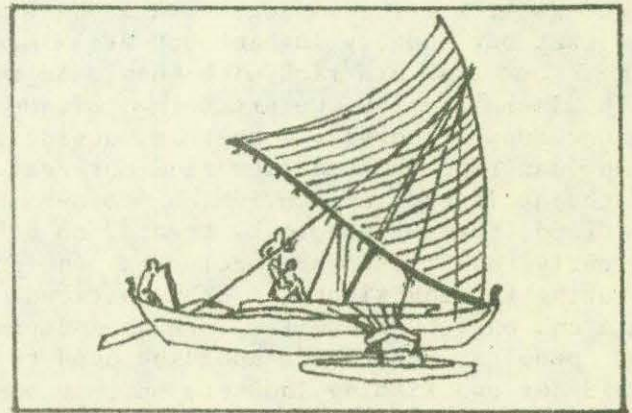
As for myself, I must reject the outcome of such negotiations. This kind of relationship can only lead to a kind of political and economic straitjacket from which we can never escape.

I believe that any agreement with any other nation of the world where we give up our sovereignty for any length of time - as proposed by Free Association - will crush our ability to remain a peaceful and neutral people.

As for me, I want peace for my people.

If the United States wants anything from us, such as our lands, then the United States must deal with us on an equal basis - as an equal and sovereign nation. As for me, I choose independence. I choose equality among the nations of the world, just as the United States did 200 years ago when it declared its own independence.

This month - while America celebrates - the people of Bikini remain exiles. Their home islands remain poisoned by radioactive materials. Their temporary home remains an isolated island less than one square mile in size with no protective lagoon.



While America celebrates, the people of Enewetak remain exiles. They still wait for America to begin to clean up the radioactive waste which has poisoned their islands. It may be many years before they will see their homelands again.

And while America celebrates, the people of Kwajalein also remain exiles while their beautiful lagoon is used as a target for missiles from the United States.

As long as this is the case, I cannot believe that an agreement, any agreement, with a nation which has so abused its sacred trust, will protect our islands and people in the future.

To those who may disagree with me, I say look at the Marshallese H-bomb radiation victims of Rongelap and Utirik. I say tell all the unfortunate Marshallese exiles that their homes, their lives, their health and welfare, will be protected by the American military.

To those of us who may be afraid of independence, I say we must take time to consider what wealth our islands really possess. We

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Whose Protection, Whose Defense?

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must ask ourselves why other nations of the world send their ships to take fish from our waters. While the great fishing nations of the world, such as Japan and China, pay other countries for the right to fish in their waters, outsiders are permitted to fish freely in our ocean for free. Japan, for example, pays our former sister Trust Territory of New Guinea over five million dollars every year to fish there. Why not us, too? Why does the United States permit these nations to fish freely in our waters? And is this the kind of protection of our resources the United States swore to uphold under the Trusteeship Agreement?

We must realize that our seas are heavy with the promise of the future. Repeated warnings from our administrators in Washington that our economy is bankrupt are misleading. Our seas are rich with tuna, and rich with minerals. Yet, we are being told we cannot support ourselves so that outsiders alone can reap the benefits from our seas. If the nations of the world look to our seas for food, then we should be treated no differently than those who receive payment for granting fishing rights to other nations. This can only be done if we are an independent people. Such funds could be used to build our own fishing industry so that someday we can export fresh and canned tuna. We must stop the practice of buying our own fish in someone else's cans.

In this connection, law of the sea remains of paramount importance for all islands of the Pacific. No matter what happens to unity or political status in Micronesia, law of the sea is one area where we must work together to protect our common interests. If we do not, we may someday soon find ourselves competing against ourselves to sell fishing rights to other nations. We must protect our ocean in the same manner that we would protect our small islands.

"I cannot believe that...any agreement with a nation which has so abused its sacred trust will protect our islands and people in the future."

I am convinced that in our affairs with other nations of the world, including the United States, we must steer for deep waters. We must avoid agreements that compromise our freedom and liberty.

When I was a small child, I was taught that when God created the universe, he intended for every man to be the master of his own house. This principle was recognized when our islands became a Trust Territory. But I dare to say that this principle has not been recognized by the United States Government. Today, three entire island populations remain exiled in the Marshall Islands. Three decades of abuse is enough.

I believe we would be treated more humanly, more equally, if we are a sovereign and independent people.

EBEYE: The U.S. Army's Island-Ghetto in the Pacific

(Vol. 1 #5, March, 1976)

Last week a little-noticed resolution was adopted by the Congress of Micronesia. It declared Ebeye Island, in Kwajalein Atoll, a "disaster area" and urged the government to take action immediately to solve the water shortage problem in Ebeye.

Ebeye. It has been called many names: "The slum of the Pacific." "The Army's Labor Camp." "The Marshallese Ghetto." But by any name, Ebeye is the home of islanders forced off their land in Kwajalein Atoll's "mid-corridor" islands, now used as a target area for test missiles launched from California. Ebeye's 76 acres is also the "temporary" homes of those working, or in search of work, on nearby Kwajalein, the U.S. Army's missile range.

All totalled, Ebeye's population exceeds 7,000. It is the most densely populated island in the Pacific - and one of the most

unsanitary. A congress committee reports: "Disease is rampant on Ebeye; the island has become a biological time bomb which could go off at any moment, with a serious epidemic whose effect would be felt for generations to come."

The extreme water shortage has made problems critical.

To a visitor, the three most striking characteristics are Ebeye's almost depressing over-crowded conditions, the strange lack of trees and greenery on most parts of the island, and the smell of human excrement. This is a wierd contrast to nearby "American" Kwajalein, which, with modern, air-conditioned housing, roads, sprinkled lawns and golf course, schools, and sidewalks and stores, looks as if it were lifted straight out of Southern California.

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EBEYE: The U.S. Army's Island-Ghetto in the Pacific

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Each morning at 6:45, hundreds of Ebeye residents, Micronesia's first "suburban commuters," board a huge ferryboat, the USS Tarlang. Each wearing a plastic badge, complete with a "mug-shot," the Marshallese travel three miles across the lagoon to the Army's 745-acre security-tight island of Kwajalein to begin a day's work.

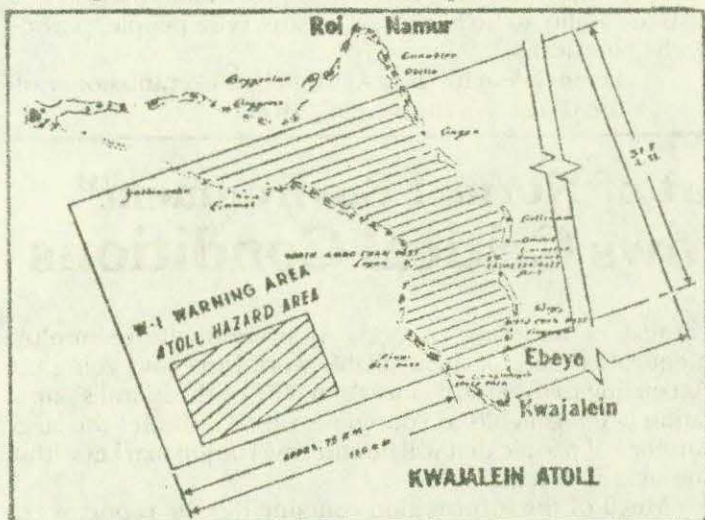
Whenever an epidemic starts here, flu, whooping cough or whatever, it is virtually impossible to control. The tragic polio epidemic proved this in 1963.

Swimming on Ebeye's once pure lagoon has been prohibited because of pollution. "The

kids used to go swimming and later got diarrhea, fever, abdominal pains and vomiting. We even had several deaths," said a doctor. Human waste in Ebeye's lagoon, for lack of a sewage treatment plant, has hiked the bacteria count to 5 million per milliliter, or 25,000 times dirtier than the U.S. Public Health and U.N. World Health Organization's minimum safe standards.

At the end of a day's work, the Marshallese return home to concrete rows of single-level double-room apartments. Today an average of nine persons share a 20x30 foot apartment (with salt water flush toilet), but as many as 20 live in some, according to one government official. Ebeye's teenagers give a very realistic picture of just how crowded the island is when they say the only private place to take a girl after dark is to the "benjo" area. About 60% of Ebeye's population is under 18 years old.

From a broader point of view, the story of Ebeye is an old one. Outer-island people come to town leaving the old way behind for status and money. A few years back most of the men on Ebeye were fishermen, copra-makers and boatbuilders. Today they buy Evinrude outboards and canned fish from Japan (probably caught in Micronesian waters) and smoke American menthol cigarettes.



Kwajalein:

Low-paid jobs "reserved" for Micronesians

(Vol.2 #3, March, 1977) By Paul Jacobs, Newsday Feb. 13, 1977

EBEYE—On this island of 8,000 people, about 6,000 live in 77 one-story apartment units, with four rooms in each. Each of the four rooms houses 15 to 25 men, women and children. The 60 to 100 people jammed into each apartment share one kitchen and one toilet. The other 2,000 persons on the island don't live as well. They sleep on the floors of shacks, cook on one-burner kerosene stoves, use outhouses and draw their water from open, concrete storage containers.

Three thousand U.S. civilians and 22 military personnel live on "kwaj" which looks like a middle-class suburb in southern California.

After World War II ended, the U.S. Navy kept Kwajalein. So its 400 Micronesians, all Marshall Islanders, were dispossessed. But the Navy needed workers to build its military installations, and Ebeye was turned into a dormitory to house the Micronesians. Then the Navy turned Kwaj over to the Army, which used it as a site to develop an antimissile missile and to test ballistic missiles catapulted from Vandenberg Air Force Base, 5,000 miles away in California. . . . The Army decided it needed the entire atoll, including the smaller inhabited islands. So the people who lived on them were shifted to Ebeye, too.

MEANWHILE, other Marshallese from islands outside the atoll came to Ebeye, attracted by possibilities of getting a job. . .

Some of the 160 Micronesian women work as maids for the families (on Kwaj) and the others take care of the rooms in the bachelor quarters. Most of the Micronesian men earn from

\$2.10 to \$2.40 an hour. The maids get \$5 to \$6 per day, plus lunch money.

The average annual salary of the American civilians is \$18,000. Almost all of the Micronesian workers I interviewed believe racism lies behind the differences between their lives and those of the American workers. An extensive scientific study of their attitudes, presented to a congressional subcommittee investigating conditions at Ebeye, came to the same conclusion. The report was prepared by William Alexander of the New School for Social Research. . . . Alexander told a subcommittee of the House Insular Affairs Committee, "Close to 90 per cent of the workers said that they feel they are being discriminated against in terms of jobs and pay because they are Micronesians. . . ."

"Approximately 75 per cent of the workers were able to provide the names of specific non-Micronesians who do the exact same job but who receive significantly higher pay for their work," Alexander said, and many of the Micronesians were concerned over the fact "that there is no such thing as a Micronesian supervisor on Kwajalein . . . despite the fact that some of them have been working on Kwaj since 1944."

THE MICRONESIAN WORKERS pointed out to me that Global Associates, the Oakland, Calif., company which holds a \$30 million-a-year contract to maintain the base, runs separate personnel operations, one for the Micronesians, the other for

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"Racism" behind wage differences

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U.S. citizens. The native workers, many of whom speak English fluently, insist, too, that they are hired only for the low-paid jobs, with little or no chance for promotion, and that sometimes they do the same work as Americans for much less pay, such as machine repair or dock work.

"We don't have too many U.S. hires working for \$2.40 an hour," a Global Associates official said. "We do everything we can to reserve those jobs, what we call beginning jobs, for our Micronesian friends, and we've started a program that hopefully in three or four years will bring them into the \$4 and \$5-an-hour jobs."

But the Micronesians' grievances extend far beyond their work situation. None of the Micronesian workers from Ebeye can enter, much less buy from, the well-stocked stores on Kwaj. . . . While Americans can buy whole chickens for prices in the range of 50 cents a pound, the Micronesians must pay \$1.55 a pound for gizzards. A small can of tuna that costs 45 cents on Kwaj sells for 85 on Ebeye . . .

EBEYE HAS SO MANY children that 1,200 attend the elementary school in split shifts, taught by 25 teachers. After school, the children have almost nothing to do except hang

around, emulating the older ones whose families can't afford to send them over to Majuro for high school. Juvenile delinquency keeps growing, along with alcoholism. I've seen 10-year-old kids so drunk they cannot walk.

"Ebeye is the bright lights area," Peter Coleman said in his office in Saipan. "As long as Kwajalein exists, there'll always be some employment opportunities there." The acting high commissioner says the trust territory administration recognizes how dire the situation has become. "I feel the problem of Ebeye must be approached in as comprehensive a fashion as possible," he said. "Right now we have formed a committee to study it."

Micronesians Lack Ability to Supervise

"While some of the Micronesian workers at Ebeye may have the technical ability to warrant promotion, they do not have the ability to be in charge, to supervise people, particularly Americans."

Peter Coleman, then Acting High Commissioner of the Trust Territory, Jan., 1977

"Foul Odors, Visible Pollution Part of Normal Environment" T.T. Ebeye Study Again Shows Critical Conditions

(Vol. 3 #5, July/August, 1978)

In April of this year, the Interior Department published a Trust Territory report entitled: **Ebeye Redevelopment and Gugeegue Development Study**. This mild-sounding title underscores a mass of frightening statistics about the social and economic conditions of the 8,000 Marshallese that live on the island of Ebeye in Kwajalein Atoll. According to the Trust Territory study, Ebeye is now one of the most densely populated areas in the world, with 8,000 people crowded into the 53 available acres. The extrapolated population density on Ebeye is 65,000 people per square mile, compared with 12,400/sq. mi. for Washington, D.C. and 120/sq. mi. for Hawaii. In contrast, Kwajalein's 900 acres houses just 3,000 American missile range workers and dependents, living in air-conditioned comfort in ample housing, with access to modern hospital and recreational facilities.

Article 6 of the United Nations Trusteeship Agreement calls for the U.S. to "promote the social advancement . . ." and "protect the health of the inhabitants." The new Ebeye report reveals that there are 588 housing units, all of which are deteriorating and considered substandard. The report states there is an average of 13.6 persons per unit, but in some cases as many as 40 people in one house.

The T.T. report summed up the health and sanitation situation on Ebeye: "As with the shortage of water, the lack of proper sanitary facilities is a major cause of the high rate of sickness on Ebeye. Additionally, foul odors and visible water pollution are part of the normal environment in which the people must live and work and the children must play."

Article six of the U.N. agreement also requires the U.S. to "promote the economic advancement and self-sufficiency of the inhabitants." The Ebeye report shows that the island has become a wage-labor ghetto completely dependent on imported food and water; the water being brought in on a 152,000 gallon barge at the cost of \$200,000 a year. Inadequate docking facilities raise the prices of foodstuffs on Ebeye 90% higher than other areas of the Trust Territory

because of handling charges. At present, the unemployment rate is 36% of the available work force and going up. According to the study more than 50% of the island's population is 14 years old or younger—which indicates the large number of people that will be entering the job market within the next few years.

Much of the information contained in the report is not new or surprising to those who have followed the development of the situation on Ebeye over the years. In 1976, Representative Patsy Mink's Subcommittee on Territorial and Insular Affairs held hearings on Ebeye regarding conditions there (following the hearings, the Subcommittee called for an end to the discrimination that exists on Ebeye and Kwajalein). Prior to that a World Health Organization report described the deplorable health conditions on Ebeye. For most Americans the new Ebeye report will be shocking with its factual documentation of life for the Marshallese people under the auspices of the U.S. Army and its civilian contractor, Global Associates. But these conditions did not emerge full blown overnight but rather developed and worsened under years of neglect and indifference, beginning with the military's relocation of the Marshallese labor camp from Kwajalein to Ebeye, about 4 miles away, in 1951.

As the title implies, the new T.T. study goes on to propose "redevelopment" for Ebeye. The main points of the report call for the dispersal of the Ebeye population to two other islands in the atoll chain, Carlson and Gugeegue, and the creation of open space and recreational facilities on Ebeye. According to the study, there are some existing facilities, including housing and water catchment tanks on both Carlson and Gugeegue, although they have not been maintained and are in a general state of deterioration.

In this period of concern for "human rights" in foreign lands, it is important to recognize the severe health, and social problems, and the apartheid-like conditions at Kwajalein and Ebeye, in our own backyard: Micronesia has been under the trusteeship of the United States since 1947.

