GUAM

Official Name	Territory of Guam
Political Status	Unincorporated territory of the United States
Capital	Agana
Population	113,000 (1984 midyear estimate)
Land Area	554 square kilometers
Currency	United States dollar (US$)

Physical Environment

Guam is the westernmost territory of the United States, situated in the western Pacific Ocean approximately 2,400 kilometers east of Manila, 2,600 kilometers south of Tokyo, 4,800 kilometers north of Sydney, 5,900 kilometers southwest of Honolulu, and 9,000 kilometers from San Francisco. The largest, most populous, and southernmost island of the Mariana archipelago, Guam is 48 kilometers long and six to 20 kilometers wide (see fig. 10).

The island was formed through successive upheavals of undersea volcanoes. The northern two-thirds lacks surface streams and consists of a coralline limestone plateau of rolling hills and several volcanic formations set on cliff lines 61 to 183 meters in elevation. The southern one-third is a complex of fertile areas, low volcanic mountains and valleys where small streams and several waterfalls are found. The highest point of the island is Mount Lamlam, 407 meters above sea level. Surrounding the island is a coral reef; swift currents and heavy swells make anchoring extremely hazardous. The only valuable harbor is Apra Harbor on the central western side of the island, one of the largest protected harbors in the Pacific and the site of a major United States naval base.

The climate is tropical year-round, temperatures ranging from about 22°C to 30°C. May and June are the hottest months, and July through October is the wet season, marked by southwesterly monsoons. Rainfall ranges from 1,750 millimeters to 2,250 millimeters per year. Westerly trade winds blow from the northeast during the coolest and driest season, December through February. Earthquakes and destructive typhoons are not uncommon. Tropical storms and typhoons hit the islands at least twice a

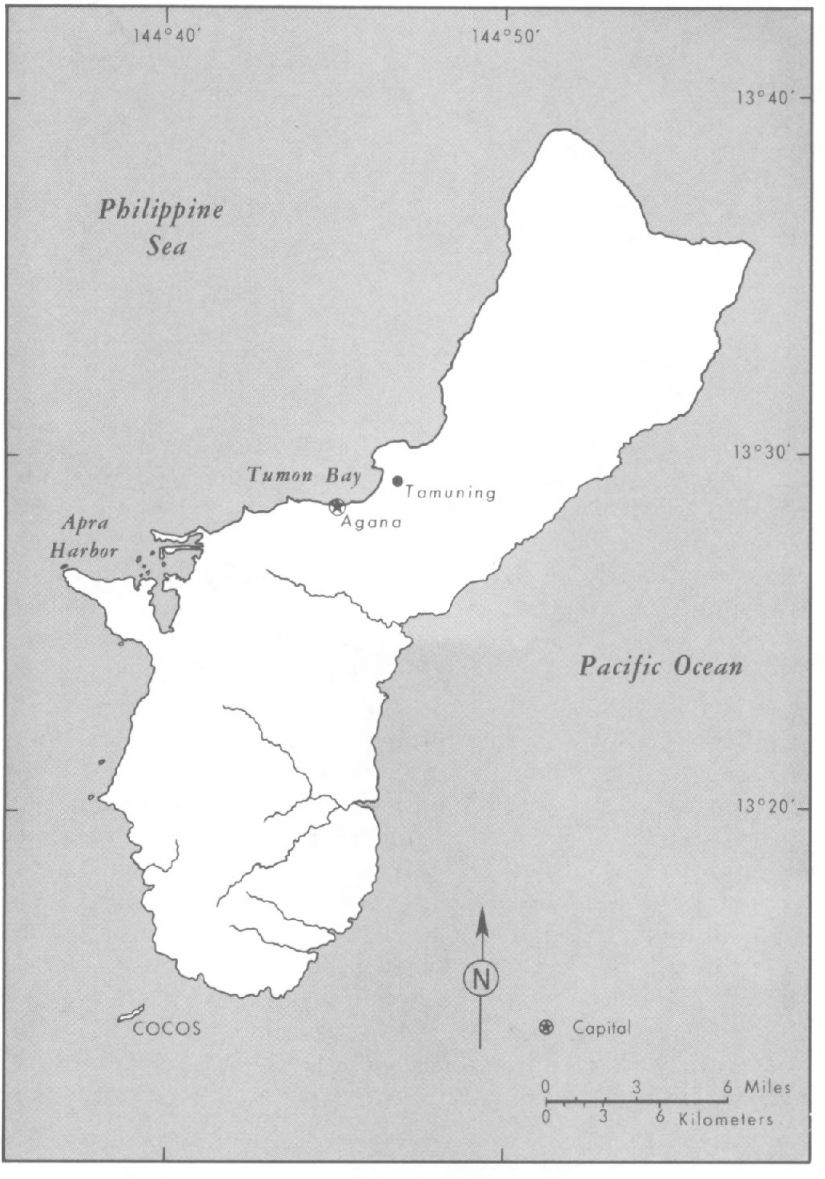


Figure 10. Guam, 1984

year, accompanied by heavy rainfall and winds gusting in excess of 130 kilometers per hour. The worst typhoon in the recorded history of the island struck in 1982, causing substantial environ-

mental and property damage.

The tropical climate yields lush vegetation, including vines, savanna grass, various species of palm, and other trees, such as coconut, breadfruit, banyan, ironwood *(ifil)*, bananas, and several flowering species. The ironwood tree is the most valued source of timber and is now protected by law. It is termite resistant, turns black with age, and eventually becomes so hard that holes must be drilled in it before nails or screws can be inserted.

There is a limited range of animal life; the only known native mammals are two species of bats. The bird population suffered, as did most island animals, during World War II and was further reduced by heavy spraying of insecticides after the war. The bird known as the Guam rail, a flightless species native to the island, has been rapidly disappearing, its numbers reduced from about 80,000 in 1968 to about 50 in the early 1980s. The sharp decline is attributed to the predations of the Philippine rat snake, introduced in the 1960s to prey on the island's rats. In early 1984 the United States Department of the Interior tentatively agreed to place the Guam rail on the endangered species list for federal protection. This bird is one of seven species of birds and two of bats for which the government of Guam has sought—unsuccessfully—federal protection since the late 1970s. Two of the birds, the Guam broadbill and the Guam white-eye, are believed to have become extinct.

The only snake on the island until the Philippine rat snake arrived had been a burrowing earthworm-like blind snake. Sea turtles are common visitors in coastal areas. Insect life is minimal except for many species of mosquitoes, none of which are malarial. Stinging ants have been known to kill baby chicks. Nonpoisonous but painful scorpions and centipedes are common. Of the three types of lizards found on the island, the most formidable in appearance is the iguana, which grows 1.2 to 1.8 meters in length. Freshwater fish are not common and are not prized by the islanders. A variety of hermit crabs, along with coconut crabs, sea crabs, and night-feeding crabs, are found in coastal areas. Small, brilliantly colored tropical fish, eels, and small squid live in the bays protected by reefs. Tuna, shark, blue marlin, and other deep-water fish are plentiful along the coast.

Many kinds of domesticated animals found on the island were introduced after the arrival of the Spanish. Mules and horses were brought in for draft purposes, but the water buffalo, introduced from the Philippines, proved the most adaptable to the climate. Most cattle suffered from the heat and provided limited meat and milk. Chickens were an important food item for the is-

landers, and roosters were highly valued for cockfighting.

Historical Setting

The history of Guam before the sixteenth century is obscure. Early accounts do not record the existence of chronologies or genealogies similar to those found in Polynesia and other parts of the Pacific. Carbon dating of cooking pits shows the presence of man as early as 3000 B.C. Potsherds, stone tools, and weapons found in archaeological diggings indicate that the island was well populated at least 3,000 years ago, emerging as the major population and trade center for all of the Mariana Islands.

The earliest inhabitants of Guam and the Northern Marianas were the Chamorros, largely referred to as Guamanians in current literature. Although their origin is still unknown, on the basis of their language and way of life they are believed to be traceable to Malaysia, the Philippines, and Indonesia. Most anthropologists agree that if the Chamorros did not themselves originate in Southeast Asia, they had prolonged contacts with people who did. The Chamorros depended on fishing and on gathering in the jungle and on the reef and were the only oceanic peoples to cultivate rice. Their religious beliefs centered on the veneration of the spirits of the dead.

The first contact with the West was the arrival of Ferdinand Magellan in 1521, when the Chamorros probably called the island Guahan. After Magellan's landing, however, Guam and the adjacent islands became known by two other names: Ilhas das Velas (Islands of Sails), after the strange triangular sails the natives used on their boats, and Islas de Ladrones (Islands of Thieves), because of the larcenous behavior of the natives. In 1688 the islands were renamed the Marianas by a Jesuit priest in honor of his patroness, Mariana of Austria, widow of Philip IV of Spain.

Except for infrequent visits by European explorers, the major contact with the West during the next 100 years came during the annual layover of Spanish galleons traveling between Mexico and the Philippines. Guam, which was claimed by Spain in 1565, was important to the galleons as a source of food and water, but there was no attempt to influence the indigenous way of life.

Based on the limited and sometimes conflicting accounts of early explorers and Jesuit priests, the Chamaorro society in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was broadly divided into three discrete groups of nobles, commoners, and outcasts. Generally, the members of the nobility were associated with high-

status occupations, such as village chiefs, navigators, warriors, canoe builders, and traders. Social distance was minimal between nobles and commoners, but it was fairly rigid between the two and the outcasts, whose way of life was governed by restrictions and taboos.

The basic social unit was the family, living in small clusters of villages, each comprising 50 to 150 huts. A large extended, rather than nuclear, family was the dominant aspect of village life. A chief and a council of nobles or elders administered the village, which was the principal political division. The descent system was matrilineal; a man inherited property and titles from his mother's brother. Marriage was monogamous, but concubines were permitted, as was divorce. Marriage within the descent line was forbidden.

Spanish interest in Guam and the adjacent islands grew considerably after 1662, when a Jesuit priest began to Christianize the Chamorros. In 1668 the first permanent Spanish settlement was established on the island. Initially, the work of conversion showed tangible results, even though some natives were perturbed over the Jesuits' insensitivity to their beliefs about ancestral spirits. In 1672 an open revolt broke out, and intermittent hostilities between the Spanish and the Chamorros ensued for more than two decades. Insurrections and Spanish reprisals, coupled with smallpox, syphilis, and other diseases brought by Spanish crews decimated the native population from an estimated 50,000 to 100,000 in the early 1600s to 5,000 by the end of the century.

During the eighteenth century Guam remained an isolated Spanish outpost, administered under a resident governor reporting to the viceroy of Mexico—then a Spanish domain. The process of Hispanicization continued apace, often inseparably from Jesuit influence. The natives began wearing Western-style clothes, adopted Spanish customs, cultivated corn, and learned iron forging, spinning, and weaving. By 1710 nearly all the islanders had become Roman Catholics.

The role of Catholicism as the principal faith of the Chamorros remained unchanged even after the Jesuit order was expelled from Guam in 1769 and its property taken over by the Spanish state. The expulsion was actually ordered two years earlier by Spanish king Charles III, who by that time had come to regard the Jesuit order as a major threat to his authority. Spanish colonization intensified on Guam in the absence of Jesuit interference, but the Jesuits' departure created economic havoc and added to the general deterioration of island conditions. Meanwhile, the

decline of the indigenous population continued unchecked, reaching a recorded low of 1,500 by 1783.

Guam was ceded to the United States as a prize of the Spanish-American War of 1898. Administratively controlled by the Department of the Navy, the island was developed as a naval station, and its inhabitants became nationals of the United States. The quality of life on Guam improved gradually, as progress was made in areas such as public health and sanitation, education, roads, and agriculture. Compulsory education was introduced, and land taxation was reformed somewhat to the benefit of small farmers. Other changes included the banning of both religious instruction in public schools and the practice of concubinage.

In December 1941, at the onset of World War II in the Pacific, Guam was seized by the Japanese. The Japanese removed all surrendered American garrison troops from the island. The Guamanians were initially allowed some freedom as a military expediency but came under restricitons as the tide of war began to turn against the Japanese forces. English was replaced by Japanese as the medium of instruction, business and religious freedoms were curtailed, and Guamanians, including women and children, were pressed into labor along with Koreans brought in by the Japanese. Islanders suspected of aiding several Americans hiding in the jungle were shot or beheaded; only one of the Americans survived, many natives having risked their lives to keep him safe. By the summer of 1944 food had become scarce, and conditions of life had become progressively unbearable.

Guam was retaken by the United States in August 1944 at a cost of 7,000 American troops and 17,200 Japanese. It became the headquarters of the United States naval forces in the Pacific in January 1945. Wounds of wartime destruction healed rapidly under extensive reconstruction and rehabilitation. In 1947 the secretary of the navy granted limited home-rule powers to what was then called the Guam Congress, the territorial legislature of the island.

In 1950 the island was placed under a civil administration. The Organic Act of Guam, a law passed by the United States Congress in that year, shifted administrative control to the Department of the Interior. The act defined Guam to be "an unincorporated territory of the United States," provided for three branches of government analogous to those of the United States—executive, legislative, and judicial—and granted citizenship to Guamanians born on and after April 11, 1899, provided that they had not taken steps to retain or acquire foreign nationality.

The Social System

Contacts with foreign cultures and peoples since the sixteenth century have gradually influenced the values, patterns, and structures of Chamorro society. Hispanicization and Catholicism led to a progressive decline of the old way of life. The matrilineal descent system was abandoned, and European concepts of the family were adopted. Spanish clothing styles and adaptations of Manila dress became popular. Towns were laid out on Spanish models. The capital had a cathedral, a central plaza, and stone buildings with red tile roofs. Even the language assimilated many Spanish and Filipino elements. The center of village life for most Guamanians came to be associated with the local church rather than the traditional men's clubs. Instead of observing traditional patterns set around planting and harvest festivals, the islanders followed the church calendar and celebrated its festivals.

Under United States administration since the turn of the century, the pace of change—gradual in the Spanish era—quickened steadily. The secular, public, village school became a popular center of community activity. American concepts of inheritance were introduced, and parental marriage arrangements became less commonplace. A money economy replaced what little remained of traditional dependence on barter. The mestizo (person of mixed blood) upper class lost its elite status as the source of sociopolitical influence shifted to officers of the United States Navy. Increasingly, Guamanian youth abandoned Spanish customs and patterned their lives on American models. Also evident was the growing Guamanian exposure to concepts of equality, freedom, and popular rule. Opportunities to participate in democratic processes remained marginal, however, during the first half of the twentieth century.

The erosion of traditional ways was carried further in the years after World War II. Spanish influence among the old continued, albeit as a marginal aspect of the island life. Most Guamanians came to reflect the basic culture, society, and values of mainland Americans. Except for a small number of older islanders, almost all Guamanians spoke English, the sole official language of Guam until 1974. The use of Chamorro, an Austronesian language, was limited to older islanders. Before the arrival of the Spanish, Chamorro was unwritten; the alphabet was a roman script identical to that used in Spanish. The contemporary form of Chamorro has changed considerably from the original version. Many traditional words and phrases have been dropped from common usage, and new words have evolved. The spellings of

words often varied from village to village, depending on the local preference for Spanish and indigenous sounds and forms. As part of the effort to preserve the Chamorro culture, legislation was enacted in 1974 making Chamorro a second official language and the teaching of Chamorro in the elementary schools compulsory.

Guam has a well-developed public and private education system. In 1982 there were two private business colleges, one public community college, and a degree-granting institution of higher learning called the University of Guam. Education was compulsory between the ages of six and 16. Of the total enrollment in the kindergartens and the elementary, middle, and high schools, 84 percent attended the public schools. The University of Guam had originated in 1952 as the two-year, coeducational, and public-supported Territorial College of Guam. In 1963 it received accreditation as a four-year liberal arts college, and a graduate school was added in 1967. The college was made a university the next year, offering a wide range of undergraduate and graduate degrees. The total enrollment in 1982 was 2,395, of which 356 were from the various trust territory islands of the United States (see Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, this ch.). Two of the strongest academic and research programs in the university were connected with the Marine Laboratory Institute and the Micronesian Area Research Center.

In 1984 there were no persons of pure Chamorro stock remaining on Guam, although a majority of the population traced their ancestry to Chamorros. Modern Guamanians are a mixture of various ethnic and cultural groups. To the original Chamorro traits are added genetic and cultural influences originating in Europe, the Philippines, Hawaii, the Americas, Asia, and Micronesia.

As of mid-1982 the population was estimated to be 108,406, including nearly 15,000 military personnel and their dependents and several thousand nonimmigrant workers and their dependents. About 55 percent of the population was Guamanian or, loosely, Chamorro; 20 percent, Filipino; 19 percent, military personnel and their dependents; and the remainder, alien workers. The annual growth rate of population was 2.2 percent between 1970 and 1980, double that of the mainland United States. The urban population was 40 percent in 1980; it had been 26 percent 10 years earlier. Roughly one-fourth of the island population was concentrated in the capital, Agana, and its four surrounding municipalities in the central, narrowest part of the island.

The Economy

In the early 1980s the economy continued to depend heavily on government activities that made up the public sector. As of March 1981 the territorial and federal government agencies composed 31 and 19 percent, respectively, of the total civilian work force of 33,600. Generally, public sector jobs were more attractive than those in the private sector because of higher pay and better fringe benefits. On Guam the territorial government was responsible for certain federal functions, such as the issuance of passports, customs clearance, environmental protection, marine safety, and tax collection. Moreover, it owned and operated public utilities and hospitals.

Federal spending continued to buttress the island economy. It included loans and grants to the public and private sectors, as well as expenditures for the military and other federal agencies. Income taxes collected from federal employees, including military personnel, reverted to the general fund revenues of the territorial government. In the fiscal year (FY) beginning October 1981, these amounted to 15 percent of such revenues.

The military was by far the most dominant element in the federal government. Government agencies collectively owned 33 percent of the land surface and had 6,400 civilian employees on their payrolls. The military share of the federal landholdings and of the civilian employment was 96 and 93 percent, respectively, in the early 1980s. Two out of every 10 islanders were connected with the military establishment, and at least 20 percent of total island retailing was transacted through military outlets.

