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# INFORMATION AND EDUCATION FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT IN MICRONESIA



Case Study by DAVID I. HITCHCOCK, JR.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE A/CDC/MR

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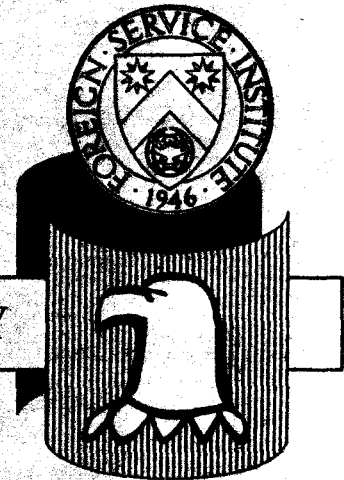
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE



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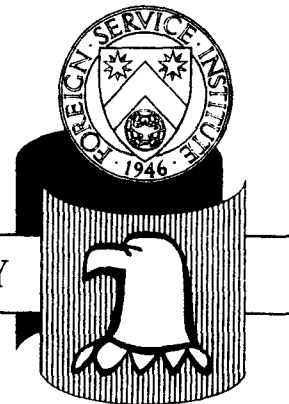
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Preface

This paper deals with the preparations being made in Micronesia for a plebiscite in which the people of these western Pacific islands will decide their political, post-trusteeship future. It was prepared while the author was a member of the Department of State's Senior Officer Seminar in Foreign Policy, a ten-month program in which about twenty-five officers from the Department of State and other agencies dealing in foreign affairs study recent trends in the United States and in U.S. foreign policy. One of the requirements of the Seminar is an individually executed, scholarly research paper involving up to three weeks of travel and three weeks of writing. Each officer suggests his own topic, but papers which can be helpful to various government offices are welcome.

The author spent seventeen days in Micronesia in late March and early April, 1974. It was his first visit to these beautiful islands and his introduction to the charming and capable people of Micronesia.

The paper has been prepared with two audiences in mind: those who are not especially familiar with Micronesia and those who are deeply involved in the current efforts in the islands to prepare for a plebiscite on future political status. It is sincerely hoped that the views expressed herein--which are the personal views of the author alone--and the specific suggestions for strengthening education for self-government efforts in Micronesia will be informative to the non-expert and helpful to those in Micronesia who are responsible for these pre-plebiscite, educational efforts.

Over one hundred persons were interviewed in the course of putting this paper together; and many of the ideas stem from discussions with them. Hopefully, they have all been quoted or paraphrased correctly. Without their friendly and patient assistance, the paper quite obviously could never have been written.

Despite the generous help received from these officials and private persons, the results--including any inaccuracies--are the responsibility of the author alone.

May 1974

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## INFORMATION AND EDUCATION FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT IN MICRONESIA

"In the times to come, we will look to the United States for friendship and aid; but, whatever our relationship with the United States, whether as an independent nation or an associated free state, we must also look to Micronesia, look to ourselves. We maintain that the basic ownership of these islands rests with Micronesians and so does the basic responsibility of governing them."

July 1969 Statement by the  
Future Political Status Commission  
of the Congress of Micronesia

### Introduction

With these words written five years ago, the people of Micronesia started along the road to self-government, a road they have not known since the days of Magellan, more than four hundred and fifty years ago.

Since 1969, members of the Congress of Micronesia have held seven rounds of talks with U.S. negotiators over the future political status of the islands (known officially as the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands); and these discussions have now led to agreement on the basic steps leading to self-government. These steps include the holding of a Micronesian constitutional convention within the next year and of a national plebiscite on the question of Micronesia's future political status with the United States. Such a plebiscite is implicit in Article 1 of the United Nations Trusteeship Agreement adopted by the Security Council on April 2, 1947, which instructs the administering authority to ". . . promote the development of the inhabitants of the trust territory toward self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of the Trust Territory (T.T.) and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned. . . ."

Fully aware of the crucial importance of these decisions to the people of Micronesia and recognizing the importance of assuring as wide an understanding as possible of the political, economic and social alternatives facing the islanders, the negotiators agreed on October 15, 1973 that the Executive Branch of the Trust Territory (T.T.) Administration (headquartered in Saipan) would launch a major, accelerated program of "Education for Self-Government" (referred to hereafter as "ESG"). This program would be designed, as Secretary of Interior Morton put it in a January 24, 1974 address to the people of Micronesia, to "reach all areas and all levels of society . . . the final decision on your future will be yours to make. Our main interest is to ensure that the choices are well understood and that

whatever agreement is reached will serve the best interests of all."

This paper will examine the purposes, plans and content of the Education for Self-Government program. We will discuss problems ESG faces in Micronesia, the various ESG projects, the ESG role of indigenous mass media in Micronesia, and the involvement in ESG of Micronesia's educational institutions. We will also examine the timing and sequence of political events in Micronesia over the next few years as they effect the success of ESG efforts. A number of recommendations will be offered which may be helpful to those involved in Micronesia's preparations for self-government. While this paper's chief focus is on the short-run political education effort, some of the recommendations aim at assisting Micronesia over a longer period.

### Micronesia, Past and Present

Essential to understanding the task of education for self-government is some geographic, historical, economic and cultural background to Micronesia. The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands consists of three archipelagos, the Marshalls, the Carolines and the Marianas (minus Guam which is an unincorporated territory of the U.S.). About one hundred of the 2,100 islands and atolls are inhabited. While the Trust Territory is 2,300 miles wide and covers about three million square miles of the western Pacific, the total, combined land area is about 716 square miles, less than Rhode Island. Approximately seventy percent of the islands' total population of 115,000 is in or near the six district capital towns; the rest is widely scattered. Four of the six political-administrative districts are in the Carolines: Palau, Yap, Truk and Ponape; the capital is now in Saipan, the Marianas (which form a fifth district); and in the Marshalls--the sixth district--far to the East and closest to Hawaii, are Kwajalein, Eniwetok, and Bikini, atolls of wartime and nuclear testing fame. Under Spanish rule from the 16th to the late 19th centuries, the islands were then purchased by Germany. Japan's World War I take-over of the islands was legitimized in 1920 by a League of Nations Category "C" Mandate.<sup>1</sup> In 1947, the islands were placed under the United Nations Trusteeship system with the United States assuming the administering authority. At the request of the United States, the Security Council designated the islands as a "strategic area," the only trusteeship so designated by the United Nations, which entitles the U.S. to restrict entry into the area as well as to establish bases and station armed forces on the Territory. The U.S. plans to build an air base and port on Tinian in the Marianas and lease land in Palau for possible future development of port facilities, a logistics support base, and for military training purposes. The only major U.S. military establishment on the islands now is the Army's missile tracking station and ABM test center on Kwajalein.

From 1947 to 1951, the islands were administered by the U.S. Navy. In 1951, the Department of the Interior assumed this responsibility except in the Marianas which were not turned over to Interior until 1962.

Most of the people of the Trust Territory speak one of six local languages; altogether there are nine and possibly eleven mutually

unintelligible tongues spoken in the area, not counting English (understood by perhaps 40%) and Japanese (understood by about 40% of older Micronesians).

Until the early 1960's, the U.S. effort in Micronesia was mainly focused on public health and recovery from the damage of the war. The annual budget for the islands was kept below \$7.5 million until 1963. Two words, "benign neglect," are frequently used to describe the situation which existed in Micronesia until the early 1960's. Even today, economic development in at least some of the districts such as Palau has not reached 1940 levels. In the 1930's, some 70,000 Japanese colonialists throughout Micronesia exploited Micronesia's copra, fish, bauxite, phosphate and sugar, primarily, of course, for Japan's needs, not those of Micronesia. The 1937 Palau fish catch was 32,000,000 pounds. The catch now in Palau is from 5-18 million pounds. The Japanese sugar crop on Saipan alone was worth \$6 million. That crop is now non-existent.<sup>2</sup>

Financial support sharply increased in the late 1960's, and today has reached a combined total in grants and services of about \$70 million a year. There has been solid progress in education, public health, air transportation and, to a lesser degree, communications. But roads, sea transport, local industry and agriculture all remain underdeveloped by pre-war standards. As imports of goods and services have increased, exports have actually decreased, leaving the islands ever more dependent on the United States. For 1972-1973, exports totaled \$1.8 million and imports \$26 million, plus \$3.5 million in revenues from tourism. About 85-90% of the Trust Territory government's revenue is appropriated by the U.S. Congress, and \$6.2 million is collected locally in taxes and import duties. Various studies have concluded that Micronesia could considerably increase its income from copra, fish and tourism. Visitors to the islands, who numbered 47,000 in 1973, may reach 100,000 by 1976. But whatever the level of local income which may be generated over the next decade, it is clear that Micronesian economic self-sufficiency remains a far-off dream, a fact that is increasingly discussed in the debates over the islands' future political status. "The choice is whether to raise Micronesian living standards to artificial levels by foreign capital investment and government subsidy, or to develop economic viability among Micronesians to a point where they can be more self-sufficient."<sup>3</sup>

Along with the growth of primary and secondary education, there has been much that the U.S. can be proud of in the development of local democratic political institutions. District legislatures elected in part or whole were established in the 1950's. A directly elected Council of Micronesia, formed in 1960 to represent all six districts, was expanded into a bi-cameral Congress of Micronesia (COM). This first met in 1965 and has been playing an increasingly important role. Its control over funding, however, remains limited as most of the money is supplied and earmarked by Washington--although in consultation with the Congress of Micronesia. In addition, the U.S. has fostered the growth of a Micronesian civil service. By 1973, Micronesians manned about 90% of all positions in the bureaucracy, including five of the six District Administrator slots and several of the Department heads in the T.T. Headquarters in Saipan. Without much question, the Congress of Micronesia (excepting, of course, the fact of U.S. administration) has been the single most important unifying influence in Micronesia during its first decade. And the drive for self-

government has until very recently come mainly from this political body. Pressure on the U.S. to grant autonomy has also stemmed from the United Nations and its Trusteeship Council which annually reports on the islands' progress. Of the original eleven United Nations Trusteeships, only two have not yet achieved self-government: New Guinea which will become officially independent next year (as part of Papua-New Guinea), and Micronesia.

Despite the different languages and cultures, the vast distances between islands and the scarcity until the last decade of education above primary school, there exists today a certain degree of awareness of national entity mostly in and around the district centers.<sup>4</sup> Quite naturally, the farther away from district capitals one travels, the less awareness one finds of a government in Saipan or anywhere else.