Marshallese Reclaim Island in Kwajalein Test Area

by Mike Malone

(Vol.3 #3, March/April, 1978)

KWAJALEIN, Marshall Islands—Marshall Islanders reclaimed a second small island in the heart of the U.S. army's Pacific missile testing range here March 8 to protest 12 years of use with no compensation to landowners.

It was the second such action taken by landowners at Kwajalein Missile Range in less than one week.

"I don't care about missiles or danger. I only care about my land," said Handle Dribo, the aging landowner and traditional leader who led about 30 men, women and children to tiny Omelek Island inside Kwajalein's hazardous "mid-corridor" missile range last week.

On March 8 Dribo and others moved to another small island near Omelek, called Enewetak (not to be confused with Enewetak Atoll), both of which are situated in the off-limits areas.

Dribo explained that the army now wants to pay "small money" to use Omelek, Enewetak, and another small nearby island he owns, adding in broken English: "We don't want."

Dribo described the three small islands with a total land area of about 80 acres as the "last land" for himself and about 140 other Marshallese who have ancestral or custom-

ary land rights there. Land is so scarce in the Marshall Islands that it is not bought and sold but passed down from generation to generation.

Dribo said in 1964 he was forced to lease his best land in Kwajalein atoll to the army. The price varied, he said, from \$500 to \$1,000 per acre for 99 years, or about \$5 to \$10 per acre a year.

No agreement exists for the army's use of the islands reclaimed by landowners last week, according to Dribo. "For 12 years my land was used by the military. I have not received one penny."

In the mid-1960's, Dribo and several hundred other Marshallese were removed from the many small palm and sand islands which form the huge atoll and placed on Ebeye Island, which is about 76 acres. Plagued by overcrowding, water shortages, inadequate housing and health problems, the islanders have been repeatedly swept by outbreaks of epidemic diseases. Local health officials say a measles epidemic is now being brought under control.

(Micronesian Independent, 3-5-78)

Legislator Clubbed by Security Marshallese Occupy Missile Range

By Giff Johnson

(Vol.4 #3, Summer, 1979)

KWAJALEIN ATOLL - Nitijela member Imada Kabua was clubbed with a nightstick by the Global Rio Namur Manager as he led landowners and their families on to Roi Namur to begin an indefinite occupation of the key missile testing island at Kwajalein, Friday (July 20).

Landowners are demanding compensation for past and future use of the tiny 400-acre island that is dotted with radar and other missile tracking equipment. Island residents say they have never received compensation and unlike Kwajalein - where a similar occupation is in progress - there is no lease arrangement for Roi Namur.

Kabua, Rep. Jolle Lojkar and a group of about 30 men, women and children were met at the Roi Namur beach by two Chief of Police and a patrolman, security guards and the Manager, and several men not in uniform carrying nightsticks.

Kabua, who sustained a 5-inch bruise on his ribs under his left arm, said he intended to file assault and battery charges against the Roi Na-

mur resident Manager. "Maybe he thought he could scare us off the island by doing that," Kabua commented the following day, adding that the landowners "are here to stay."

By Saturday, the Roi Namur group grew to more than 60 people.

A scheduled Roi Namur missile test on Saturday was reportedly cancelled because of the Marshallese occupation.

In 1964 the T.T. government made a lump sum payment of \$750,000 for 99 years use of Kwajalein island - approximately \$10 an acre per year, and agreed to "improve the economic and social conditions of the Marshallese people, particularly at Ebeye..."

Kwajalein people charge the T.T. government with ignoring its promises in the agreement and breaking the lease.

"I have a letter from Patsy Mink," Kabua said, "which in 1976 stated the Ebeye sewer system needed immediate attention. It's more than three years later and what has been done? Nothing."

Kwajalein Problem Not Money But Civil Rights

By Daniel C. Smith

(Vol.6 #1, Summer, 1981)

Kwajalein, Mar. 1 - Senator Imada Kabua is not satisfied with the current draft Base Operating Rights Agreement (BORA) for U.S. use of Kwajalein under the Compact of Free Association.

This key subsidiary agreement must be concluded before the Compact can be voted on.

Kabua, chairman of Nitijela's Judiciary and Governmental Relations Committee, and many of his constituents have long been dissatisfied with the way the Marshalls government has handled the negotiations.

"The problem now is not money - that can be increased anytime -," Kabua said, "what bothers me is that there is no language [in the draft BORA] about how we are going to be treated as people."

He is concerned that there may be 30 more years of treatment as second class people in their own homeland with one standard of living and services for those who live on Kwajalein Island and

another for those who live in the Marshallese community.

In addition to the now critical civil rights issues, Kabua does not like the 30 year term of the BORA when the Compact is only a 15 year agreement.

He pointed out that in its present form his five year old son would be 35 before the BORA could be changed. His 15 year old son would have to live with it until age 45.

Illustrative of the problem, two civil rights related suits are now before the courts.

Kabua is himself suing Global Associates and a former employee because of beating he received during a sit-in on Roi Namur.

The other suit is now in the court of Federal District Court Judge Jesse Curtis in Los Angeles (following a transfer from Honolulu) and is an attempt to halt searches without probable cause on persons leaving Kwajalein Island.

Marshall Islands
Journal, 3-4-81

TINIAN: An Island For Uncle Sam?

(Vol.2 #3, March, 1977)

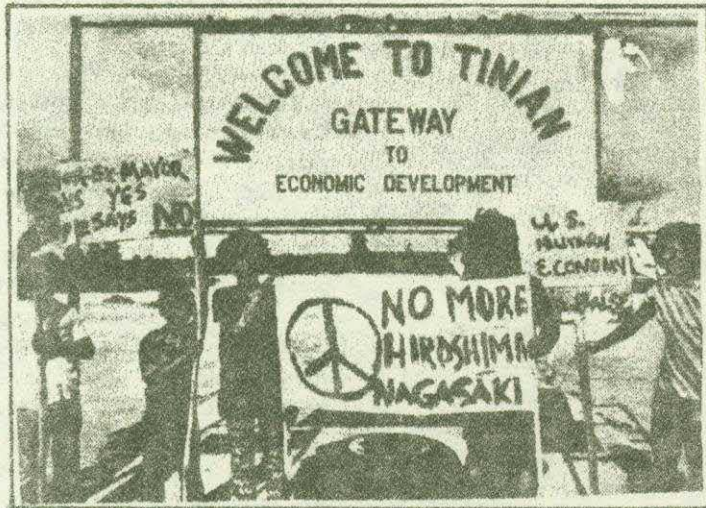
In early May, 1973, F. Haydn Williams, then Pres. Nixon's envoy to Micronesia, announced that the U.S. military required all of Tinian Island in the Marianas and that the 800 or so residents would be removed to make way for a \$300 million air/naval base.

Tinian is one of the 14 islands in the Northern Marianas which makes up one of the six administrative districts of the Trust Territory of the Pacific, administered by the U.S. since WW II. Guam, geographically a part of the Marianas, but politically a colony of the U.S. since 1898, is 125 miles south of Tinian.

The announcement came during negotiations between the U.S. and the Marianas over the future political status of the Mariana Islands.

MOST OF THE PEOPLE on Tinian live in its one village, and farm and fish for a living. The island's 39 square miles include, according to a Trust Territory agricultural economist, some of the most productive farmland in Micronesia. Lettuce, cabbage, beans and other fruits and vegetables, as well as dairy products from Tinian are sold in the markets of Saipan and Guam. Local watermelons, known as "Tinian gold" have been exported as far as California.

Shortly after these plans for Tinian were announced, Tinian students at the University of Guam (UOG) met and agreed to publicly oppose the military takeover. Later in the month the Social Sciences Department at the UOG organized a door-to-door survey of Tinian residents to determine the people's knowledge of the possible impact of military personnel and facilities on Tinian.



Conducted by four UOG students from Tinian, the survey showed—among other things—that 94% of the people were not informed about possible effects of military facilities and activities on Tinian, but at the same time, 96% of the people felt the military must not be allowed to store poisonous gas or nuclear weapons on their island.

*Tinian memories of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, devastated by atomic bombs dropped by U.S. planes based on Tinian, are reflected in the stand against nuclear weapons.

IN JUNE, 1973 because of the strong opposition of the Tinian people to the military plans for their island, a delegation from the U.S. and Mariana Islands teams negotiating toward Commonwealth status was sent from Saipan to explain the military "requirements". The group was greeted at the tiny Tinian airport by the first anti-military demonstration ever. Signs reading "No More Hiroshimas" and "We Love America but We Love Tinian More!" were carried by many of the young Tinian people. At a public meeting later that day, Ambassador Williams reiterated the U.S. military's intention to use all of the island and to relocate the residents.

Later in the summer the Tinian UOG students organized a public hearing on Tinian to raise more local opposition to the Pentagon plans. In the Pentagon-sponsored effort to counter the opposition, the Mayor and members of the Municipal Council of Tinian were taken on a tour of U.S. military installations in the Philippines, Okinawa and Taiwan.

But pressure from the anti-base movement continued to grow, and resulted in Ambassador Williams' announcement that military land requirements would be reduced to two-thirds of the island—said to be the absolute minimum. But the village was still to be relocated.

The people again rejected these plans and countered with a proposal to the status negotiating team to permit the military to use one-third of their island for a base, but reserved two-thirds, much of it the best farm land, for the people's use, leaving San Jose Village, home of 90% of the people, intact.

BY AUGUST enough opposition had been generated that Williams agreed to the demand of the Tinian people that there would be no relocation of the village, but stipulated that two-thirds of the island was still the minimum military requirement.

During the early part of 1974 the Tinian Municipal Council asked for a referendum on the question of permitting military use of Tinian. The referendum move was blocked by the District Administrator (an appointee of the U.S. Trust Territory government). Following the referendum veto, the Mayor of Tinian, who had been elected on an anti-military platform, took the Tinian protest to the United Nations, asking them to "stop the Tinian land grab".

IN FEBRUARY, 1975, a Covenant to establish the Northern Marianas as a Commonwealth of the U.S. was signed by both sides. It included a section entitling the U.S. to lease two-thirds of Tinian for 50 years with an option to renew for another 50. The agreement committed the U.S. to pay only about \$10 per acre per year for this prime farming land.

A plebiscite to approve or disapprove the covenant was scheduled for all of the Marianas for June, barely four months away. Plans for "objective political education" were laid out by the government. But the plebiscite Commissioner, Edwin Canham, formerly editor of the *Christian Science Monitor*, was not appointed until April, and many of the information/education booklets on the Covenant were not distributed until May.

The pro-Commonwealth campaign, backed by the U.S. government and the Marianas District Legislature, emphasized economic benefits that people in the Marianas would receive if they voted "yes": food stamps, welfare, USDA food giveaways, old age programs etc.

*The anti-Commonwealth forces lacked the backing and financial support to match the printed media and radio campaign of the proponents.

HOWEVER, support from an unexpected source came at the Conference for a Nuclear Free Pacific, when islanders and others from 20 Pacific Basin countries and territories met at Fiji in April. The Conference raised funds to send a representative of the Tinian anti-military movement to the United Nations and to Washington D.C., backed by a delegation of other Pacific people and a demand from the entire NFP Conference for and indefinite postponement of the June plebiscite until adequate political education could be conducted.

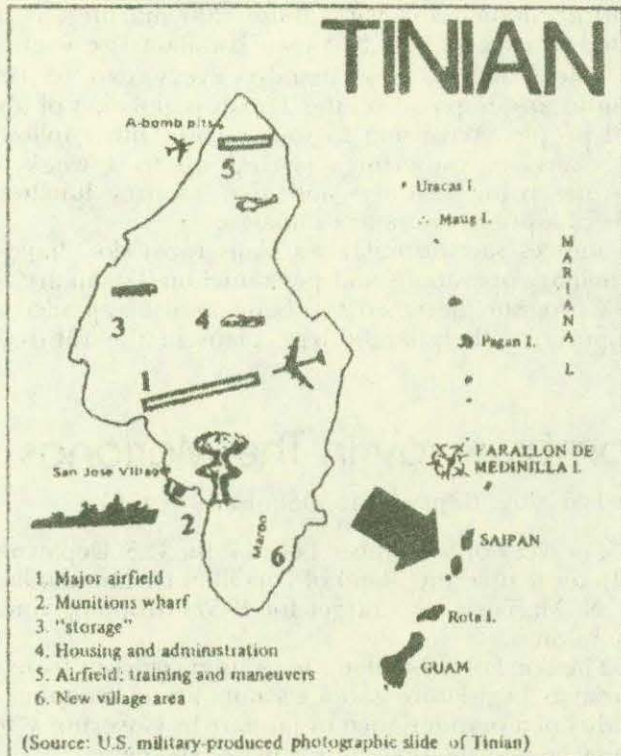
Despite efforts which included presentation of the demand to both the Trusteeship Council and the Committee of 24 on Decolonization of the U.N., and meetings with many sympathetic Congresspeople, the June plebiscite went ahead as scheduled, producing a vote of 78% in favor of Commonwealth status.

The U.S. House of Representatives thought this vote of such importance—the first U.S. acquisition of territory in more than 50 years—that it was passed with scant discussion in little over a month.

Base Plans

"U.S. land needs are extensive . . . so much so that we feel we should acquire the northern two-thirds of the island for military purposes. We feel we should also ask to acquire the southern third . . ."

-Statement by F. Haydn Williams, Pres. Nixon's chief negotiator for Micronesia, during 1973 negotiations for Tinian.



Military Steps Up Tinian Use

By Francisco Uludong

(Vol.2 #10, November, 1977)

SAIPAN - The U.S. military plans to expand by late next year or early 1979 maneuvers on Tinian from the current 200-man "Quick Jab" series to 1,300 man, battalion size exercises, according to official military documents.

The exercises will include as many as four Navy ships, 22 helicopters, 12 amphibious tractors, five tanks, 900-1,300 marines landing and related vehicles and heavy equipment. U.S. Marine Jet aircraft will come from the Navy's Subic Bay in the Philippines.

Lasting five to eight days at a time, the exercises are planned for Tinian's uninhabited northwestern end and will be conducted over 11,341 of the 17,799 acres leased by the covenant to the military.

The documents show the Navy plans to cut several 288-foot wide, nine-foot deep landing craft approaches in the reef in front of Unai Babue and Unai Chula beaches and remove coral heads from the reef and beaches to allow unimpeded "invasions." Reef modifications, the documents said, will require dredging and cutting the reef with explosives. The documents maintain that other than the reef damage and loss of marine life at the area where the approaches will be cut, there will be little adverse impact on Tinian's environment.

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Air Force Report: You Ain't Seen Nothing Yet

*A 1974 U.S. Air Force Socio-Economic study of Tinian pointed out the dramatic impact the base will have on the small Tinian community if the plans move ahead. From the U.S. Air Force study:

TINIAN TODAY

"The present Tinian community is a close knit one with families taking care of their own relatives. There is little disorganization and there are no serious problems."

"The innate law-abiding nature of the Chamorros and the homogeneous, closely-knit community have contributed to years of peaceful existence on Tinian, one devoid of major crimes."

"The basic lifestyle of the people is one of subsistence, depending primarily on farming, the sea and mutual aid."

"Almost everyone knows each other by name...The people of Tinian know all their neighbors, and often, they are immediately or distantly related."

PROJECTED CONDITIONS WITH MILITARY PRESENCE

"The breakdown of family ties, personal conflicts and social problems because of urbanization, competition and cultural transition will increase. As has happened in other places, heightened frustrations and anxieties may result in abuse and neglect of children."

"The impact on public safety will be felt because of the anticipated increase in bars, drinking, fights and the possible introduction of new elements such as drugs, prostitution, and other major criminal activities."

"...With the projected population density, these agriculture activities will be severely limited and the present standard of living will deteriorate. Family agricultural plots are likely to be eliminated due to the pressures of land demands and the lure of better paying jobs."

"A minimal tenfold increase in population will engulf the present population (of 900). Based on projections, they (Tinianese) would comprise less than ten percent (10%) of the total population."

Disaster Funds Pave Way For Military Construction

(Vol.3 #6, September/October, 1978)

Federal disaster relief funds are being used for construction and upgrading of dock facilities at the Tinian harbor, in the Northern Marianas, which may be used by the military under the terms of the commonwealth agreement, informed sources say. Harbor facilities that have been in a state of disrepair for years, are being repaired and expanded with funds designated for civilian relief from a recent typhoon, according to sources at the Trust Territory government's Disaster Control office on Saipan.