Revenues for government operations in FY 1982 totaled US$153.6 million, up 5.9 percent from the previous year. The single largest source of these revenues was the territorial income tax at 48 percent; the second largest, at 25 percent, was the 4-percent gross receipts tax on all sales of goods and services, retail and wholesale. Federal income tax collected from federal employees, including military, accounted for 15 percent. Federal grants-in-aid amounted to 3 percent, and the remaining 9 percent came from miscellaneous sources. Expenditures for FY 1982 were US$158.8 million. The top three operating programs were public education (33 percent), subsidies to autonomous agencies (16 percent), and public safety (14 percent).

Gross receipts for the total market value of all goods and services for FY 1982 were over US$1 billion; gross receipts had reached only US$563 million in 1973. The two leading sectors by value in 1980 were retailing (32 percent) and manufacturing (31 percent), followed by services (12 percent), wholesaling (8 per-

cent), construction (7 percent), financial services (7 percent), and transportation and miscellaneous (3 percent).

Agriculture remained inconsequential to the island economy, seldom exceeding 1 percent of the gross business receipts in any year since the end of World War II. It has suffered from the wartime devastation of cropland and from a steady diversion of labor to services catering to the federal and territorial government activities. In the early 1980s Guam continued to import most of its food, including fruits, vegetables, meat, and fish. The development of agriculture as an import substitution industry was being given serious official attention. Principal agricultural products were fruits, vegetables, and eggs; these three alone accounted for 76 to 86 percent of the value of agricultural production throughout the 1970s and in the early 1980s.

The fastest growing private sector industry was tourism, which had grown spectacularly since the opening of the first scheduled flight between Guam and Japan in 1967. The tourist industry in 1982 was responsible for more than 32 percent of total retail sales, at least 15 percent of the island employment, and some 20 percent of government revenue. Visitor expenditures were US$130 million in 1982, up from US$1.32 million in 1966. About 84 percent of the 326,341 arrivals in 1982 (6,600 in 1967) were from Japan; 8 percent came from North America and Hawaii; and 6 percent came from other areas in Micronesia.

Commercial trade is centered in the highly developed Agana, Tamuning, and Tumon Bay areas, the home of the island's booming and plushest hotel resorts and entertainment facilities. In 1982 trade accounted for 44 percent of gross business sales. A substantial portion of these taxes was generated by the tourist trade, which led to the flourishing of specialty import shops for food, clothing, appliances, and other consumer goods. Guam is a duty-free port; thus a wide range of imported luxury goods can be purchased at a lower cost than in the United States or even in Hong Kong.

Manufacturing has steadily expanded since the 1960s. In 1981 it generated 33 percent of total gross business sales, employing only 3.5 percent of the civilian work force. The single largest manufacturing activity was oil refining, which yielded 90 percent of total manufacturing receipts. Major petroleum products were jet fuel and other special fuels designed for military application and gasoline. Among other manufactured articles were processed foods, soft drinks, rock and concrete products, garments, watches, souvenir items, furniture, and liqueurs and spirits. The lack of raw materials and of a large skilled labor force have pre-

sented major impediments to the diversification of manufacturing.

Guam continued to rely on imports for most of its commodity needs. During the 1960s and 1970s imports averaged 91 percent of the total value of trade. Major imports included fuel, machinery, and transport equipment, manufactures, foods, and live animals. In 1980 one-fourth of all imports came from the United States, down from the annual average of 34 percent in the 1975–79 period. Japan was the second major supplier, at 8.3 percent, up from an average of 6.8 percent in the corresponding period.

During the first half of 1981 alone, exports reached US$76.5 million, whereas they had reached US$61 million for the whole of 1980. Many of the exports were reexports and transshipments, largely to the United States and other parts of Micronesia, Guam being a major distribution center for the Marianas and other trust territory islands. In 1981 exports rose sharply because of increases in oil exports to Taiwan, Japan, and the Philippines. Other export items were beverages and tobacco, meats, livestock, fish, watches, jewelry, and garments.

In mid-1984 economic opportunities on Guam were attractive for outside investors and businesses. Among the incentives offered were provisions for a 75-percent rebate on corporate income taxes generated from dividends for up to five years and a 100-percent abatement of real property taxes for up to 10 years. Corporate income taxes were at 25 percent of the federal rates for up to 20 years. Another attraction was Guam's status as a duty-free port, which allowed the tariff-free importation of materials for local manufacturing; finished products could be exported to the United States duty-free, provided that at least 30 percent of the final value was added in Guam. The purpose of these incentives was to offset certain disadvantages, such as Guam's limited market, its isolated location, and its small private sector labor force. On balance, Guam's economic performance has been fairly impressive. In the 1965–75 period business income, personal income, and government revenue tripled in real terms. In 1982 per capita income was US$4,574, nearly double the level of 1972.

Guam is sometimes called the urban center of the western Pacific because of relatively well-developed networks of communications and transportation linking the island to many Pacific islands and to the countries rimming the Pacific Ocean. The island is serviced by Northwest Airlines, Japan Air Lines, Continental Airlines, Continental/Air Micronesia, South Pacific Island Airways, and Air Nauru; in 1984 there were indications that

Hawaiian Airlines and Aloha Airlines might inaugurate flights to Guam to take up the slack of service by Pan American World Airways, which terminated its Guam connection in April of that year.

The Guam International Air Terminal can handle the largest commercial jets. The major harbor and port of entry is Apra Harbor, capable of handling bulk, conventional, and container cargo. The island is serviced also by major cargo carriers, such as United States Lines and American President Lines; augmenting these are several interregional and intraregional cargo carriers.

In the early 1980s Guam had 640 kilometers of excellent all-weather roads, more than double those in 1969. As of 1982 there were 58,207 registered motor vehicles, of which 39,252 were private cars, the principal means of land transportation.

Guam has excellent access to worldwide points via satellite for telephone, telegram, telex, and data communications service. It is served by the domestic postal service of the United States, and rates are equivalent to those for Hawaii and the west coast of the United States. Telephone and other electronic communications rates between Guam and the mainland United States are, however, higher than they would be within the mainland because Guam is treated as a foreign country by the Federal Communications Commission. The island has a daily and a semiweekly newspaper, in addition to several locally published periodicals. There are two commercial radio stations and one commercial television station that also has a radio facility. The television station offered a full schedule of major mainland network programs as well as local live programs. In the early 1980s a public television station began to offer largely educational and cultural programs.

The Political System

The principles underlying the governmental and political processes of Guam are derived from those of the United States. They are essentially consonant, in spirit as well as in practice, with the concepts of checks and balances, popular sovereignty, democratic rule, and popular accountability as ordained in the United States Constitution.

Guam, an unincorporated territory, is under the general administrative supervision of the Department of the Interior, which is one of many federal agencies represented on the island. Its relationship with the United States is defined in the Organic Act of Guam, as amended; this legislation grants the island a home rule that can be exercised within the framework of powers conferred by the United States Congress. Guam is subject to federal laws

and regulations and is entitled to one nonvoting delegate in the United States House of Representatives. The Guamanians are United States citizens but cannot participate in the presidential elections of the United States.

The government of Guam, or the territorial government as it is sometimes called, is composed of three branches: the executive, legislative, and judicial. Its chief executive officer is the governor, popularly elected for four-year terms; he can be reelected to a second term but may not stand for a third term unless one full term has intervened. Candidates to the office of governor must have been a United States citizen and a bona fide resident of Guam for five consecutive years preceding the election.

The governor is responsible for the implementation of all federal laws applicable to Guam as well as local laws. He may issue executive orders and regulations and may also recommend bills to the legislature of Guam. Once a year he must submit a report on his administraiton to the secretary of the interior in Washington for transmission to Congress. His accountability is primarily to the electorate of Guam, however; he can be removed for cause by a referendum election initiated by the legislature when such a referendum election is requested either by a two-thirds vote of the lawmakers or by a number of registered voters equivalent to at least 50 percent of the voters who cast ballots in the previous general election. Assisted by a lieutenant governor who is also popularly elected for four-year terms, the governor presides over an administration divided into various line departments, staff offices, and a number of autonomous public bodies.

The legislature of Guam is unicameral, consisting of 21 senators (as these representatives are officially called), who are elected by popular vote every two years in the same year that general elections are held on the mainland. For the purpose of election, Guam's 19 municipalities (also called villages) are divided into four groups, and seats are allocated proportionatey to the number of residents registered in each group.

The legislative power of Guam extends to all local matters. Local legislation must be consistent with all federal laws applicable to the island. As an unincorporated territory, Guam's legislative jurisdiction may not exceed those powers conferred by Congress. All locally enacted bills must be reported by the governor to the Department of the Interior, and Congress is empowered to annul any local legislation.

Judicial authority is vested in the Federal District Court of Guam and other courts established by the laws of Guam. The judge of the district court is appointed by the president of the

United States for an eight-year term, subject to confirmation by the Senate. This court has both original and appellate jurisdiction in all cases arising under the Constitution, treaties, and laws of the United States; it may also handle cases not tried by locally established courts. Appeals from the district court are taken to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals of the United States and eventually to the Supreme Court of the United States.

The court of first instance for all cases arising under the laws of Guam is the Superior Court of Guam, formerly known as the Island Court. The judges of the Superior Court are appointed by the governor for renewable terms of eight years, subject to confirmation by the territorial legislature. Justice is also administered by the police court, traffic court, juvenile court, and small-claims courts. Criminal and civil procedures are similar to those on the mainland. The only notable exception is the absence of trial by jury.

Guam does not have county or municipal subdivisions having separate taxing authority. The 19 municipalities (villages) are each headed by an elected commissioner, but this officer has no legal authority. The commissioner presides over varied community matters on a self-help basis.

Political competition is bipartisan. Every two years the Democratic and Republican parties vie for popular support in electing their respective candidates to the office of the nonvoting delegate to the House of Representatives, the governorship, and the 21 seats in the legislature of Guam. In the general election held in November 1982, the Democrats gained control of all three institutions. The voter turnout was 87 percent of the 35,207 registered voters. Since 1950 the voter participation has been consistently high, ranging from a low of 80 percent to a high of 92 percent.

For many years the major interest of most politically aware Guamanians was focused on the political status of Guam. The status issue was voted on in a preliminary plebiscite held in January 1982. Nearly one-half of the 9,929 people taking part favored a commonwealth status with the United States—a status that would give Guam the same semi-independent status as Puerto Rico. Twenty-six percent preferred statehood, and less than 4 percent mentioned independence. In the September 1982 runoff referendum between commonwealth status and statehood, 73 percent opted for commonwealth against 21 percent for statehood.

Apart from the status issue, the Guamanian leaders continued to lobby for the right to vote in the United States presidential elections and for exemption from certain federal laws whose

application to Guam would adversely affect the island's interest. From Guam's point of view, certain federal laws were regarded as unrealistic. Exemptions would allow Guam, for example, the use of cheaper imported vessels for shipping between American ports; current regulations require the use of more expensive American-built ships. Another effort concerned the liberalization of visa requirements for Japanese tourists visiting Guam; visa waivers would allow greater access for tourists to Guam, resulting in a substantial boost to the island's tourist industry. For years exemption was also sought from environmental regulations requiring Guam to adopt the same stringent emission controls imposed on mainland industries. In December 1983 a law was passed by the United States Congress, evidently because the application of strict clean air standards to Guam was without merit. The risk of environmental pollution was considered unlikely because trade winds would blow over the island year-round, taking emissions out to the ocean.

Security

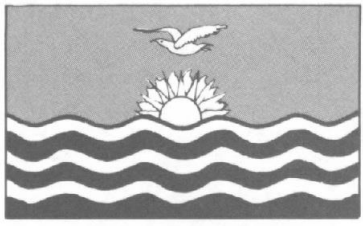
The maintenance of public order, safety, and civil defense is the responsibility of the territorial government, whereas external security and foreign affairs fall under the appropriate departments in Washington. Public safety is the responsibility of several functional agencies. The Department of Public Safety operates the police force and supervises motor vehicle registration. Other agencies are the Department of Corrections; the Department of Law, whose head is the attorney general; the Department of Youth Affairs; Public Defender Services Corporation; the Criminal Justice Planning Agency; the Office of Civil Defense; and the Department of Commerce, which is responsible for port security.

Guam continues to play a major role in the national security system of the United States. Units of the air force, navy, and coast guard are stationed on the island. Anderson Air Force Base, located on the northern tip of the island, is the most important Pacific base of the Strategic Air Command (SAC); this base is responsible for SAC operations west of the international date line and in Asia. Its airstrip provides services for the 24-hour inflight air alert of SAC. Another important service provided by facilities on the island is the aerial weather reconnaissance of tropical cyclones throughout the western Pacific.

Apra Harbor provides the navy with major repair and maintenance facilities for the Seventh Fleet and is the major Pacific facility servicing nuclear Polaris submarines. The Naval

Air Station has a joint-use agreement with the territorial government in operating the island's commercial airport. All the military services have provided major aid in the development of island infrastructure and in the support and expansion of local business and service operations. Although there is concern over the amount of land currently under military control, relations between the Guamanians and military personnel have been for the most part cordial and cooperative. In 1984 efforts were under way to release more military-controlled landholdings to the civilian sector.

KIRIBATI



Flag: Yellow rising sun and frigate bird above blue and white waves on red field

Official Name	Republic of Kiribati
Political Status	Independent state (1979)
Capital	Tarawa (Bairiki is administrative center)
Population	61,400 (1984 midyear estimate)
Land Area	690 square kilometers
Currency	Australian dollar ($A)
Main Islands and Island Groups	Banaba, Gilbert Islands, Line Islands Phoenix Islands

Kiribati has an exceptionally large ocean area. Its phosphate resources, formerly the backbone of the economy, were exhausted by 1979, and its hopes for an economically independent future lay largely in the promise of the marine resources within its immense ocean boundaries. Internal regional development has been highly uneven, favoring the Gilbert Islands and its principal atoll, Tarawa, the political and economic center of the country.

Physical Environment

Kiribati (pronounced Kiri-bas) consists of 33 tiny islands; all but one, Banaba (formerly Ocean Island), are clustered in three principal groups separated by immense stretches of water. Their combined total land area is only about 10 times the size of the District of Columbia; but the total ocean area over which the islands are distributed measures, by various estimates, from 3.5 to 5 million square kilometers. The predominant Gilbert Islands group straddles the equator on the western side of the international date line, northeast of Tuvalu and southeast of the Marshall Islands. Banaba lies approximately 440 kilometers farther west. At the other extreme end of the country, the eight Line Islands are located far east of the date line; the main island of the group, Kiritimati (Christmas), is situated some 2,100 kilometers southeast of Honolulu. Between these extremes are the eight Phoenix Islands, which lack permanent populations.

All the islands are low-lying coral atolls, the single exception being the raised limestone island of Banaba, which rises to a height of 81 meters. Kiritimati, covering 363.4 square kilometers,

is one of the largest coral formations in the world, but most of the others are patches of sandy, rubbled coral. Many islands enclose a lagoon. Extensive reef areas, nearly dry at low tide, surround the atolls, severely limiting access by boat. Foreign vessels calling at the main overseas port on Tarawa must be served by tugs and barges from offshore anchorages.

The difficulty of approaching many atolls by sea, as well as Kiribati's remoteness and far-flung geography, makes air transport an important means of communication. Overseas and domestic airlines connected Tarawa's Bonriki Airport with Nauru, Fiji, and Hawaii during the early 1980s. Expansion of domestic airline service to the outer islands has been aided by government support for the construction of airstrips. As of mid-1984 there were approximately 17 airstrips in the outer islands, most receiving regularly scheduled domestic flight service.

The Gilberts are covered with coconut palms and smaller numbers of pandanus (screw pine) trees that provide construction materials for traditional buildings. The soil is poor, and organic materials must be added so that taro and other subsistence crops can grow.

Northeast and southeast trade winds flowing toward the equator converge in the area of the Gilberts to form a belt of low-pressure tropical air that moves across the islands in a regular pattern, dominating the climate. The mean annual temperature is 27°C. Rainfall is heaviest from December to February, when the doldrums bring disturbed, showery weather. Rainfall in general is uncertain, however, showing considerable variation not only seasonally but also within short distances.

Drought is a problem, especially in the central and southern Gilberts and in the Phoenix Islands, where a British attempt at resettling some Gilbertese in the late 1930s had to be abandoned because of water shortages. Other environmental hazards include occasional storms that can create severe wave surges. The absence of high ground—only Banaba rises higher than four meters at any spot—renders freshwater reserves liable to inundation by salt water.

Historical Setting

Although archaeological artifacts indicate that certain of the Line and Phoenix islands were at one time inhabited—probably by Polynesian peoples—at the time of the arrival of the Europeans, only the Gilberts and Banaba were settled. The origins of the I-Kiribati, as the Gilbertese people are called locally, remain

obscure. Their own oral tradition associates the evolution of contemporary society with the arrival of Polynesian peoples from the Samoa Islands centuries ago and their interfusion with indigenous inhabitants. Based on their present-day physical and cultural attributes, however, both the Gilbertese and the Banabans are generally classified as Micronesian, having some degree of Polynesian admixture. It is assumed that they reached the islands as migrants from the west, possibly from Indonesia.

Before the arrival of the Europeans, rivalry between various kingdoms and family alliances created a climate of uncertainty and intermittent warfare. Invaders attacked from the north, and Gilbertese themselves raided the Ellice Islands (present-day Tuvalu) to the south. (On the island of Nui, in that group, a Gilbertese dialect became the lingua franca.) On most islands authority rested with a group of kin elders, but on two atolls dominant chieftains held a firm grip on the populace. Struggles for power and control over land among the various groups were frequent, and continuing rivalry between the northern and southern sets of islands carried into the late twentieth century.

Kiritimati was the first island to be encountered by European explorers. The Gilberts were first sighted in 1823, the last of the Phoenix group in 1825. After their discovery the islands were regularly visited by whaling and trading ships. Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries converted most of the population to Christianity during the mid- and late nineteenth century, leaving the Gilbertese about equally divided between the two major branches of the faith. The islands themselves offered little of value to any colonial power, given the paucity of their resources, apart from coconut palms. From about 1850 to 1875, however, blackbirders raided local settlements to kidnap islanders for use as laborers in Fiji, Tahiti, Hawaii, Australia, and Latin America. Gilbertese offered fierce, but usually vain, resistance.