The concept of national unity has been fostered to some extent by the United States. A national day was established, a flag designed, an anthem written, several textbooks prepared. More important, a group of young Micronesians, mostly from two regional high schools in Truk and Ponape, gained from that common experience a bond of friendship and a political awareness fostered further (for some) by higher educational experience in Guam, Hawaii or the U.S. mainland. They nurtured the idea of national unity and later, national independence, ideas that many of these same men still strive for as the first generation of Micronesia's elected leaders. Unfortunately, as high schools have developed in each of the principal islands, the Truk and Ponape schools are becoming less regional, a fact counter-balanced somewhat by the establishment in 1970 of a regional, two-year teacher training college in Ponape, an 18-month, regional, vocational training center in Palau, a nursing school in Saipan, and a privately funded Agricultural and Trade School in Ponape. Local and Congressional elections have also encouraged political awareness and to some extent a sense of island unity. Much slower to develop has been the realization that the Trusteeship will not last much longer; and that during the Trusteeship years, the people of "urban" Micronesia have become accustomed to a style of living far above the still prevalent subsistence level lives of their outer island cousins. Political "modernization" of Micronesia, with half of all wage earners working for government, has dramatically shifted the population from a grass skirt life casually gained from the soil and sea to a white collar existence and a government paycheck for paperwork performed behind thousands of desks in air-conditioned offices all over Micronesia. This new bureaucracy in the population centers has itself become the islands' main industry, served by more and more taxis, bars, theaters, super markets and other modern-day services.

Existing side-by-side with this modern polity and to some extent impeding the development of national loyalty are various forms of traditional leadership by hereditary chiefs. While many of their former responsibilities are now carried out by the T.T. government or elected officials, and while education has weakened their hold on younger people, the chiefs still are treated with varying degrees of respect and sometimes fear:

Though he may answer to the call of Palauan, Trukese, or Kusaian... (each Micronesian) sees himself more often than not as part of an extended family, a clan, a caste, an island community,

a group that shares certain lands or titles or ceremonial wealth, or a constituency that gives support to and is served by a hereditary chieftain.<sup>5</sup>

While Micronesians are increasingly willing to accept modern political and administrative authority, there still exists an important and different sort of social relationship between traditional ruler and ruled based on reciprocity: "the people provide the Chieftain with necessary goods and services, in return for his sympathetic and wise leadership."<sup>6</sup> The system is fairly close to rule by consensus, with important implications for any application of modern-day, majority rule and individual opinion-forming regardless of rank or station. It is worth noting that on some islands, traditional, chiefly families are well represented in both district legislatures and in the Congress of Micronesia. Where this has not happened, Chiefs appear to be resigned to their lessening authority so long as their counsel continues to be sought by their modern-day counterparts, especially where the all-important issue of land rights is concerned.

#### Political Education--Current Efforts and Problems

It is in the context of these historical, geographic, economic and cultural factors that one must consider the present efforts of the Trust Territory Administration to explain through the ESG program the possible political status choices which the people of Micronesia will soon be called upon to make. It is a context made all the more complicated by one additional and very crucial recent development, not perhaps surprising given the fragility of national unity in Micronesia: the Marianas, consistent with a wish first formally expressed to the United Nations in 1950, have requested permission to leave the other five districts of Micronesia and join the United States in a permanent relationship; and the United States, in a reversal of its pro-unity policy, is now negotiating a separate, commonwealth status with the Marianas.<sup>7</sup> There seems to be little doubt that a majority of the Chamorro people of the Marianas, who share a common culture and language with neighboring Guam, and who have only been a part of a six-district administration under Interior since 1962, feel more "American" than the people of the other districts. They have expressed their desire for political union with the U.S. in several polls and through District Legislature resolutions. Thus in negotiating with the Marianas for a separate, commonwealth status, the U.S. is responding to the wishes of many Chamorro people. But many observers believe such separate status negotiations are serving as an impetus to further fragmentation of Micronesia; and that the U.S. is motivated in large part by the prospect of achieving sovereignty over the Marianas and especially over Tinian, where the U.S. has plans to establish naval and air facilities. Whatever the merits of this U.S. decision, one result has indeed been to increase latent centrifugal forces in Micronesia and stimulate pressures from the Marshalls and Palau for separation from the other districts. Confident, proud, aggressive, energetic and comparatively well educated, some (by no means all) Palauan leaders strongly dislike the idea of being ruled by any non-Palauans, worse yet, from outside Palau. Living farthest from Saipan, on the most widely scattered atolls and islets and yet in the second richest of the six districts because of U.S. military leases and copra, Marshallese leaders are no longer willing to see their tax revenue turned over to the U.S. government to be spent elsewhere in Micronesia on

the poorer districts, especially as they feel their own schools and other public facilities are not as well developed as those elsewhere in the Territory. The District Legislature has passed resolutions opposing further Marshallese participation in the Congress of Micronesia and any participation in the Constitutional Convention. It is perhaps no coincidence that leading the Marshalls' separatist mood is Senator Amata Kabua, whose chiefly clan owns the main source of Marshallese income--Kwajalein.

Perhaps sufficient compromise can be made to fend off further fragmentation of Micronesia; in any case, separatism is another major factor complicating the Trust Territory's recently stepped up efforts through ESG to prepare Micronesia for a plebiscite on its future relations with the United States.

It should be noted that political education efforts by the T.T. administration did not just begin with the accelerated ESG campaign launched in January 1974. For several years the Department of Public Affairs, and more specifically its Civic Affairs Division, has encouraged understanding of self-government, democratic principles and processes, and the concept of a unified Micronesia.

The main tools for this effort have been the publications of the T.T. government, the government radio with its six district stations and a government-operated, English news service teletyped to each administrative district, from which each radio station draws most of its news. Since the 1960's, these have been useful vehicles of information, reinforcing the idea of a united Micronesia by their very existence, if not particularly through editorial content.<sup>8</sup> With establishment in 1967 of the Congress of Micronesia's first Future Political Status Commission, it became essential that the people of the islands be made aware of the issues their elected representatives were beginning to consider. To some extent, the T.T. government did this, through its news stories, announcements and the dissemination of official texts. But the effort was not especially creative or aggressive. Until very recently, public affairs activities of the Trust Territory government have received a rather low priority, and even the FY 1974 budget for public information work is only \$241,400. The United Nations Trusteeship Council's 1973 Report on Micronesia spoke of this problem:

The resources allocated for political education are extremely meagre . . . it is apparent that so far, the political education programme in Micronesia has not had much success either in developing general knowledge of systems and events in the territory and the world at large, or in promoting understanding of issues relating to future status. We repeatedly heard complaints . . . that they were ill-informed about these matters.<sup>9</sup>

The Report notes that a proposed Joint Committee of the Congress of Micronesia and the Executive Branch "has still not been set up." Summing up the problem, the weekly Marianas Variety said:

The Congress, the Office of Micronesian Status Negotiations, the Interior Department and the Government on Saipan all must bear a share of the blame for the lack of effective political education that has become so painfully apparent in recent months.<sup>10</sup>



A number of Micronesian Congressional reports and texts have been issued on the subject of political status. The Congress's own Political Status Commission listed in a July 1968 report four alternatives, without indicating any preference. They were: independence, free association with the U.S., integration with a major power and continuance as a Trust Territory. Under integration, the Commission mentioned three varieties: commonwealth status, unincorporated territory and incorporated territory. In subsequent reports the Commission, and its successor, the Joint Committee on Future Status, endorsed free association. But these reports have not been very widely read, a fact which became increasingly clear during the 1973 summer hearings on future status carried out by the Congress of Micronesia's Joint Committee on Future Status in each district:

Senator Ambilos Iehsi (Ponape): This Committee put out some time ago a Draft Compact of Free Association. I would like to know how many of you have had a chance to read this Draft Compact? (About 15 of the 120 teachers present.)

Senator Iehsi: How many of you have a course in Civic Affairs or Micronesian Studies where this Draft Compact has been discussed? (About 3 hands showed.)<sup>11</sup>

Perhaps the strongest and most unanimous Congressional recommendation from these hearings was for a "thorough and comprehensive program of political education . . . with a detailed explanation of the several alternatives in terms of the relative economic advantages and disadvantages of each."<sup>12</sup>

Putting past problems aside, there is no question that political education is finally now beginning to receive the attention and priority it deserves. A central Task Force was established by the Trust Territory High Commissioner on November 30, 1973, under a Ponapean, Strik Yoma who is also Director of the Department of Public Affairs. Similar Task Forces have been set up in each district, and by mid-April 1974, each had met at least twice. The Central Task Force defines its goal as preparing the people of Micronesia "to select, by majority ballot, with the maximum possible understanding of the alternatives and implications, a future new political status . . ."<sup>13</sup> The ESG Program is envisaged by the Trust Territory government as a two-phase program, with the first, shorter phase preparing Micronesian citizens 16 and over to choose a future political status in a national plebiscite (and to prepare for various votes in connection with a Constitutional Convention); the second phase is directed at general civic education "for whatever political status is selected" and "could continue up to and even through the termination of the Trusteeship Agreement . . ."<sup>14</sup> In recognition of the size of the job to be done, the U.S. Congress has appropriated \$100,000 for FY 1974, and a similar amount will be requested for FY 1975. Announcing the ESG Program in his January 18, 1974 State of the Territory address to the Congress of Micronesia, High Commissioner Edward E. Johnston explained that

We are planning to make full use of radio, television and printed media, as well as discussion groups in classes and schools at the community level. We will keep the Congress of Micronesia fully advised on the progress of the program and will seek your advice and counsel. Above all, let me assure you that all presentations concerning the alternatives for Micronesia's future political status

will be as fair, impartial and accurately presented as is humanly possible.

The central Task Force has moved quickly to carry out these words. An essay contest is under way in the high schools of Micronesia; a glossary of political status terminology (a major problem in this multi-lingual society) is ready for printing; posters urging everyone to "Get Ready to Make the Best Choice!" have been distributed, and the same slogan appears on numerous T.T. publications and on government paychecks; a series of thirteen, five-minute radio programs has been distributed in pamphlet form and broadcast repeatedly in each principal language. A second series of radio programs about the June 4, 1974 election of delegates to the Constitutional Convention (to be held possibly as soon as April-June, 1975) is now underway. A pamphlet describing the basic economics of Micronesia in straight-forward, statistical terms, is being published; a survey of public views on political status involving 1,700 respondents--to establish where the main information gaps are--is now being analyzed; and the Public Affairs Department's Audio-Visual Office is considering what it will produce to promote ESG.<sup>16</sup> Realizing the importance of face-to-face discussion meetings, the Task Force is planning to hold a workshop during the 1974 summer for high school Social Studies teachers; and similar training will be organized at the district level for Public Affairs employees. The Micronesian News Service (MNS), Highlights (bi-monthly, English only, T.T. newsletter mainly for government employees, circulation of 9,000) and Micronesian Reporter, a quarterly journal of commentary, in English only, circulation of 5,300, will report on status-related matters as they develop. Material on ESG will also be released by MNS to local commercial newspapers in Micronesia and Guam, to the radio stations and to the Trust Territory's only T.V. station in Saipan. The Task Force plans to strengthen Micronesian social studies in the schools of Micronesia which have thus far not been involved in political education other than that normally received as part of general civics and Micronesian history. Education Department representatives are members of both the central Task Force and each Task Force in the six districts, and the involvement of the formal education system in ESG is likely to be considerable, both in terms of classroom effort and of student activity.