According to military sources, there will be limited joint use of the harbor with local residents, and this has been used to justify expenditure of funds on the dock facilities.

Since the U.S. announced its intentions in 1973 to construct a \$300 million air/naval base on 2/3 of Tinian island, the Department of Defense has been unable to find support in the Congress for such a large scale base at this time. Consequently, construction plans for the huge facility have been temporarily shelved.

Tinian land is for farming

"Because of recent events we have come to realize that 'if you starve a person, He'll eat anything he is given.' We have been getting only crumbs. Our land is precious and scarce, we cannot condone the use of it by a foreign government. We are Chamorros and proud of it and want to stay that way."

"We steadfastly oppose the military takeover of any of our Beautiful Island for purposes of destruction and instead offer a life-giving alternative - the growing on our super-rich soil of food for our Struggling Nation."

Tinian students at the University of Guam 1973

Military Steps Up Tinian Use

Continued from page 37

"There will be temporary increases in the levels of noise and air pollution in the areas during the exercise period," the documents said. "The chances of accidental damage are naturally increased by the insertion of a relatively large group of people and vehicles in a largely sparsely inhabited area."

"Planning between the exercise participants and appropriate local and federal officials will be continuous to minimize the danger of accidental fire and oil spills or other environmentally damaging accidents to ensure maximum public safety during the conduct of military exercises and to give maximum attention to protection of rare fauna and historical archaeological sites," the documents said.

Pacific Daily News 10/30/77

But with the 8,000 foot long runways left basically intact from World War II, and a sturdy breakwater in place at the harbor, refurbishing and small scale construction has taken place with funds not specifically designated for base construction. The end result is that the existing structures are upgraded and expanded with the federal funds flowing into Tinian over the last two years.

What started as "Operation Quick-Jab" on Tinian, landing maneuvers with about 200 marines, is now slated to expand to 1,300 man battalion size exercises.

These maneuvers, usually every two to three months, are imposed on the Tinian population of about 900 people. According to sources on Tinian following an exercise, sometimes lasting up to a week, the Marines paint buildings and give out free lunches as part of a public relations campaign.

Sources say the military's plans for a slow build-up of military operations and personnel on Tinian are part of a program designed to obtain local acceptance and support for their larger base plans in the future.

Bombs Away in The Marianas

(Vol.3 #6, September/October, 1978)

The week of September 11 to 17, the U.S. Department of Defense used the island of Farrallon De Mendinilla, in the N. Marianas, as a target for B-52s dropping tons of bombs on it.

The Air Force bombing has raised criticism from the Marianas Legislature and legislators are questioning the validity of a permit signed in January by Governor Carlos Camacho and the military for use of the land.

According to the Commonwealth covenant, the entire island of Farrallon De Mendinilla and waters adjacent to it will be the leased to the United States for 50 years at a rental fee of \$20,600 (or about \$412 per year for the small island). The technical agreement regarding use of land says "The U.S. may enjoy full and unrestricted use of the land after making the payment." No payment has been made to the Marianas by the U.S.

Acting Attorney General Michael De Angelo recommended to the governor and the legislature that the government "give written notice to revoke the permit and demand a report on the damage caused to the island by the bombings." He said, "No lease should be negotiated that does not provide for environmental impact and historic preservation studies."

At a meeting between legislators and Department of Defense representatives, Washington Liaison Officer Ed Pangelinan said the action of the governor appears to have "undermined" the authority of the legislature.

Lt. Commander Pat Roth said the military has no intention to undermine the responsibility of the Legislature. He said the military wants mutual understanding among all concerned because the military has provided, "in good will," humanitarian services to the Commonwealth.

In an apparent attempt to continue the lease, despite bypassing the legislature, Roth said "now is not the time" to revoke the permit, although the agreement signed by the governor is revocable with 30 days' notice.

CIA Continuing to Bug Micronesians ?

(Vol.2 #1, January, 1977)

The most recent CIA electronic surveillance of Micronesians was conducted in May and June of 1976 during the period of negotiations between President Ford's personal representative, F. Haydn Williams, and a team of nine Micronesian negotiators on Saipan, according to the Washington Post.

The Justice Dept. filed an objection to the surveillance with the White House last summer. Yet President Ford took no action to have the electronic surveillance stopped other than to hand the matter over to the Justice Dept. for a legal opinion. The Justice Dept. has done nothing to have the surveillance discontinued either.

According to the Post story, "Justice Dept. sources revealed that Attorney General Edward Levi is expected to leave the sensitive question to his successor in the Carter administration..."

"Justice Dept. sources voiced some dismay that Pres. Ford had not as a matter of policy ordered the electronic surveillance halted. 'It's a disgrace,' said one, '...for nearly 30 years we've been assigned a paternal role of trust with the islands...it's like bugging your own childrens' telephone.' "

The CIA and the Justice Dept. have not denied the surveillance occurred: rather, they are locked in a dispute over the legality and propriety of the bugging. The Justice Dept. reportedly argued that the bugging was improper partly because the U.S. is, in effect, negotiating with the Micronesians to become U.S. citizens. CIA surveillance of U.S. citizens is prohibited by the CIA charter. But the CIA is contending that Micronesians are still foreigners and therefore they (the CIA) are carrying out their proper duties by gathering intelligence information..."

The Post article states, "another government source said the issue has broader implications, touching on the role of the CIA in the wake of two years of investigations of the intelligence agencies. "The CIA has taken a battering, this source said, and will try to preserve its traditional intelligence-gathering methods everywhere: 'they don't want their wings clipped any more.' "

"Also, some high-level strategic planners believe Micronesia has significant potential military value in the post-Vietnam period, thus justifying CIA surveillance if it helps maintain U.S. control of the islands."

F. Haydn Williams, who resigned as Am-

bassador to the U.S.-Micronesian Status negotiations in July, said in an interview that the State Dept. and its permanent representative on the islands provided him with regular intelligence reports on the Micronesian negotiating position. They were useful, he said, because the Micronesians are tough negotiators. He added, "It doesn't surprise me at all that the United States in any negotiation would use any means to find out the position of the other side."

(When appointed by Pres. Nixon to be U.S. Ambassador to Micronesia, F. Haydn Williams was Vice-President of the Asia Foundation, a San Francisco-based organization created and funded by the CIA. -- Ed. note.)



Distrust in Trust Territory

(Vol.2 #4, April, 1977)

SAIPAN—US Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and Interior Secretary Cecil Andrus have called for top-level talks with Marshalls and Caroline Islands leaders to discuss strained relations caused by recent disclosures of "spying" on island negotiators by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)

The disclosure that not only electronic bugs and phone taps were used by the CIA in its surveillance of the Micronesian Status Negotiations, but that one or more people—either Micronesians or non-Micronesians—from the Micronesian side of the negotiations were passing on information to the CIA, prompted a floor speech from Ponape Sen. Ambilos Iehsi on Feb. 26. Saying that the natural reaction would be to "try to find out who the person or persons were," the Senator said "since we do not know who, everyone begins suspecting everyone else." Another point raised by the Senator was "whether the news that the CIA spied on us was meant to be made public. What better way to cause confusion and distrust! ... The question which looms in my mind concerns the Draft Compact of Free Association. This was negotiated with a lot of hard work, goodwill, and honest intentions by our side over something like seven or eight years. It embodies the hopes and aspirations of the people of Micronesia for self-government after 400 years of colonial rule. But now we must take a second look at this document."

(Compiled from Micronesian News Service and Marianas Variety March 3-10, 1977)

CIA report barred — then bared

(Vol.2 #5, May, 1977)

Sen. Daniel K. Inouye held up the release of his Senate Intelligence Committee's report critical of Central Intelligence Agency surveillance activities in Micronesia at the personal request of President Carter.

Four days later, however, the Inouye committee voted to release the report without change. The sentence to which Carter objected was not identified.

The Committee chided the Nixon and Ford administrations for failing to "differentiate between intelligence techniques appropriate for use against an armed adversary and those proper for use against a people under U.S. administration and protection."

The Senate Intelligence Committee reported that with the approval of then-

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, the CIA used paid informants and hidden microphones to obtain information about the internal politics of Micronesia.

According to the report, the CIA conducted "clandestine intelligence operations." The effort was aimed at discovering the negotiating position of leaders of the strategically located islands who have been talking with the United States about possible independence since 1971.

According to the committee, the CIA recruited "Micronesian residents, some with affiliations with Micronesian political entities and some of whom were paid for their information." At least one of the informants "served on one of the island government entities involved in

developing a compact with the United States as to future status."

The report said Kissinger, in his role as then-President Nixon's national security adviser, approved the collection effort in October, 1973. In addition, the committee said, Kissinger granted permission for a study of "the possibility of exerting covert influence on key elements of the Micronesian independence movement and on those other elements in the area where necessary" to "support U.S. strategic objectives."

Although Kissinger approved the plan and key congressional committees were informed in 1973, the report said the actual program did not begin until early 1975. It ended last December.

U.S. Bribe Attempt Exposed

(Vol.1 #5, March, 1976)

Those who have read about the CIA's covert activities against governments in many countries and against U.S. citizens who protested U.S. intervention in Southeast Asia, will not be surprised by this recent story out of Micronesia.

According to Guam's Pacific Daily News, March 7 (the newspaper is owned by the conservative U.S. Gannett chain of papers), U.S. Naval Intelligence is willing to pay money to find out what the Palauan people think.

In Palau, the U.S. has requested land to be used for military purposes and therefore, according to the PDN story, the Navy offered up to \$500 a month to a Guam Bureau of Planning employee to "spy" on Palau. The offer was refused. The U.S. Naval official who offered the money wanted information on the chairman of the Palau Political Status Commission and one of his associates called a "communist."

The Navy also wanted information on two Palauan brothers, Moses and Francisco Uludong, who attended universities in Hawaii. The brothers are obviously subversive from the U.S. point of view because they are "pro-Palauan" and operate a "bi-weekly pro-Palauan newspaper."

The Pacific Daily News story also stated that Chief Ibedul Gibbons, one of two high chiefs in Palau, was "offered a retainer by Mr. Robert Viecha on behalf of (Rear) Admiral (G. Steve) Morrison," but the high chief refused it.

Chief Details Military Bribe Attempt

(Vol.1 #11, October, 1976)

Leading Palauan proponents of the superport have been trying to keep information regarding the proposed oil transshipment/storage complex secret from the Palau public. High Chief Ibedul of Koror, Palau, asserted in a recent interview.

Ibedul said: "Even most of the Legislators haven't read any of the (Panero) reports", yet they "still defend it."

A referendum on political status was pushed by superport supporters in the two major political parties, according to Ibedul, because "Panero, Zeder and High Commissioner Coleman told the Speaker of the District Legislature, as well as others, that they should ask for a close relationship with the U.S., otherwise the superport won't happen."

Ibedul, Chairman of the Save Palau Organization, has been the focus of another expression of U.S. interest. Robert Weicha, working for the Dept. of the Navy, came with the High Commissioner to Palau in February, 1975.

He visited Ibedul there "at least 4 or 5 times" and even in Saipan, said the Chief, and bombarded him with questions. He was especially interested in people in Palau: What was Ibedul's attitude about the Uludong's newspaper Tia Belau? What was the "feeling of Palau people about the military?"

Some other questions Weicha asked:

- Who controls the land and reefs in reference to the oil port?

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Chief Details Military Bribe Attempt

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- Did Ibedul get a salary from the Trust Territory Government?
- What is the role of women? - How important are they in making decisions?
- What did Ibedul know about union organizing at the Van Camp cannery?

Weicha told him that he, Ibedul, was very important to the United States and they would like to put him on a "retainer." Although Weicha "didn't go into details" about amounts of money, he said what Ibedul was asking "wasn't enough." Also they would pay for his accommodations and first class airfare when he traveled.

Telegrams received by Ibedul back this up. One reads:

(Jan. 28, 1975) "I apologize I cannot see you this week as intended. Please be my guest in Guam before you go to Japan. Let me know when you will arrive and I will meet you and arrange hotel etc. There is a lot to talk about. Others wish to

see you."

(signed) Bob Weicha COMNAVMAR Bldg.

A conversation during one of Weicha's last visits to Palau illustrates a bit more clearly his reasons for befriending the Chief. (Ibedul made notes immediately following their talk):

Weicha: "My friend, I'm trying to reach you to help you. I want you to remember something; I'm not going to be here forever. Some day I won't be here to help you."

Ibedul: "What can you do for me?"

Weicha: "That's the trouble; I don't know what I can do for you."

Upon Ibedul's urging to be frank, Weicha said, "Some day, I want you to say, 'Bob, I'd like to see the military come to Palau'."

The U.S. Navy has long sought control of 30,000 acres of land on Babeldaob Island for training and other purposes, but Palauan leadership has so far refused.

Palau: A Hideout for Trident?

By Robert C. Aldridge

(Vol.2 #2, February, 1977)

Why the US is so interested in Iranian oil reaching Japan may have sinister implications. That US interest centers on the far off Pacific islands of Palau where a supertanker port is proposed. All of this appears to be connected to the Navy's new undersea weapon: Trident...

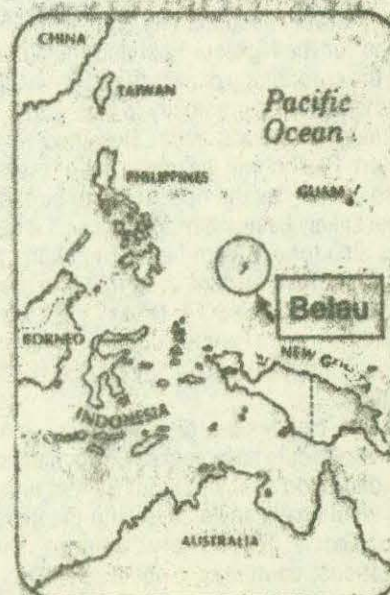
When Admiral Kent Carroll, commander of US Naval forces in the Marianas, visited Palau in January of 1976 he hailed the construction of the proposed superport. He said: "The US is certainly not opposed to it. . . I predict the preliminary studies will show it's a viable concept. . . I think it will be difficult for the Palauans to turn down. . ." If the superport does become difficult for the island people to turn down it will not be because they want it. Palau High Chief Ibedul Gibbons has already voiced opposition to Port Pacific, as it is called.

... Trident is the Navy's new weapon which is designed to modernize the sea leg of the strategic triad. It will be composed of a new fleet of submarines and two generations of missiles. The submarines will be larger than a destroyer and each will carry 24 missiles—half again as many as existing Polaris and Poseidon boats. The Trident I missile is an interim weapon which will be deployed on the first submarine in 1979. But the second generation missile, the Trident II, will be almost twice as big. It will be loaded with maneuvering reentry vehicles (MARVs, which are being developed by the Navy and Air Force) which will deliver hydrogen bombs within a few feet of their targets. About 17 of these MARVs, each with a separate destination, can be dispatched from one missile. This adds up to each Trident submarine being able to incinerate 408 different targets spread over half the earth's surface with the precision that would only be useful in a disarming first-strike. Put another way, every Trident submarine commander will control a destructive force equal to 2,000 Hiroshimas. The Navy wants 30 of these submarines by 1990.

... Reaching further back into history we find there were Micronesian status negotiations held in Hawaii during October of 1971. In *The Future Political Status of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands*, a

report by then President Nixon's personal representative, is this passage:

In Palau, our requirements are not immediate . . . However, we would want to agree in advance on areas in which we could have options to use lands at some future time . . . We desire an option on about forty acres of submerged land and adjacent lands to establish by means of land fill a very small naval support facility in the vicinity of Malakal Harbor . . . We would require an option that would permit assured use of land at Babeldaob to build structures and store material . . .



It is important to note that, less than a month before that Hawaii meeting in 1971, then Deputy Defense Secretary David Packard

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Palau's Constitutional Struggle

Palau Constitution: U.S. Objects to Sovereignty

(Vol. 4 #2, March/April, 1979)

Palauan efforts in drafting a sovereign constitution, to be voted on July 9, that will give them full control of their future have met strong opposition from the United States government, which administers the islands under a United Nations trust.