In 1892 Britain established a protectorate over the Gilbert Islands and the nine nearby Ellice Islands, placing them under the jurisdiction of its high commissioner for the western Pacific, then based in Fiji (see Fiji, ch. 2). In the Gilberts themselves there was only a small British staff; therefore the local headmen and magistrates retained considerable authority over their own affairs. Banaba was annexed in 1900 on evidence of its rich phosphate resources. In 1916 Britain announced the formation of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony (GEIC). Banaba and two of the northern Line Islands were included almost at once, Kiritimati was added in 1919, and the Phoenix Islands in 1939. A joint British-United States administration of two islands of the Phoenix

group was agreed on in 1939 in partial settlement of conflicting British and United States claims to the Line and Phoenix groups.

Apart from copra production, the colonial economy was based almost exclusively on exploitation of Banaba's phosphate resources. The British Phosphate Commission, a consortium of the British, Australian, and New Zealand governments, mined the phosphate, which was exported to Australia and New Zealand for use as fertilizer. Britain bought the land from the Banabans—compelling the sale where it was not volunteered—but paid what it saw as a fair price and, after 1913, invested the money on behalf of the population against the day when deposits would be exhausted.

Japanese reconnaissance units landed briefly on Tarawa and Butaritari in the Gilberts in early December 1941, returning in force in 1942 to occupy the GEIC. Temporary headquarters for those parts of the GEIC not in enemy hands were established initially in Australia and later in Funafuti in the Ellice group. In November 1943 Tarawa and other Gilbert atolls were the scene of some of the fiercest fighting in the Pacific theater between Japanese and United States forces.

Banaba remained under Japanese control until 1945. The Japanese had deported its inhabitants to the Caroline Islands, and in 1946, because the traditional living areas on the island had been so ravaged by mine operations, the British resettled them on Rabi Island in Fiji, where most remained permanently.

Steps to self-rule and eventual independence began in 1963, when advisory and executive councils were established, continuing through 1977, by which time the GEIC had achieved total internal self-government. In 1976 the Ellice Islands separated from the GEIC, eventually to become the independent nation of Tuvalu, and on July 12, 1979, the Republic of Kiribati, composed of Banaba and the Gilbert, Phoenix, and Line islands, achieved independence. In a treaty of friendship signed in September 1979, the United States relinquished its claim to the eight Phoenix Islands and five central and southern Line Islands. The two northernmost Line Islands—Kingman Reef and Palmyra Atoll—as well as Jarvis, Baker, and Howland islands, which lay between the Gilbert and Line islands, remained United States territory, however.

In the meantime, the British Phosphate Commission had reestablished its operations on Banaba in 1946, and phosphate mining reemerged as the dominant industry. Export tonnage increased almost fivefold during the 1947–69 period. Royalties were set aside but were paid largely to the GEIC treasury; the

Banaban landowners received proportionately very little. Opposition to these arrangements among the Banabans from 1965 onward brought various concessions, including increases in the royalties, increases in the Banaban share of such royalties (to 50 percent), and ultimately, after Banabans brought suit in the British High Court for back royalties and damages in 1977, an offer of an ex gratia payment of $A million (for value of the Australian dollar—see Glossary). The Banaban community on Rabi Island in Fiji at first rejected the offer, but it was later accepted in 1981, together with the interest accrued. The Banabans were unsuccessful, however, in their bid to prevent their island from being incorported into Kiribati.

The Social System

The most recent census, taken in December 1978, showed 56,213 persons in Kiribati and indicated an annual growth rate over the previous five years of 1.6 percent. On that basis, a population of 62,400 was projected for 1985. Persons under age 15 made up 41 percent of the population. The 1978 census indicated that 90 percent of Kiribati's population was concentrated in the Gilbert Islands, 32 percent of the total found on Tarawa—the nation's only urbanized area. Kiritimati, Teraina (Washington), and Tabuaeran (Fanning) in the Line Islands and Banaba together accounted for slightly over 7 percent. Before World War II Banaba's population had consisted of indigenous Banabans, Gilbertese temporarily employed in its phosphate mines, and descendants of indentured Chinese laborers; at the time of the census it was composed almost exclusively of temporary contract laborers.

Urban growth on Tarawa was a major problem, its ramifications evident in poverty, overcrowding, labor unrest, and youth alienation. Persons from the outer islands—tantamount to the country's rural sector—continued to settle on Tarawa in increasing numbers during the early 1980s, however, drawn by its perceived economic opportunities, Westernized pace of life, and comparatively modernized infrastructure. Tarawa had doubled in size since 1963, and if its explosive growth continued at the same pace, it was estimated that by 1993 Tarawa would contain 4,700 persons per square kilometer, about the same as Hong Kong in the mid-1970s.

Most residents of Kiribati are native speakers of Gilbertese, a Micronesian language having various mutually intelligible dialects—Banaban being one. English is widely used for official purposes, is taught in primary schools, and is used as a language of

instruction in secondary schools. Whether any residual use of Chinese lingered from the era of indentured Chinese phosphate workers on Banaba is uncertain. A few Polynesians from Tuvalu add minimally to the ethnolinguistic mixture.

Religion has been a source of major social division. An estimated 95 percent of the population of the Gilbertese in mid-1980 were professing Christians, including more than 31,000 Protestants and 33,000 Roman Catholics. The latter are concentrated predominantly in the five northern Gilberts. A single diocese encompasses the Gilberts, the neighboring countries of Nauru and Tuvalu, and two of the Phoenix Islands. Anti-Catholic sentiment has prevented the building of Catholic churches on the two southernmost Gilbert islands. Indigenous religious leaders work together with a number of foreign Protestant missionaries and Roman Catholic priests and brothers.

The Christian religion plays a major role in the national life. The Catholic bishop of Tarawa has been outspoken in his concern over increasing population pressure, hoping that New Zealand or Australia might be encouraged to accept Gilbertese immigrants. Both Protestants and Catholics support important education programs. They also focus on public information projects, issuing periodical publications and broadcasting radio programs.

Kiribati is proud of its 100-percent literacy rate and large numbers of primary and secondary educational institutions. Yet in Betio, Bairiki, and Bikenibeu on Tarawa, there is evidence that the country shares a problem common with other developing countries, that of large numbers of educated school-leavers who are unable to find suitable employment.

The Economy

Under British rule, phosphate was the main source of foreign exchange, although copra provided some revenue. So too did remittances from Gilbertese employed on phosphate-rich Nauru or by foreign shipping lines. Phosphate mining had ceased altogether by 1980. Kiribati's balance of trade declined from the equivalent of US$7 million in 1979 to a negative balance of US$20 million in 1982 (by provisional estimate). Accordingly, the nation was faced with a critical economic problem despite the interest income earned from overseas deposits of previous phosphate revenues. Britain agreed to provide capital and development aid through 1993, but Kiribati's leaders were determined to achieve economic independence as soon as possible, hoping to tap wealth from the ocean.

Although fishing was an important local activity, the major significance of the sector lay in potential fees from fisheries agreements, particularly related to yellowfin and skipjack tuna fishing around the Phoenix Islands. Kiribati declared a 200-nautical-mile Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ—see Glossary) in 1978, giving the country potential control at that time of a 1 million-square-kilometer area around the Gilberts alone. In 1982 Japan paid more than the equivalent of US$1 million for fishing rights, and it had cooperated with Kiribati in various fisheries projects. Taiwanese and American tuna vessels also provided revenues. Kiribati had developed its own government-owned fishing company in 1981, using a grant from Britain. The catch was sold to the Star Kist cannery at Pago Pago, American Samoa. Some I-Kiribati have established lagoon fish farms for raising shrimp and fish.

Copra was by far the principal cash crop. In 1978, the most recent year for which production figures were available, smallholders produced 8,200 tons, plantations 1,900 tons. Most came from the Gilberts, but sizable coconut plantations were found on Kiritimati. Coconut products were consumed locally, along with vegetable crops, some poultry, and eggs. New plantings of copra in the Line Islands were expected to increase production.

In 1982 total government expenditures were $A16.9 million; revenues provided $A15.8 million. Foreign aid contributed heavily to economic development. In the 1979–82 period Britain provided about $A8 million per year for capital expenditures, in addition to aid in the form of training programs and development projects. Other major donors included the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the European Development Fund, which contributed $A700,000 and $A4.15 million, respectively, between 1980 and 1982. Australia, New Zealand, and Japan gave aid for various projects in water supply, sanitation, machinery, transport, fisheries, technical training, and other areas. The United States Peace Corps had an active program in the country.

The economy was essentially characterized by free enterprise, but numerous government-owned and -controlled ventures provided employment to large numbers of workers, especially in transportation, communications, and trading. Government-run cooperative societies dominated the retail trade sector.

The dichotomy between urbanized Tarawa and the outer islands was a major aspect of the economic scene. The outer islands were significantly less developed than Tarawa, their inhabitants participating little or not at all in the expanding cash econony. Fishing, cultivating copra, repairing houses, sailing canoes, car-

ing for children, and producing handicrafts were the essential occupations in the outer islands.

Tarawa had received the major share of public allocations for infrastructure development. Housing, road, causeway, and other improvements had been focused on the capital area. Explosive growth had led to overcrowding and inadequate public services. In most Tarawa households at least one member was employed by the government; in many households there were two government employees. In the mid-1980s there was concern over the declining purchasing power of wages. Lower echelon employees in particular complained of dwindling local supplies of food, firewood, and housing construction materials.

The Political System and Security

Kiribati is a sovereign democratic republic within the Commonwealth of Nations. Its government is based on the Constitution promulgated at independence on July 12, 1979. The document provides for a form of government in which a popularly elected president *(beretitenti)* is responsible to a parliament, which may dismiss him. The governor general, representing the British monarch, has only titular authority; the president is head of state and head of the government. Executive authority is vested collectively in the cabinet, which is composed of the president, the vice president, the attorney general, and no more than eight ministers selected by the president from the House of Assembly. The cabinet is directly responsible to the parliament.

Legislative authority resides in the House of Assembly, which is composed of 35 elected members, a representative of the Banabans nominated by the Rabi Island Council in Fiji, and the attorney general as an ex officio member. Members are elected for a four-year term. The House of Assembly is presided over by the Speaker, elected by its members from a slate of nonmembers. The Constitution provides for a public service and an independent judiciary. The judicial system consists of the High Court, the Court of Appeal for Kiribati, and subordinate magistrate's courts.

Constitutional provisions with respect to the Banaban community could be seen as an attempt to defuse a potentially explosive issue. In late 1978 the Banaban delegation had walked out of the preindependence constitutional convention in London after Britain announced that contrary to the delegation's wishes, Banaba would be included within Kiribati. In early 1979 members of the Rabi Island Banaban community and locally resident Banabans staged demonstrations on Banaba, and phosphate in-

stallations were targets of bomb attacks. The Constitution returns to the Banaban community ownership of land that had been forcibly acquired by the government phosphate company. The Constitution also guarantees the right of all Banabans to return to their island to live, if they so choose.

The president is popularly elected, on the basis of universal, free, adult franchise, from a slate of no more than four candidates nominated by the House of Assembly from its members. In the event that the president has to vacate his office after a motion of no confidence, the House of Assembly is dissolved, and a new general election must be held. In the interim the Council of State, composed of the chairman of the Public Service Commission, the chief justice, and the Speaker of the House of Assembly, carries out the executive function.

Local government authority rests in the hands of elected local councils that have been established on all permanently inhabited islands. For administrative purposes the islands are divided into six districts, each having a district officer in charge. These are Tarawa, Northern, Central, Southern—covering the Gilberts other than Tarawa—Banaba, and Line Islands.

Political awareness and participation developed rapidly after 1967, when voters participated in national elections for the first time, choosing representatives to the colonial legislature. Although organized political competition was only beginning to emerge in the early 1980s, partisan struggles for leadership were waged vigorously on the basis of factions and personal alliances.

In the 1974–78 preindependence years, the dominant group had been led by Naboua Ratieta, a representative from the largely Roman Catholic northern Gilbert island of Marakei. He became the country's first chief minister following the general elections of 1974.

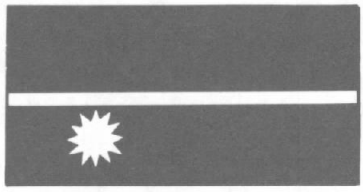
Transition was peaceful under a new leadership group headed by a former opposition member of parliament, Ieremia Tabai, who took over after the general elections of 1978. By contrast with the former chief minister, Tabai was a Protestant from the central Gilbert island of Nonouti. Although he did not win an outright majority in any of the five predominantly Catholic northern Gilberts, he received almost one-third of all votes cast. The new president pledged to build trust in government which he said lacked credibility in the eyes of most people. He indicated that he would go no further with the notion of establishing a defense force, which the previous administration had proposed and which many voters had vigorously opposed. He promised to work for development of the outer islands, blaming government neglect for

the dramatic urban drift and its related problems. After independence Tabai became the first president; he was reelected for a second term in May 1982.

Tabai himself came under attack in December 1982 on the issue of proposed salary adjustments for six key government officials and costly government subsidies to Air Tungaru and the Kiribati Shipping Corporation. His government was defeated and parliament dissolved, but in new elections in February 1983 he was returned to office, continuing to hold that position in mid-1984.

As of mid-1984 Kiribati belonged to the South Pacific Commission and the South Pacific Forum (see Appendix B). It was a member of the United Nations and the Commonwealth of Nations and was one of the Asian, Caribbean, and Pacific states of the European Economic Community. It maintained diplomatic relations with Britain, the United States, and several Pacific Ocean countries.

NAURU



Flag: White star beneath horizontal yellow stripe on blue field

Official Name	Republic of Nauru
Political Status	Independent state (1968)
Capital	Yaren
Population	8,600 (1984 midyear estimate)
Land Area	20.9 square kilometers
Currency	Australian dollar ($A)

Among the developing countries of Oceania, Nauru is an exceptional case. Valuable commercial mineral deposits make the tiny island-nation one of the richest in the world. Its per capita 1982 gross national product (GNP—see Glossary) puts it in the same category as the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany), and other industrial giants as well as the small, oil-rich states of Qatar and Brunei. Its phosphate wealth has been a mixed blessing, however. In mid-1984 Nauruans enjoyed a wide variety of educational, medical, and welfare benefits. Their future was being protected through a careful national investment program, but government leaders were becoming concerned about a number of social issues.

Physical Environment

The solitary island of Nauru (pronounced NAH-oo-roo) is a raised coral limestone atoll, one of the three great rock phosphate islands of the world—the others being Banaba in Kiribati and Christmas Island in the Indian Ocean. The island's narrow coastal fringe is banded by an outlying coral reef. Inland, behind a bank of coral cliffs, lies a barren plateau rich in phosphate, which has been leached from guano, or bird droppings. The rock phosphate occupies the space between pinnacles of limestone, which jut irregularly from the ground once the phosphate has been dug.

Nauru is situated in the central Pacific Ocean, about 4,000 kilometers off the northeastern coast of Australia and 4,160 kilometers southwest of Hawaii. It claims a sea area of 320,000 square kilometers. The climate is tropical, and monsoon season begins in November and ends in February. Rainfall averages 450 millimeters annually but varies considerably. Severe drought can occur.

Historical Setting

The origins of the Nauruans are purely speculative. Some or all of their forebears may have come from the eastern Melanesian area of the Solomon Islands. Or they may have set off from any of the eastern Micronesian island groups—the Marshalls, the Carolines or, carried off course by the strong South Equatorial Current, the Gilberts. Their quite distinctive language offers few clues. Whatever the case, their subsequent contact with other islands was slight. The isolation of the solitary island was reinforced by dangerous ocean currents and the living coral reef that girdled the small raised atoll.

The early Nauruans settled the fertile coastal ring where coconuts flourished but drought intermittently menaced cultivation efforts. For seafood they ventured beyond the reef and built fish-pond reservoirs inland. When continuous European contact began in the mid-nineteenth century, the newcomers found a well-developed culture in which kin relations provided the basis for social life. Nauruans were organized into 12 kinship groups, tracing descent through females and giving political allegiance to a lineage chief. Members married outside the group, and property, mainly in the form of land, was individually held and passed down through the lineage.

Whalers, traders, and beachcombers disrupted traditional social and political patterns. Firearms, knives, alcohol, and disease sparked disorder. Sporadic aggression between lineages developed into almost continuous armed struggle between 1878 and 1888, at which time the German protectorate over the Marshall Islands was extended to cover Nauru.

Phosphate mining, begun in 1907, produced even more dramatic change. The unveiling of the island's extravagant phosphate resources and those of neighboring Banaba had been accomplished by Albert F. Ellis, an associate of the British-owned Pacific Islands Company, based in Sydney, Australia. Informed of his discovery, Britain annexed Banaba and signed a 999-year treaty with the chiefs on Nauru to mine deposits there. In 1905, however, the German government gave permission for the transfer of mining rights to the trading company, by then renamed the Pacific Phosphate Company, in exchange for certain rights and privileges.

The phosphate company employed a number of Nauruans as miners, but its preference was for expatriate labor, especially indentured Chinese. Large numbers of Chinese workers were brought in from Hong Kong and quartered, along with islanders

from the Gilbert group and elsewhere, in all-male barracks near the phosphate works. An elite stratum of British administrators and managers ran the company.

Early in World War I a small Australian force seized Nauru from its German administrators, and German shares in the phosphate company were sold in London. After the war ended, the League of Nations granted Britain a mandate over Nauru. The British, Australian, and New Zealand governments then bought the phosphate company and established a joint enterprise known as the British Phosphate Commission (BPC) to manage, mine, and market the mineral deposits of Nauru and Banaba. Britain and Australia each paid 42 percent of the price, and New Zealand paid 16 percent. Profits were shared at the same ratio.

Under the BPC, health and sanitation improvements, educational expansion, and political reforms were undertaken on Nauru. Villagers were encouraged to elect representatives to the Council of Chiefs, rather than simply assigning them that role on the basis of heredity. Traditional beliefs and practices, including polygamy, retreated in the path of vigorous proselytization of Christianity by Western missionaries. A number of Nauruans were given access to secondary and higher education abroad.