Criticism of the ESG program can already be heard as one travels the islands; and several problems ESG faces are becoming clearer. The ESG radio programs have been widely heard, but less widely understood. The explanation especially on the more distant islands and atolls, of political status alternatives may be coming at outer island people too rapidly: 1) free association with the United States, with local autonomy but with the U.S. handling foreign relations and military defense in return for continued U.S. financial support; 2) independence, with future U.S. financial support uncertain; 3) commonwealth status offered by the U.S. in 1970 but rejected by the Congress of Micronesia's negotiators as failing to meet their minimum requirement of sovereignty and self-government; and, failing any majority vote, 4) the status quo or continued trusteeship until another plebiscite can be held. To many islanders, presentation of these complexities over an impersonal medium which is often not clearly heard, in imperfect local radio translations may seem quite inadequate. And while the radio scripts urge listeners to "be sure to ask" questions, outer islanders know of no way in which to do so in the absence of regular mail and perhaps most important, in the absence of any tradition of feed-back.

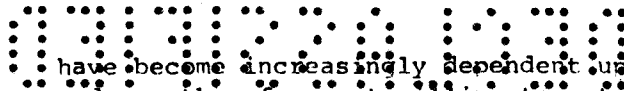
Repeatedly, in the 1973 summer hearings, Micronesians testified that radio was an inadequate means of political education because the people could not talk back to the radio and get their questions answered. The content of these radio programs has also been criticized, perhaps most strongly by Senator Roman Tmetuchl of Palau who recently told the graduating class of the Micronesian Occupational Center in Koror that the radio programs are ". . . designed to either mislead or confuse the people of Micronesia . . . they only enhance and promote the interests of the United States . . ." The Speaker and other members of the Palau District Legislature were especially unhappy with a radio segment which suggested that Micronesian independence would lead to "going backwards." The script actually says:

Do we, the people of Micronesia, want to continue with the new way of life . . . continue to have many of the things to which we have grown accustomed in recent years, or do we want to go back to the old, simpler ways?<sup>17</sup>

The Palau legislators I talked with reject this explanation of the consequences of independence. They point out that other Pacific islands have become independent without "going backwards" and that in any case, once Micronesia is independent, it can obtain additional assistance from other countries. They also complained that the radio scripts have failed to explain how these other former Pacific Trusteeships (Western Samoa, Fiji, Tonga, Nauru) gained independence and how they are faring.

The most frequent criticism heard (by me and in the COM '73 Hearings) has been the absence in political education of adequate face-to-face discussion in which the people could exchange views with government officials, elected representatives and other political status experts. Micronesia is clearly an oral rather than a literate society; important talk is carried out in person, requires large segments of time and must often be frequently repeated, especially among less acculturized groups on the islands farthest from district centers. Only twice since its inception eight years ago has the Congress of Micronesia fanned out in formal subcommittees to hold hearings on political status throughout the islands. The 1973 hearings--a truly remarkable example of meaningful grass roots democracy--were really the first time the people had confronted their representatives in specific dialogue on their political future; and though informative, even these able Committeemen were unable to answer many of the questions put to them. What the citizens of Micronesia need most is a down-to-earth explanation of how free association and independence respectively will effect them in their daily lives, in terms of their income and food, their transportation, their health and their security.

What level of funding would be necessary to maintain current governmental services? How much local revenue can we expect to generate in the foreseeable future? How much money could Micronesia expect to receive from the United States for a lease of land for military purposes under independence? What foreign aid sources would be available to an independent Micronesia? How much could the existing Trust Territory budget be reduced if small capital improvement projects . . . became community projects with labor and . . . material supplied without cost to the government by the residents of the community benefitted? . . . Given the fact that people



have become increasingly dependent upon government jobs and services and are therefore not willing to return to a subsistence economy, they simply must have answers to questions like these if they are to be able to make a rational choice between the political status alternatives.<sup>18</sup>

Thus did the Congressmen who conducted hearings in Truk, Ponape and the Marshalls sum up the problem of specifics, without which ESG is not likely to meet the needs of the Micronesian electorate so far as political choice is concerned.

The ESG program faces, in an opposite direction, another possible problem: ". . . over-education may easily lead to boredom and anti-climax."<sup>19</sup> In April, 1974, with ESG less than four months old, I heard complaints that "people are getting tired of the constant repetition about ESG." "Signs tell us to 'get ready;' but we do not know what we are supposed to 'get ready' for, or how we should get ready."

ESG is off and running in Micronesia; but perhaps radio is running too far ahead of steady, patient, time-consuming, inter-personal discussion; with too little specifics and too much sloganeering.

Whether via radio or in person, even with all possible details added concerning the implications and consequences of each alternative, objectivity will likely be in the eye of the beholder. While members of the Congress of Micronesia have their personal preferences of political status, they have generally been reluctant to voice them publicly. This fact, frequently observed in the Congressional Hearings in each district, caused considerable confusion and some irritation among local islanders:

(the people) expect you as leaders to know what is right on status and if you can't explain your opinion now, how do you expect us, the people, to tell you?  
and:

I believe that you are very much experienced in your work. . . . what you have known and experienced makes you qualified to decide our future for us. I don't believe what the people will give you will make any difference.<sup>20</sup>

Equally pessimistic of the prospects for political education and opinion-making from the grass roots upwards was Senator Adon Amaraich of Truk, who said: "No matter how much we explain to people, they will say 'you tell me, you know more than I, you decide for us.'"<sup>21</sup>

Explanations of the advantages and disadvantages of independence vs. free association will of course need to be given repeatedly; and while absolute neutrality is pledged by the Task Force, this will be difficult to achieve, as criticism of ESG radio scripts suggest. Explanations by members of the Joint Committee have been similar to Ekpap Silk's, Congressman from the Marshalls and Co-chairman of the Joint Committee on Future Status, who described the advantages of Free Association for Micronesia as: 1) U.S. financial assistance, 2) U.S. military defense, and 3) diplomatic protection when traveling abroad; and the disadvantages as: 1) obligation to accommodate U.S. needs for military purposes, 2) relinquished control over foreign affairs; 3) the presence of military installations, which make us ". . .

likely to become a target in case of war." 4) Micronesia's constitution and laws must be consistent with the Compact of Free Association, and 5) closer association with the U.S. will affect our customs and traditions. Silk further explained that while "I am not saying there will be war . . . with the presence of these military bases . . . our security will be threatened."<sup>22</sup>

In another session of these hearings, Senator Bailey Olter of Ponape added another disadvantage of independence: the increased possibility of friction among the districts, a factor we will consider later in this paper.

One difficulty noticeable in last summer's hearings which may continue as a new series of discussion meetings is launched by the Task Forces is the absence of an American spokesman, not an advocate or debater, but a quiet but ready resource thoroughly familiar with the negotiations and with related U.S. policies. Too often Micronesian Congressmen had to respond that "we don't have the answer because the U.S. has not yet discussed this with us." This was especially true with respect to the implications of outright independence, but was also true to some extent of technical issues with respect to trade, commerce and application of various laws.<sup>23</sup>

The ESG program in Micronesia faces two additional, important questions: how long does the program have before the plebiscite; and at whom is the program directed? ESG cannot be expected to plan a proper program with an effective sequence of projects until these questions are carefully considered and authoritatively answered. While Secretary Morton spoke generally of reaching "all areas and levels of society" in his January 1974 speech, most persons in the T.T. government and in the Congress of Micronesia with whom I spoke feel it would be unrealistic to attempt to politically educate the entire adult population of Micronesia in one year or several years. And distances may not be as important a reason for this as comprehension; the ESG program involves not just explanation of several political status alternatives, but a review and understanding of modern government, the principles of democracy, basic economics and even foreign relations, subjects which still remain beyond the firm grasp of many adults on the less accessible islands of Micronesia. To accomplish fully ESG with all of this audience will take not several years, but a generation.

The time required effectively to reach a more realistic percentage of adult Micronesians--perhaps 70%--with perhaps 80% understanding of ESG will largely depend on how well all information and education channels are used. In addition, ESG planners must strike a balance between rushing Micronesian voters with a flood of information and moving over such a lengthy period that interest peaks too soon--the boredom factor mentioned earlier. Obviously, tacit official agreement for something less than the entire adult population as the target for ESG would permit the plebiscite to be held sooner.<sup>24</sup>

Other factors also tend to suggest the wisdom of holding the plebiscite sooner rather than later. The 1963 Solomon Report on Micronesia, commissioned by the U.S. Government, recommended even at that time an early plebiscite; Robert Owen, long-time resident and Chief Conservationist in Palau for the T.T. government, feels it "should have been held ten years ago before the islands had become so dependent on the U.S." The issue of dependence troubles many Micronesian leaders like Senator Olter:

•••••  
••••• The question is, when you expose a Micronesian to the United  
••••• States style of living (education) over ten years, do you expect  
the same kind to come back to Micronesia and plant a breadfruit  
crop or coconuts or taro, or go fishing. . .? These things . . .  
are of great concern with regard to delay with the members of the  
Congress of Micronesia, so while we agree there should be ample  
time to get to know and understand the details of the alternatives,  
at the same time if we wait long enough, maybe there will be no  
chance of returning.<sup>25</sup>

Perhaps even more heavily weighing on the side of an early plebiscite is the recent trend towards fragmentation in Micronesia; Carl Heine of the Marshalls, a wise and experienced former advisor to the Congress of Micronesia, feels that a plebiscite should be held in 1975; "the more we wait, the more the separatist movement will grow . . . and our only hope is to stick together."<sup>26</sup> Many Micronesian leaders and resident Americans I spoke with believe that if ESG is given a high enough priority, and accepting (as many leaders such as Senator Tmetuchl of Palau and Representative Luke Tman of Yap already do) an ESG goal of obtaining the understanding of only 70-80% of the adult population, a plebiscite could be held in about one year. Among those holding this view were: Robert Owen, Father Francis Hezel of Ponape, Senator Tmetuchl, Palau District Legislator Joshua Koshiha, Ponape District Administrator Leo Falcom, Ponape District Legislator and Kusaie leader Donald Jonah, T.T. Task Force member (and former Peace Corps Director for Yap) Sam McPhetres, Professor Leonard Mason, and Jon Anderson of the T.T. Public Affairs Department, who pointed out that the 1973 Micronesian census of all heads of households throughout all inhabited islands took over 300 hired workers about one month! Many others interviewed, however, felt it would take longer than one year. Father Hugh Costigan, founder of the remarkably sensible PATS (Ponape Agricultural and Trade School), feels that "having kept the place in almost complete ignorance, we are now going too fast and risking trouble later. . ."<sup>27</sup>