American Ambassador Peter Rosenblatt, in an unsuccessful last minute attempt to make changes in the Constitution, sent a 20-page cable to the Con-Con. Among numerous minor changes, two significant U.S.-Palau conflicts stood out.

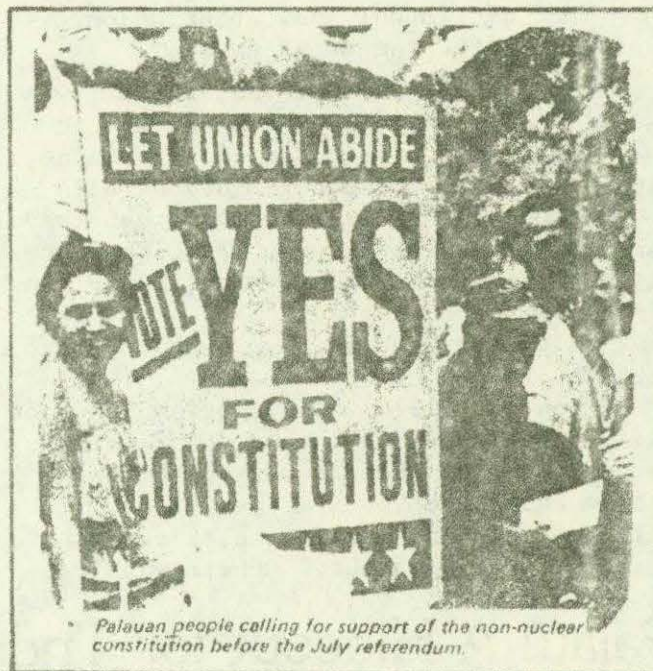
Two key provisions in the Constitution, objected to by the U.S., both provide for decision making by Palauans through a popular referendum.

In the first case, the Constitution, signed April 2, prohibits the use, testing, storage or disposal of nuclear weapons or waste within Palau and has prompted criticism from the U.S. that this could "effectively prevent U.S. warships and aircraft from transiting Palau . . ."

The main U.S. objection to the nuclear ban centered on the provision that it would take $\frac{3}{4}$ of the voters in a referendum to make any change in that clause. The U.S., however, wants to negotiate this on a government to government basis.

Rosenblatt said that if the nuclear ban were not deleted "the proposed language would create problems of the utmost gravity for the U.S."

Rosenblatt's statements to the press indicate the U.S. has plans to bring nuclear powered naval vessels and aircraft



(carrying nuclear weapons) into Palau in conjunction with the land it wishes to lease for military uses.

Roman Tmetuchl, chairman of the Palau Political Status Commission (PPSC), said "We can control the U.S. desire to have nuclear substances here through other means—through the status commission or legislation."

But Mariano Carlos, a Palauan attorney and Con-Con member, said the people must be able to decide what substances, dangerous or otherwise, should be brought into Palau.

Sovereignty the Key Issue

The second key provision that is objectionable to the U.S. calls for a popular referendum on any Constitutional amendment needed to correct "inconsistencies" with the free association compact now being negotiated.

A feature of the new Constitution is its potential for ensuring participation in government decisions for the 14,000 residents in Palau.

Not only the U.S. but also the PPSC disagree with these provisions. "We have to cooperate with the U.S. for some time to come. Without the U.S. we can't make it now," Tmetuchl said on April 4. The PPSC, Palau sources said, is gearing up a campaign to defeat the Constitution when it comes to a vote in July.

The Free Association Compact, being negotiated between the U.S. and the Micronesian status commissions, states that all constitutional arrangements must be in accord with the Compact. In other words, the constitutions for the different island groups in Micronesia must be subordinate to the Compact.

Con-Con member Carlos stressed the importance of the issue of sovereignty. "The people of Palau want a sovereign constitution, a sovereign government which is not subservient to any other constitution or agreement with any other nation."

Palau: A Hideout...

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directed the Navy to begin engineering development (all work necessary including testing which leads to a production decision) on a new long-range submarine-launched missile and a new ballistic missile submarine which would later be known as the Trident system.

Although the Navy never mentions any connection between the oil superport planned for the Ngkesol Reef and the submerged land in Malakal Harbor, the chronology of events and the nature of Micronesian negotiations lend strong credibility to that south-sea rumor that Palau will be Trident's forward base. Designed to accommodate supertankers, Port Pacific will be more than adequate for large submarines. Also, strong as the opposition to supertankers is, the protest would most likely be much more intense if it were known that construction was also for a Trident base. The reality of such a base being planned is even more evident in light of Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General George S. Brown's fiscal 1977 posture statement in which he said: "Events in the Pacific and Indian Ocean areas have profound implications . . . Forward deployment is the key to our readiness."

By the time this clandestine plan would normally unfold for public viewing Trident would have soaked up so many tax dollars that it would be considered too costly to stop. By that time, too, Trident support facilities would have spilled over into the Indian Ocean—to the island of Diego Garcia. This military deception, backed by profit motivated corporations, continues to squeeze billions from the taxpayer while oppressing people in foreign lands. The military-industrial complex is stronger than ever. That fact is evident from events involving Palau. It is necessary that these clandestine events be brought out for public discussion.

U.S. Objects to Sovereignty...

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"It should be in America's interests to support, not oppose, our Constitution or else the U.S. could lose the good will of the Palauan people. The good will of the people is worth more than big guns," he concluded.

The U.S. told the Con-Con it should insert a phrase to provide that "the provisions of the Constitution which may not be consistent with the Compact shall not have effect for the life of the free association compact" (15 years).

The Con-Con has drafted a sovereign Constitution that challenges the presumption that the U.S. can unilaterally force Palau to change its Constitution to suit U.S. interests.

The U.S. and PPSC opposition to the Constitution, on the grounds that it is incompatible with the Free Association Compact, has, quite by accident, pointed out the serious restrictions placed on Palau's sovereignty by the Compact.

When asked about reports that the PPSC is mounting a campaign against the proposed Constitution because of the nuclear ban and sovereignty provisions, Carlos said the aim of the Constitution "is to unite Palau and build a new nation. Our people will lose if this Constitution is not approved. I am concerned that the Palau Status Commission may be representing interests which may not necessarily be the interests of the people of Palau."

How America Killed a Constitution

In Micronesia, the people's choice is overruled from Washington

By Francisco T. Uludong

(Vol. 5 #1, Spring, 1980)

IN THE REMOTE Pacific islands of Micronesia, the United States is undercutting its own professed ideals of democracy and human rights.

The islands have been under U.S. supervision since 1947. Now the island groups that make up this last United Nations trust territory are negotiating their transition into semi-independent nations associated with the United States. The Carter administration has set a 1981 deadline for the final transition, and U.S. officials already have started shutting down the 80 or so welfare programs that have poured \$130 million a year into the islands.

In the rush to meet this self-imposed deadline, the Carter administration has done violence to its own human rights policy, at least in spirit, in the effort to protect American military interests in the 1980s.

The most flagrant example is in Palau, an island district of nearly 15,000 residents. Next Tuesday, the citizens of Palau will go to the polls to vote on a new constitution, written to U.S. specifications after the Carter administration, acting through an illegally convened local legislature, succeeded in killing an earlier constitution which the people overwhelmingly ratified in July.

The story is complicated and almost unknown outside the islands. It began six months ago.

• In April, a popularly elected constitutional convention, approved and partly funded by the U.S. government, completed a constitution which, among other things, would ban storage in Palau of nuclear weapons, nuclear wastes and other deadly weapons of war, establish a

200-mile territorial jurisdiction and impose stringent controls on acquisition of lands for U.S. military bases. The United States, which wants to preserve transit rights for its aircraft and nuclear-powered ships and to continue to set aside land for possible future bases, opposed these provisions during the convention. Shortly after it adjourned, U.S. Ambassador Peter Rosenblatt traveled to Palau and, in a closed-door, heavily guarded session with the Palau legislature, restated the strong American opposition to the constitution.

• In June, the legislature, meeting without the 25-member quorum required by its charter, voted to nullify the constitution and a popular vote on it scheduled for July 9 on the grounds that the document failed to meet U.S. objectives. A pro-constitution group, composed of nearly the entire convention that wrote the constitution, filed a lawsuit to void the legislature's action. After the controversy went to the courts, American authorities in the trust territory allowed the referendum to take place under U.N. observation.

• On July 9, the constitution was ratified by an unprecedented margin of 92 to 8 percent despite intimidation, including physical threats, against the U.N. observers and the public. After the vote, however, U.S. High Commissioner Adrian Winkel, an appointee of President Carter and the highest American representative in the trust territory, permitted the legislature to establish a commission to write a new constitution satisfactory to the U.S. government. Later in the month, the chief

justice of the Trust Territory High Court, an American appointed by the Interior Department, upheld the legislature's action to nullify the constitution and the referendum results.

• In August, Rosenblatt and Winkel summoned representatives of the convention and the legislature to a meeting on Guam, an American territory some 800 miles away. That meeting failed to resolve the controversy. The legislature-appointed commission completed its work on the second constitution.

• On Sept. 4, Palauan voters again went to the polls, this time to elect a new legislature. All but one of the 28 seats were won by candidates running on a platform to revive the first constitution. Because they will not take office until next January, the legislators-elect petitioned the U.S. government to install them immediately. Instead, the U.S. government, after a top-level meeting in Washington among Rosenblatt, Winkel and Interior officials, empowered the old legislature, whose four-year term expired Sept. 2, to continue in existence until January.

The United Nations, which observed the July 9 voting, has not been invited to witness next Tuesday's referendum, which was inspired by Rosenblatt and which the legislature has spent thousands of dollars to influence.

The Carter administration argues that the second constitution is necessary if the United States is going to enter into a free association with Palau. Negotiations on this new semi-independent status, however, have not been completed; it would be unfair, therefore, for the United

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How America Killed A Constitution...

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States to require that the Palauans design a constitution that fits the U.S. conception of free association. Moreover, the first constitution allows for later amendments to make the document compatible with free association.

The damage is not yet permanent. President Carter can still move decisively to salvage what remains of his human rights policy in Micronesia. If ignored, the Micronesian dispute,



however insignificant in comparison with more immediate and larger concerns facing his administration, will further tarnish what is otherwise a laudable stance on human rights. What's more, the dispute may cause unnecessary delays in the United Nations when both the United States and the Micronesians go to the world organization for its approval of the termination of the trusteeship.

Palauans Reject "Revised" Constitution

(Vol. 5 #1, Spring, 1980)

Palau voters rejected the revised version of the Palau Constitution by a 70% margin in an October 23 referendum, reaffirming their support for the earlier nuclear-free document.

Local observers now say that the resounding defeat of the revised constitution, despite an appropriation of \$100,000 for the referendum by the old legislature, has signaled the start of major change in local leadership.

The People's Committee, comprised of former Con-Con members, legislators-elect and others, cabled the U.S. High Commissioner in October, stating that Palau Political Status Commission Chairman Roman Tmetuchl, outspoken critic of the original constitution, no longer

speaks for the people of Palau.

Tmetuchl has been the official head and the strongest force in the status commission since its creation by the legislature in 1974. But the commission opposed the original document, urging accommodation of U.S. military interests to gain a larger economic aid package.

"We could be sacrificing our islands, nation and people to protect the U.S.," commented a Palauan during the Constitution struggle. The pro-constitution leadership has taken a strong stand against U.S. military plans for Palau, but adds that Palau's constitution, with its nuclear ban and restriction on foreign use of land, can accommodate the "free association" status under negotiation.

PALAU REFERENDUM: ISLANDS STILL NUCLEAR FREE

(Vol. 5 #2, Summer, 1980)

Voting for the third time in a year, the people of Palau have reaffirmed their support for their nuclear free constitution -- this time by a 78% margin. Elections for the new government will be held in November and the Constitutional government seated in January, 1981.

Despite what was described as "a very low key campaign and apparent lack of interest by voters", close to 68% of those registered turned out on July 9.

International support, particularly following the Nuclear Free Pacific Conference in Hawaii in 1980, played an important role in publicizing U.S. intervention in Palau. Messages of protest went to many American government officials, while more than 50 telegrams

and letters were received by the legislature supporting Palauans' rights to determine their own destiny. Legislature Speaker Tosiwo Nakamura said: "These messages of support and encouragement indicate that the whole world is watching events as they unfold in Palau with interest and concern for the needs and rights of the Palauan people. Palau's inalienable right to self-determination...is being guaranteed by the watchful eyes and support of these and other groups worldwide."



Belau Pact Yields Land

by Giff Johnson

(Vol.6 #1, Spring, 1981)

In November 1980, negotiators from Belau initialed the Draft Compact of Free Association and three subsidiary agreements. One subsidiary agreement, if finally approved, would allow United States military use of more than 30,000 acres (28%) of Belau land for 50 years, and would deny military use by other countries for 100 years.

Belau President Haruo Remeliik, explaining the rush to initial the agreements prior to the inauguration of President Reagan, wrote in December: "...There is speculation that the President-elect is less favorably disposed to free association than some other status (e.g. commonwealth). Initialing would serve to strengthen Palau's hand in achieving free association from the Reagan administration."

The agreements initialed allow for nuclear weapons storage, transit of nuclear powered vessels, military use of land and a modification of Belau's ocean jurisdiction.

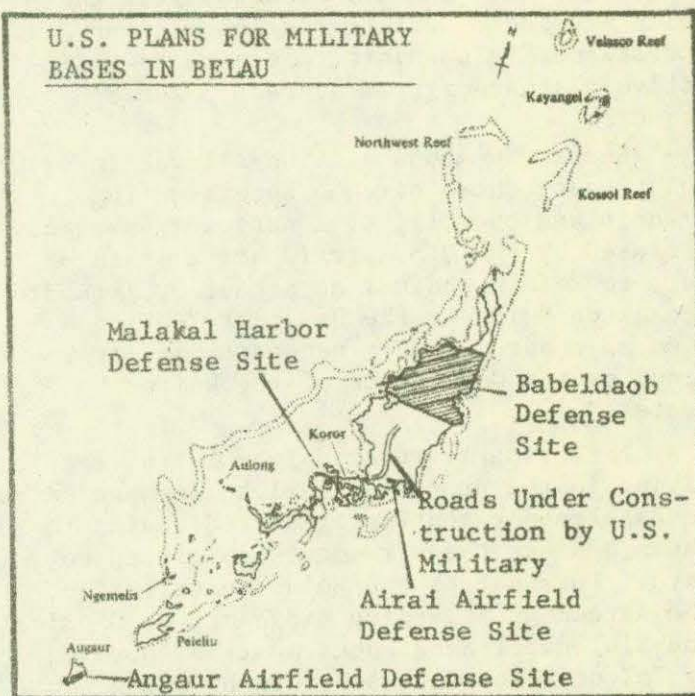
The Military Use and Operating Rights Agreement initialed is virtually identical to the military land use agreed to in the 1976 Draft Compact initialed by Congress of Micronesia negotiators. This subsidiary agreement grants the U.S. exclusive use rights for 40 acres of submerged and dry land in Malakal Harbor, Koror, and joint use of all

The agreement states that Belauans will have "full and free" use of the land on Babeldaob, but Belauans would be permitted to build permanent structures in this 30,000 acre area "only after consultation with the government of the United States."

anchorage; exclusive use of two beach areas of 600 acres and 1,400 acres in Ngaremlengui and Ngardmau on western Babeldaob for ammunition storage and transfer and other purposes; joint use of roads connecting these areas; non-exclusive use of 30,000 acres of land in northern Babeldaob for jungle warfare training; access rights of way through four beaches in or near Melekeok, Ngiwal and Ulimang on eastern Babeldaob; exclusive use of 65 acres each at Airai and Angaur airports plus joint use of the runways.

The agreement states that the U.S. will have "unrestricted control of all exclusive use areas, including the right to control entry to and exit from all exclusive use

areas..." In addition, "structures and improvements" may be constructed in these areas and the U.S. has the authority to "improve and deepen harbors, channels, entrances and anchorages, to dredge and fill and generally to fit the premises to their intended use."



The agreement provides that the U.S. shall "use its best efforts" to avoid interference with local activities such as fishing, navigation, and access to recreational areas and "minimize damage to the terrain and to reef areas and restore, where practicable, such areas to their prior state."

A lump sum payment of \$5.5 million, in addition to other economic assistance will be paid as compensation for military land use during the 15 year duration of the Free Association Compact. An additional guaranteed payment of \$1 million annually, plus \$1-9 million a year depending on use, will be paid to the Belau government from year 16-50 of the military agreement.