Despite the increasing level of educational attainment, however, Nauruan men were not encouraged to seek management or supervisory appointments with the BPC, and the economy provided few other outlets besides teaching. Nauruans who owned land could enjoy a relatively enviable standard of affluence in any case. Company stores whetted the local appetite for imported goods, and within a very short period the indigenous population became highly dependent on the mining community and integrated with the developing cash economy.

Nauru was occupied by the Japanese during World War II, and most of its population was deported to the Truk group in the Caroline Islands. American bombing attacks in 1943 ended Japanese exploitation of the island altogether. Those Nauruans who had survived were returned to their home island after the war, and a United Nations (UN) trusteeship under Australian administration was placed over the island on behalf of Australia, Britain, and New Zealand. The BPC reorganized its activities, and mining resumed.

In the new political climate of the post-World War II period, Nauruans became vocal about a desire for independence and control of their island's resources, annual exports of phosphate averaging 1.5 to 2 million tons a year. The Nauru Local Government Council, replacing the Council of Chiefs, played a more signifi-

cant role in the political arena than had its predecessor. New career politicians emerged, motivated to seek support abroad for Nauruan political and economic interests.

Nationalist sentiment was further aroused by failure to reach a favorable resolution of the resettlement issue. In the early 1960s Australia, New Zealand, and Britain had all offered to resettle Nauruans in their countries and to give them full citizenship rights over the next three decades as the island's phosphate resources became exhausted. In 1961, when Australia refused to consider their demand for complete sovereignty over the island, they ruled out resettlement entirely and began instead to press rigorously for the right to buy the phosphate industry and for independence for their home island.

Progress toward these goals was rapid. With the help of foreign economic advisers, they were able to increase greatly their phosphate royalties, beginning in 1965. In early 1966 Nauru was permitted a considerable measure of internal self-rule. On January 31, 1968, the independent Republic of Nauru was established as an associate member of the Commonwealth of Nations.

The Social System

A census taken in January 1977 showed a total of 6,966 persons, indicating a 1.3-percent annual growth rate for the preceding decade. Besides the indigenous population, there were substantial numbers of temporary laborers from the Gilberts, as well as some Chinese, Filipinos, and Westerners. Most of the indigenous people are Christian, Protestants outnumbering others. The national language is Nauruan, although English is widely spoken.

The very high level of material consumption has resulted in a modicum of social breakdown and widespread personal health problems. Motorized transportation and imported foods have contributed to an increase in cases of obesity, high blood pressure, and diabetes. This led in early 1983 to an effort by the president to interest people in greater physical activity and exercise.

In mid-1984 all essential services in education and health were provided free to the citizenry. The country had two modern hospitals and a variety of other clinics. Patients requiring specialized care were flown to Australia. Education was free and compulsory to age 16 in government-run schools. In 1979 there were five kindergartens, one primary school, and one secondary school. A Roman Catholic mission operated other schools. Qualifying students were educated at government expense at secondary schools and universities in Australia, Papua New Guinea, Fiji, and New

Zealand.

The Economy

Nauru phosphate, valued as commercial fertilizer, is of the highest quality in the world. Although it has been mined almost continuously since 1907, reserves in the early 1980s still amounted to about 38.8 million tons. The supply was expected to last until 1995 or slightly beyond.

The country's phosphate wealth accumulated rapidly after the mid-1960s. The hard-fought struggle for an increase in royalties resulted in price increases beginning in 1967. Revenues paid to Nauruans by the BPC increased from about US$0.37 per ton in 1965 to US$11 in 1967, subject to fluctuations in world market prices. Later the Nauruan government bought the capital assets of the company, taking control from the BPC in 1970. The government held title to a small portion of the land on which the mining was done, but the vast majority of phosphate-containing land was held by private Nauruan landowners.

Effective management and booming world prices worked in favor of the new Nauru Phosphate Company. To the traditional markets in Australia, New Zealand, and Japan, new markets were added: Taiwan, the Republic of Korea (South Korea), the Philippines, and Indonesia. Import and trade statistics for Nauru were not a matter of public record, but press reports provided unofficial estimates indicating that export revenues from processed phosphate in 1982 were equivalent to US$123 million.

As in the past, the proportion of foreigners in the labor force was high. Britons, Australians, and New Zealanders were numerous among the country's supervisors, government workers, managers, and technicians. Islanders from Kiribati and Tuvalu, Filipinos, and Hong Kong Chinese accounted for much of the unskilled and semiskilled labor force in the phosphate industry.

The government took about one-half of the phosphate revenues; the remainder went to the Nauru Phosphate Royalties Trust and to the Nauru Local Government Council. The long-term trust fund invested its resources in other countries, notably Australia, to ensure a continuing income for Nauruans when the phosphate deposits were exhausted. In early 1983 the value of the trust, according to an official spokesperson, exceeded $A200 million (for value of the Australian dollar—see Glossary). Among its holdings were a commercial building in Texas and an office building in Hong Kong. A hotel in Guam was planned, and phosphate processing plants were being built in India and the Philippines.

Phosphate revenues were expended on the extensive welfare system and on subsidies to the national airline and other enterprises.

A narrow coastal belt around the island and the fringe of a lagoon provided suitable soils for the cultivation of coconuts, bananas, pineapples, and vegetables, but food and water were largely imported along with manufactured commodities. Fishing, manufacturing, and tourism were insignificant economic sectors, although a number of phosphate workers caught fish for their own consumption or sold them to Nauruans.

In the fiscal year beginning in July 1978 (FY 1979), the latest year for which figures were available, total government expenditures were $A40.6 million. Revenues amounted to $A35 million, not including a $A5.7 million surplus from the previous year. Proposed expenditures for the FY 1981 budget included a planned outlay of $A29.4 million for Air Nauru (out of an expected total expenditure of $A59 million). Fuel costs accounted for a substantial portion of the cost of running the airline, which as of early 1982 owned and operated five Boeing 737 aircraft.

Interisland communication was facilitated by the government-owned Radio Nauru, founded in 1968. There were several limited circulation periodicals, published in Nauruan and English, including the weekly *Nauru Post*. The island has enjoyed global telephone communications since the construction of an earth satellite receiving station in 1975. Videotape television sets and videotape recorders were commonplace.

The Nauru Local Government Council provided various social and public services. It operated the several retail stores of the Nauru Cooperative Society, managed the Nauru Insurance Corporation, and provided hotel accommodations and a car rental service on the island. The council also ran the Nauru Pacific Line, a national shipping company. In 1977 a 53-story office complex opened under its auspices in Melbourne, Australia. Other foreign enterprises included several fertilizer-processing plants.

The Political System and Security

Government organization is based on the Constitution of January 1968, as amended in May 1968. Framed by Nauruans themselves through the process of a constitutional convention, the document calls for broadly phrased fundamental rights and freedoms for the individual, including those of legal protection, freedom of conscience, and respect for private and family life. It provides for a form of government combining features of a presidential and a parliamentary system. The chief executive of the re-

public is both head of state and head of the government. He is elected by parliament from among its members. There is no prime minister. Executive authority is vested in a cabinet over which the president presides; the four or five members of the cabinet are appointed by the president from the membership of parliament. The president himself holds several cabinet portfolios.

Legislative authority is vested in parliament, and its enactments are not subject to review or assent by any other body or person. Unless dissolved in the interim, it serves for three years. Its 18 members are popularly chosen by the Nauruan citizenry by direct election. Voting is compulsory for all citizens over 20 years of age. One of the eight constituencies into which the country is divided for electoral purposes returns four members, and the other seven return two each.

A system of checks and balances operates according to the Constitution. The president may at any time request the Speaker of the House to dissolve parliament. For its part, parliament, on a resolution approved by a majority of its members, may remove the president and the cabinet from office. A new president must be elected within seven days.

The judicial system consists of the Supreme Court, the District Court, and the Family Court. Presided over by a chief justice, the Supreme Court exercises both original and appellate jurisdiction; further appeals may be taken to the High Court of Australia. A minister of justice, appointed by the president, serves in the cabinet.

In mid-1984 Hammer DeRoburt, a onetime schoolteacher and head chief of the Nauru Local Government Council in the preindependence period, was the most powerful political figure in the country. Except for an interval in the late 1970s, when an opposition group formed the Nauru Party and temporarily ousted him from high office, DeRoburt has been president of the country continuously since 1968. His wide-ranging authority was undisputed, and his skill as a practical politician was unquestioned. In addition to the presidency, in mid-1984 he held the portfolios of civil aviation, external and internal affairs, public service, and island development and industry. After general elections in December 1983, DeRoburt co-opted three members of the opposition into his cabinet, including former president and Nauru Party leader Bernard Dowiyogo.

Nauru was an associate member of the Commonwealth of Nations, enjoying all benefits of membership other than the right to attend the Conference of Prime Ministers. It was not a signa-

tory to any defense pact or treaty with any external power. Reports in 1984 indicated, however, that in the event of internal or external threats to its political stability, Nauru might expect assistance from Britain or Australia. A small local police force staffed by Nauruans maintained public order.

TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

Political Status	Four separate self-governing political entities in transition from United States administration under 1947 United Nations trusteeship arrangement
Capital	Saipan
Population	140,000 (1984 midyear estimate)
Land Area	1,836 square kilometers
Currency	United States dollar (US$)
Major Islands and Island Groups	Caroline Islands—Palau, Yap, Truk, Ponape, Kosrae; Mariana Islands—Saipan, Tinian, Rota; Marshall Islands—Majuro, Kwajalein

Physical Environment

The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI) is located in the western Pacific and covers an estimated 7.8 million square kilometers of sea area—roughly equivalent to the size of the continental United States. Scattered across this vast expanse of ocean surface are 2,200 islands and islets, the total land area of which is less than one-half that of the state of Rhode Island. Fewer than 100 of the larger and more productive islands are populated.

The three major archipelagoes of the TTPI are the Mariana Islands, the Caroline Islands, and the Marshall Islands (see fig. 11). All of the islands and island units are small, ranging downward in size from Babelthuap in the Palau cluster, which has a total land area of 396 square kilometers. Countless others are mere specks of coral and sand.

The islands may be classified broadly as high volcanic islands or low coral islands, and as continental or oceanic, according to their geological substructure. The Mariana chain, the Palau cluster, and the island of Yap in the Carolines are classified as high types of varying elevations. They are of continental structure, being exposed peaks of a submerged mountain range that extends from Japan to New Guinea and represents the easternmost limits

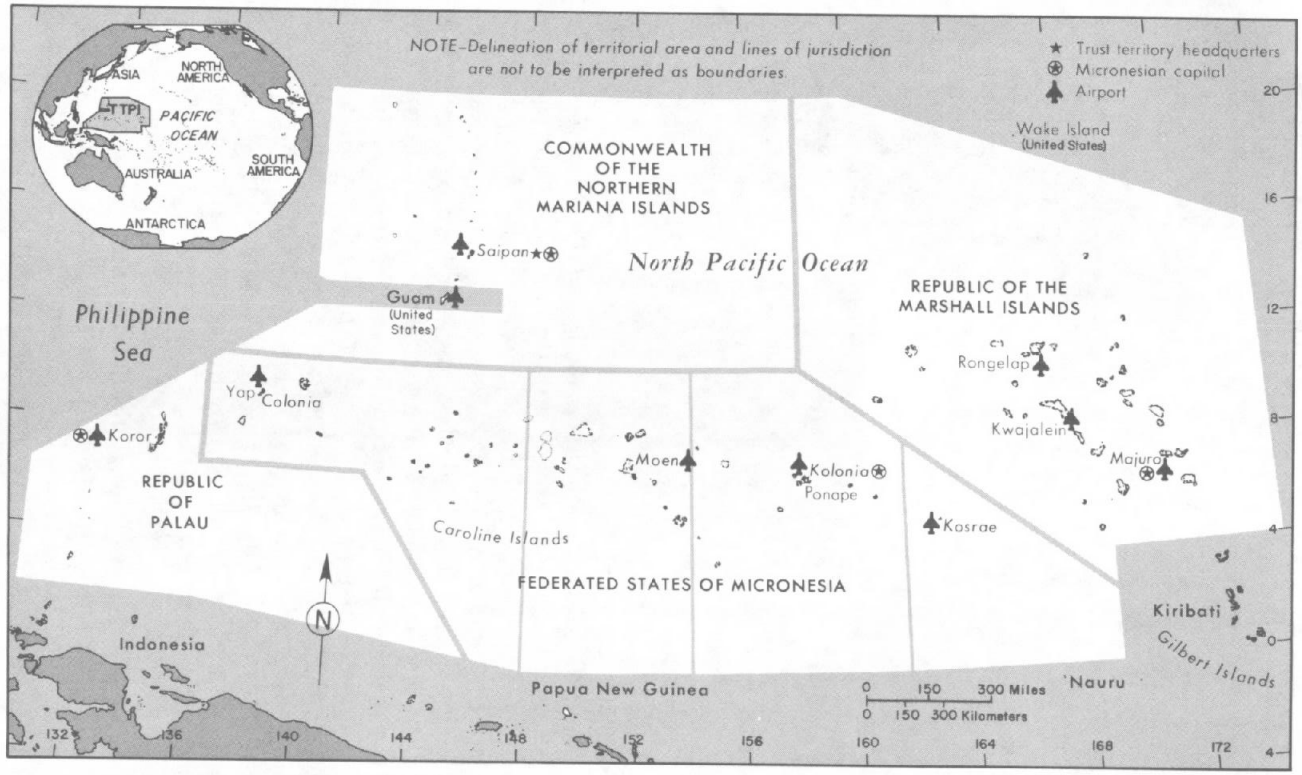


Figure 11. Trust Territory of the Pacific Islan

of the Asian continental shelf. The outermost reaches of this seaward shelf are delineated by deep ocean trenches. Truk, Ponape, and Kosrae islands in the eastern Carolines are also high islands, having maximum elevations of 457,762, and 610 meters, respectively. They are classified as oceanic, however, because their substructure is associated with lava extruded from fissures in the ocean floor itself.

All other islands of the TTPI, regardless of the archipelago in which they are located, are low types that rise less than three meters above sea level. These islands are formed by coral growths capping still-submerged peaks of the continental shelf or oceanic lava piles that do not quite reach the surface. Most of these coralline formations are atolls; that is, they consist of a barrier or a fringing reef, or both, enclosing a number of tiny islets around an interior lagoon. Some, however, such as Lib in the Marshall group, are single islands that have neither reefs nor lagoons. Still others, such as Fais near Ulithi in the Carolines, are raised atolls that have been thrust upward by upheavals in the ocean floor so that their lagoons as well as their encircling reefs are fully exposed. In the elevating process their lagoons are often drained away, leaving a shallow, saucerlike, and usually marshy depression.

The TTPI is so large and complex that it is discussed in terms of seven component areas. The relatively compact Marshall and Mariana archipelagoes each constitute separate areas. The larger and more dispersed Caroline group, however, is subdivided into five areas, each centered on and named after the most significant land in its area.

The climate of the TTPI is tropical and maritime, generally marked by high temperatures, high humidity, and heavy rainfall. Seasonal variations are slight and inconsequential. From May through October the temperature rises. The annual mean temperature of the TTPI is about 26°C, and temperatures increase slightly as one travels south. The humidity usually ranges between 77 and 86 percent. Annual rainfall is consistently high but shows some variation among the island groups. The northern portions of the Marianas and Marshalls average 1,500 millimeters and 2,050 millimeters, respectively. All other sections of the TTPI have 2,500 millimeters or more, Ponape averaging as much as 4,625 millimeters annually.

Weather conditions are generally pleasant and healthful but are subject to frequent and rapid changes. From August to December storms are common. The middle part of the TTPI is subject to typhoons, especially between July and November. Islands

in the eastern section lie outside the normal track of typhoons, but in the summer they are visited by occasional storms of typhoon proportions or by tropical cyclones.

Virtually all islands of the TTPI have lush and diverse vegetation. The types of plant life vary between the high and the low island forms, although coconut and breadfruit trees and two varieties of bamboo are common everywhere. Hibiscus trees can also be found throughout the territory, except on the driest atolls.

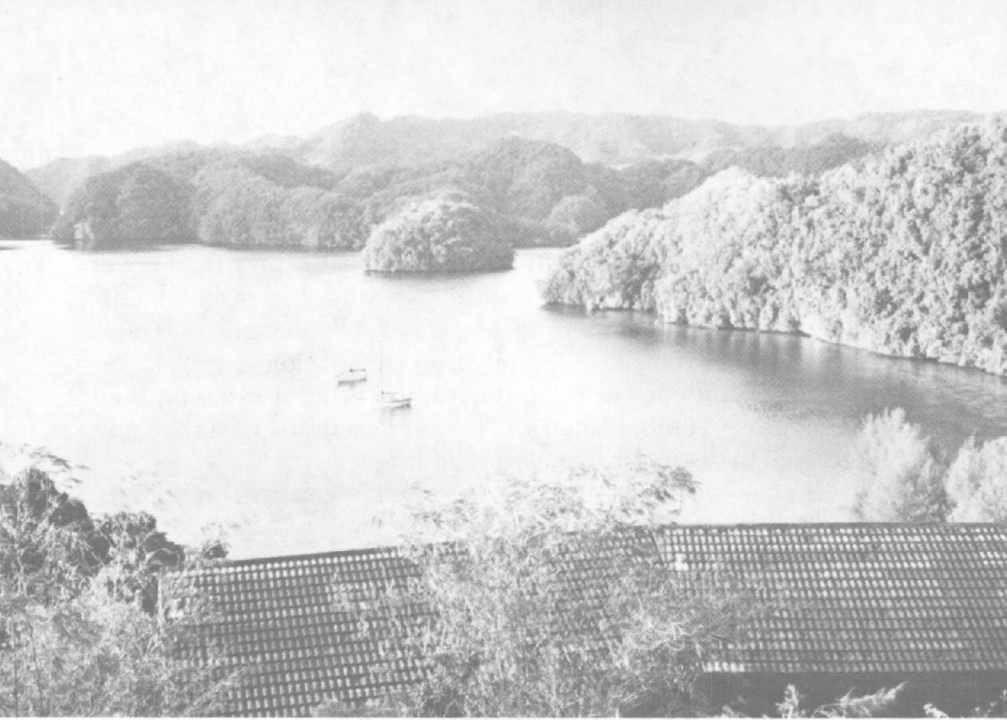
Vegetation on the low islands is limited to coconut palms, breadfruit, casuarina, pandani (screw pines), creeping vines, sedges, and associated strand growth. The high islands are marked by three distinct types of growth. The coastal flats have dense coverings of broadleaf forest in which mangroves predominate, interspersed with nipa palm and other salt-resistant vegetation. Inland from the tidal flats, coconut trees abound but give way on the lower slopes to dense rain forests of exceedingly varied composition in limestone areas or to scrubby growth and grassland in volcanic soil regions. The upper slopes of high volcanic islands usually have thin, leached soils that do not permit the growth of tall trees and are covered with wet, mossy scrub forests and an undergrowth of ferns.