The plebiscite's timing is further complicated by the Constitutional Convention which is to take place next spring or summer--for ninety days. Most officials have assumed that the plebiscite would be held after the Constitutional Convention (the product of which also must be presented to Micronesian voters in a referendum). But many persons interviewed in Micronesia believe this is placing the cart before the horse, or as Senator Edward Pangelinan put it, "building a house from the roof down."<sup>28</sup> "We are asking people to determine their form of government (through the Constitutional Convention) before we ask them who they want to be affiliated with, internally and externally,"<sup>29</sup> said former U.S. Congressman and T.T. government advisor Neiman Craley. Should a constitution be drawn up and approved before a decision on independence has been made, especially given the fact that in legal terms, the Compact of Free Association between the United States and Micronesia--which will be offered in the plebiscite as one choice--will be supra to the Constitution? There is a certain logic in seeking public approval of that which is supra first, and then drafting the constitution which must conform to it; though as Professor Meller suggests, adjustments could be made in the constitution later, if necessary.<sup>30</sup>

Regardless of which should come first in this chicken-egg argument, the real issue in the islands today is not relations with the U.S., but

relations between the various districts of Micronesia which are worsening as national unity--widely accepted until two years ago--is increasingly questioned. The overriding issue at this point is not independence vs. free association--important though that be--but national, united government vs. a very loose federation--or no relationship at all. Virtually everyone interviewed strongly felt that the issue of inter-district relations must be discussed first and foremost. Most leaders would probably support a sequence of events which would see first, discussion and consensus among the districts on their future political and economic relationship; second, a plebiscite on relations with the U.S.; third, a Constitutional Convention to formalize both and work out the technical details; and fourth, a referendum on the Constitution. Many leaders interviewed were very doubtful that a successful convention could be held unless there is--as Representative Resio Moses of Ponape advocates--an extraordinary effort over the next year, through informal discussion, debate and compromise among leaders of all kinds in all the districts to iron out a future political relationship which each can live with. To expect such delicate and emotional work to be accomplished during--rather than before--the formal convention is, in the minds of many interviewed, quite unrealistic, especially given: 1) the Micronesian proclivity for consensus rather than majority vote and 2) the fact that all votes at the Convention will require a 3/4 majority of the total voting membership or, thirty-six of the forty-two voting delegates. As Senator Tmetuchl said in the Congress of Micronesia more than two years ago: ". . . continuation and heightening of . . . fractionalization . . . can only be abated by additional discussion between the members of the six Congress delegations. . . It will only be as a result of such discussion that we can attain a unity acceptable to all. . ."31

"Micronesians . . . have a good chance of developing a small Pacific nation if they can only recognize the meaning and the benefits of unification," writes Carl Heine;<sup>32</sup> but the hard fact is that many, perhaps most Micronesians do not recognize these benefits, even though they are numerous. Former Senator John Ngiraked of Palau, one of the centers of separatism: "The U.S. had thirty years to teach unity. And now the very idea of Micronesian unity will be the stumbling block. . . The Constitutional Convention could well break apart over its first official act--the election of a Convention Chairman."<sup>33</sup>

Recently, seven Marshallese students at Truk's Xavier High School returned home after being threatened physically by pro-unity Trukese students; and Marshallese Catholics would not vote for a non-Marshallese to attend a recent Bishop's conference. Senator Tmetuchl spoke for many Palauans when he said in Congress: ". . . we Palauans find unrealistic and unacceptable the concept of a strong central government . . . the only feasible and acceptable form of integration . . . is a loose federation of internally autonomous, quasi-sovereign states."<sup>34</sup>

Traditional chiefs from only Truk and Ponape showed up for the opening sessions in April of a ten-day, unprecedented meeting in Ponape on the role of the chiefs to which all chiefs in Micronesia were invited. Hopefully, the Pre-Convention Organizing Committee of seven Congressmen will broadly interpret its mandate to "facilitate the work of the Convention" by planning a series of preparatory discussions among all levels of leadership throughout Micronesia before the Convention opens next Spring.

In launching the ESG Program, the T.T. Administration said that the Program would deal with the possible variations of structures which may be selected to go with the different forms of political status.<sup>35</sup> But so far, ESG has not dealt with future inter-district relations and political unity. No material or instructions on this question have yet been received in the various districts. It seems clear that at any ESG-sponsored meeting on future status, the issue of national unity will surface; and the various ESG Task Forces running those meetings will have to deal with it fully and objectively, without triggering criticism from "loose federation" advocates or outright separatists. To what extent this will be possible remains to be seen. Congressman Moses felt that it would be impossible to separate ESG status discussions from discussion of district relations; Speaker Hermes Katsura of the Truk District Legislature suggested that the T.T. government should limit its ESG efforts on district relations to assimilating--and not originating--information.

Equally important to a successful ESG program will be a strenuous effort to describe in specific terms the degree of interdependence already at work among the districts of Micronesia. The people badly need information as to how a central government has benefited them--and how the relationship among the districts has been to their mutual advantage. As the United Nations Trusteeship Council 1973 Report puts it:

. . . although the Micronesians . . . must work out for themselves what kind of future links they wish to have with one another, the Administration is still at this stage obligated to promote national unity . . . (which) needs solid political, economic, educational and social underpinning.<sup>36</sup>

To do so in a way which will not cause pro-separatist criticism will be quite a challenge for ESG Task Forces; it may be that this part of ESG will best be handled jointly by T.T. officials working together with local political leaders.

#### Information and Education Channels for E.S.G.

The success of any Micronesian plebiscite will hinge on the effectiveness of ESG efforts over the next year or more to reach--and explain the political issues to--a reasonably large majority of the Micronesian people.

In the remainder of this paper, we will examine the available channels of communication and consider what could be done to assure their most effective utilization. Some of the ideas are new; some come from Micronesians; and some probably could not be carried out soon enough to be helpful in a plebiscite, but may nevertheless be useful in the long run.

#### - Use of Radio -

While the subject of considerable criticism, Micronesian radio can nevertheless make an important contribution to ESG. In 1965, E. J. Kahn reported that some 5,000 Micronesians had radio sets. Today the number has vastly increased; the Deputy District Administrator for Truk estimates



that on Trukese islands, in every village with about ten houses, probably 50% have radios. This average would obviously be much higher in and near the district centers. Congressman Luke Tamm estimates that radio reaches 80% of his people. "People on the outer islands own the most radios."<sup>37</sup> Slowly but surely, radio transmission from each district is being strengthened. But the task is time-consuming and delays could seriously hinder ESG. All six district centers have had one-kilowatt stations for some years now. A five-KW transmitter has been installed in Truk for 18 months, but lacks certain parts needed to replace the one-KW transmitter; and in the Marshalls' district capital of Majuro, construction of a new ten-KW transmitter started over three years ago is 90% complete, but is not yet operating because certain parts are lacking. Only in Ponape is a ten-KW station in actual operation, and even there, the close to 4,000 people of Kusaie, over 300 hundred miles from the district center of Kolonia, can often only hear the radio at night (and then for about thirty minutes in their own language of Kusaiean). Five-KW transmitters in Yap and Saipan are planned over the next two years.

Staff and content of these stations varies slightly. But in general, they are manned by about eleven Micronesians, mostly technicians trained in Saipan. With the exception of from thirty minutes to several hours of U.S. Armed Forces Radio news and taped feature packets, Voice of America world news (usually taped for rebroadcast), one weekly MNS news round-up from Saipan, and MNS daily teletyped news, the stations are on their own. They rely mainly on a heavy dose of local and American-style recorded music, plus local news and announcements. Local public affairs programs consist mainly of verbatim tapes of occasionally inaudible District Legislature proceedings. In Ponape, a particularly enterprising station manager does obtain news actualities and has produced special political interviews (about thirty in two years); but in general, public affairs interviews, round-table discussions or news analysis--local or from Saipan--are rare.

Inter-district news exchange is infrequent; a radio station may possibly file a news story to MNS for relay to other stations once a week; and rarely is any substantive description of developments in the other districts exchanged. Equipment at some stations such as portable tape recorders, turntables, turntable-to-recorder hook-ups and island-wide remote control systems for live broadcasting is old or non-existent. Perhaps the biggest problem is the shortage of trained, broadcast journalists who know how to gather news and produce substantive public affairs programming. Also lacking--and a key impediment to effective political education--are good translators. MNS material is transmitted in English only, with each station and local public affairs office expected to handle translations--for radio as well as for publication. In Truk, local officials estimate that of the \$13,000 they have been allocated for ESG (from the original U.S. Congressional appropriation of \$100,000), \$4,000 must be used to hire two good translators, leaving \$9,000 for all other local ESG expenses!

In its 1973 Annual Report, the U.N. Trusteeship Council Visiting Mission concluded: ". . . we are not convinced that radio stations are being used as fully as they might be to foster the development of political awareness among the people."<sup>38</sup>

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A number of steps to improve this situation could be taken:

1. An ESG news gathering and public affairs production workshop should be held in Saipan as soon as possible, possibly with participation from those involved in similar ESG radio efforts in Papua-New Guinea.
2. Each district administration's two-way radio-telephone connection with the principal islands in that district should be utilized for both taped and live radio discussions between outer island and district leaders on the issues of self-government and political status; thus demonstrating that you can talk back to district radio stations, that radio can be two-way when hooked up with existing inter-island communications.
3. Each district station could conduct a series of interviews with local political leaders, ESG Task Force members, teachers and magistrates on ESG-related topics.
4. Arrange inter-island radio interviews to obtain the views of leaders in other districts using existing two-way radio-telephone connections, with voiced-over translations where necessary.
5. Send radio staff on field trips with Task Force teams to: a) record the proceedings for editing and later broadcast and b) record the villagers' views for later broadcast back to them and to other villages in the same district. (This technique was effectively used in Papua-New Guinea.)
6. Turn over radio time to local high school students working with their social studies teachers for "student forum" programs on ESG, produced by the students.
7. Produce (probably in Saipan with local segments added by each district) a series of radio programs on "economic interdependence in Micronesia today."
8. Use radio as it was meant to be used--for live happenings and discussion.
9. Encourage a measure of controversy over the radio through discussions by political representatives with different views and by arranging school debates. Even recognizing the reluctance in some of the districts such as the Marshalls to air conflicting opinion in public, there should be no need for the pre-program clearance reportedly required in at least one district visited of anything which might be controversial; one aim of ESG should be to introduce the concept of participating in responsible exchange of different viewpoints.
10. Authorize the inter-island radio-telephone system to be used at regular times for ESG-related questions from distant villages to central radio, for collection and reply (at a regular broadcast hour) by the Task Force. Perhaps each municipality's Magistrate

(principal, local elected leader) could collect the questions and phone them in each week. Despite frequently broadcast spot announcements urging listeners to "send in your questions," not one had been received by Radio Ponape or Radio Truk by early April after the ESG radio scripts had been broadcast several times.)