Denial authority for a period of 100 years was also agreed to by the Belauan negotiators. Denial is the right of the U.S. to deny foreign powers the use of Micronesia for military purposes. Belau negotiators had been under pressure to agree to "perpetual denial" as a requirement for U.S. congressional approval of the compact.

A second subsidiary agreement on Radio-

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Belau Pact Yields Land ...

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logical, Chemical and Biological Substances prohibits the storage or disposal in Belau of "high level radioactive waste" as defined by the London Dumping Convention.

Specifically exempted from this provision on high level waste are "small quantities of such waste temporarily present in exclusive and joint use defense sites and which are incidental to routine military operations," a possible reference to radioactive discharges from nuclear powered vessels.

Nuclear weapons will be allowed in Belau under these circumstances: during transit and overflight; a national emergency declared by the U.S. president; a state of war; to defend against an actual or impending attack on Belau or the U.S.; or "during a time of other military necessity as determined by the Government of the United States."

According to reports from Belau, people living in the proposed American defense sites on Babeldaob recently registered their protests against the agreements initialed to date. Pursuant to the Belau constitution, the Agreement regarding Radioactive, Chemical and Biological Substances must be approved by 75% of Belau voters before becoming law. The fact that some Belauan negotiators were against initialing the Compact, as well as



the popular support for the Belau constitution repeatedly demonstrated at the polls, suggests that the agreements to allow U.S. military presence and nuclear storage in Belau may meet with serious opposition.

Excerpts of this article were published in the New Pacific Magazine, March/April 1981.

BELAU: TARGET OF MILITARY & MULTINATIONAL OIL INTERESTS

By Shunji Arakawa

(Vol. 6 #1, Spring, 1981)

The majority of the people of Palau, about 70 per cent, are self-sufficient and say, "we can survive without money," or "there are neither beggars nor people who die of hunger here." On the other hand, facing independence, it is also true that there is no industry, nor money and technology to support it. Despite the statement on trusteeship that the U.S. "shall promote the development of the inhabitants of the Trust Territory toward self-government or independence" (Trusteeship Agreement Article 6), the United States encouraged an economic structure in Micronesia under which no local industries developed and which is totally dependent on the United States' financial assistance...

A villager said, "Everybody faces a problem because of money. Many want to become Americans since they can gain more money by doing so. The money is the big issue for so many. But we can survive without money, we should clearly know that." It is true, however, that the money-consumer culture of the United States has changed the traditional values and lifestyle of Palau little by little.

Since the war, Palau has been under the domination of the United States, although formally there were two stages, one of military control and one of

trusteeship under the United States. Although it was responsible for cooperating with Micronesia to realize the area's independence, as clearly stated in the Trusteeship Treaty, the United States managed to get the United Nations to recognize its right to use Micronesia whenever necessary as a military base by defining the area as a "strategic area." The United States has been holding on to its administrative power ever since. Residents of Kwajalein in the Marshall Islands of Micronesia were kicked off their own islands so the United States could conduct missile experiments. The people of Bikini and Eniwetok atolls were used as nuclear guinea pigs and have been suffering the effects ever since. The people of Palau were not about to believe that these incidents were unrelated to them. They knew that their islands were to be used by the United States as a nuclear military base and by Japan as a central terminal station (CTS) for oil storage, better known as a Superport.

JAPAN'S PAN-PACIFIC COMMUNITY

Although the people of Palau won their nuclear-free constitution, they still face great difficulties. The United States interference shows how badly that

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BELAU: TARGET OF MILITARY...

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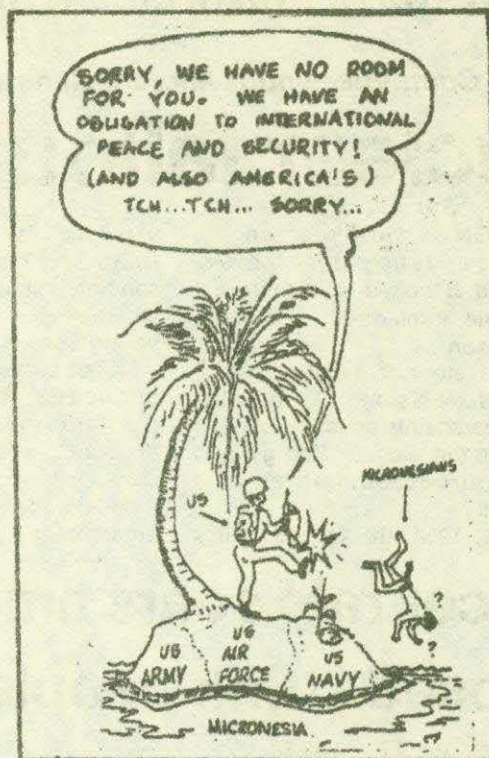
country wants to transform Palau into a military base. It is still possible that the constitution could become no more than a "declaration."

We should note that the adoption of the nuclear-free constitution was not only an internal issue for Palau, but also a struggle against the domination of the United States and against the "Pan-Pacific Community" scheme of Japan. As mentioned before, the United States plans to transform Palau into a base of great strategic importance, including use as a port for the new Trident nuclear submarines. Japan, in close relation with the United States' efforts, also desires to expand in the Pacific. The essence of the so-called "Pan-Pacific Community" is this policy of exploitation of the people of the Pacific by the United States and Japan.

The CTS plan for Palau, which has been promoted by Nissho Iwai of Japan, is one of the pillars of the "Pan-Pacific Community" scheme. It consists of plans for the construction of joint storage bases by various Pacific countries...

Many military activities and plans revolve around this region as well, because of its position at the center of the Pacific Rim countries. This location is very important in terms of sea transportation. The Japanese Maritime Self-Defense Force participated this year for the first time in RIMPAC (Rim of the Pacific Exercise), which has been conducted annually by the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. These maneuvers are part of a strategy to dominate this area of the Pacific. Their final aim is to establish a joint Pan-Pacific Defense Force between the United States and Japan, and further with Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

...If the compact is recognized, since it states that "the United States has full authority and responsibility for security and defense matters," the constitution will exist only in form for at least 15 years while the association remains effective. It would



be extremely hard to get rid of the U.S. base once it is constructed.

The adoption of the nuclear-free constitution was only the first step towards the realization of the Palauans' desire for a nuclear-free and independent country. The struggle to achieve this ideal will continue in the future. What can Japanese and American people do? What they can do now is watch for and prevent the execution of policies by their governments that suppress the Palauan people and could exploit and victimize them further in the future.

Match the Quotes

Admiral Kent Carroll,
former Commander
of U.S. Naval Forces
in the Marianas

Henry Kissinger

David L. Burté,
U.S. Naval Commander

"You realize that there are millions of people in Japan and only 14,000 in Palau. We may have to sacrifice those 14,000."

"The U.S. is certainly not opposed to it" (the Palau superport). "I think it will be a difficult thing for the Palauans to turn down."

"There are only 90,000 people out there. Who gives a damn?"

"Protect Option to Establish Bases in Trust Territory": CINCPAC

(Vol.5 #2, Summer, 1980)

Commander in Chief Pacific, Admiral Robert Long, who militarily controls 2/3 of the earth's surface, said in a recent interview:

"From my perspective as the field commander in the region, I have several interests in the Trust Territory, Guam and the Northern Marianas. One is that we must always recognize that it's in the United States' interests that we have some alternative basing options...

"Therefore, in any negotiations on the Trust Territory, I hope that we protect the option to establish bases in some parts of

the Trust Territory...

"Additionally, in the negotiations, we must avoid the establishment of so-called archipelagic regimes which in effect extend territorial sovereignty out some 200 miles. That could result in the denial of our ability to operate ships, aircraft, or submarines in the entire Micronesian area. It is conceivable that, if those regimes were established and recognized, I could not get forces from Japan into the Indian Ocean without going back to the coast of South America and then come around...

Marshall Islands: America's Radioactive "Trust"

But Senate Committee snubs Micronesians again

Nuclear fallout horror story told

(Vol.2 #4, April, 1977)

WASHINGTON — "in the afternoon, something began falling from the sky upon our island. It looked like ash from a fire. It fell on me, it fell on my wife, it fell on our infant son . . ."

So goes the story that John Anjain, once the chief magistrate of Rongelap Island in the Marshall Islands, never got a chance to tell the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee at a hearing recently.

On March 1, 1954, the United States

exploded its biggest H-bomb test on Bikini, 110 miles from Rongelap — sending a cloud of fallout over Rongelap, where Anjain lived with his wife and five young sons.

"It fell on the trees, and on the roofs of our houses. It fell on the reefs, and into the lagoon," according to Anjain's account, as translated from the Marshallese language.

Anjain appeared at the hearing with a small delegation of fellow Marshall

Islanders, who travelled the 7,000 miles to be in Washington, D.C. to press their claim for compensation.

But, the Senate Committee accorded the Marshallese delegation the same shabby treatment, by allotting them a total of only 15 minutes, as it did to a Palauan anti-superport delegation on March 24. Senator Howard M. Metzenbaum (Ohio), who chaired the hearing, apologized for the "exigencies of time" and told Anjain his written statement would be included in the record of the hearing.

As a result of the fallout that for 12 hours rained down on their island 23 years ago, Anjain and some 40 other Marshallese had undergone surgery for cancer and potentially cancerous nodules which U.S. Government physicians trace back to March 1, 1954.

"In the morning, the sun rose in the east," Anjain remembers. "And then something very strange happened. It looked like a second sun was rising in the west. We heard noise like thunder. We saw some strange clouds over the horizon . . ."

"We were very curious about this ash falling from the sky," his account said. "Some people put it in their mouths and tasted it. One man rubbed it into his eye to see if it would cure an old ailment. People walked on it, and children played with it.

"Later on, in the early evening, it rained. The rain fell on the roofs of our houses. It washed away the ash. The water mixed with the ash which fell into our water catchments. Men, women and children drank that water.

"Then the next day some Americans came to our island in a boat. They had a machine with them. They went around the island. They looked very worried, and talked rapidly to each other. They told us we must not drink the water in our catchment tanks. They left. They did not explain anything.

"On the second day, ships came. Americans again came on our island. They explained that we were in great danger because of the ash. They said if we did not leave we would die. They told us to leave everything and to only take our clothes. Some people were very afraid and fell into the water trying to get into the landing boat. Some people were taken away to Kwajalein by airplane. The rest of us went by boat.

Cancer rate soars among exposed Utirik people

(Vol.2 #4, April, 1977)

The residents of an island in Micronesia that received what was considered a small amount of radiation after an H-bomb test in 1954 have developed a high rate of thyroid disease and cancer.

The sudden increase, which did not become evident until about 22 years after the exposure to fallout, is forcing health physicists in the Federal Government to revise theories on dose rates that lead to adverse human effects.

Their failure to predict or explain the cause of the disease has generated fear and mistrust among the people on Utirik Atoll, according to recent reports from the Marshall Islands.

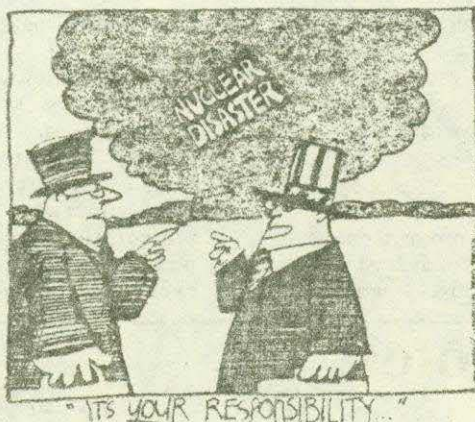
"The people of Utirik are very distressed and angry as a result of the radiation," the chiefs of the atoll wrote the U.S. Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA), which administers the medical program in the islands. "The people feel that the ERDA program is in need of vast changes."

Until the recent development of the thyroid problem, the residents were told the dose of radiation they received was too low to cause harmful effects.

"Thyroid nodules have been increasing in the Utirik people and this was quite unpredicted and we had some of the best experts in the United States," said Dr. Robert Conard, who has headed the ERDA and AEC medical program in the Marshall Islands for 23 years.

"It turns out we were wrong," Conard said in an interview, "but we did it in all sincerity, and I'm afraid the people have held that against me somewhat."

One recently reported case of thyroid cancer involved the young son of an exposed person, raising the possibility



of either second-generation genetic effects or latent radiation.

The ERDA health program, which was carried out under contract with the Brookhaven National Laboratory, did not include examinations of children of exposed persons and did not encompass genetic effects.

"The theory was put forth that Utirik received low radiation so a detailed follow-up was not necessary," said Dr. Konrad P. Kotrady, a former Brookhaven resident physician in the Marshalls . . .

"Now the facts of the thyroid cancer at Utirik have strongly shown that the theory was wrong," Kotrady wrote in a stinging critique of the Brookhaven medical program for Utirik.

"The people ask, if this thyroid problem has suddenly occurred, is it not possible that the experts have been wrong for so many years and that more problems will occur in the future?" Kotrady said.

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It looked like a second sun . . .

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"Some people were feeling sick. Some people had an itching on their skin where the ash was. Later, some people got very sick. They threw up. They felt weak. Later, the hair of men, women and children began to fall out. A lot of people had burns on their skin. There were doctors at Kwajalein and they examined us. Now we were very afraid.

"Three years passed very slowly. The American doctors came to examine us from time to time. Many people complained they did not feel well. Many women said they had miscarriages, and that the babies did not look like human babies. Some babies were born dead. The doctors said they did not know why.

They did not see the dead babies, so they said they could not tell why."

In the intervening 23 years John Anjain's wife contracted cancer. A son just a year old the day the ash fell out of the sky died of leukemia. Anjain and another son had their thyroids removed because of nodules that doctors feared would turn cancerous.

Now the U.S. Congress is trying to atone for past wrongs by appropriating "such funds as may be necessary" to compensate the citizens of Rongelap and nearby Utrik. The Omnibus Territories Act, which has passed the House and now is being considered by the Senate, sets payment of \$1,000 for every person

who lived on the island at the time of the March, 1954, test and \$25,000 for thyroid atrophy and cancer. An appropriation of

\$100,000 would be made to Anjain and his wife for the death of their son.

"Now, it is 23 years after the bomb," Anjain's account said. "... I know that money cannot bring back my thyroid. It cannot bring back my son. It cannot give me back three years of my life. It cannot take the poison from the coconut crabs.

"It cannot make us stop being afraid," Anjain said.

(Based on articles in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin and Advertiser, 6/6/77)

The Marshallese Radiological Surveys: Who REALLY Benefits?

By Glenn Alcalay

(Vol. 4 #1, March, 1979)

The Marshallese who were exposed to radioactive fallout on March 1, 1954 have been continually monitored by a group of U.S. scientists from Brookhaven National Laboratory. During the past several years, the Marshallese have become increasingly suspicious about the nature of these scientific surveys, and on two separate occasions the residents of Rongelap and Utrik Atolls have refused to allow the scientists onto their islands.

The single most blatant factor causing distrust on the part of the Marshallese is the fact that the examining doctors do not provide medical care for the entire community. When the Brookhaven doctors spend hundreds of thousands of dollars and come all the way out to the outer islands in the Marshalls in order to see merely a fraction of the population, the people have much difficulty understanding the reasons for the medical program. Throughout the past decades of the Marshalls medical program, numerous people have been turned away by the doctors because they were not included in the group designated as having been originally exposed to radiation.

A case in point stems from the fact that over 30% of the Utrik population suffers from adult-onset type diabetes, as diagnosed by the Brookhaven doctors several years ago. Because this disease is believed to be unrelated to the radiation-related diseases (such as thyroid neoplasms, leukemia, life-shortening, etc.), the Brookhaven doctors have not treated the diabetes in the Utrik population because they say that it is "not their responsibility." In an almost sardonic gesture, the doctors have even brought "gifts" of sugar to these people who suffer from diabetes, rather than instruct them about the need to restrict their sugar intake and revise their diet in general. It is small wonder the Marshallese have become distrustful, and they now question the relevance of the Brookhaven medical program when so many of their medical needs are not being treated.