Three main groups of land animals are found in the TTPI: indigenous kinds, those introduced by the migrating Micronesians before European contact, and species brought in subsequently. The only native mammal is the bat, two species of which are fruit eaters and two insect eaters. They are prevalent in both the high and the low islands. Among the introduced animals are dogs, pigs, several species of rats, horses, cattle, water buffalo, goats, cats, and deer.

The TTPI is generally free from harmful reptiles, but two species of crocodiles and two types of venomous sea snakes are occasionally found in the Palau cluster. Palau also has a few nonvenomous snakes, including a tree snake, a mangrove snake, and a rare golden burrowing snake. Several species of lizard, including the large monitor variety that reaches lengths of almost two meters, are abundant on many high and low islands alike.

Land birds are relatively few, but marine and shore birds are abundant. These include the tern, albatross, booby, frigate, plover, cormorant, and several kinds of heron. The Palau cluster is noted for one species of rare freshwater duck. Many other varieties of migratory birds, both land and marine, can sometimes be seen in the TTPI.

Marine life is rich in both number and variety. The reefs, lagoons, and shore areas, as well as the open sea, teem with fish and



"Rock islands" scattered throughout Palau harbor
Courtesy Patricia Luce Chapman

other forms of marine life. All kinds characteristic of tropical Pacific waters are represented, including bonito, tuna, albacore, barracuda, shark, eel, snapper, flounder, and sea bass. Many highly colored small fish inhabit the reefs, as do the octopus, squid, jellyfish, and sea cucumber (bêche-de-mer). There are also many kinds of mollusks and crustaceans, such as crabs, lobsters, langoustines, shrimp, oysters, and clams. Of special interest is the giant Tridacna clam, whose heavy, fluted shell is prized by decorators. Marine mammals include the porpoise and the sea cow, or dugong, which once was plentiful in the Palau cluster but now is becoming quite scarce.

The TTPI has limited mineral resources. Except for phosphate, which is found on several of the raised limestone islands, mineral deposits occur only in some of the high islands. Rock phosphate appears and has been mined on several islands, but high extraction costs, coupled with the destruction of much arable land as a result of mining, makes exploitation economically unfeasible. Other known mineral deposits are present in insufficient quantities to warrant commercial exploitation.

Historical Setting

Very little is known of the history of what is now the area of the TTPI before the sixteenth century because the early inhabitants left few records of their life and times. Genealogies and tales of exploits were transmitted orally from generation to generation within the family or village, but over centuries of retelling they have become so embellished and romanticized that it has become impossible to distinguish fact from fiction.

The contributions of modern scientific research and study are scarcely more definitive, not because data are lacking or inaccurate but because scholars have been unable to agree on the interpretation of their findings. About the only point of common agreement is that the original habitation of the area resulted from the successive migratory waves of peoples from Southeast Asia that began around 1000 B.C.

The first European to explore the area was Ferdinand Magellan, who landed on Guam in 1521 during the course of his epic voyage of discovery around the world. In 1525 other Portuguese navigators searching for the Spice Islands (now the Maluku Islands of Indonesia) came upon Yap and Ulithi in the Carolines.

Within a few years the accounts of these first voyages prompted the dispatch of other, mainly Spanish, expeditions to the Pacific, resulting in the discovery of the Marshalls and the rest of the Caroline and Mariana groups. Thereafter, innumerable explorers, missionaries, traders, whalers, and buccaneers from many nations roamed freely but evinced little desire to establish effective political control over any of the area. The poorly endowed islands were considered unimportant and useful only as convenient havens to provision and repair ships, afford rest and recreation for their crews, and provide fertile ground for spreading the gospel. The one exception to this pattern came with Spain's activities in the Marianas.

Spain claimed the Marianas in 1565 and the next year established a port on Guam to serve as a supply station on the burgeoning trade route between Mexico and the Philippines. No attempt was made, however, to enforce Spanish authority or to impose European culture and institutions on the native society, and life for the Chamorros of Guam and the Marianas remained relatively undisturbed until a band of Jesuit priests established a mission on Guam in 1668. This missionary effort was well received initially, but in time the growing power of the priests, supported by harsh punitive action of the troops, created much local opposition. Open rebellion resulted, and Spain was forced to send strong mil-

Gravestone of German soldier killed during local uprising in 1911 in present-day Ponape State, Federated States of Micronesia Courtesy Patricia Luce Chapman

itary expeditions. When the pacification campaigns were over, Spanish secular and religious authority was absolute throughout the Mariana group. The native population declined sharply as a result of the warfare and diseases introduced by European soldiers and colonists.

The Spanish then took steps to extend their influence southward and eastward into the Carolines and the Marshalls. Although no formal declaration of annexation was made and political control over the two island groups was weak, it gradually became understood that these areas fell within the sphere of Spanish influence.

The situation persisted, without significant change, until copra became a major commodity in the world market during the late nineteenth century. Spain's tenuous and unofficial domination of the area began to be challenged in the European rivalry for trade. Fearing political encroachment by German, British, and other European powers, Spain in 1874 reasserted old claims to the Carolines that since the seventeenth century had been shown on European maps as Spanish territory. Meanwhile, German traders had become firmly entrenched on Jaluit in the Marshalls and in 1878 signed agreements with native chieftains giving them preferred commercial rights.

International rivalry came to a head in August 1885, when a German naval contingent seized Yap, provoking a violent Spanish reaction. The threat of an impending war was averted the next month, however, when the issue was submitted to Pope Leo XIII for arbitration. At the end of the year the pontiff sustained the Spanish claim to the Carolines, contingent on Germany's being granted freedom of trade and the right to establish coaling stations there. Spain thereupon took steps to establish an administrative presence in the Carolines. The Marshalls were declared a German protectorate, and for several years thereafter the two countries shared control of the area.

Spain's defeat in the Spanish-American War of 1898 resulted in new political alignments. In addition to losing the Philippines, Spain ceded Guam to the United States. The government in Madrid, weakened by the war, accepted a German offer equivalent to US$4.5 million to buy its remaining possessions in Micronesia. By adding the Carolines and the rest of the Marianas to the Marshalls, Germany became the dominant power in Micronesia; its main interest was in developing a lucrative copra trade, using laborers from the Carolines.

The German presence was brief, lasting only until the outbreak of World War I in 1914. In that year Japan, which had long coveted the islands, took advantage of Germany's total involvement in Europe and occupied all German-held islands until the end of the war. At the Paris peace conference in 1919, Japan, supported by Britain, France, and Russia, sought to gain full sovereignty over the territory. Australia and the United States opposed the move, and, though their objections were not completely effective, they did succeed in changing the final action from a grant of full sovereignty to an award of a mandate under the League of Nations. The government in Tokyo exercised this mandate as though it were a grant of total hegemony, colonizing and exploiting the area as part of its long-range imperialistic objectives. For all intents and purposes, the islands became an integral part of the Japanese Empire after Japan walked out of the League of Nations in 1933. Increasingly thereafter the territory became a closed military area in which existing installations were strengthened and a series of fortified island bases was interposed between Japan and the Western Hemisphere.

The full significance of this action was revealed when World War II spread to the Pacific theater. The islands first became bases for Japanese aggression to the south and east and later were used to blunt Allied counteroffensives in the drive across the ocean to Japan proper (see World War II, ch. 5). Saipan and

Tinian in the Marianas became huge military bases for these assaults against Japan. It was from Tinian, at the site of what was then the longest runway in the world, that a B-29 bomber took off on August 6, 1945, to drop an atomic bomb on Hiroshima and a second one, three days later, on Nagasaki.

The war left the Micronesian economy almost completely destroyed and the living conditions of the islanders chaotic and deteriorating. A 1946 study found that the economy and the quality of life in the area had been set back at least a quarter of a century.

Formation of the TTPI

After a delay of two years because of interdepartmental differences in Washington over the future status of the conquered islands, the United States in 1947 formally notified the United Nations (UN) of its readiness to place the islands under a UN trusteeship and to administer the territory as executive agent of the world organization. An agreement was signed between them, designating the TTPI, as it came to be officially known, "a strategic area" and naming the United States "the administering authority." For accountability the United States reported directly to the UN Security Council, the agency principally concerned with international peace and security.

The other 10 nonstrategic trust territories set up immediately after World War II reported to the UN General Assembly. All 10, incidentally, had become independent or self-governing by 1984. Initially under the stewardship of the United States Navy, the TTPI was turned over to the Department of the Interior in 1951, but the Marianas remained under military control until 1962.

The term *strategic area* has no international precedent under either the League of Nations mandate system or the UN trusteeship setup. It was added to the vocabulary of the UN at the insistence of the United States, which had argued that, given the TTPI's military importance, the area should be treated separately from nonstrategic or ordinary trust territories. In a strategic area the defense and security considerations were deemed paramount and overriding. Thus, the United States was authorized to establish military bases, erect fortifications, and employ troops in the TTPI as necessary to prevent the disruption of peace and security in the area. It was also permitted "to make use of volunteer forces, facilities, and assistance from the trust territory" in carrying out its obligations for peace and security, as well as for the local de-

fense and maintenance of law and order. Because of the special nature of the strategic trust, the United States was additionally empowered to declare the whole or any part of Micronesia to be a closed area for security reasons. As of 1984 only Kwajalein had been declared a closed area.

Under the broad mandate of the trust agreement, the United States established what was commonly known as the Trust Territory Government. Democratic in form, it consisted of separate and independent executive, legislative, and judicial branches. The headquarters of this government was located successively in Hawaii and Guam, then in 1962 was transferred to Saipan. It was charged with the administration of six district components; the Mariana Islands, the Marshall Islands, Ponape, Palau, Truk, and Yap.

The executive and administrative authority of the Trust Territory Government and the responsibility for carrying out international obligations were vested in a United States citizen known as the high commissioner, who was appointed by the president after confirmation by the United States Senate. The Office of the High Commissioner was responsible directly to the secretary of the interior for overall affairs of the TTPI.

Legislative authority was exercised by the Congress of Micronesia, a bicameral body that held its inaugural session in 1965 after three years of joint preparations by the Trust Territory Government officials and Micronesian leaders. Judicial authority was exercised by a single high court, a district court for each of the six districts, and a community court for each municipality.

At the district level each jurisdiction was headed by a district administrator, who was both the direct representative of the high commissioner and the chief executive officer of the district. Each district had a legislature whose members were popularly elected, except for a few legislators in the Marshall and Palau districts who occupied their seats by virtue of their status as hereditary chiefs. At the lowest level of local government were the municipalities. These were usually based on the customary geographic and political divisions of society, whose boundaries might include an island, a group of islands, an atoll, or a locally recognized portion of a large island. In the Marshalls, however, municipalities were formed of islands or atolls without reference to the traditional jurisdiction of hereditary chiefs. In the early 1970s there were 126 municipalities in the territory, of which 22 had a traditional form of administration whereby chiefs ruled without elections. When a chief died and a successor was needed in these traditional subdivisions, a council of elders determined a new leader using ancient

methods of discussion and consensus building.

Under the trusteeship agreement the United States was obligated to foster the development of political institutions; promote economic, social, and educational advancement; and further the development of self-government or independence as was appropriate to the particular needs of the territory and its peoples. Another responsibility was to encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all inhabitants. During the 1950s there was little social, economic, and political change in the TTPI because of the relative official inattention in the United States to the territory and the paucity of funds available to the civil administration. In the early 1960s, however, United States economic policy changed, according to Dirk A. Ballendorf, a leading authority on Micronesia, from "one of rather benign neglect to one of rapid development leading to the goal of self-sustaining economic growth." In the 1962–72 period the United States subsidy to the TTPI increased almost tenfold from US$6.3 million to US$60 million annually. Included in the change was the extension in the late 1960s of a variety of federal programs.

The TTPI in Transition

The early 1960s were notable also for a major exploratory step taken toward eventual self-government for the TTPI. In 1962 the Department of the Interior began drafting a charter for a TTPI legislature to be known as the Congress of Micronesia. First convened in 1965, the congress exercised legislative power on all local subjects except for those falling under the federal jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior. One of its initial acts was to establish the Future Political Status Commission, which was designed to study various alternatives for the TTPI's ultimate political status. The commission was composed of six members—one from each of the six administrative districts of the TTPI.

The commission, renamed the Political Status Commission in 1969 and the Micronesian Joint Committee on Future Status in 1970, recommended the option of self-government in "free association" with the United States. The four principles proposed in 1969 to act as a basis for exploratory talks with the United States were as follows:

> 1. That sovereignty in Micronesia [TTPI] resides in the people of Micronesia and their duly constituted government;
> 2. That the people of Micronesia possess the

right of self-determination and may, therefore, choose independence or self-government in free association with any nation or organization of nations;

3. That the people of Micronesia have the right to adopt their own constitution and to amend, change or revoke any constitution or governmental plan at any time; and

4. That free association should be in the form of a free compact, terminable unilaterally by either party.

The first two rounds of status negotiations were held between the TTPI and the Department of the Interior in 1969 and 1970. The TTPI delegation rejected a United States offer of "territorial" status, which it viewed as being tantammount to annexation, and which raised the fear of concomitant United States eminent domain authority and control over TTPI internal affairs. Similarly, the suggested status of commonwealth was turned down outright by all delegates except those from the Marianas.

In retrospect the third round of negotiations in early 1971 proved to be, in the words of Carl Heine, a Micronesian who served as staff director for the Micronesian Joint Committee on Future Status from 1971 to 1973, "the crucial and significant turning point in the U.S.-Micronesia negotiations." The United States, newly represented at the talks by President Richard M. Nixon's personal envoy, agreed in principle to the first three of the four negotiatory principles proposed by Micronesia in 1969, although the fourth principle on unilateral termination remained contentious. More important, however, the third round produced a broad accord on a framework for free association, envisioning a self-governed TTPI in which the United States would retain authority over foreign affairs and defense. The application of United States domestic laws to the area was to be by mutual accord only.

The concept of free association was not universally shared by Micronesians, however. This point surfaced as a major divisive issue in 1971, when the Mariana District delegation expressed a desire for a much closer relationship with the United States than did the other parts of the TTPI. At the fourth round in 1972, therefore, the United States decided not to press for political unity in Micronesia and in December of that year opened separate status negotiations with the Marianas. These talks led to the signing in 1975 of the Covenant to Establish a Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands in Political Union with the United States. The people of what thenceforth came to be called the

Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands approved the Covenant by a 79-percent margin in a United Nations-observed plebiscite in 1975, and the Covenant was formally endorsed by the United States Congress in 1976. In 1984 most of the provisions of the Covenant had come into effect. The Northern Mariana Islands remained part of the TTPI, however, although administered separately from the rest of the territory. The 1947 trusteeship agreement would continue to apply until its termination.

Meanwhile, the negotiations with the rest of the TTPI over the mechanics of free association continued, progressing to the point where a compact of free association began to be drafted at the fifth round of talks in mid-1972. The work was derailed, however, by an impasse at the sixth round later that year. The deadlock resulted when the Micronesians suggested that independence should be considered as an option—in addition to the free association arrangement as originally proposed. For pragmatic reasons the independence issue was muted thereafter. A new problem arose, however, by the time of round seven in late 1973 over the question of United States land requirements in Palau—a highly sensitive issue in view of the scarcity of land there. At the time, the United States still legally possessed unlimited control over land by virtue of its broad power of eminent domain, owning as much as 63 percent of total land area in the TTPI. The issue was resolved in November 1973, when the United States announced a major concession that public lands would be transferred to local control and that the eminent domain authority would lapse at the termination of the trusteeship.

A rough draft compact was prepared in 1974 through informal talks and initialed in 1976. This occurred, however, against the backdrop of fragile political unity in the TTPI, accentuated by Marshallese and Palauan sentiments favoring a new political status separate and apart from the majority of the Caroline Islands. Such sentiments were largely economic, stemming as they did from the apprehension that an acquiescence in any unified political arrangement would drain the Palauan and Marshallese resources to the more populous and less well-endowed districts of Yap, Truk, Ponape, and Kosrae—the last carved out of Ponape in 1976 as a separate district.

In 1977 Jimmy Carter's administration announced its goal of terminating the trusteeship by 1981 as part of an effort to hasten the status talks, but philosophical differences among negotiators remained unreconciled, resulting in the collapse of the 1976 draft compact. A major breakthrough occurred, however, in April

1978, when the negotiators meeting in Hawaii produced a new agreement under which islanders would have full internal self-government, as well as responsibility for foreign affairs, while the United States would retain for 15 years "full authority and responsibility for security and defense matters in and relating to Micronesia, including the establishment of necessary military facilities and the exercise of appropriate operating rights."

Meanwhile, in January 1978 the Northern Mariana Islands had formally assumed commonwealth status. In July of the same year a United Nations-observed referendum had been held in the other areas of the TTPI on the proposed constitution of what was envisaged as a single unified nation called the Federated States of Micronesia in "free association" with the United States. The draft constitution was rejected in Palau and in the Marshall Islands but approved in the Caroline districts of Yap, Truk, Ponape, and Kosrae. This development resulted in the emergence of three separate political jurisdictions. Marshall Islands District became the first of the three entities to draft and approve its own constitution, declaring self-government on May 1, 1979, under the name of the Republic of the Marshall Islands. The four Caroline districts became self-governing on May 10, 1979, as the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), and the Constitution of the Republic of Palau was inaugurated on January 1, 1981.