11. Re-activate the six District Radio Advisory Boards to help relate local broadcasting to community needs, especially with respect to ESG.

Few societies probably rely as much on radio as Micronesia does for knowledge of the world beyond the local reef; as a supplement to face-to-face discussion, radio can be enormously useful to ESG, especially if two-way interaction and feedback are fully developed.

#### - Use of Television -

According to Carl Heine, "Micronesia is a listening and seeing society; people don't bother to read; T.V. would be the best medium."<sup>39</sup> The T.T. government was studying the possibilities for television in the islands as early as 1965. Nine years later, there is one T.V. station, in Saipan. It is commercial and operates eight hours daily. Other than CBS news, local MNS news, Sesame Street and the Electric Company, content is almost entirely devoted to re-runs. There is no local production and no attempt to develop local news. Twenty percent of its programming is supposed to be devoted to public affairs and education, local and otherwise; but the T.T. administration actually uses about one hour per week. The station can be viewed in Tinian (while nearby Rota--also in the Marianas--is able to catch Guam's T.V. stations). So far, the station has not been a vehicle for ESG programming. The station may eventually develop an ETV channel, with T.T. government assistance. The Micronesian Broadcasting Corporation of Guam (which runs the Saipan T.V. outlet) has requested permission to build and operate in Saipan a one-KW commercial A.M. radio station, a 250 watt F.M. station and a community cable T.V. system. Another Guam organization headed by Lee Holmes has submitted applications to operate cable T.V. in all six districts. In Saipan, the Holmes outfit reportedly will charge \$20 for installation and an \$18 monthly fee; in the Marshalls, a competing organization, Pacific Communications, has been granted a permit; in Truk both cable T.V. organizations were turned down, among other reasons for fear the kind of programming expected would adversely influence Truk's youth; and in Palau and Yap, applications are still pending.

It seems clear that it is only a matter of time before television will be launched in all six districts, but not, except possibly for Saipan, in time to be useful to the ESG program. In any case, commercial T.V. may not be all that helpful to political education. A recent study in the Marianas concluded that ". . . adequate provision must be made for well-planned, local programming; otherwise you will see--as in the Marianas--a decrease . . . in political knowledge among people who shift their attention from radio to T.V."<sup>40</sup>

As Ian Johnstone of the South Pacific Commission warned last year, a

real danger exists that in Pacific island nations, television may develop more influenced by commercial than by public initiatives, ". . . forced to transmit, for the greater part, imported programme material thereby increasing cultural colonialism, and failing to meet the needs of Pacific people for programmes which help to develop a sense of island and regional identity."<sup>41</sup>

Use of video tape may be possible however; and in a pre-plebiscite time/framework. Reel-to-reel video tape equipment is available at most District Public Affairs offices; and at least one school, the Community College of Micronesia in Ponape, has the production capability to serve other districts as well.

Johnstone describes in some detail the great contribution which video tape recorders could make in the developing areas of the Pacific. He sees the portable video tape recorder, plus camera, tripod, extension mikes, television monitor, tape and power/battery pack, as providing a simple, cheap and immediately available tool for development, one which is uniquely suited for non-verbal, rural populations:

Rurally oriented and directed television programmes, with battery sets for villages, viewing groups, a high proportion of vernacular programmes, and (eventually) high quality reception in the country areas, could do a great deal to improve the quality of village life, by opening to villagers a window on the world, allowing them to be part of the nation, giving them ideas and advice about their farms, their families and their values and, through organized response lines, allowing them to communicate with their leaders. . .

But Johnstone stresses this will only happen ". . . if local people have control of the medium, and access to it." Closed television, used in this fashion, ". . . will provide excellent preparation for later growth of locally managed 'open' television systems, transmitted from central points to T.V. sets in individual homes."<sup>42</sup> Initial experiments with VTR in Tahiti and Tonga support Johnstone's opinion, demonstrating "the values of local production, of immediate playback capability, of language applicability, for direct involvement of performer-viewers in all levels of production . . . VTR isn't magic, but its effect is miraculous when it bridges an ocean which has hidden people from one another for centuries."<sup>43</sup>

As it maps out a major effort in the coming months, the ESG central Task Force of the T.T. government should consider the following ideas with respect to television:

1. Further introduction of commercial television should depend on provision that adequate time would be devoted to local production for educational and development-oriented purposes, in response to local needs.
2. Several pilot production teams should be organized, trained and equipped with necessary field equipment for VTR production. (Johnstone estimates that the necessary VTR equipment would cost \$2,000, less than comparable film equipment which also involves the cost of processing, etc.)

3. These teams should be sent to the districts to record interviews with leaders on ESG and shoot discussion meetings involving outer islands villagers, each learning something from viewing and hearing the views of the other. Village discussion meetings could be taped and played at special sessions of district legislatures, for example; and members of the Congress of Micronesia's Joint Committee on Future Status could discuss their progress in negotiations with the U.S. on video.
4. The Pilot Production Teams should assist high school VTR production activity; and the students could be enlisted in the team's rural production work.
5. Each District Public Affairs Office should be equipped with at least one television monitor (in addition to the monitors the production teams travel with), so that as VTR programs are produced they can be shown as widely as possible at every kind of conference and workshop.
6. The T.T. government could combine resources for ESG VTR production with the Community College of Micronesia in Ponape.

A word should be said about possible satellite communications. For the past several years, various experiments have been going on linking some of the campuses of the University of Hawaii and some of the University of the South Pacific in Fiji, using a NASA Applications Technology Satellite (ATS-1), with funding by the United Nations and private foundations. The project is called PEACESAT--Pan Pacific Education and Communications Experiments by Satellite--and involves both voice and teleconfer communication. Use of the hook-up, which has terminals in Honolulu, Maui, American Samoa, Alaska, Wellington, Suva, Papua-New Guinea and, since April 1973, Saipan, is both educational and medical. The T.T. government hopes to establish terminals in other Micronesian districts; additional South Pacific stations are also planned. Open dissemination via radio is also envisaged. Another project has been discussed with the Congress of Micronesia and NASA: Guam's Micronesian Cable T.V. Company proposes to broadcast radio programs via a NASA ATS, from Guam through ground antennas to approximately 300 well-placed VHF receiver sets in Micronesia. The programs--about ESG or anything else--would be produced in Guam and the six Micronesian districts. While such an operational/commercial activity may be difficult to implement via this federal/experimental system--even where ESG is given generous time--the idea is an interesting one which could further strengthen the concept of Micronesian unity. A major drawback to any centrally diffused programming in Micronesia--by radio or television--will, however, continue to be the language problem.

In time, television could be transmitted by satellite directly to schools and even to private homes in Micronesia. The first phase of such a project has already been implemented; it involves the use of a U.S. satellite as a relay from a central Indian ground station to 5,000 or more village receiver sets. The Japanese can now reportedly produce the T.V. attachment needed for direct satellite viewing for about \$150. But it seems most unlikely that satellite T.V. could be initiated in Micronesia in time to be useful to Education for Self-Government.

Video tape cassettes and cassette players will eventually be feasible for Micronesian schools, libraries and district legislatures, and would be the next logical step after reel-to-reel production. But any such effort first requires establishment of an adequate Micronesian maintenance capability.

- Use of Newspapers -

Over the years, there have been a number of small, independent newspapers in Micronesia. But survival has always been difficult. Today, there are four such papers. Two of them, Marianas Variety News and Views and I Gaseta are published weekly in Saipan.<sup>44</sup> Variety, 10-12 pages and tabloid style, is two years old. Current circulation is 2,000 copies per issue, of which 900 are sold in the Marianas and 500 sold or distributed in other districts. The paper relies heavily on MNS and the Congress of Micronesia for releases, but also develops some of its own stories and reprints articles from other papers, including the Wall Street Journal ("Papau-New Guinea Has Its Share of Problems As Independence Nears") and Majuro's Micronesian Independent ("U.S. Gaining Ground in Micronesia"-- which concludes that "exactly where Washington's 'divide and conquer' tactics will lead Micronesia . . . is anybody's guess").<sup>45</sup> The Variety carries a goodly number of advertisements (air conditioners, Kirin Beer, Mazda and local businesses), a Letters to the Editor column and a column by MNS writer Jon Anderson. Recently, Variety ran a series on "Education in Our Schools" based on interviews with eight local school principals. One or two pages appear in Chamorro when a translator is available, according to editor Abed Younis who has a staff of three including several part-time high school students. Variety sells for ten cents, or fifty issues for \$15.00 by air. Recently the paper received a loan from the T.T. Economic Development Loan Fund for a new printing press. The T.T. government assists Variety (and several other papers) with plate work, photos and dark-room facilities free of charge; the only other subsidy is MNS. Younis's biggest expense is paper (with news print in short supply, Younis now must buy better quality, but more expensive paper from Guam). He would like very much to obtain journalism training for his budding staff.

One year old and somewhat more outspoken editorially than Variety, I Gaseta is published by Victor Pangelinan, former editor of Variety. The first edition had a press run of 300 copies; total circulation is now 1,150 copies of which 850 are sold. The editor, who has one part-time assistant, plans to concentrate on Marianas circulation and publish articles in Chamorro as well as English (few such translations so far).

Both Saipan papers' most serious competition could come from outside Micronesia. The Guam Pacific Daily News and afternoon Dateline combined sell about 1,000 copies a day in Saipan. PDN has applied for permission to open an office there; and eventually, it would like to publish a Saipan edition. While the Marianas Economic Development Board initially turned down the application, the issue is apparently still undecided. Expansion of PDN in Saipan would certainly threaten the rather precarious existence of the two weekly papers.