A few years ago, Brookhaven hired a young and ambitious physician by the name of Konrad Kotrady to assist with the Marshalls medical program. Fortunately (for the Marshallese), Kotrady acted very humanely toward the Marshallese by going outside the prescribed bounds of the Brookhaven program and helped to deliver general health care for all of the residents of Utrik and Rongelap. Because Kotrady was so successful in penetrating the long-standing Brookhaven/Marshallese barrier by providing general health care for these unfortunate

victims of U.S. aggression, he was forced to terminate his contract with Brookhaven mid-way through his proposed tenure. Kotrady's love and concern for the Marshallese merely pointed out the contradictions and inadequacies of the medical program, and his humanism drew attention to the cold and scientific nature of the past Marshalls medical program.

By simple comparison, the former Brookhaven physician assigned to the Marshalls (Dr. Knud Knudsen) was seen as uncaring and aloof in his concern for the Marshallese, as contrasted with Kotrady's dynamic proposals for treating the people. The difference might be attributed to the fact that Kotrady is a **clinician** and is trained to interact with patients, while Knudsen is a **researcher** who specializes in hypertension. Whatever the reason, the Marshallese do not care to be treated by Knudsen, and only after several confrontations with the Brookhaven doctors did the Marshallese finally convince Brookhaven to replace Knudsen.

No Cooperation From Brookhaven

The last point to be made here concerns the way in which the Marshallese have been kept ignorant of their condition for more than two decades. When I became involved in the attempt to enhance the Utrik peoples' understanding of their situation between 1975-77, I received open hostility and no cooperation from the Brookhaven doctors, particularly from Dr. Robert Conard. It was this hostility which led me to conclude that something was drastically wrong with the medical program, and as I had overheard Dr. Conard say to a colleague, I had "opened up a can of worms."

It is now clear to me that Conard has kept these people ignorant for all these years so that he can conduct his scientific studies with a minimum of interference from the outside world. It is no accident that the Japanese doctors from Hiroshima Memorial was not granted entry visas in 1971 in order to conduct an independent survey of the irradiated Marshallese. Hopefully, the days of Conard's clandestine Marshallese studies are coming to an end as more people learn of the plight of the irradiated Marshallese.

(Glenn Alcalay was a Peace Corps Volunteer on Utrik Atoll from 1975-77. He testified before the Senate Subcommittee on Energy in June 1977 on behalf of the Utrik Council and presently is attending Rutgers University working toward his PhD.)

Marshall Islands/Utah: The Radiation Connection

(Vol. 4 #2, April/May, 1979)

The U.S. government has, for years, suppressed information about the dangers of radioactive fallout from nuclear tests so that it could continue to develop its nuclear weapons and nuclear power industry without the interference of an informed public. Once again the government has put the development of a multi-billion dollar industry ahead of people, their health and safety.

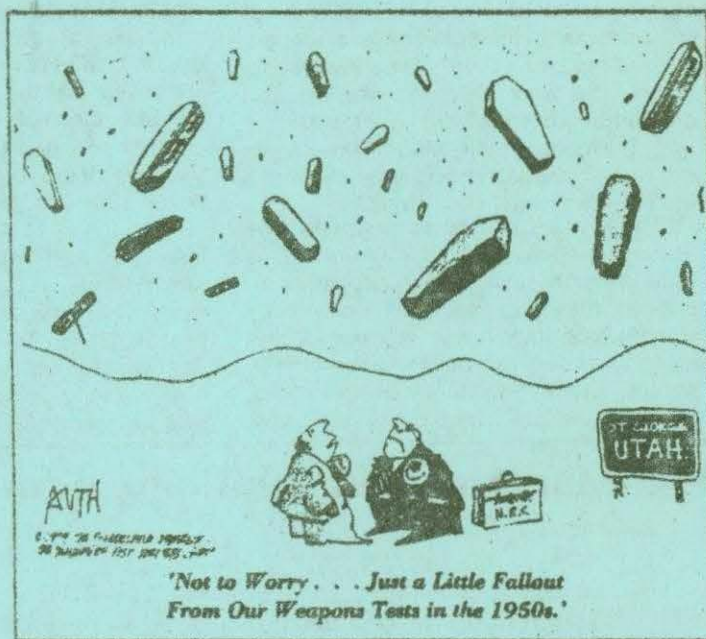
In human terms, this has meant great suffering for thousands of people, many of whom have died from leukemia and other forms of cancer resulting from exposure to fallout. Dr. Joseph Lyon, a University of Utah scientist who conducted the study that showed a 2½ times greater risk of dying of leukemia for Utah children born during the heavy above-ground N-testing compared to those children living before and after, when asked if fallout was the cause of these cancers, said: "It is the leading contender and whatever is in second place is a very long way back."

The people of Rongelap and Utirik atolls in the Marshall Islands were contaminated with radioactive fallout from the first test of a deliverable hydrogen bomb at Bikini in 1954. Later, other Marshall Islanders have lived in or been moved to radioactive environments.

If the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) and other government agencies decided they could cover-up the health hazards of radiation exposure in the United States, in spite of the media, congressional committees and other investigative bodies in America, how much easier it was to hide their activities in the Marshall Islands, remote from outside scrutiny. These agencies have been successful in hiding this information from Americans for more than two decades.

Interior Claims Scientists "Unbiased"

"I can assure you that the dozens of medical participants from private and public institutions who have participated in these medical surveys (in the Marshall Islands) not only are internationally recognized experts in their special fields but they have been objective in their outlook," said Ruth Van Cleve, Director of the Interior Dept.'s Office of Territorial Affairs, as recently as March, 1979.



Her statement referred to personnel of the Dept. of Energy (formerly AEC) funded Brookhaven National Laboratory and the U.S. Public Health Service, among other institutions.

Just how unbiased is the U.S. Public Health Service? In the face of strikingly clear information (from two studies in 1962 and 1965) linking radioactive fallout to leukemia and thyroid problems, they rigidly maintained that testing caused no harm; and in 1965 they suppressed the study that showed a higher than expected rate of leukemia in the Utah "fallout zone," to minimize publicity on a thyroid study they planned to conduct at that time.

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Another Nuclear Cover-Up

By Giff Johnson

(Vol. 6 #2, Summer, 1981)

Two American military men, stationed on Rongerik Atoll during the "Bravo" hydrogen bomb test at Bikini on March 1, 1954 have recently released statements showing that U.S. officials who made the decision to explode Bravo did so in full knowledge that winds were blowing east, and would carry dangerous radioactive fallout across inhabited Rongelap, Rongerik, Utirik and other atolls.

Their statements point to a 27 year cover up by U.S. officials who have maintained that the contamination of hundreds of Marshallese and U.S. servicemen by Bravo was "accidental" and caused by an "unpredicted shift in winds."

"Prior to and for weeks leading up to

the blast the prevailing upper level troughs indicated that wind was blowing to the vicinity of our island," said Gene Curbow, a veteran who was one of 28 Americans on Rongerik Atoll during the massive hydrogen bomb blast. Despite the fact that this weather information was regularly reported by radio to scientists and military officials at the Enewetak Joint Task Force-7 headquarters, U.S. government representatives have claimed since 1954 that the fallout which caused severe burns among the Rongelap people and Rongerik men was an accident.

Dr. Robert Conard, from 1954-1978 the head of the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC)/Department of Energy (DOE) medical program in the Marshall Islands, wrote in his 22

The Radiation Connection...

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What about the role of the AEC and the DOE in this cover-up? They joined with the Public Health Service to reassure the public that there were no dangers from fallout in full knowledge of evidence to the contrary. When in 1965 the leukemia study was submitted for publication, a high level AEC-Health Service-White House meeting agreed they would submit suggestions for how to change or influence this study so that it wouldn't cause an "adverse public reaction" and jeopardize the Nevada nuclear testing program.

Government Guilty of Cover-Up

Shortly after his nephew died of leukemia in 1972, Nelson Anjain from Rongelap wrote to Dr. Robert Conard, who has been in charge of Brookhaven's medical program in the Marshalls since 1954: "You've never sat down and really helped us honestly with our problems. You have told the people that the 'worst is over' then Lekoj Anjain died. I am very worried that we will suffer again and again."

The AEC/DOE is guilty of violating the Marshallese people's basic human rights guaranteed by Article Six of the United Nations Trusteeship Agreement which states that the U.S. must "protect the health of the inhabitants." The recently revealed AEC/DOE cover-up substantiates what concerned citizens and scientists have been claiming for years. Brookhaven can no longer denounce people who have suggested Brookhaven is not taking the necessary precautions to prevent the people from continued radiation exposure.

What about Brookhaven's reassurances? Why were the people of Rongelap allowed to return to their fallout covered island three years after the 1954 "accident" without extensive radiological surveys being conducted prior to their return? A Japanese medical team commented "the people of Rongelap received a considerable amount of radioactive nuclides from the environment... it was a great mistake to permit the people of Rongelap to return without sufficient work having been done to remove radioactive

pollution from the island."

What of the people from Utrik who were assured that their radiation exposure from the Bikini Hydrogen test was so "small" they would not feel any adverse effects—and suddenly in 1977 their cancer and thyroid disease rate skyrocketed to equal that of the much more heavily exposed Rongelap population while Brookhaven scientists lamely said they had "the best experts in the U.S." working on the problem and that it was "quite unpredicted."

What of the Bikini fiasco? The people were returned from exile to a highly radioactive island, nonetheless declared safe for habitation by the AEC. Then, a half dozen years after their return their body burdens of radiation reached twice what the AEC/DOE considers to be the maximum "safe limit" in the U.S. and the people were again evacuated. Conard's summary of the Bikini problem was that "... it is extremely unlikely that any radiation effects, somatic or genetic, will be detected in this group."

People Need "Healthy Mental Attitude"

"The need for further medical examinations is not indicated based on possible radiation effects associated with such low doses. However, it is clear that the psychological effects of living on contaminated islands... indicate that regular medical check-ups on both Bikini and Enewetak people who have lived or are living on contaminated islands are most desirable. The reassurance to the people by a group of doctors will do much to help them maintain a healthy mental attitude toward the problem..." Conard concluded. (emphasis added)

Brookhaven is admitting that the people are living on "contaminated" islands—but to them the people's exposure to "such low doses" of radiation poses no significant health hazards. Even when this exposure was twice the maximum considered a safe level in the U.S.

How many times can scientists be wrong—maybe dead wrong—and still be considered competent to provide medical care and treatment?

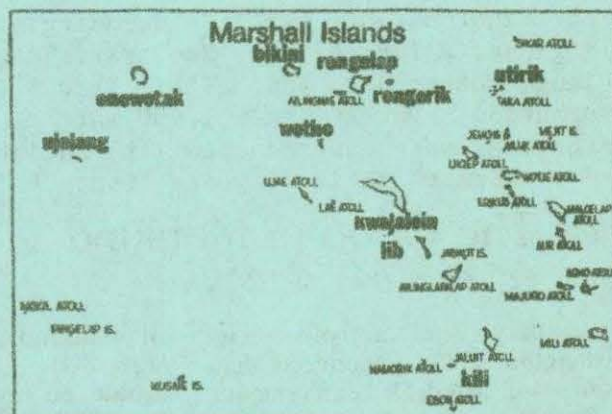
Nuclear Cover-Up

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year report: "An unpredicted shift in winds caused deposition of significant amounts of fallout on four inhabited atolls east of Bikini." An AEC press release after Bravo noted that the people "were unexpectedly exposed to some radioactivity."

In a telephone interview, Curbow said Conard's "statement is totally inaccurate. We were measuring wind velocity and weather conditions -- the wind was blowing right at us." Curbow and Donald Baker, another of the Air Force weather men on Rongerik, point out military command chose to ignore the unfavorable conditions.

They arrived on Rongerik -- about 125 miles east of Bikini Atoll -- six weeks before the Bravo test. Curbow stated: "We had the normal weather station items which gave us the capability of making station observations and upper level observations



up to and including 100,000 feet above sea level." Baker, an Air Force radio operator, said their job on Rongerik was "to provide this weather information and Enewetak's job was to be sure the conditions were absolutely right before they exploded any atomic weapons."

Nuclear Cover-Up...

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The 28 Americans on Rongerik, just as the Rongelap and Utirik people, were not warned when the Bravo test would be exploded. Baker described the test at Bikini, more than 100 miles away:

"The sky was suddenly completely lit up, brighter, if possible than daylight itself...The shock wave that came after the initial blast was so tremendous that all the pre-fabricated buildings were damaged in one way or another. Almost all of the windows just blew out."

Later in the morning they were startled to see the radioactive ash falling on them. Baker said "if you can imagine a snow storm in the middle of the Pacific, that's what it was like."

Soon after, many of the more heavily exposed people developed burns on their arms, necks, backs and feet and their hair fell out. In the years following their exposure the Marshallese have had an abnormally high rate of thyroid disease and cancer, miscarriages, stillbirths and other health problems. The Americans have suffered a similar fate.

Although the Rongelap and Utirik people and the American military men suffered the most serious effects from Bravo, many other atolls and single islands were contaminated with the radioactive fallout. In 1978 the U.S. DOE noted in a study that in addition to Enewetak, Bikini, Rongelap and Utirik, 10 other atolls and islands had "received intermediate range fallout from one or more of the megaton range tests," including: Ailinginae, Ailuk, Likiep, Rongerik, Taka, Ujelang, Wotho, Jemo and Mejit. This information, that at least 1,400 more Marshallese were contaminated with radiation wasn't released until 20 years after the

nuclear testing ended. And the DOE has made no attempts to provide this information to the people exposed.



Except for their initial examinations in 1954, Gene Curbow, Donald Baker and the other military men who were on Rongerik have received no medical follow up from the U.S. government, despite their exposure to a radiation dose at least 5 times that of the Utirik people. "We have received very poor treatment by our government," said Curbow, adding that "the Veterans Administration has a deaf ear to the problems we have...I have not received any medical treatment nor compensation from the government in this case."

Congress of Micronesia Representative Ataji Balos's statement in 1972 that the U.S. government "knowingly and consciously allowed the people of Rongelap and Utirik to be exposed" to fallout from the Bravo test in 1954, although vigorously denied by the U.S., has been proved true. And the Marshallese and Americans who were exposed are suffering the consequences.

"For The Good of Mankind..."

(Vol.4 #2, April/May, 1979)

In January 1946, Navy officials in Washington, D.C., announced that Bikini Atoll fitted all requirements for *Operation Crossroads*, designed to test the destructive power of nuclear weapons on naval vessels. When the U.S. military governor of the Marshalls went to Bikini in February, he told the people that American scientists were experimenting with nuclear weapons "for the good

of mankind and to end all world wars." He promised that their atoll would be returned after the tests were finished, and asked that they consent to be moved to another island. With more than 42,000 military, scientific and technical personnel, 250 naval ships and more than 150 observation aircraft poised to enter Bikini Atoll for *Operation Crossroads*, the 166 Bikinians had

little choice but to leave their island.

Less than two years later, in December 1947, the Navy decided to use another atoll, Enewetak, for a second series of atomic tests. The Enewetakese, like the Bikinians, were relocated by the United States quickly and with little planning to small, uninhabited atolls.

Even while the United States was

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"For the Good of Mankind..."

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removing the Marshallese from their islands, in July 1947 it was signing the United Nations Trusteeship Agreement for the U.S. Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (Micronesia). This agreement stated:

"In discharging its obligations, the administering authority [U.S.] shall: promote the economic advancement and self-sufficiency of the inhabitants, and to this end shall . . . protect the inhabitants against the loss of their land and resources."

In addition, this agreement bound the United States to "promote the social advancement of the inhabitants, and to this end . . . protect the rights and fundamental freedoms of all elements of the population without discrimination; and protect the health of the inhabitants. . . ."

After the relocation of the Marshallese, however, what happened during the next 12 years was that about 70 atomic and hydrogen bomb

blasts devastated the islands and irreversibly changed the lives of the people.

The Bikinians first moved about 100 miles east to Rongerik, an uninhabited atoll consisting of barely one-half square mile of land. Within two months, they expressed anxiety over the atoll's meager resources and made the first of many requests to return home. Within a year, the people faced starvation; a visiting American medical officer reported that the Bikinians were "visibly suffering from malnutrition." In 1948 the Bikinians were evacuated to a temporary tent city at the Navy base on Kwajalein.

Kili Island in the southern Marshalls was selected for their next home. Kili, a single island, has no lagoon or protected anchorage; heavy surf from November until late spring halts fishing and isolates the island. On the other hand, Kili had once supported a Japanese copra plantation, and U.S. authorities hoped that, while the Bikinians were

not a farming people, the island's agricultural possibilities would overcome its drawbacks. Thus, the Bikinians were forced to adapt to a completely alien environment.