In the years after 1978 the character of the Trust Territory Government underwent substantial changes as executive, legislative, and judicial powers of the high commissioner's government were transferred to the new constitutional governments. During the early 1980s the Trust Territory Government, still based in Saipan, continued to oversee the capital improvement program, the expenditure of funds appropriated by the United States Congress, foreign affairs, and responsibilities incumbent on it through the 1947 trusteeship agreement. The high commissioner's staff remained responsible for technical direction of program operations throughout the TTPI and for the provision of advisory professional and technical services that were not yet provided by the new governments. The former veto power of the high commissioner for general legislation had been relinquished to the executive authorities of the new governments. The high commissioner retained, however, the authority to suspend, in whole or in part, laws that were in conflict with the trusteeship agreement, a secretary of the interior's order, or the treaties and laws of the United States.

Although the high commissioner retained ultimate authority for the conduct of foreign affairs in the TTPI, the United States

Polling place for 1983 plebiscite in Ponape State, Federated States of Micronesia
Courtesy Patricia Luce Chapman

government continued to encourage the new governments to broaden and intensify their international contacts during the transition before the trusteeship was terminated. The United States was prepared to assist these governments in establishing appropriate contacts with third countries and regional organizations.

Despite its earlier intention of creating a single political entity for the TTPI, the United States nevertheless agreed to respect the islanders' right of self-determination and undertook to negotiate separately with each of the four. A draft compact based on the 1978 agreement was initialed, but not signed, by the United States in January 1980, by the Marshall Islands and Palau in October 1980, and by the FSM in the following month.

The initialed document was reaffirmed by the Ronald Reagan administration in October 1981. After 13 years of status negotiations, the United States formally signed the Compact of Free Association and its related documents separately and bilaterally with the Republic of Palau on August 26, 1982, with the FSM on October 1, 1982, and with the Republic of the Marshall Islands on June 25, 1983. The Compact provided that it was to

have been ratified by the governments of the three new states in accordance with their constitutional processes, which included approval by their legislatures and by their voters in plebiscites. In December 1982 the United States, with the full concurrence of the governments of the three island states, requested the UN Trusteeship Council to dispatch observer missions to all three political entities.

Under the observance of three special visiting missions, the first referendum was conducted in Palau on February 10, 1983, and 62 percent voted for the Compact. In the FSM the document was endorsed by 79 percent on June 21, 1983, and in the Marshall Islands by 58 percent in the September 7, 1983, plebiscite. In each case the political status of free association was favored over independence or any other kind of relationship with the United States. The Compact has since been formally ratified by the governments of the Marshall Islands and the FSM.

The Palauan case was complex, however. The Constitution of Palau contains provisions requiring approval by three-fourths of the votes cast in a referendum on any issue involving the use, testing, storage, or disposal in Palau of "nuclear, chemical, gas or biological weapons intended for use in warfare." According to a judicial ruling, the defense authority of the United States under the Compact therefore must be approved by a three-fourths margin. The 62-percent endorsement of the Compact in 1983 was short of that margin necessary to settle the question of compatibility between the two documents, and Palau could not formally ratify the Compact.

After July 1983 the United States and Palau continued their efforts to reconcile the question of contradiction between the two documents and its implications for the defense aspect of the free association arrangement between the two countries. At the end of May 1984 a revised Compact was tentatively signed between Palau and the United States. Although the new version retained essentially the same elements as in the original text, it also required the endorsement by Palau's legislature and by popular referendum. Throughout the continuing negotiations since mid-1983, the United States has confirmed its intention not to use, test, store, or dispose of nuclear or toxic weapons in Palau.

To be approved by the United States, the Compact had to be endorsed by a majority in both houses of Congress and signed by the president. When approved, the Compact would have the force and effect of a United States law and an international agreement. The Compact would also incorporate a multiyear authorization for the appropriation of funds to be provided as grants and

assistance, a departure from normal annual congressional budget approval procedures. In mid-1984 the Compact, from which all references to Palau were deleted, was awaiting approval in the form of a joint congressional resolution to be applicable only to the Marshall Islands and the FSM.

The Compact of Free Association

The free association arrangement is an innovative concept without precedent in United States constitutional history and has few precedents in international law. As originally written, it sets forth the basic political, economic, and defense aspects of the relationship betwen the three states and the United States. Politically, it recognizes their emergence from the trust territory through the free exercise of their right of self-determination consistent with the principles of the UN trusteeship. These states would each have full responsibility for their internal affairs and substantial responsibility for their foreign affairs. The relationship of free association would be indefinite in duration but could be terminated at any time by mutual agreement or by the unilateral action of any of the governments if so mandated by plebiscite results. The economic and security provisions would be subject to renegotiation and renewal at the end of their specified minimum periods.

Under the terms of the compacts, the three states will be provided with an agreed amount of unrestricted grant funds and "program assistance" (federal government services and assistance) for 15 years in the Marshall Islands and the FSM and for 50 years in Palau. Forty percent of the grant funding would be earmarked for economic development, including new infrastructure programs, major maintenance activities, and revenue generating projects. The United States and the three governments are to consult regularly or on request regarding the recipients' economic development.

The funding procedures provide for a graduated reduction after the fifth and tenth years. In the initial 15-year period the United States grant assistance would amount to US$2.2 billion before adjustment for inflation. The grant funding for Palau during the sixteenth through fiftieth years is estimated to average US$23.5 million annually, generated entirely out of a US$60 million investment made during the first year after the effective date of the Compact.

The Compact and its subsidiary agreements also commit the United States to continue to provide, at no cost to the Microne-

sian governments, airline and airport safety services, economic regulation of commercial air services, weather prediction, and assistance in the event of natural disasters. The United States Postal Service would continue its international postal service, but each of the three Micronesian governments would handle its domestic postal operations. The United States "program assistance" can be modified or terminated in whole or in part at the request of any recipient government.

The United States would have authority and exercise responsibility for defense and security for a minimum of 15 years in the Marshall Islands and the FSM and 50 years in Palau. The security role is augmented by three separate bilateral agreements covering United States military operational rights (see The United States, ch. 5). In the compact, as well as in the bilateral pacts, the United States agrees to defend the freely associated states from attack or threats to the same degree that the United States and its citizens are defended and to exercise "the option to foreclose access or use" of the states "by military personnel or for the military purposes of any third country." For their part, the freely associated states promise to refrain from actions that the United States would determine to be incompatible with its obligations to defend the areas. The mutual security relationship under the bilateral accords can be changed or terminated only by mutual agreement.

Subsidiary to the Compact are other agreements covering such matters as telecommunications, extradition, the turnover of federal property, federal "program assistance," fiscal procedures, the status of such United States forces as may be stationed in the freely associated states (including personnel at Kwajalein and military civic action teams), and nuclear claims settlement. The last of these is for the comprehensive settlement of all claims arising from the United States nuclear testing program in the Marshall Islands between 1946 and 1958 (see The Nuclear Issue, ch. 5). To this end the agreement signed between the United States and the Marshall Islands in June 1983 would establish a US$150 million endowment for payment of claims against the program. The proceeds of the endowment would be used for the benefit of those persons in the Marshall Islands, specifically the inhabitants of Bikini, Eniwetok, Rongelap, and Utirik atolls, who were adversely affected by the nuclear testing program, and for the financing of Marshall Islands programs aimed at mitigating the lasting effects of these tests. In exchange for establishment of this settlement fund, the government of the Marshall Islands agreed to terminate all pending lawsuits arising out of the nuclear tests and to bar any

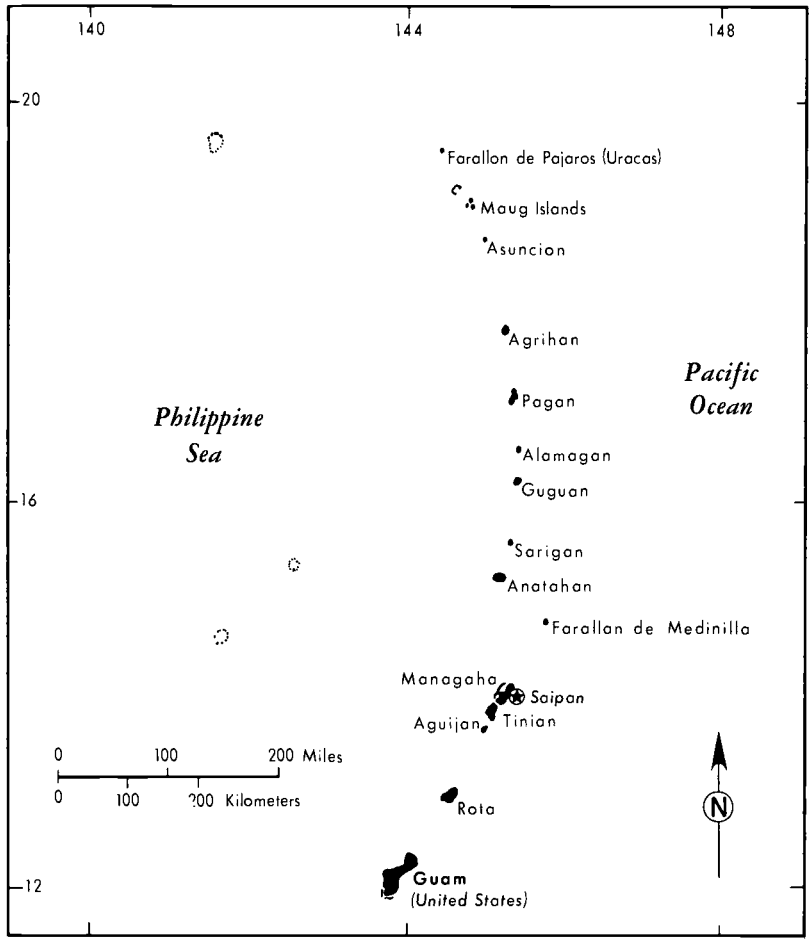


Figure 12. Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, 1984

future claims. As of mid-1984 Bikini Atoll and Runit Island remained closed to human habitation because of hazards stemming from radioactive by-products. A recent independent scientific study concluded that a cleanup of the soil of Bikini would cost US$60 million to US$180, depending on the methods used; otherwise, a natural disintegration of the harmful substances would take as long as 100 years.

Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands

The Mariana Islands, which include Guam, are ethnically and culturally separate from the rest of Micronesia. This factor has been responsible for the long-standing desire of the Mariana Islanders to establish a close relationship with Guam and the United States. The Northern Mariana Islands chose commonwealth status through its right to free choice and according to constitutional processes of the island group and the United States. A constitution for the commonwealth was adopted in March 1977 upon approval by 93 percent of the voters. It was formally approved by the United States in October 1977 and became effective on January 9, 1978, when the former Mariana Islands District inaugurated its commonwealth government under a governor and a bicameral legislature that had been elected in December 1977.

Physical Environment

The Northern Mariana Islands is a chain of 15 island units with a combined land area of 471 square kilometers (see fig. 12). Associated with the great Mariana Trench, which reaches a depth of more than 9,000 meters, the Mariana Islands chain is composed of high volcanic, coral, and limestone outcroppings. It is often discussed in terms of a southern section and a northern section.

The southern section contains six islands—Saipan, Tinian, Rota, Aguijan, Farallon de Medinilla, and Managaha—which together form a land area twice as large as that of the northern section. Saipan has a land area of 120 square kilometers and is the largest island in the chain. Saipan, Tinian, and Rota together accounted for nearly all of the commonwealth's inhabitants, economic activity, and energy supply and demand. Guam is only 96 kilometers away from the southernmost island of Rota.

The islands in the southern section of the chain are generally lower than those in the northern section. One peak on Rota rises to 459 meters, but for the most part the land is gently rolling rather than mountainous. Although the southern islands are volcanic in origin, there has been no such activity for a long time, and the islands' volcanic cores are largely covered with limestone terraces. The erosion of this limestone has produced a covering of excellent topsoil, and the well-watered islands have a good growth of vegetation.

The northern section, except for the Maug Islands, a cluster of three minuscule islets connected by a common base beneath the water, is composed of single islands that rise precipitously as mountain peaks of rocky, volcanic materials. All are quite high,

and Agrihan's peak of 959 meters is the highest in the entire trust territory. Some of the peaks are active volcanoes; in the twentieth century eruptions have occurred on Farallon de Pajaros (Uracas), Asuncion, Pagan, and Guguan islands. An eruption on Pagan in May 1981 forced the evacuation of the island's small population. The rugged terrain, lack of easily eroded materials to provide soil cover, and insufficient rain make the northern section dry, barren, and generally unsuitable for habitation, although Alamagan, Agrihan, and Anatahan had very small settlements.

Historical Setting

Little is known of the people who populated these islands before the discovery of Guam and its adjacent islands by Magellan in 1521. For over 300 years thereafter, the islands were ruled by Spain, which used Guam as the administrative, commercial, and religious center for the area until the termination of Spanish presence in the closing years of the nineteenth century. In 1898 Spain relinquished Guam to the United States and the next year sold the rest of the Marianas to Germany. The Marianas were ruled by Germany during the 1898-1914 period and by Japan during the 1914-44 period. The United States wrested control of the Marianas from Japan during World War II. Since 1947 these islands have been included in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

The historical background of the Marianas is virtually synonymous with that of Guam, at least until the turn of the twentieth century (see Guam, this ch.). In ancient times the indigenous people—the Chamorros—lived in small villages, usually located near the beaches. Social organization was based on matrilineal clans and families in which children became part of the mother's clan, and inheritance was established through the female line. Marriage was monogamous, but concubines were permitted, as was divorce. The Chamorros had a fairly rigid class system, taboos governing the occupations of nobles, commoners, and outcasts.

Under the Spaniards, however, the old life patterns changed gradually. The natives became Christianized, the dominant Roman Catholic church replacing the indigenous system of beliefs centered on ancestral spirit worship. The Chamorro language itself changed, absorbing many words of Spanish origin. As Carl Heine comments, "in the Mariana Islands, the impact of Spanish life and culture was so great that it almost wiped out the original culture of the Chamorro people." This impact was also

evident in the disappearance of the original Chamorros by the early decades of the nineteenth century—the victims of ruthless Spanish colonization and diseases brought by Europeans. In their place came "a new race of Chamorro hybrids," as author Robert Wenkam called it, "the product of Chamorro intermarriage with the Spanish, Mexican, and Filipino soldiers and colonists that came to the islands as the Chamorros were dying out."

The German and Japanese occupation together lasted less than half a century. The German presence was too brief to be economically rewarding but nevertheless left a lasting imprint of sorts by transplanting to Saipan a number of Caroline Islanders from Truk in order to make up for a shortage of workers.

The Japanese built harbors and roads, expanded schools, improved health and sanitation, and developed sugar as the dominant industry. They brought a measure of prosperity never before attained. In contrast, Chamorros and other Micronesians were treated as second-class citizens who were useful mainly as common workers for Japanese enterprises and were denied opportunities to advance educationally and economically. The Japanese colonization, stepped up after 1931, also included an increasing acquisition of land; this action became a source of major opposition during the Japanese occupation. The acquisition was designed to relieve population pressures in Japan and resulted in a rapid influx of Japanese settlers. By 1935 Japanese nationals, including Okinawans and Koreans, had outnumbered the 24,345 natives. Two years later there were more than 42,000 Japanese settlers and residents. After World War II these settlers were repatriated to Japan and elsewhere.

The Social System

Between 1970 and 1980 the population increased by an average of 2.5 percent annually, growing to 16,862 in 1981. Over 99 percent lived in the three southern islands of Saipan, Rota, and Tinian—Saipan alone accounting for 86 percent of the islanders. In addition, there were 2,000 alien residents and workers—mainly Filipinos and Koreans engaged in the service and construction industries—as well as several hundred American citizens. The people of the Northern Mariana Islands were scheduled to become citizens of the United States upon termination of the trusteeship, possibly as early as 1985. In the meantime, for purposes of entry to the United States, the inhabitants of the islands were treated administratively as though they were American citizens and were allowed unrestricted entry into schools,

businesses, and other institutions. For international travel, the people of the islands would continue to use a trust territory passport until the trusteeship was abolished.

In contrast to traditional times, the present-day Chamorros are patrilineally organized in extended families that are composed of all those who are related by birth, marriage, or adoption. The families operate as a single, tightly knit social and economic unit. The extended family collectively owns its ancestral land, alloting the use thereof to all members on the basis of common agreement. The senior male member is the family's headman; he directs the group's internal social and economic activities and represents the family in councils and in relations with other families. Generally, the social class structure is open, exhibiting no residue of the traditional pattern of nobles, commoners, and outcasts. Within the Saipan area, the Carolinian communities still retain a more typically Micronesian matrilineal social organization.

Reflecting the centuries-long Spanish influence, about 90 percent of the people are Catholic. Saipan had seven Roman Catholic churches and one Protestant mission in the early 1980s. The Catholic missions were within the Diocese of Agana, Guam. Traditional religious beliefs persisted, however, and a devout Christian could still cling firmly to beliefs in ghosts and in the spirits of the dead.

The basic structure of elementary and secondary schools was patterned after that of the United States. Instructional materials and courses offered were also modeled after those in the United States but were modified to meet the unique needs and characteristics of the islands. In the early 1980s education was improving steadily. Total school enrollment in kindergarten through grade seven was 5,502, increasing by an annual average of slightly over 2 percent in the 1973–82 period. About 18 percent were enrolled in private schools, and females constituted about 48 percent of the total enrollment. In 1982 there was one teacher for every 24 students.

As of mid-1981 about 510 students were known to be studying abroad in postsecondary institutions and colleges; half were enrolled in the University of Guam and the remainder in various institutions in Hawaii or the continental United States. Over 90 percent of the students were receiving some form of federal student aid, in addition to grants from the government of the Northern Mariana Islands; these ranged from US$100 to US$5,000.

Teacher education was provided by the Northern Mariana College, established in August 1976 as a two-year institution. In 1980 the college had its first graduation; 22 teachers received

their degrees, which were offered through the University of Guam, in elementary, secondary, and special education. In-service teacher education was offered by the Northern Mariana Department of Education in conjunction with the University of Guam, San Jose State University, the University of Hawaii, and the Community College of Micronesia.

Bilingual and cultural programs have been in place since the early 1970s in an effort to preserve and restore the long-ignored Chamorro and Carolinian languages and cultural heritages. Both Chamorro/English and Carolinian/English programs were available in grades one through seven, depending on the needs of the students and desires of their parents. When entering first grade, most students did not speak any English, which was taught as a second language until ninth grade. English was the medium of instruction in all secondary schools.