Palau's Tia Belau is the brainchild of two Palauan brothers named Uludong who first published the paper as a hobby when studying at the

East-West Center in Hawaii. The paper is now about two years old and sells about 600 of 1,500 copies printed. It now is published monthly, but will print more often when it can buy a press and print in Palau (instead of in Saipan). There are seventy subscribers outside of Palau in Micronesia. Among those within the district is the District Education Department (60 copies, for use in social studies courses). Tia Belau uses fewer MNS stories than its Saipan counterparts and publishes more feature material and local news. Its Letters column is quite lively: "You don't have experts enough to build your own roads so what the hell do you want independence for?"<sup>46</sup> Once on uncertain ground with local Paluan political powers, the paper seems to have made its peace; in fact, the only two-page advertisement in the February issue is from Palau Modekngai Ltd., a local General Store and financial outlet for Palau's powerful religious-political group of the same name. Somewhat nationalistic, Tia Belau prints some stories in Paluan, keeps an eye on the T.T. government and states its belief that "a free press, unconnected with the government or conflicting interests, is essential to the growth of Palau."<sup>47</sup> Paper and mailing are chief costs (the editors are attempting to obtain Fourth Class mail rates). Ardently supported by local high school helpers, the paper may consider training other would-be journalists and photographers if the T.T. would pay their salaries. Another source of outside help could be environmental and other notices from the Federal Annals; "but they do not know we even exist," complained a staff member.<sup>48</sup>

The only local newspaper which would like to be a Micronesia-wide journal is the Micronesian Independent, formerly known as the Micronitor. A weekly tabloid edited by two Americans, four full-time Marshallese and some part-time help, the paper prints 2,000 copies. Store and hotel newsstands account for most sales, but over 500 copies are sold through subscription (twenty-five cents per copy, \$15.00 by air per year in Micronesia). Between 40 and 150 copies are distributed weekly to each of the other districts. Unlike the other weeklies, the Independent uses stringers in some districts. While making good use of MNS copy, the Independent digs for its own news and reports frequently on controversial matters. For example:

- Some people in the district complain that the Iroij (traditional chiefs) of the district are disproportionately represented in the legislature.
- Some traditional leaders in the Marshalls . . . don't like it when they hear that the Constitutional Convention . . . will only accept traditional leaders as observers with no vote.
- The people of Bikini are threatening not to return to their now radiation-free island unless the U.S. makes an 'ex-gratia' payment for the years they were obliged to live elsewhere, as the U.S. paid to the people of Eniwetok in 1970.<sup>49</sup>

The March 25, 1974 issue contains a well-written article on Micronesia's population explosion (3.5%); and an editorial on the recent opening of Micronesia to non-U.S., foreign investment which will only "bring foreign control through Micronesians who are willing to play ball with non-Micronesians." The Independent contains Letters to the Editor providing good feedback; and more material is in the vernacular than in the other papers. Editor Joe Murphy buys his paper from Hawaii and would print 5,000

copies if he could be sure of having enough paper on hand at all times. His problem is storage and Micronesia's irregular sea transportation. When sea mail is tied up, Murphy must ship by air at \$10 per ream. Murphy would like to see a comprehensive Trust Territory-wide newspaper develop, with one page of local news in each local language. He believes the Independent contributes to "keeping MNS honest," by obliging them to deal with sensitive stories once the Independent has surfaced them, thus substantially improving MNS's credibility. Murphy is now paying \$75 a week for his new press, payments made possible by job printing.<sup>50</sup>

Small weekly news sheets once existed in Yap, Truk and Ponape. The Truk paper, called Metparous was at least partly financed by the district legislature. The Ponape paper called Senyavin Times was started by high school students (some of whom are now Ponape's leaders) and was later financed by the Community Action Agency, an OEO-financed operation. But when the CAA employee in charge was transferred, the paper folded. Yap, which once had a paper called Tamilang, may again soon have a weekly; a University of Hawaii journalism student from Yap reportedly has lined up a publisher and has figured out the format he will follow when he returns home.

A number of school papers exist in Micronesia, one called Scope, published by the Community College of Micronesia in Ponape; and another called simply The Paper, put out by the students of Ponape Islands Central School. While these papers provide good practice for future journalists, they do not handle non-school news as the Senyavin Times used to.

In its 1973 Report, the United Nations Trusteeship Council Visiting Mission stated:

The fact that there is no territorial newspaper in Micronesia is an obstacle to the development of political awareness . . . There is a real need for better regular information and opinion-forming material in Micronesia, and the Administration would be well-advised to encourage the production of more newspapers. . .<sup>51</sup>

Unquestionably, the current batch of local papers are playing a useful if limited role. In the three districts without papers, there is no place to write to, no place to debate, no medium for squelching rumors which thrive on the islands, no feedback and no way to vocalize complaints. The state of local newspapers on the islands obviously relates to education for self-government; and the T.T. government and central ESG Task Force should consider the following ideas:

1. A master news-print contract for all local papers, enabling them to buy paper at a cheaper rate than possible when arranged individually.
2. Purchase in bulk by central T.T. and district governments of copies of each local paper, for internal government use, thus providing an encouragement to circulation and continued solvency.
3. An MNS round-up each week of selected "news from Micronesia's local papers," for reprinting by each paper, to promote news from the other districts.



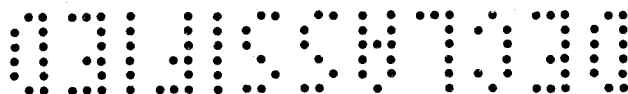
4. Review by the T.T. government's Manpower Advisory Council of Micronesia's need for newspaper (and radio) journalists; and a re-ordering of priorities so that a few scholarships for both academic and on-job training can be made available each year from the Congress of Micronesia's \$500,000 scholarship program.
5. Review of shipping methods and costs for Micronesia's newspapers. Daily papers receive a special air freight rate; could this be arranged for weeklies too? Could they be considered fourth rather than first-class mail?
6. Use the T.T. government's inter-district teletype channel for transmission of MNS material to the local papers, instead of air-mailing MNS to each paper; this might encourage the papers to publish more frequently.
7. The Congress of Micronesia's Joint Committee on Future Status recommended that the Congress ". . . give . . . serious consideration to the establishment of an independent media in the Trust Territory, or to the take-over and ownership of the present government-owned facilities."<sup>52</sup> Whether such a major step is feasible or not, in any case, consideration might be given to providing district papers and radio stations with an additional non-government-operated news service.
8. ESG Task Forces should make special efforts to involve local newspapers in ESG.
9. As the Community College of Micronesia expands its liberal arts curriculum, it could offer courses in journalism.
10. The T.T. government should help assure active participation by Micronesian newspaper staffs in the Pacific Islands Press Association and in its various training programs in Suva and elsewhere.
11. Local leaders in Truk, Yap and Ponape should cooperate in establishing local papers again in these districts.

- Use of Schools -

The development of education in Micronesia over the past decade has been dramatic. Willard Price describes early education in the islands:

The Spanish did nothing except through their church missions, to educate young Micronesia. The German government had only one school functioning when the Japanese arrived in 1914. By 1936, the Japanese government . . . had twenty-five schools for natives in operation.<sup>53</sup>

Until the early 1960's no district except Ponape had a (public) school beyond the ninth grade; and that school had less than 200 students. Fewer than twenty teachers or administrators had college degrees in education



and most of these were American. The entire education budget for an enrollment of 13,500 students was \$600,000.<sup>54</sup>

Today, over 30,000 students are enrolled in the mostly public elementary schools and about 7,000 in the mostly public high schools (still not enough in some districts to handle all eligible students); over 100 students are pursuing post-high school education at the Community College in Ponape (teacher training) and the Micronesian Occupational Center (vocational training) in Palau; over 800 students are in post-secondary schooling outside the Trust Territory. Today, 98% of the elementary school teachers and close to half of the high school teachers are Micronesian. And the education budget for FY 1973 was \$11,490,000.<sup>55</sup>

Problems naturally still exist. Until 1962, public elementary schools taught mostly in the local languages; this was, in fact, Trust Territory policy as late as 1959. Thus today, while English has made great strides (a huge Peace Corps delegation was involved in this effort), English comprehension among the young is far from bi-lingual. Education has too closely followed U.S. curricula, not sufficiently taking into account different backgrounds and needs. And in social studies and history courses, little conscious effort has been made to teach a sense of Micronesian unity and nationhood:

There is a need for education to be restructured to create self-identification as Micronesians, to enhance national unity; to emphasize traditional and cultural values and to include political education.<sup>56</sup>

Some important earlier curriculum efforts have been made along these lines, and others are being planned if HEW Title III funds permit. The most significant project to date (in the ESG context at least) was the production by Father Francis X. Hexel and others of Micronesia: A Changing Society, which includes a Teacher's Guide, Student Textbook and accompanying film strip and transparencies. Based on a 1970 Xavier High School workshop for Social Studies teachers, the course, which was offered to high schools in 1972, contains a final section entitled, "The Building of a Nation." Either in "Micro-Civics," "Problems of Democracy," "Problems of Micronesia," or "Micronesian History," high school students all over Micronesia have been at least partially exposed in the past several years to the question of political status, mainly through Changing Society which is used by all high schools, and to a lesser degree through Micronesia Through the Years and Micronesia Background.<sup>57</sup> Considerably less attention--if any in many high schools--has been given to the issue of national unity versus separatism or "loose federation." So far, no specific instructions have gone out to these various schools describing how to include additional self-government and political status discussion in their classes (though some of the teachers are doing it anyway). The ESG Task Force has, however, announced the allocation of \$5,000 to the Department of Education for two workshops for teachers this summer. While there are film strips available on Micronesia and accompanying Changing Micronesia, visual aids on Micronesia in these Social Studies courses appear to be minimal.

While self-government in other Pacific island nations is touched on in Changing Micronesia, the subject appears to receive little attention

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in most Micronesian Social Studies Courses.

Some Micronesian and American Social Studies Teachers, with the help of at least one Guide/Textbook, are giving students some idea of their possible political future. With the distribution this April of the Task Force's radio scripts on self-government, the teachers now have for the first time specific material prepared with the plebiscite in mind. Let us consider what other steps might be taken to strengthen education for self-government through formal education:

1. Instructions and additional textual and audio-visual material on political status, the Micronesian economy, island interdependence, strong central government in Micronesia vs. loose federation or complete separatism and self-government elsewhere in the Pacific among other former Trust Territories should be prepared for senior high school use as soon as possible. Perhaps another Xavier workshop should be organized for this purpose.
2. A 33 hour course on Comparative Government heavily focused on other Pacific Governments, just put together by the Ponape Teacher Educational Center, should be adapted for other school--and radio--use throughout Micronesia. Supporting visual material should be requested from the nations involved.
3. Regularly held teacher conferences this summer and in the year ahead, whatever their main subject, should include sessions on Education for Self-Government.
4. Special ESG courses should be added to ongoing adult education programs in Majuro, Koror and elsewhere.
5. Graduating high school and post-secondary students should be well-briefed on ESG before returning to their islands for the summer; while the youth of these students will be a handicap, they may still be able informally to tell their elders what they have heard about political status choices and self-government.
6. High school newspapers should be encouraged to print information about ESG, including perhaps the best essay on ESG in school or district-wide contests. (Unfortunately, the early entry deadline for the first Micronesian-wide student essay contest made it impossible for the Task Force's pamphlet of ESG radio scripts to be made available to the students in time. In Majuro, one public high school student had submitted an essay; more were expected from several private schools.)
7. As Social Studies projects, high school students can run their own opinion surveys on ESG. (This technique is being used at Assumption High School in Majuro.)
8. High school debates on ESG issues could be sponsored by PTAs or district governments, with Congress of Micronesia prizes for the winning teams. (As suggested earlier, the best debates could be broadcast over local radio; they could also be video-taped.)