In early December 1947, Washington officials announced without preliminaries, that Enewetak was to be used for the next series of bomb tests. In less than three weeks, the people of Enewetak were relocated to Ujelang, the westernmost atoll in the Marshalls. Like Rongerik and Kili it was also uninhabited, and for good reason. Ujelang has only a quarter of the land area of Enewetak and its 25-square-mile lagoon is less than 1/15 the size of Enewetak's 390-square-mile fish-filled lagoon.

Because the islands could not support the growing Marshallese populations, critical shortages of food and water occurred. More than once air drops of emergency food rations were needed to prevent starvation...

Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, Feb., 1979.

Bikinians Put to the Test

(Vol. 5 #3/4, Fall/Winter, 1980)

In 1969, the Atomic Energy Commission said: "[there is] virtually no radiation left on Bikini" and "the exposures to radiation of the Bikini people do not offer a significant threat to their health and safety."¹⁰ A small-scale cleanup and rehabilitation program was begun and by the early 1970s a few people had begun moving back.

Many Bikinians tell of Atomic Energy Commission scientists taking them to Bikini to demonstrate its safety. When the Bikinians refused to eat any local foods, fearing radiation exposure, the scientists would consume coconuts, fish and other foods in front of the islanders to convince them.¹¹ In 1972, however, the Bikinians expressed doubts about the safety of their atoll and voted not to return home. But the

government was committed to the resettlement and offered Marshallese government employees free food and housing if they would move to Bikini.



During an Atomic Energy Commission survey of the more than 100 people living on the atoll in 1975, the "presence of low levels of plutonium" in their urine was discovered. The Commission, and later the Department of Energy, did not consider this "radiologically significant."¹² By 1977, tests showed an 11-fold increase in the people's body burdens of cesium-137. Rather than remove the population from a

hazardous environment, however, the Department of Energy suggested that the Trust Territory government institute a complete feeding program, to reduce consumption of local foods, and thus exposure.

The Department seemed reluctant to give up what one Lawrence Livermore Laboratory study called "possibly the best available source of data for evaluating the transfer of plutonium across the gut wall after being incorporated into biological systems."¹³ The situation deteriorated further and by May 1978, a high percentage of the Marshallese body levels were above the maximum permissible dose allowed in the United States. The Bikinians were evacuated again. . . .

Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, Dec., 1980.

The United States conducted 66 atmospheric nuclear weapons tests in the Marshall Islands. Twenty-two years later the authorities continue to disagree on when the islands will be safe for resettlement.

Reluctant Bikinians Returned to "The Prison"

by Mike Malone

(Vol.3 #6, September/October, 1978)

BIKINI ATOLL—Andrew Jakeo was a young man, 36 years old, when the Americans first asked him to leave his homeland in 1946. Last month on Bikini—the site of 23 nuclear tests that ended in 1958—history repeated itself.

Jakeo, now a Bikini elder and traditional leader of 68 years, and about 140 other islanders reluctantly left their coral-and-sand atoll for the second time August 31, after learning that they were absorbing levels of radioactive cesium-137 at an alarmingly high rate.

Their departure did not come easy. When Trust Territory High Commissioner Adrian P. Winkel arrived on Bikini with nearly 40 newsmen from around the world, Jakeo and his people declared their intentions to stay on Bikini. For Jakeo and other Bikinians who came back here after being told by American scientists in 1968 that their homeland was safe, the news that they would be asked to leave was a bitter blow.

"I don't care about radiation on Bikini," Jakeo told the high commissioner through an interpreter. "I will send out my children and family if it is necessary. Bikini is my home, my freedom, my happiness. You can take my life now. Bury me beside my home, but I will never return to Kili."

After being told in 1946 that their removal for atomic testing would be for the "... good of mankind and to end all wars," the Bikini people trusted the Americans' assurances that they would be well cared for. But less than one year after their relocation to Rongerik Atoll, they were starving. In 1948 they were taken to Kili, an isolated island about one-half square mile in size...

An American teacher on Kili, Ralph Waltz, 36, recalled losing 40 pounds during one winter when six months passed without receiving a supply ship. He said many people refer to Kili as "the prison."

"Thirty years ago you (U.S.) took us to Kili and left us there," Jakeo told the high commissioner. "Then you forgot about us. Many years passed and your promises were not kept. Now you want to take us back to Kili. I am afraid you will forget about us again."

To ease the situation, High Commissioner Winkel brought news that Kili would merely be a temporary relocation site. Twenty-eight wooden tin-roof houses have been built there, in addition to a dispensary, school, and promise of a dock to be built soon—all part of a \$15 million relocation program now being considered by the U.S. Congress.

But the Bikinians want to eventually return back to Bikini Atoll to Eneu Island which is thought to be safe by scientists, although radiological tests will continue there



Bikinians prepare to leave atoll: a repeat of 1946.
(photo: M. Malone)

until next year. Failing that, the Bikinians have asked to be given land in Hawaii or on the U.S. mainland.

However, a day of delicate negotiations with High Commissioner Winkel brought an agreement whereby Jakeo and his followers, about 30 people, would leave Bikini, but not to go to Kili. Instead, they will settle on an uninhabited island in Majuro Atoll near the Marshall's district center and medical facilities. The rest of the Bikinians agreed to resettle on Kili.

Before leaving Bikini, Winkel acknowledged the "regrettable" error made by the scientists in 1968 when Bikini was declared "safe," and praised the people for their "responsible decision" to leave their homeland again.

"As far as the present risks are concerned," Winkel said, "we cannot afford to play God. The risk is indeed great. Ten years from now, who knows, maybe the scientists will determine Bikini safe again. But the risk exists if you stay." Medical examinations will be given to the Bikini people every three months to monitor their body levels of radioactivity.

Shortly before sunset that final day on Bikini, after all the islanders and their belongings were loaded aboard the two ships that came to take them away, Jakeo walked the length of his deserted home island alone—perhaps for the last time. As a ship's whistle sounded, Jakeo put his outrigger canoe into the blue lagoon and paddled out to the waiting vessel.

Bikinians Sue U.S. for \$450 Million

(Vol.6 #1, Spring, 1981)

The people of Bikini, relocated in 1946 for the United States nuclear testing program, have filed a \$450 million class action law suit against the U.S. government. The suit, filed on March 16, seeks compensation for "breaches of fiduciary duties" by the U.S. which have "resulted in substantial injuries including severe physical, emotional and financial injuries" for the Bikinians.

The suit was filed almost 35 years to the day of their relocation. 23 atomic and hydrogen bombs were tested at Bikini from 1946 to 1958.

The legal brief notes, among other things, that "on November 22, 1956, the Trust Territory Government and the Bikinians, who were not represented by counsel, entered into a purported agreement entitled

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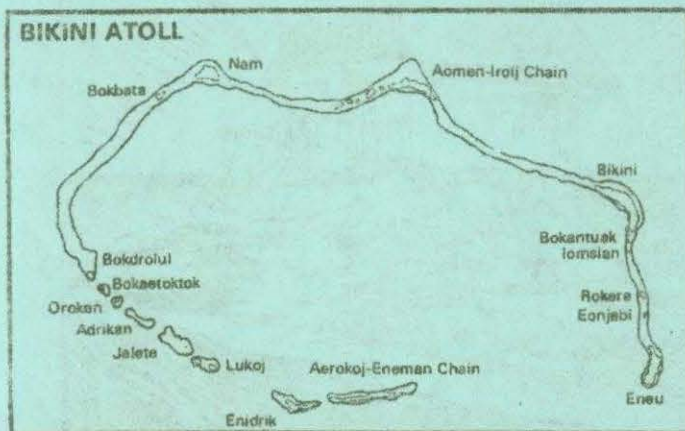
Bikinians Sue U.S.

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'Agreement in Principle Regarding Use of Bikini Atoll.'" The agreement allowed the U.S. to "occupy and use" Bikini "until such time as it determines it will no longer be necessary."

The U.S. "also induced the alabs who signed the 1956 document to agree that 'any future claims by Bikinians based on the use of Bikini by the Governments of the United States or the Trust Territory, or on the moving of the Bikini people from Bikini to Kili, shall be against them and not against the government,'" the law suit charges.

A major part of the brief focused on the



radiological condition of Bikini which forced a second evacuation of the people in 1978. The suit notes that "in order to assess the internal dose the Atomic Energy Commission made calculations based on certain dietary assumptions. Noting that detailed information on the Bikinians diet was 'largely lacking,' the report used as 'a starting point' a 1957 study by AEC researcher Gordon Dunning on the diet of the Rongelapese people.

"A reasonable estimate of the Bikinians coconut consumption, would have produced much greater radiation dose estimates and would have resulted in the conclusion that it was unsafe to live on Bikini and consume locally produced food," the brief said.

"The AEC made no attempt in 1967 to conduct an independent study of the Bikinians diet on Kili or to verify the 1957 Dunning report.

The brief concluded that while the U.S. "has made conflicting statements, the official U.S. position is that the Bikinians cannot safely return to Bikini Island for 30-60 years, and to Eneu Island (the second largest in the atoll) for 20-25 years."

30 Years of Broken Promises

by Henchi Balos

(Vol.6 #1, Spring, 1981)

Thirty-five years ago, the United States Government moved my people from our homeland - Bikini Atoll - so that it could test nuclear weapons there. My people did not want to leave Bikini. Bikini was their home and they had no other place to go. But when U.S. military officials came to Bikini with boats to move my people, we knew we had to leave.

Most of us still live on Kili today. It is a single island, not an atoll like Bikini, which was made up of 36 islands. Kili has one-sixth the land area of Bikini Atoll. It has no lagoon and no sheltered fishing ground...

The United States always told us that we could have our homeland back when it was no longer needed for nuclear testing. President Johnson told us in 1968 that the U.S. no longer needed our island and that it was safe for us to return home. The U.S. began to move us back to our homeland in the early 1970's. But the U.S. scientists were careless and wrong. Medical tests on our people who had eaten large amounts of radioactive food showed that Bikini was still not safe, and we were moved off again in 1978 and returned to Kili. That is

where we are today and that is where we expect to stay for many years, since the United States has announced that Bikini Atoll will be off-limits for between 30 and 60 years.

What did the United States get from the use of Bikini? It tested 23 nuclear bombs at Bikini and gained much of the scientific knowledge that forms the basis of the military defense of the U.S.

What did my people get from being moved off Bikini? Our homeland was destroyed. Our land is radioactive. Three of our islands were wiped off the face of the earth by the 1954 "Bravo" shot. Our people have been moved around to different islands. We nearly starved on Rongerik and we have had severe food shortages on Kili. Our housing on Kili, after all these years, is still temporary and inadequate. We have lost our fishing and boating skills. The United States has given us a trust fund, but that produces only \$40 a month per person.

The U.S. told us in 1978, when we were moved from Bikini a second time, that it would

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RADIATION CONTROVERSY CLOUDS ENEWETAK RETURN

(Vol. 5 #2, Summer, 1980)

Can the former site of 43 nuclear explosions be made safe for people to inhabit?

Following a three year, \$100 million nuclear "clean-up" of Enewetak Atoll in the Marshall Islands, the United States government says it is safe for the people to return to certain islands.

But considerable controversy is developing over whether or not the people can return safely to any of the islands. Because the majority of the nuclear bombs were tested in the northern half of the atoll, the U.S. government has hesitated to allow the people to resettle there. Nevertheless, on the basis of a disputed scientific study, the Enewetak people recently voted to return to these northern islands as well.

During the massive clean up operation, thousands of cubic yards of plutonium-saturated soil were scrapped off the islands and, with other radioactive debris, encased in a huge cement dome in an atomic bomb crater on Runit Island. This island will be off limits to the Enewetak people forever.

With increasing public awareness of health problems resulting from exposure to low level radiation, the U.S. Defense Nuclear Agency (DNA), coordinator of the clean up, went to great lengths to reassure the army personnel involved in the clean up that the strictest safety precautions were in effect.

30 Years of Broken Promises...

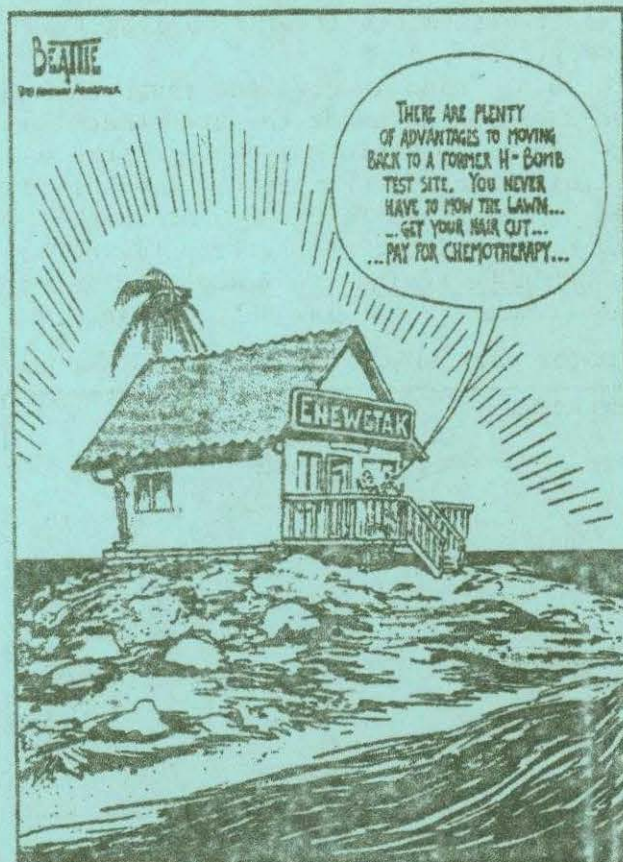
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"undertake a program for the permanent rehabilitation of Kili." No action has been taken in over two years to make Kili a permanent home. The U.S. Interior Department has now told us it does not have a moral obligation to pay us compensation for what has happened to us.

More than anything else, our people want to return to Bikini, our homeland. We were happy and secure before the United States moved us off our islands. We never wanted to leave. If we cannot go back to Bikini, the United States must pay for taking and destroying our homeland, for the hardship and suffering we have experienced, and for its failure to care for us.

Statement of Senator Henchi Balos, elected representative of the people of Bikini to the Marshall Islands legislature, at the filing of a lawsuit against the United States Government on March 16, 1981.

But inconsistencies in DNA policies and reports from soldiers and news reporters do not substantiate this claim by the DNA...



All men working in the area of Runit Is. where the plutonium contaminated soil was mixed with cement were required by the DNA to wear full protective suits to prevent exposure to radiation. But on other parts of the less than one mile long island, full protective gear was not mandatory, despite ongoing heavy equipment activity which unavoidably suspended contaminated dust into the air.

Press visitors to Enewetak in 1980 noticed similar inconsistencies in DNA safety standards. "Standing on any part of Runit Island," said a reporter, "you must wear rubber boots and a face mask to prevent breathing plutonium particles. But standing on the concrete dome (a mere 15 feet away) you are not required to wear any protective gear at all."

In this atmosphere of uncertainty, the 450 Enewetak people are beginning to return home, after living in exile for 30 years on tiny Ujelang Atoll...

Of Enewetak, the U.S. government states that the southern islands -- Medren, Japtan and Enewetak -- are "relatively uncontaminated" and are safe to inhabit. Millions of dollars have been spent on building houses,

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Radiation Controversy Clouds Enewetak Return

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community facilities and replanting thousands of coconut trees and other fruits and vegetables on these islands.

No houses have been built nor replanting undertaken on the northern islands because the Department of Energy (DOE) states they are too radioactive for safe habitation for at least 30 years.

This has caused problems because traditionally the Enewetak people have been divided into two distinct groups: the dri-Engebi in the north and dri-Enewetak in the south. Both groups have their own chiefs and land. Not surprisingly, the dri-Engebi are reluctant to live on another chief's land.