Literacy was relatively high. Freedom of information was strictly upheld. In the early 1980s one English-language daily newspaper and two weeklies, published in English and Chamorro, were circulated. There were two private radio stations, broadcasting in Chamorro and Carolinian. One commercial television station in Saipan had about 2,300 subscribers. Programming was primarily from the United States commercial networks, but one of the 12 channels was reserved for local programming.

The standard of health and sanitation has been upgraded since 1978. Despite the government policy of encouraging private medical practice whenever it became economically feasible, health care was primarily a public responsibility. The commonwealth government maintained offices dealing with hospital, public health and community services, medical and professional services, dental health, vocational rehabilitation, medicaid assistance, and nursing services. In addition, there were three medical field service programs for the islands of Tinian, Rota, and the northern islands. The bulk of patient care was provided at an antiquated and understaffed 84-bed hospital in Saipan. This hospital had adequate facilities for primary care but was inadequate for specialty treatment at the secondary level. As a result, patients were referred to off-island medical care providers for further evaluation, diagnosis, and treatment.

The commonwealth benefited from a variety of federally and locally funded services and programs designed to meet the needs of youths, veterans, the elderly, and the handicapped under a social security act passed in 1978. The Northern Mariana Social Security System was administered by the United States Social Secu-

rity Administration.

The Economy

Traditionally, agriculture consisted mainly of subsistence gardening adjacent to settlements and homes and was the mainstay of economic life. Most families lived on their own land as self-sustaining economic units, producing taro, corn, sweet potatoes, and other staple crops, as well as sugarcane, breadfruit, bananas, cacao, mangoes, and coffee. In the Japanese period agriculture was intensified and greatly improved, and there was a considerable increase in livestock and poultry production. By 1937 over one-third (approximately 15,000 hectares) of total land area was under cultivation. During World War II, however, the formerly productive areas were virtually destroyed by bombing and shelling, the cutting of trees for airfields, and the ravages of insect pests. In the early 1980s fewer than 250 hectares were under cultivation; about 9,100 hectares were used for grazing.

Subsistence farming has become a thing of the past, and the economy was essentially a cash economy in which there were two key components—the government and tourism. In 1978 the government accounted for 43 percent of the total work force of 7,317 (including 1,912 non-Mariana workers). More important, the public sector accounted for 59 percent of the US$28.6 million total wage earnings. This was a slight decrease from the 1977 level of 62 percent.

In 1977 (the latest year for which information was available) employment in the private sector, by business, was in general merchanding, 21 percent; hotels and entertainment, 20 percent; construction, 20 percent; transportation and stevedoring, 9 percent; banks, insurance, financial, and professional services, 5 percent; manufacturing, processing, and handicrafts, 2 percent; private schools, 2 percent; and other miscellaneous businesses, the remaining 21 percent. Agriculture and fisheries employed only five persons. In terms of private sector wage earnings, construction accounted for 25 percent of the US$9.7 million; general merchandising, 21 percent; hotels and entertainment, 13 percent; private schools, 2 percent; and manufacturing, processing, and handicrafts, 2 percent. Agriculture and fisheries claimed 0.2 percent, and miscellaneous business accounted for the balance.

In 1978 incomes of public and private sector employees showed considerable disparity. On a per capita basis the public sector workers—including some United States military personnel—were paid an average of US$5,353; the average private sec-

tor salary was US$2,834. In the private sector the Mariana workers earned an average of US$2,363 and the non-Mariana workers, US$3,672. The contrast was much more striking in the public sector, where the non-Mariana workers on average earned three times the wages of the islanders—US$13,871 to US$4,054. As of 1979 the minimum wage in the Northern Marianas was US$1.35 an hour.

In the 1961–77 period tourist-related industries grew by 9.3 percent annually. Tourism was for years the largest private sector industry; in 1980 there were 110,370 visitors, who were estimated to have spent a total of US$60.9 million. In 1982 the tourist arrivals totaled over 120,000, some 68 percent of them from Japan and 29 percent from the United States. There were 802 hotel rooms, 710 of which were on Saipan.

The commonwealth continued to depend on United States grants-in-aid for government operations, capital improvements, and economic development. The grant funding was obligated under an agreement between the United States and the Northern Marianas and equaled the sum of US$14 million annually based on 1975 constant dollars. The agreement also made available all federal programs that were extended to the 50 states of the United States; these programs came to an additional US$10.6 million and were administered directly by the sponsoring federal agencies. For fiscal year 1982 nearly 62 percent of budgetary appropriations came from the United States grants, a decrease of 5 percent from the previous fiscal year. As of 1979 personal income and business gross receipts taxes generated 35 percent of the total internal financial resources; cash reimbursements for job orders, 31 percent; excise taxes, 22 percent; and miscellaneous sources, the remainder.

The commonwealth's external trade consisted almost entirely of imports, which in FY 1981 amounted to US$25 million. Among the key import items were foodstuffs, petroleum and oil products, construction materials and equipment, passenger vehicles, and alcoholic beverages. The Northern Marianas' only export market was Guam, where the military facilities and retail stores sold milk and meat produced on Tinian. Its annual exports totaled US$650,000.

The Political System and Security

The political framework for the Northern Mariana Islands and for its relationship with the United States is set forth in the Covenant signed in February 1975 and enacted by the United

States Congress in March 1976 as Public Law 94–241. Upon the termination of the UN trusteeship, the Covenant would become fully effective. It establishes a self-governing commonwealth "within the American political system" under the sovereignty of the United States. The document, together with those provisions of the United States Constitution and treaties and laws of the United States applicable to the Northern Marianas, is mentioned as "the supreme law of the Northern Mariana Islands." The Covenant gave the Northern Marianas the mandate to enact a constitution and also required its submission to the United States to ensure consistency with the laws of the United States.

The Covenant stipulates that "The [Northern Mariana Islands] Constitution will provide for a republican form of government with separate executive, legislative, and judicial branches, and will contain a bill of rights." The right of local self-government is vested in the Northern Mariana Islands with respect to all internal matters, and the United States will have full responsibility and authority over foreign affairs and defense.

The Covenant defines matters affecting citizenship and nationality, judicial authority, the applicability of federal laws with respect to federal services and financial assistance programs and banking, coastal shipments, the conditions of employment, and revenue and taxation. Of particular interest to the Northern Mariana Islands are provisions dealing with United States financial assistance for local government operations, capital improvement programs, and economic development. The initial period of the multiyear financial support will be seven fiscal years. At the end of guaranteed annual direct grant assistance, the yearly level of payments is to continue "until Congress appropriates a different amount or otherwise provides by law." Additionally, the United States is committed to provide "the full range of federal programs and services" available to its territories or possessions, such as the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam, and American Samoa.

Under the Covenant the Northern Mariana Islands agree to lease a total of 18,182 acres on Tinian, Saipan, and Farallon de Medinilla islands to the United States for 50 years in order for the latter to carry out its defense responsibilities. The lease can be renewed for another 50 years; it will cost a total of US$19,520,600, adjusted for inflation. In view of the scarcity of land and its importance for the culture and traditions of the islanders, the United States signed the Covenant, stating that "it had no present need for or present intention to acquire any greater interest" in leasing property for defense purposes. If the United States should find it

necessary to acquire more land under the Covenant, it may acquire "only the minimum area" through "voluntary means"—and then only with congressional authorization. If the power of eminent domain must be exercised, however, this is to be done through due process required by the United States Constitution. The Covenant restricts landownership to persons of Northern Mariana Islands descent for 25 years following the termination of the trusteeship agreement.

The Covenant stipulates that the United States and the Northern Marianas will consult regularly on all matters affecting their relationship at the request of either side or at least once every 10 years. It also calls on the United States to assist the commonwealth in the promotion of local tourism and other economic or cultural interests of the islanders. The commonwealth is eligible, under the Covenant, to participate in regional and other international organizations concerned with social, economic, educational, scientific, technical, and cultural matters "when similar participation is authorized for any other territory or possession of the United States under comparable circumstances."

The government of the commonwealth is headed by a governor, who is popularly elected for a term of four years, as is his deputy, the lieutenant governor. Each may hold office for a maximum of three terms. The governor is assisted by departmental heads and other senior officials who oversee the functioning of the nonpartisan and independent public service. From 1976 to 1977 the executive affairs of the commonwealth came under a resident commissioner appointed by the United States; this office was abolished in 1978, when the islanders' first popularly elected governor inaugurated full-fledged self-government.

The legislative branch is bicameral—the nine-member Senate and the 14-member House of Representatives. Three senators each are elected at large for a term of four years from the three senatorial districts: Saipan and the islands north of it, Rota, and Tinian and Aguijan. In time a fourth district may be established for all the islands north of Saipan when the population of these islands exceeds 1,000 persons. The members of the House of Representatives are elected for two-year terms from single-member districts of roughly equal population. Twelve members are chosen from the six districts covering Saipan and the northern islands, one from Rota, and one from Tinian and Aguijan.

A bill may be introduced in either house except for appropriation and revenue bills, which are under the exclusive purview of the lower house. A bill is passed by a simple majority of members in each house and must be signed by the governor to become law.

A bill is subject to the governor's veto. The Constitution provides a system of checks and balances whereby the legislature may impeach the governor and lieutenant governor as well as judges. Impeachment proceedings are initiated by the lower house by a vote of two-thirds of its members, and the accused are tried by the Senate; conviction requires the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the senators.

The judiciary, which, like Guam, is part of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals of the United States, is composed of the District Court for the Northern Mariana Islands and the Commonwealth Trial Court. The former has the jurisdiction of a federal district court of the United States over all matters not under the local jurisdiction. The trial court has original jurisdiction over matters involving land and other civil actions in which the value of the case in dispute does not exceed US$5,000. The Commonwealth Constitution provides for a Commonwealth Appeals Court, but as of 1984 this court had not been established. In the interim, appeals were submitted to the district court.

Under the Commonwealth Constitution citizens are guaranteed the same fundamental rights and freedoms as are United States citizens under the United States Constitution. The minimum voting age is 18. Education is free and compulsory at the elementary and secondary school levels. The acquisition by sale, lease, gifts, or inheritance of permanent and long-term interests in real property is restricted to persons of Northern Marianas descent. A person of such descent is defined as a citizen or national of the United States who is of at least one-quarter Northern Marianas Chamorro or Northern Marianas Carolinian descent or a combination thereof or an adopted child of Northern Marianas descent if adopted while under the age of 18.

In mid-1984 responsibility for public order and safety was vested in the Department of Public Safety, which administered the police, the penal institutions, and fire prevention and juvenile programs. The police force was divided into separate island detachments for Saipan, Tinian, and Rota. The department functioned in cooperation with the Criminal Justice Planning Agency. Law enforcement personnel were trained by the Criminal Justice Academy. The department purchased six patrol boats in 1982 to facilitate island patrolling.

Federated States of Micronesia

The largest and most populous of the three TTPI political entities, the FSM, came into existence on May 10, 1979. Its capital

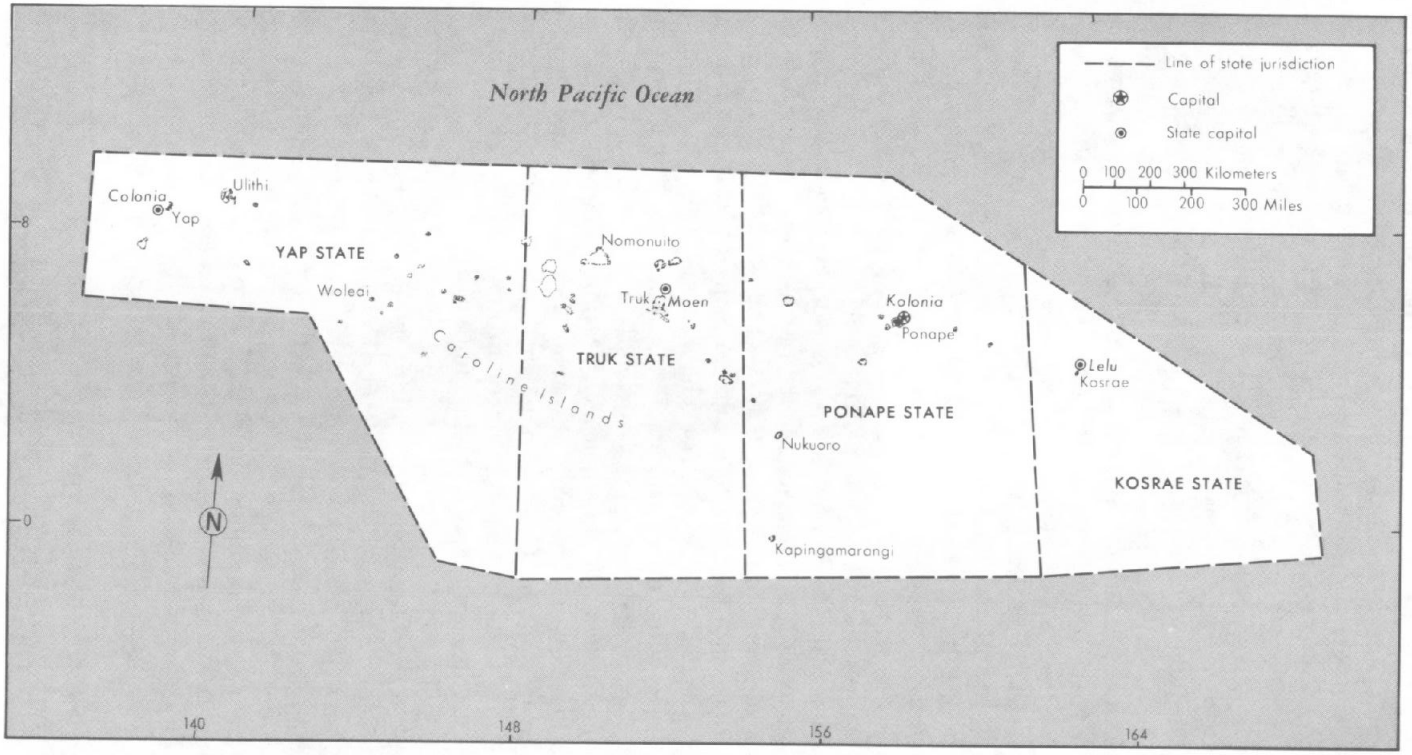


Figure 13. Federated States of Micronesia, 1984

is located at Kolonia on the island of Ponape. The FSM is divided into four states—Yap, Truk, Ponape, and Kosrae (Kusaie) (see fig. 13). Each is named for the major island or island group and each has its own state government located in Colonia in Yap, Moen in Truk, Kolonia in Ponape, and Lelu in Kosrae. The FSM has a combined land area of 723 square kilometers. It comprises the islands of the Caroline archipelago, except for those in the western extreme of the group, which make up the Republic of Palau.

The state of Kosrae was administered until 1977 as a part of Ponape District. Although commonly described as made up of only a single island—Kosrae—that island actually consists of the island of Ualang, around which Lelu and 14 other minor islets are grouped. The total land area is about 111 square kilometers. There are four natural harbors.

The state of Ponape consists of the volcanic Ponape Island and eight coral atolls; altogether, the state has a combined land area of 373 square kilometers. Ponape Island is among the wettest in the Pacific, and the resultant luxuriant tropical foliage has led some to describe it as the most beautiful spot in the Pacific next to Bora Bora in French Polynesia. Others call it "the garden spot of Micronesia."

The state of Truk comprises 15 island groups containing nearly 300 individual islands that together have a land area of approximately 117 square kilometers. About 40 of the islands are inhabited, and many of the rest are used as "food islands," that is, they are used by inhabitants of nearby islands to grow crops and raise pigs. Truk proper, which accounts for over three-quarters of the area's total land area, is a complex of 11 high volcanic islands enclosed by a coral ring that is broken into 87 tiny, low coral islets. The encircling reef, which in places has a diameter of 64 kilometers, contains several passages into the lagoon, affording excellent anchorage for large ships. This lagoon is the resting place of 67 Japanese naval vessels sunk in 1943–44, many of which still house their cargoes of human remains and war materials.

The state of Yap includes the Yap Islands—having four major, closely grouped islands—as well as nine inhabited outer atolls, two single islands, and four usually uninhabited islands. Nearly 70 percent of the state's population resides in the Yap Islands. The state's total land area is 122 square kilometers.

The FSM has basically the same history of contact with Europeans as does the Marshall Islands group. Portuguese and Spanish navigators chanced on the Caroline Islands in the sixteenth century, but it was after the early 1800s that traders, whalers, and missionaries began frequenting the area. In the 1870s

and 1880s Spain and Germany vied for influence in the archipelago, and the attendant questions of claims to sovereignty and freedom of trade had to be resolved through papal arbitration. Pope Leo XIII sustained the Spanish claim to sovereignty over the Carolines, but Germany was allowed to trade, fish, and establish settlements in the area. In 1899, however, Spain sold the Carolines and the Marianas to Germany.

The German presence was brief. At the start of World War I in 1914 Japan occupied the German possessions and proceeded to integrate them administratively and economically into its empire. In December 1941 Japan used the Carolines as bases for its military thrusts into Southeast Asia and into the South Pacific. After World War II the Carolines were mandated to the United States as a strategic trust by the UN.

The Social System

The 1980 census showed a total population of 73,160 persons, all of whom were Micronesians except for 815 Polynesians residing on two atolls in the southern part of Ponape. By individual states, the population of Kosrae was 5,491; Ponape, 22,081; Truk, 37,488; and Yap, 8,100. The Micronesian residents of the FSM are referred to as Carolinians (from Caroline Islands). They are also subdivided into island and linguistic groupings, namely, Kosraeans, Ponapeans, Trukese, and Yapese. Generally, they practice Protestant faiths, the exception being the Yapese, who are mostly Roman Catholics. Social organization is for the most part matrilineal, tracing common descent through the female line—except in Kosrae, where missionary influences since the mid-1800s have helped develop a patrilineal system. Most Carolinians are bilingual, English being the official language, along with their respective vernaculars. The literacy rate in the FSM was over 60 percent in the early 1980s, reflecting both the large percentage of school-age population and the emphasis on education since the mid-1960s.