9. Congressmen and District Legislators should step up their visits to high schools, to explain and discuss ESG.

As suggested throughout this paper, face-to-face discussion of these issues should be the heart of ESG in villages, schools, among teachers, in assemblies, PTAs and Chambers of Commerce. Some churches are already running their own ESG programs, effectively mixing a bit of religion, self-government talk and sakau (a numbing drink of juices from ground pepper root and wet hibiscus bark squeezed together).

Conclusion and Overall Recommendations

If a successful education for self-government program is to be carried out in Micronesia, a number of steps and decisions must be taken:

1. Descriptions of the political status choices to be offered the Micronesian people in a plebiscite must be specific and related to their daily lives.
2. Discussion of the possible future internal political organization of Micronesia should be included in the ESG program, with the advice--and even participation perhaps in an enlarged ESG Task Force--of members of the Congress of Micronesia. For it is internal relations more than relations with the U.S. which is the pressing issue in Micronesia today.
3. Both for the sake of an effective ESG program and for the future development of Micronesia, local mass media in Micronesia can be considerably more developed and effectively used for education and public affairs, with only relatively small budgetary increases (see separate recommendations).
4. The schools of Micronesia offer an excellent opportunity for self-government education which could be spread far beyond the classroom; social studies courses should be expanded quickly to this end (see separate recommendations).
5. The success or failure of the ESG program will depend very largely on the frequency and extent of discussion meetings involving the task forces and political/civic leaders--as well as on the wisdom and objectivity of all concerned. Training of task forces will be essential. In this training, and possibly in some of the larger district discussion meetings, a middle-level, U.S. official thoroughly familiar with details of the negotiations and with related U.S. policies should be present, not as an advocate of any position, but as an information resource. Micronesian task forces and politicians should not be expected to explain Washington's thinking and positions on all the complexities of political status alternatives.
6. Adequate face-to-face discussion involving knowledgeable Micronesian spokesmen will be severely hindered unless rapid transportation is made available for ESG during the next year; the U.S.

should lend the Trust Territory government several Navy or Coast Guard sea planes for this purpose.

7. It should be made perfectly clear to ESG planners and doers that their objective is not to reach the entire adult population, but perhaps 70%, with perhaps 80% understanding of the issues involved. A more ambitious goal would not be realistic in any of the plebiscite time frames now under discussion.
8. The ESG program for the Marianas should be adapted somewhat to take into account the separate Commonwealth status which is being negotiated by the U.S. and the leaders of this district.
9. ESG faces an enormous language problem, in radio, newspapers, special pamphlets and in face-to-face meetings. To assure effective communication, translations should probably be centralized in Saipan, with a corps of full-time, trained translators. Interpreter training should also be arranged for the best staff from each district. It may be necessary to hire an outside consultant to devise a program to achieve these ends.
10. The plebiscite on political status with the U.S. should probably be completed before a constitutional convention is held, so that 1) the people can decide on independence or free association before their leaders draft the framework which will govern them, 2) the constitution will be in harmony with the Compact of Free Association (assuming that choice wins) with which it must conform, 3) delegates to the convention can proceed with this much common ground and popular mandate beneath them, thus providing some much-needed "glue" to an increasingly centrifugal political situation.
11. The plebiscite could probably be held in about a year, if ESG is really given top priority and sufficient funds, and if steps along the lines of those suggested in this paper are taken. While a longer period might relieve some Micronesians' anxiety, it would not really add much to their knowledge of the choices; and further delay invites further political fragmentation--as well as boredom.
12. During this one year, a determined effort should be made among the districts to reach some kind of compromise on future political relations with each other. The Pre-Convention Committee of Micronesian Congressmen may be the best instrument to assure that a series of informal discussions among leaders from all walks of life and all districts takes place; reaching such an understanding should not, in this politically divided but culturally consensus-oriented society be left for the Constitutional Convention to hash out in ninety frantic days.
13. If such discussions are not fully carried out, and no informal, pre-convention consensus is reached, the Convention (but not the plebiscite) should be postponed.

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the plebiscite on future relations with the United States should contain two choices: free association and independence (and this decision should be passed to the ESG Task Forces as soon as possible). ESG information already disseminated to the Micronesian people has distinctly implied that several alternatives will be offered them. If Micronesians were only able to approve or disapprove of a free association compact, there would be unnecessary criticism on the islands and probably increased support for "independence now."

- 15. Free Association appears today to have the support of a majority of Micronesians, especially in the populous district centers. These "urban" Micronesians certainly want to be self-governing (and in that sense "independent"); but they realize increasingly that like most small nations on earth, Micronesia must rely on --and cooperate with--others if it is to build a prosperous and happy society.
- 16. Free association could easily lose if the Micronesian people come to believe that they are being asked to choose between independence and dependence. Explanations of political status alternatives should not place too much emphasis on the question of continued U.S. financial support. "If you stay with us, we will pay you; if you don't, we will not" would be a dangerous way to suggest the issue and could backfire on the United States.<sup>5p</sup> Micronesian leaders are not so sure that the United States would cut them off financially if they did not agree to free association; they believe the United States has security interests in Micronesia and United Nations obligations which will require its active interest in and support of Micronesia (probably at a lower financial level) for years to come.
- 17. The political choice should be explained not in terms of less or more U.S. financial support; but rather in ways which discuss what is the best path for Micronesia at this particular stage of its history and development, and especially given political uncertainties and economic needs in the islands today. Free association should be explained as the choice which gives Micronesia time; time to weave a new political fabric and achieve greater economic self-reliance, with U.S. financial assistance gradually diminishing. Free association should be seen as a sensible and gradual path to a stronger, more prosperous and more independent Micronesia, a path which continues to leave open a later choice of complete independence or of closer association with the United States.
- 18. The choice of "independence now" should not be explained either as a route which will return Micronesia to a subsistence economy or as a choice which would cause the U.S. "to pick up its marbles (bases and aid) and go home." Independence should be explained as a possible path--if Micronesia wants to choose it--but one which should be timed to fit Micronesia's needs for future development.

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If the United States and Micronesia work together in free association over the next few years, they can achieve the kind of independence which Micronesians really want--as any people want; we can achieve a relationship in which both America and Micronesia will realize that what is most important between them is not what makes them separate or "independent" from each other, but what promotes their mutual and separate interests through interdependence.

# FOOTNOTES

1. The League divided mandates into three categories according to their ability to undertake independence. Category "C" mandates were considered the least prepared for independence. See Stanley A. deSmith, Microstates and Micronesia: Problems of America's Pacific Islands. New York, New York University Press, 1970.
2. Willard Price, America's Paradise Lost: The Strange Story of the Secret Atolls, New York, John Day, 1966, p. 129. For current economic statistics in this portion of the paper, see Economic Briefing Information on Micronesia's Economy, 1974, prepared by the Task Force on Education for Self Government, Department of Public Affairs, Government of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.
3. "The Many Faces of Micronesia" by Leonard Mason, Professor Emeritus of Anthropology, University of Hawaii, September, 1971, p. 9. From a pre-publication draft of an article in press. Quoted with permission of the author.
4. Only in the Marshall Islands does over 50% of the population live on islands distant from the district capital. Economic Briefing Information on Micronesia's Economy, op. cit.
5. Mason, "Many Faces," op. cit., p. 33.
6. Ibid., p. 35.
7. Norman Meller, The Congress of Micronesia. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1969, p. 400.
8. "Only during the 1960's has any serious attempt been made to persuade the Micronesians of their political future as a nation." deSmith, op. cit., p. 156.
9. United Nations Trusteeship Council, Report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, 1973, p. 37.
10. Column by Jon Anderson, Marianas Variety News and Views, October 19, 1973, p. 10.
11. Joint Committee on Future Status, Hearings of the Western Districts Subcommittee (Yap, Palau, and Marianas), Congress of Micronesia, November, 1973, pp. 48-49. See also Congress of Micronesia Joint Committee on Future Political Status, Hearings of the Eastern Districts Subcommittee (Truk, Ponape and the Marshalls), November, 1973, meeting held on Kusaie, July 18, 1973, pp. 35-36.
12. Report of the Western District Subcommittee to the Joint Committee on Future Status, Fifth Congress of Micronesia, Saipan, Mariana Islands, 1973, p. 9.



13. Report of Task Force I on Proposed Education for Self-Government Program, Government of the T.T.P.I., December 1973, p. 4.
14. Highlights, bi-monthly newsletter of the T.T. Government, February 1, 1973.
15. Ibid.
16. A film of Secretary of Interior Morton's January 24, 1974 address to the people of Micronesia was distributed to the district centers, suggesting one possible medium for political education which so far has been little used.
17. Scripts of Education for Self-Government Radio Broadcasts, February 1974, Department of Public Affairs, T.T.P.I.
18. Report of the Eastern District Subcommittee to the Joint Committee on Future Political Status, op. cit., pp. 9-11.
19. "Comments on Political Future of Micronesia," by Leonard Mason, Micronesia, University of Guam, December 1972, p. 39.
20. Congress of Micronesia Joint Committee on Future Political Status, Hearings in Truk on July 12, 1973, p. 88 and in Ponape, July 28, 1973, p. 103.
21. Interviewed in Saipan on March 29, 1974.
22. Truk hearings, op. cit., July 8, 1973, pp. 10-11.
23. Opinions differ on the desirability of a U.S. resource person. Senator Edward Pangalinan (Marianas), Representative Luke Tman (Yap), Senator Andon Amaraich (Truk), Carl Heine (former Yap Deputy District Administrator and advisor to the Congress of Micronesia) and Palau District Public Affairs Director Mitsui Salong favored the idea stressing that such an American must be thoroughly familiar with the status negotiations. Senator Roman Tmetuchl of Palau felt such a person might not be able to speak for U.S. policies and might as an "outsider" unduly influence the proceedings; Congressman Ekpar Silk of the Marshalls thought the Compact of Free Association would be sufficiently detailed to take care of most questions on U.S. policies; and Professor Norman Meller of Hawaii thought an American resource person would be suspect in such discussion meetings.
24. The ESG central Task Force Chairman believes that in a two-year program, the target should be primarily middle-level people in the districts.
25. Congress of Micronesia Joint Committee on Future Political Status Hearings, Eastern Districts Subcommittee, op. cit., meeting at Kitti, July 30, 1973, pp. 131-132.
26. Interviewed in Honolulu, March 23, 1974.
27. Interviewed at PATS in Ponape, April 8, 1974.