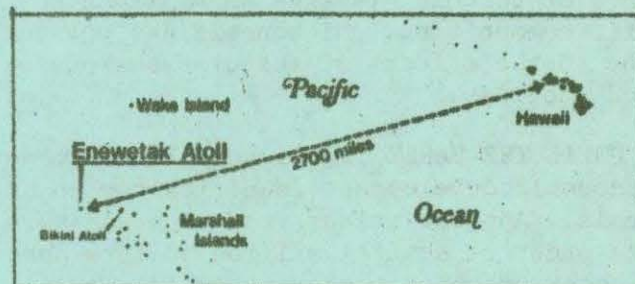
In September 1979, the radiological information about Enewetak was presented by the DOE to the people. Following this, two scientists hired by Micronesian Legal Services, a U.S. government sponsored group representing the Enewetak people, testified that their study showed all the islands to be safe for rehabilitation, including northern Engebi island.

The chances of adverse health effects were so small, said Drs. Michael Bender and Bertrand Brill, that "cancer mortality in the lifetime of the population is estimated to be less than a single case." They asserted that the DOE overstated the risk present on the atoll.

But the objectivity of the study conducted by Bender and Brill, of the U.S. government funded Brookhaven National Laboratory, has been questioned. Dr. Rosalie Bertell, a consultant to the New York State and Wisconsin Medical Associations said of the study: "The population of Enewetak has the right to know that a value judgement has been made for them, namely that induction of cancer is their only concern. They may, if informed about hypothyroidism, aplastic ane-

mia, premature aging, benign tumors and other such disorders, make a different judgement."

Moreover, she continued, "they 'reduced' the radiation dose of the inhabitants of Engebi by averaging in the population less exposed. This is like telling one member of a family his or her risk of lung cancer is lowered if the other nonsmoking members of the family are included and an 'average' risk given. It is a scientifically ridiculous approach to public health!"



Glenn Alcalay, a former Peace Corps Volunteer in the Marshall Islands, said the problem is the "inherent conflict of interest in having Brookhaven researchers assess U.S. government data." He continued, "the history of the U.S. testing program was one of repeated mistakes and miscalculations," adding that "non-government radiation experts" should be included in all such surveys.

In fact, as early as 1974 a researcher involved in the Bikini/Enewetak testing program during the 1950's wrote to Micronesian Legal Service expressing concern over the "highly questionable recommendations regarding acceptable levels of plutonium in the soils and the very doubtful merits of proceeding with the resettlement of Enewetak Atoll on the basis of recommendations of a Task Group assembled by the Atomic Energy Commission and the Dept. of Defense."

The U.S. government is refusing to take notice of the many legitimate questions from government agencies, scientists and Marshall Islands residents about Enewetak's safety.

Moreover, since deporting an independent team of Japanese scientists invited by Marshall Islands leaders to investigate the radiation problems in 1971, the U.S. government has steadfastly refused to allow independent monitoring of the Marshallese people.

In hailing the clean up as a "remarkable success," the U.S. appears intent, once again, to ignore potentially serious health hazards for the Enewetak people.

NOW AVAILABLE...
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See coupon on
page 62 for
details.

MODERNIZATION AND HEALTH IN MICRONESIA

by Gregory Dever

(Vol.5 #2, Summer, 1980)

The history of the Pacific Islands is one of great migrations and voyages of discovery. It is a history of contact with western civilizations which at times has been hazardous to Pacific Islander health. Island populations were often decimated by violence, war, and disease introduced by explorers, whalers and missionaries. Now, epidemiological studies indicate that modernization and urbanization carry the risk of increased incidence of chronic diseases among isolated Pacific communities. Micronesia has not been immune to the effects of the diseases of so called progress.

UNTIL THE EARLY 1960's very little money for economic development found its way to Micronesia. Appropriations from Congress were on the order of several million dollars annually, most of which was spent on the Trust Territory bureaucracy.

But in the early 1960's, the Kennedy administration -- embarrassed by the polio epidemic in the Marshalls -- generated a different policy toward Micronesia. ...Appropriations for Micronesia during and after the Kennedy administration increased rapidly, as did the federal aid programs.

With the new influx of money into the Trust Territory, the tempo of modernization and urbanization increased and its effects upon Micronesian health became more noticeable. And like most island cultures, the Micronesians were unprepared for such dramatic unanticipated urban change with its crowding, limited resources and facilities, and lack of information on how to cope with non-traditional problems.

Unplanned urban sprawls developed in the district centers which drew people from more traditional outer islands and villages with the lure of jobs and a cash economy. But jobs were not always available and the prices were high. Living conditions often became unsanitary and the usual traditional-social supports with its restraints were eroding.

As health providers we recognize some of the effects that unchecked urbanization has upon the prevalence of infectious disease associated with crowding, poor housing and squalor. We know that respiratory diseases are often related to automobile and industrial pollution. The traditionally sound foods of the Micronesians -- fish, taro, yams, fruit and leafy vegetables -- are becoming more difficult to

find in the district centers. As a result, urban dwellers are changing to more expensive canned food diets. If there is no money for these foods, then diets become deficient in protein and vitamins. Nursing mothers are switching from breast milk -- with all its benefits -- to expensive canned milk prone to spoil under unrefrigerated and unsanitary conditions.

Now, in several areas of the Trust Territory, the well intentioned surplus USDA food program has further increased Micronesian dependence on non-indigenous foods. In many areas, the taro patches are untended, the breadfruit unharvested, and there is no need to fish for protein. The perpetuation of free food distribution has not only disrupted traditional food distribution methods but is also used by local politicians as an election issue -- vote for me, free food. How can one refuse?

The psycho-social problems of alcoholism, suicide, injury by violence, juvenile delinquency and mental breakdowns are increasing and reflect the stress of change and the eroding traditional supports. Alcohol and soft drinks are one of the major imports into Micronesia. Suicide in young male Micronesians between the ages of 15 to 30 is the leading cause of death. Caught between fostered unrealistic expectations and the loss of traditional values, young Micronesians have learned to hate themselves as well as their American trustees.

An analysis of the results (of a study of prevalence of disease and risk factors by level of modernization in Micronesia) showed clear patterns whereby people living in modernized areas had more serious health problems than those residing in traditional regions.

Guam after World War II was still a relatively traditional Pacific island. But then it became a commercial success. Its population trebled to over 100,000 permanent residents, plus 200,000 tourists a year. Eighty thousand registered automobiles jam its narrow roads. Now motor vehicle accidents are the second most common cause of death. 5,000 commercial flights yearly bring more migrants and tourists. Much of Guam's reef has died and refuse litters the island. Success is expensive. By age 60, 30 percent of the population have hypertension.

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MODERNIZATION AND HEALTH

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The systolic blood pressure patterns for Palauans in the district center of Koror are similar to that of the Guamanians. But the Palauans in the traditional areas had much lower blood pressures at the younger ages. Although it rose with age, it did not reach the level of the youngest Palauans in the modern areas. The prevalence of ulcers, asthma and other chronic diseases is higher in Koror than the traditional areas.

There are also clear cut differences in the blood levels of sugar and cholesterol. These latter findings correlate with the dietary and life style histories which revealed that the people of Koror ate much more animal fat, they were physically less active, more obese, smoked more cigarettes, drank more alcohol, took more medicines and had more psychological problems than the people of the traditional areas.

In closing, I quote a poignant letter from a Palauan physician to Dr. Dwayne Reed which articulates a professional Micronesian's

feelings concerning the force of modernization: "The tempo of life here in Koror has changed a lot. For example, there are more cars in spite of the conditions of the roads. There is an increased incidence of suicide here over the other districts in Micronesia, and a much greater incidence of homicide. I am in psychiatry here and definitely the increased incidence of schizophrenia and other forms of mental diseases including alcoholism is alarming. I am sure that you will be surprised at an increased incidence of hypertension and other cardiovascular diseases at this time. Our customs and culture have been invaded, adulterated and at times done away with overnight by Spaniards, Germans, Japanese and American tourists, televisions, meat, butter, sugar, cars, speedboats, planes, ships, electricity, status, money and more money. People appear to be drifting with the tide -- reaching for the unreachable star."

Gregory Dever M.D., now working in Guam, was formerly a Peace Corps Volunteer in Palau.

Suicide: A Growing Crisis for Micronesian Youth

By Don Rubinstein

(Vol. 5 #3/4, Fall/Winter, 1980)

Since Hezel's 1976 article (Micronesian Reporter, 4th quarter) first called public attention to the increasing rate of suicide in Micronesia, there has been con-

siderable concern over causes and solutions to this problem, as well as skepticism over actual magnitude of the rates.

Many have made the assumption that the epidemiology of suicide...must be associated with rapid Americanization and urbanization occurring in Micronesia. This article will report some preliminary findings from research on suicide in Micronesia, and discuss the fallacies of some common assumptions about the causes of suicide.

This research has involved interviewing several hundred families and friends of recent suicides throughout Micronesia in order to understand something about the lives of the individuals, and situations in which the suicides took place.

COMPARISON OF RATES

...Cultural definitions and attitudes towards suicide partly determine the reported rates and comparisons among different national rates may be misleading. For example, many single-car "accidental"

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Micronesian Population Up 13%

(Vol 6 #2 Summer 1981)

High Commissioner Daniel High reports that the unofficial population of the Trust Territory, following a September 1980 census, is 116,667. This figure does not include the Northern Marianas, where the census was conducted as part of the U.S. national census. High noted that several areas still need to be verified. This population figure represents a 13% increase since the 1973 census.

Although up-to-date unemployment figures were not available at the 1981 U.N. Trusteeship Council meeting in New York, High said, "I anticipate that the figure of approximately 19 percent which we cited last week will be found to be accurate...It should be understood that, with over half of the population residing on remoter outer islands within the subsistence economy, any figures citing unemployment must be carefully defined and understood," he added.

Suicide: A Growing Crisis for Micronesian Youth

deaths in the U.S. may be partly intentional, just as a number of "natural" deaths among elderly Micronesians who socially withdraw and refuse to take food may also be a masked form of suicide.

It is more revealing to examine the age and sex distribution of suicides in one population than to make overall comparisons between rates of different countries.

Micronesia represents a unique picture in this respect. In western countries suicides increase proportionately with age and male suicides outnumber female about 3 to 1. In Micronesia, the overall ratio of male/female suicides is 15:1, varying from a low of about 10:1 in Palau, Yap, and Truk, to a high of about 50:1 in the Marshalls. Furthermore, the median age among males in most Micronesian groups is under 20 years.

...Throughout Micronesia, suicide is overwhelmingly predominant among young males between 15-24. During the past 5 years, the average annual suicide rate among Trukese boys between 15-19 years of age, when adjusted against the size of that population, is 243/100,000. This is over 10 times the recorded rate for 15-19 year old boys in Los Angeles County, which reportedly has the highest rate of anywhere in the U.S. for that age group.

If we examine the rate of increase in suicides during the past 20 years within different Micronesian states, the fastest rate of increase has been in those areas which now have the clearest clustering of suicides among young adolescent males. Palau, significantly, has maintained a stable suicide rate during the past 20 years; Truk and the Marshalls, on the other hand, have shown an eightfold increase in male suicides from the 1960's to 1970's. All of this clearly affirms that the focus of Micronesia's recent suicides is among the young male population. Consequently we must understand the situations and problems facing young Micronesian males to uncover the roots of the present suicide phenomenon.

THE URBANIZATION HYPOTHESIS

There is no clear evidence that suicide is directly associated with the problems of district center urbanization and rapid transition towards American life

styles. Rural Madolenimw municipality in Ponape has proportionately more suicides than either Ponape's congested Sokehs municipality, or the Kolonia area. In Truk lagoon, relatively rural Uman and Toloas both have significantly higher rates of suicide than the more populous and developed Moen.

Comparing different linguistic groups in Micronesia, Yapese speakers have proportionately the highest rate of suicide, and Ponapeans the lowest. Furthermore, certain isolated outer islands such as Fais in Yap State show a history of uniquely high suicide rates for the past several generations. All of these patterns confound any attempts to "explain" suicide by commonalities such as degree of urbanization or Americanization.

If suicide does not appear to be a "stress-related" ailment of modernization and urbanization, is it perhaps related to the frustrations of young Micronesians returning to their rural communities after spending time in the district center or at school in Guam or the U.S.? There is little evidence for this hypothesis either. The great majority of suicides have been among young men who grew up and were still living in their home community. There are extremely few suicides of individuals who have been away to college. The tale of the sons returning home from abroad and finding it impossible to reintegrate into their family and community - although a common motif in the new Pacific literature - is nearly non-existent among the recent Micronesian suicides.

The individuals who commit suicide are, for the most part, "normal" young men in the eyes of their friends and community. Some are described as especially volatile and combative, others as unusually shy and quiet, and some are praised as generous and helpful young men - but nearly none of the young suicide victims were ill or appeared depressed or severely disturbed, emotionally troubled, or mentally imbalanced. The typical reaction of parents and friends is total surprise; little in the behavior or conversation of most suicide victims gave any clues as to their intentions.

SUICIDE SITUATIONS

Indeed, the aspect of the suicides which makes them so difficult to under-

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Suicide: A Growing Crisis for Micronesian Youth

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stand is their suddenness. Consider one typical case - "Joe," a 17-year-old student in 10th grade, the eldest of 5 children, living at home with his parents, and drinking a few times a week with friends. One Saturday night he came home drunk, and when he asked his mother for some food, she refused and scolded him for drinking. "Joe" had never attempted or even spoken of suicide, as far as his parents know. but after his mother scolded him, he went into the bathroom, and kneeling, hanged himself with his belt from the doorknob.

Most of the suicides seem to occur in situations of sudden anger, rather than as the culmination of a series of personal losses or defeats, or of prolonged depression and withdrawal. The suicides appear predominantly as acts of impulse.

Different themes seem to characterize suicide situations among the different Micronesian cultural groups. Among the Trukese cases, there is a recurrent pattern of young men (and occasionally young women) hanging themselves after being scolded or perhaps beaten by a parent or an elder brother. The parental scolding or rebuke is often in response to some demand from the son - even as trivial as a few dollars for beer or cigarettes - but commonly the demand is symptomatic of a conflictful and overly dependent relationship of the young man to his parents, which has persisted for some time.

A rather different pattern is evident among the Marshallese suicides. Here we have found a recurrent theme of the "cuckold's suicide" - young men taking their lives when they discover or suspect that their girlfriend or wife is unfaithful. Among the Marshallese suicides there is also a theme of "lover's dilemma" suicides - as when a young man is involved with two women and solves the dilemma of his indecision by ending his life.

LOOKING AHEAD

As yet we have only a preliminary understanding of the social meanings and

psychodynamics associated with Micronesia's suicide epidemic. We do know that the high suicide rate is exclusively an adolescent male phenomenon. We also know that the situations which precipitate suicides are characteristically domestic and family problems, and that typically the suicide is an impulsive response to such a problem. This suggests that the structural and value shifts which Micronesian culture is undergoing have created new tensions and demands along particular lines of relationship which appear to be placed somewhat differently among the different Micronesian cultural groups. In Truk it appears that young men experience difficulty typically within vertical, family relations - that is, in authority relations with elder for adolescent males.

All of this should suggest that there are no simply causal explanations or solutions to Micronesia's suicide problem. Unlike a problem such as high blood pressure, one cannot simply recommend a change of diet and life-style as a sure cure. The complex cultural changes within Micronesia are creating "pressure" at certain points which many young Micronesian men unavoidably encounter during the critical adolescent transition into adult roles and responsibilities. To the extent that the discontinuity in values between Micronesian youth and the pre-war generation of their parents is partly responsible for the structural tension placed upon adolescents today (and thus the high adolescent suicide rate), we can plausibly foresee a reduction in suicide as the current youth come of age and begin to raise their own families. In the meantime, whatever programs can be developed to aid Micronesian young men in gaining some sense of purpose and commitment, and to facilitate their transition into adulthood, will provide an urgently needed service to a troubled generation.

(Don Rubinstein has worked for extended periods in Fais, Yap and in Truk. He is presently doing post-doctoral research in medical anthropology at the University of Hawaii)

Kwajalein

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home islands. Since the use agreements obligating us to make our islands available expired last year, we are now legally free to do so.

"Therefore, I call on President Reagan 61

and U.S. military authorities who operate the Kwajalein Missile Range to declare a moratorium on any further U.S. nuclear weapons delivery system tests at Kwajalein until we conduct the August 13 referendum so our people can safely return to their islands, as is their right."

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The Pacific Concerns Resource Center in Honolulu, established by the Nuclear Free Pacific Conference/1980 which represented 17 countries, is now filling requests for resource material on nuclear, environmental, independence, military and other issues affecting the Pacific.

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