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28. Interviewed in Saipan, March 31, 1974.
29. Interviewed in Saipan, March 28, 1974.
30. Interviewed in Honolulu, March 23, 1974.
31. From MNS, Palau, February 29, 1972, quoted in "Unity and Disunity: Internal Problems and the Future Status of Micronesia" by Professor Leonard Mason. An enlarged version of this article will appear in Political Development in Micronesia, edited by Daniel Hughes and Sherwood Lingenfelter, Ohio State University Press. Quoted with the permission of Professor Mason.
32. Carl Heine, Micronesia at the Crossroads. Honolulu, University Press of Hawaii, 1974, p. 167.
33. Interviewed in Koror, Palau, April 2, 1974. It should be emphasized that Micronesian unity is fragile and somewhat artificial; only during the 1960's did the idea begin to gain wide support, with the founding of the Congress of Micronesia. None of the previous outside administrators--Spain, Germany or Japan--made any effort to promote the concept of unity. Rule by a common adversary was probably the most important binding force.
34. Marianas Variety, February 1, 1974, p. 2.
35. Highlights, February 1, 1974.
36. United Nations Trusteeship Council, Visiting Mission 1973 Report, op. cit., p. 38.
37. Interviewed in Saipan, March 29, 1974.
38. United Nations Trusteeship Council, Visiting Mission Report, op. cit., p. 38.
39. Interviewed in Honolulu, March 23, 1974.
40. Dan Smith, "Television in the Marianas," Micronesian Reporter, First Quarter, 1974, p. 11.
41. Ian A. Johnstone, Educational Broadcasts Officer, South Pacific Commission, "From Closed to Open Television - a Long-Term Project for the South Pacific," paper delivered at the Fifth Regional Education Seminar sponsored by the South Pacific Commission, Port Moresby, Papua-New Guinea, February 12-16, 1973, p. 3.
42. Ibid., pp. 4-5.
43. Bill Matthews, formerly with Christian Communication Program Pacific Conference of Churches. "Tonga, Western Samoa, Tahiti Get Look at Video Tape," report reprinted in Pacific Islands Communication Newsletter, December 1973, East-West Communication Institute, Honolulu.

44. The only daily paper in Micronesia is published for Americans in Kwajalein where no Micronesians can live (though many work there for the U.S. Army).
45. Marianas Variety, January 4, 1974, p. 6.
46. Tia Belau, February 1974, p. 6.
47. Ibid., p. 6.
48. Interviewed in Koror, Palau, April 2, 1974.
49. The Micronesian Independent, Vol. V, No. 10, March 25, 1974.
50. Interviewed in Majuro, April 12, 1974.
51. United Nations Trusteeship Council Report of the Visiting Mission, op. cit., pp. 37-38.
52. COM Joint Committee on Future Status, Western Districts Subcommittee, op. cit., p. 22.
53. Price, op. cit., pp. 190-191.
54. Briefing Materials, T.T.P.I., 1973.
55. Annual Report of the T.T.P.I. to the Secretary of Interior, 1973.
56. Joint HEW, Interior and T.T. Task Force 1973 Report on Health, Education and Social Services, Education Section, n. 33.
57. One useful-looking teaching unit for Secondary School teachers on "Government in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands," prepared in 1968, appears not to be widely used for some reason; in Ponape, the senior social studies teacher at PICS had never seen the book until it was shown to him.
58. The ESG radio scripts state that under the independence alternatives, "There would be no guarantee of support or assistance to Micronesia from other governments unless Micronesia was willing to agree to certain conditions. . . It has been said, truthfully, that you never can get something for nothing." Scripts of Education for Self-Government Radio Broadcasts, February 1974, Dept. of Public Affairs, T.T.P.I., p. 19.

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The Paper, Ponape Islands Central School, Kolonia, Ponape, Caroline Islands.

Tia Belau, Koror, Palau, Caroline Islands.

U.S. News and World Report.

Other

"Bibliography of Mass Communication and the Press in the Pacific Islands," Preliminary Working Bibliography No. 2, Articles from Pacific Islands Monthly, Vol. XXVI, No. 6 through Vol. XXXIII, No. 6, (January 1956 - June 1973), East-West Communication Institute, Honolulu, October 1973.

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Persons Interviewed

Washington

John Dorrance, Officer in Charge of Australia, New Zealand, Oceania, Micronesia Desk, Department of State.

Charles Sylvester, Office of United Nations Political Affairs, Department of State.

Robert Immerman, U.S. Mission to the United Nations.

Stanley S. Carpenter, Director of Territorial Affairs, Department of the Interior.

Ambassador Franklin Haydn Williams, The President's Personal Representative for Micronesian Status Negotiations.

James M. Wilson, Jr., U.S. Deputy Representative for Micronesian Status Negotiations.

James Berg, Office of Territorial Affairs, Department of Interior.

Janice M. Johnson, Education and Social Development Officer, Office of Territorial Affairs, Department of Interior.

Barry Ballow, Office of Micronesian Status Negotiations.

Don McHenry, Director of the Micronesia Project, sponsored by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Dirk Ballendorf, Peace Corps.

Andrea Leong, Peace Corps.

Colonel Vincent T. Blaz, U.S. Marine Corps.

Honolulu

Leonard Mason, Emeritus Professor of Anthropology, University of Hawaii.

Norman Meller, Professor of Political Science, University of Hawaii.

Jim Richstad, East-West Communications Institute, East-West Center, Honolulu.

John Heine, University of Hawaii (on leave from position as advisor to Congress of Micronesia).

John Griffin, Editor of Editorial Page, Honolulu Advertiser.

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Tokyo

DISSEMINATION

Sadaaki Numata, North American Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Mikio Sasaki, Chief of Editorial Section, International Bureau, Japan Broadcasting Corporation (N.H.K.).

Richard Petree, Counselor for Political Affairs, U.S. Embassy.

Saipan

Trust Territory Administration:

Peter T. Coleman, Deputy High Commissioner, Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (T.T.P.I.).

H. Neiman Craley, Jr., Special Assistant to the High Commissioner for Legislative Affairs, T.T.P.I.

Strik Yoma, Director of Public Affairs, T.T.P.I. Chairman, Task Force on Education for Self-Government.

David Ramarui, Director of Education, T.T.P.I.

Sam McPhetres, Department of Public Affairs, T.T.P.I., ESG Task Force member.

George Callison, Department of Public Affairs, T.T.P.I., Task Force member.

Daiziro Nakamura, Chief, Civic Affairs Division, Public Affairs Department, T.T.P.I., member ESG Task Force.

Gerald Craddock, Assistant Chief, Community Development Division, Public Affairs Department, T.T.P.I., member ESG Task Force.

James Manke, Chief, Public Information Division, Public Affairs Department, T.T.P.I.

Bonifacio Basilius, Assistant Chief Public Information Division, Public Affairs Department, T.T.P.I., member ESG Task Force.

Jon Anderson, Information Specialist, Public Information Division, Public Affairs Department, T.T.P.I.

Daniel Peacock, Supervisor, Library Services, Department of Education.

Marianas District Government:

David Q. Maratita, Public Affairs Officer.

Roger Ludwig, School Curriculum Supervisor, teacher, Marianas High School.

DISSEMINATION

Congress of Micronesia:

Senator Andon Amaraich, Truk.

Senator Edward DLG. Pangelinan, Marianas.

Representative Luke Tman, Yap.

Representative Herman Q. Guerrero, Marianas.

Newspapers:

Abed Younis, Publisher and Editor, Marianas Variety.

Department of State:

Mary Vance Trent, Liaison Officer, Office of Micronesian Status Negotiations.

Koror, Palau

Palau District Government:

Mitsuo Solana, Director of Public Affairs Office.

Yoichi Rengil, Legislative Liaison Officer, Public Affairs Office.

David Ngirmidol, Information Assistant, Public Affairs Office.

Alphonso R. Oiterona, Director, Education Office.

Wilhelm R. Rengil, Director, Micronesian Occupational Center.

Leonardo Ruluked, Principal, Palau High School.

Robert Owen, Chief Conservationist.

Palau District Legislature:

Itelbang Luii, Speaker.

Mr. Santos.

Joshua Koshiba.

Others:

Father Hoar, Catholic Church and Elementary School.

Francisco Uludong, Tia Belau.

Senator Roman Tmetuchl, Palau.

Former Senator John Nuirakeq, Lawyer.

Guam



Lee Holmes, President, Micronesian Cable Television Co.

Dr. William Viterelli, Vice President, University of Guam.

Truk

District Government:

Juan Sablan, District Administrator

Mitaro Danis, Deputy District Administrator.

Eskiel Malon, Director of Public Affairs Office.

John Sound, Civic Affairs Officer, Public Affairs Office.

Peter Casper, Radio Station Manager.

Headmaster, Truk High School.

Others:

Francis Polson, Peace Corps Representative.

Bill Palmer, Peace Corps Volunteer.

Francis X. Hezel, S.J., Xavier High School.

Nick Bossy, Leader of Anti-Independence Group.

Soukichi Fritz, Magistrate.

Susumu Aizawa, Magistrate, Tol Island, Truk Lagoon, and member of Chiefly family.

Henry Asugar, Representative of Micronesian Independent.

Hermes Katsura, Speaker of District Legislature.

Headmaster, Truk High School.

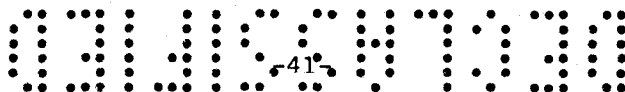
Ponape

District Government

Leo A. Falcam, District Administrator.

Tadao Sigrah, Director, Public Affairs Office.

Pensile Lawrence, Civic Affairs Officer, Public Affairs Office.



03:00:00  
Kotaro Gallen, Director, Education Office.

Harvey Secal, District Coordinator, Teacher Education, Education Office.

Daro Weital, Director, Community College of Micronesia.

Halvorsen Johnny, Radio Station Manager.

Kotaro Gallen, Deputy Director, Community Action Agency.

Ehson Johnson, Social Studies Teacher, Ponape Central School.

Others:

Father Curran, Catholic Mission, Ponape.

Father Hugh Costigan, Ponape Agricultural and Trade School.

Johnny Hadley, Son of traditional chief from Matelenihmw.

Representative Resio Moses, Congress of Micronesia.

Joseph Kasiano, District Legislature.

Donald Jonah, District Legislature (from Kusaie).

Majuro, Marshall Islands

District Government:

Oscar De Brum, District Administrator.

Tony A. De Brum, Director, Public Affairs Office.

Junior J. Nashion, Legislative Liaison Officer, Public Affairs Office.

Kinja Andrike, Director of Education Office.

William Nelson, Principal, Majuro High School.

Alfred Wright, Social Studies Teacher, Majuro High School.

Martin Butler, Curriculum Supervisor, Education Office.

Lawrence Edwards, Radio Station Manager.

Others:

Father L. G. Hacker, Catholic Mission and Assumption High School.

Brother Shea, Catholic Mission.

Representative Ekpan Silk, Congress of Micronesia.

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Rosendo Andrew, District Peace Corps Representative.

Atlan Anien, Speaker, District Legislature.

Joe Murphy, Editor, Micronesian Independent.

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