The Congregational church has played a significant role in the lives of the Kosraeans since the 1850s. In the early 1980s the Kosraeans still practiced observance of the Sabbath. Traditional class distinctions have gradually declined in importance in recent decades owing to missionary influences and contacts with Westerners.

Ponapeans are mostly subsistence farmers and live in scattered hamlets rather than the villages found elsewhere in the TTPI. They comprise both Polynesian and Micronesian com-

Traditional house with stone money in Yap State, Federated States of Micronesia
Courtesy Patricia Luce Chapman

munities. The Polynesians on the southern atolls of Kapingamarangi and Nukuoro are sea oriented, being excellent fishermen and navigators, and their social organization is patrilineal. The Micronesian majority lives mostly on Ponape Island, where there is a duality of leaders. Seven of the 12 municipalities have royal lines headed by paramount chiefs and noble lines led by ministers. In the royal and noble lines, the first 12 senior males hold titles, which carry privileged social status that is still a potent force in local life.

Trukese society and culture reflect the influence of the northeasterly trade winds that facilitate communications between Truk proper and the outer islands to the north and south. The westernmost islands lack this natural advantage; hence their interactions with other islands are infrequent. Kinship ties, barter, and dialectal similarities are more common between Truk proper and the islands to the north and south. Matrilineal descent groups continue to be a significant part of Trukese life, holding ultimate ownership rights over the land and acting as collective economic units. The senior males of the lineages who first settled on a par-

ticular island continue to enjoy considerable status and exercise traditional prestige and authority in the local decisionmaking process.

A simplified form of traditonal social stratification still exists among Yapese. In the past the society on the Yap island group was divided into nine social classes, members of the three lowest classes, as well as the Trukese-speaking outer islanders, being relegated to a subordinate status. Traditionally, Yap played an important role as a major center for the exchange of goods and services. Large fleets of outer islander canoes customarily made annual trips to the Yap islands for food and building material needed in the low islands. In return, the low islands provided manpower for major construction. Yap is known as "the land of stone money"—after the huge doughnut-shaped discs made of coral stone that were used as a medium of exchange in the area before European arrivals. Quarried in Palau and ferried to Yap, several thousand pieces of the money remain in Yap and by law may not be removed from it. The value of the stone money depends not so much on size as on age and hardships undertaken to obtain it.

The educational system in the FSM is similar to that of the United States. Public education is free and compulsory. Primary and secondary school enrollment totaled 24,297 as of early 1982, public schools accounting for 91 percent of the total. The Community College of Micronesia, the only institution of higher learning in the TTPI, is located on Ponape; it also serves the needs of Palau and the Marshall Islands. In 1982 there were nearly 1,000 FSM students studying outside the territory. In the early 1980s increasing unemployment among high school graduates was a matter of concern to the authorities at both the national and the state levels.

Courses dealing with indigenous cultures and languages were an important part of school curricula at the primary level, as were bilingual programs. Teacher education was also a significant part of official efforts to upgrade the quality of education through extension programs offered by the Community College of Micronesia, the University of Hawaii, the University of Guam, San Jose State University, East Texas State University, and Eastern Oregon State College.

Human rights and freedom of information are guaranteed by the Constitution of the FSM and are well respected. Newspapers, magazines, and other general periodicals were circulated in the administrative centers of the FSM. Locally produced newsletters were available in Ponape and Truk. Each state government owned and operated its own radio station. There were commer-

cial television stations in Ponape and Truk, and a government-owned cable television station operated in Yap. In mid-1984 efforts were under way to bring television to Kosrae.

The quality of health care and sanitation was slowly improving throughout the FSM. Comprehensive health services were provided by the government, the sole provider of such services, at both the national and the state levels. Hospital facilities were generally inadequate and the hospitals understaffed.

The Economy

The economy was dependent mainly on government spending and augmented by a subsistence economy. Generally, the FSM lacked commercially exploitable natural resources (except for marine resources), skilled labor, and a development infrastructure.

In the early 1980s probably over 70 percent of GDP was derived from wage payments, nearly 80 percent of which were connected with public sector employment. In 1980 the four states could raise only 2 percent of the total budgetary needs, the remainder being provided by United States grants-in-aid and various federal assistance programs.

The majority of the work force was engaged in subsistence farming, copra production, fishing, and handicrafts. Paid jobs were few in most of the outer islands. As of mid-1979 there were 4,785 workers, including 430 nonresident workers in the private sector. In the early 1980s the national government employees in Kosrae numbered 355; Kosrae state-government employees, 535. Information for the other states was not available, presumably because of the embryonic nature of administrative infrastructure building. In early 1981, for example, the state government of Kosrae had only one employee working in its economic development division and two persons in its resources and development department.

At the national level agriculture was given the top priority in the FSM's development plans. Because export earnings were barely enough to pay for the import of foodstuffs—valued at US$3.59 million in 1980—there was a sense of urgency behind these plans. The government felt that the FSM had a great potential to be self-sufficient in food production. Food imports included rice, sugar, flour and wheat, fruits and vegetables, and cereals. The FSM's annual export earnings were about US$3 million in 1980, copra accounting for the bulk of the total. Other major export items included black pepper, handicrafts, and miscellaneous

marine products.

In 1982 the FSM received over US$2.5 million in fees from foreign fishing fleets operating in its 200-mile-nautical-mile EEZ (see Glossary); until 1979 these foreign fleets had not provided payment, employment, or other benefits to the FSM. Despite the abundance of marine resources in its fisheries zone, the FSM imported US$700,000 worth of canned fish annually in the early 1980s.

The Political System and Security

In the early 1980s the political structure was based on the Constitution of the FSM, which went into effect on May 10, 1979. Although it was organized according to the principle of federalism and state governments, the political system was built to ensure the primacy of the nation's government over the four component states of the federation. The Constitution mandated a separation of powers into executive, legislative, and judicial categories.

The Constitution incorporates a bill of rights, as well as provisions for "traditional rights." Article V of the document states that "nothing in this Constitution takes away a role or function of a traditional leader as recognized by custom and tradition, or prevents a traditional leader from being recognized, honored, and given formal or functional roles at any level of government as may be prescribed by this Constitution or by statute." The article authorizes the national legislature to establish, when needed, "a Chamber of Chiefs consisting of traditional leaders from each state having such leaders, and of elected representatives from states having no traditional leaders."

The head of state and chief executive officer of the FSM is the president, who is elected by the legislature for a two-year term, renewable for another term only. He must be a member of the legislature elected for a four-year term and is assisted by a vice president, the constitutional heir apparent. In the early 1980s the president presided over the executive branch, which comprised several departments responsible for foreign affairs, resources and development, finance, social services, and the Office of the Attorney General.

The legislature was formally known as the Congress, a unicameral body whose 14 members were divided into two categories; four members elected at large on a nationwide basis to ensure the equality of the states and 10 members elected from congressional districts in each state apportioned by population. Members of the former category served four years and the latter,

Pollution control project on Moen Island, Truk State (above), and Governor Erhart Aten standing before the state power plant Courtesy Patricia Luce Chapman

two years. Apart from its legislative function, the Congress also performed a check-and-balance role vis-à-vis the executive and judicial branches. It was empowered to remove from office the president, vice president, or a justice of the Supreme Court on the grounds of treason, bribery, or conduct involving corruption; action required a two-thirds vote of its members. The removal was subject to judicial review when the president or vice president was involved, and in the case of a Supreme Court justice, a special tribunal composed of one state court judge from each state judiciary was to review the congressional decision.

The judiciary was headed by the Supreme Court, which was divided into trial and appellate divisions. This court was inaugurated in July 1981. There was a trial court subordinate to the highest court. Each state government was authorized to have a state court, Yap being the first to establish one in 1982, replacing the previously existing district court. As of mid-1984 efforts were under way in Ponape, Truk, and Kosrae to establish such courts.

During the early 1980s the executive and legislative organs at the state level were in place and in the process of assuming various functions previously undertaken by the Trust Territory Government. Transition was progressing through active technical and advisory help from the Trust Territory Government.

Information on the public order and internal security of the FSM was highly sketchy. Apparently in the early 1980s there were major efforts on the part of both the FSM and the Trust Territory Government to create a viable law enforcement mechanism. As part of such efforts, 26 police officers from the FSM were reported to have attended in March 1982 a two-week training program on crowd and riot control techniques, assisted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Trust Territory Bureau of Investigation.

Republic of the Marshall Islands

The Marshall Islands became a self-governing republic on May 1, 1979. In June 1983 it formally agreed with the United States to establish a relationship of "free association" under the Compact of Free Association. As of mid-1984 the Compact was awaiting approval by the United States Congress.

Physical Environment

The Marshall Islands archipelago consists of 34 major island units located in the easternmost part of Micronesia between 161°

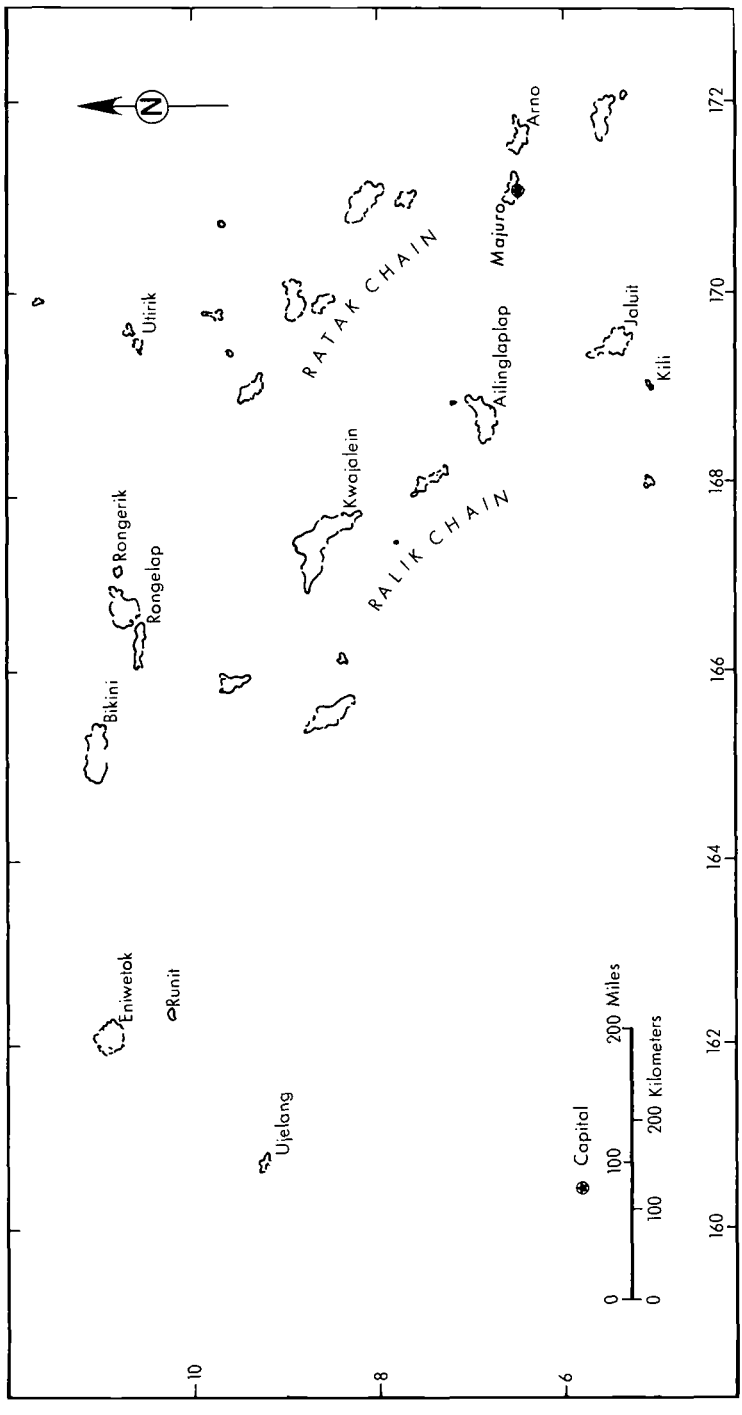


Figure 14. Republic of the Marshall Islands, 1984.

and 173° east longitude (see fig. 14). These island units are arranged in two parallel chains—the Ratak (Sunrise) to the east, having 15 units, and the Ralik (Sunset) to the west, having 17 units. Farther west are the two separate and isolated atolls of Eniwetok and Ujelang. The two chains run some 800 kilometers northwest from the vicinity of the equator between 4° and 12° north latitude. They contain some 1,156 individual islands or islets of low coral limestone and sand formations clustered mostly in groups of atolls; the highest point in the Marshalls is about 10 meters above sea level. The total land area of the islands is about 181 square kilometers. All in all, the territory comprises at least 29 atolls having large lagoons encircled by rings of coral reefs resting on submerged mountaintops and five single coral islands. One atoll, Kwajalein, has the world's largest lagoon, 145 kilometers long at its extreme axis and 32 kilometers across. Kwajalein has 96 associated islets and is the site of a United States missile testing range.

Historical Setting

As with other Micronesian island groups, little is known about the prehistory of the Marshall Islands before they were discovered by a Spanish explorer in 1529. For the next two centuries, however, these islands were virtually lost to the Western world until Captain Samuel Wallis, the discoverer of Tahiti, landed on Rongerik in 1767. In 1788 British captains John Marshall and Thomas Gilbert discovered several more island units in the group, which was later named after Captain Marshall by a Russian hydrographer. An extensive exploration of the island group was undertaken in 1817 by a Russian explorer. From the early decades of the nineteenth century the Marshalls were frequented by American whalers and missionaries and European traders and buccaneers and by blackbirders as well. At that time, however, European and American interest in the Marshalls was minimal.

In 1878 Germany secured the exclusive use of the harbor at Jaluit and special trading privileges in the Ralik chain by concluding a "treaty" with a powerful local chieftain. In 1885 the Marshalls became a German protectorate and were so recognized by Spain and Britain, principal rivals for colonial expansion in the Pacific at the time.

German rule, at first indirect, was efficient. Traditional Marshallese chieftains were left in authority, serving as key local administrative links between the islanders and a small but dedicated

House and outrigger canoe on Kili in the Marshall Islands, where Bikinians were resettled, their own island having been contaminated by radiation from United States nuclear tests during 1946–58 period
Courtesy Patricia Luce Chapman

German staff. This helped to minimize the possibility of any friction with the islanders. Copra-related economic exploitation was the main focus of German administration, but this was tempered by a policy of reasonable concern for the welfare of the islanders. Where possible, however, there were discreet efforts to moderate the autocratic political and judicial authority of the chieftains.

German control was terminated by the outbreak of World War I in 1914. Japan, which had cast covetous eyes on these German possessions since 1890, quickly seized Jaluit, as well as other Micronesian islands, and placed them under naval administration. The seizure was unpopular among the major powers, and it was not until three years later that Japanese occupation was recognized by Britain—and then France and Russia—in return for a more active Japanese contribution to Allied war efforts against Germany. In 1920 Japan was formally mandated by the League of Nations to administer Micronesia.

Japan took a much greater interest in the Marshalls than did Germany, and its policy was geared to the attainment of four

major objectives: economic development and exploitation, colonization for Japanese emigration, integration with Japan, and militarization. Its initial pattern of indirect rule, like Germany's, was gradually replaced by direct rule. By the mid-1930s it had no fewer than 900 officials present in Micronesia; Germany had never had more than 25 officials at any time. By 1938 Japan had defined the Marshalls, as well as the rest of the TTPI, as "an integral part" of its empire and treated the territory as a closed military area. In December 1941 Japan used some of the islands in the Marshalls from which to launch attacks to the east and to the south. In the Allied counterattacks on Japanese installations closer to the Japanese homeland, the first of the Japanese territories taken were the islands of Kwajalein, Majuro, and Eniwetok in the Marshalls.

After the war the United States controlled the TTPI under an international law of belligerent occupation. In 1946 it began testing atomic bombs on Bikini Atoll in the northern Marshalls, and in late 1947 Eniwetok was declared a closed military area for nuclear testing. The first United States hydrogen bomb was detonated at Eniwetok in 1954; further tests were carried out between 1956 and 1962.

The Social System

The Marshallese are classified as Micronesian. The society is matrilineally organized, descent traced through the female line. As in the past, land continues to be the most precious asset. The custom of land tenure provides for the economic needs of all members of the society.

A rather complex class system still existed in the Marshalls in the early 1980s. At the lower levels were *kajur* (commoners), whose matrilineages were led by *alab* (headmen). Each *alab* directed family affairs and represented lineage interests in larger councils. At the higher levels were the *iroij* (chiefs) of the aristocratic families, of whom the highest were *iroij laplap* (paramount chiefs). Between the royal and commoner leaders were chiefs and families having varying degrees of status.

The language of the islanders is Marshallese, closely related to the Gilbertese of Kiribati and other languages of the Caroline Islands group. It is spoken in separate, mutually comprehensible dialects for the Ratak and Ralik chains.

The 1980 census listed a total of 30,873 Marshallese, an increase of nearly 8,000 since 1970. This represented a rough annual growth rate of 3.5 percent. About 40 percent of the islanders

resided in Majuro, the seat of the government and the center of commerce, trade, and communications.

The public school system provided education through grade 12 and, as of early 1982, accounted for 75 percent of the total school enrollment of 9,560 students. This represented a decrease from the 80-percent level maintained in the 1974–79 period. Attendance at public or private school was compulsory for all children from age six through age 14 or until the completion of elementary school. Public elementary and secondary education was free. Elementary schools used a bilingual/bicultural curriculum. English was the language of instruction in all secondary schools. The age span for secondary schools ranged from about 14 to over 20, but in general there was no social stigma attached to attending secondary school at what might be considered in other societies an "over-age." There was no college in the Marshalls. As of 1979 there were 357 students studying abroad, including several at the two-year Community College of Micronesia, located on Ponape in the FSM.

The government was the sole provider of comprehensive health services. In the early 1980s there was one government-operated general hospital on Majuro and a subhospital on Ebeye. Private medicine was not practiced, but the government hospital operated under a management contract with the Seventh-Day Adventists of Micronesia, who were based in Guam.

The dominant faith in the Marshalls is Protestant. Catholics and Seventh-Day Adventists maintain well-established missions, and both operate private schools. Congregations of Jehovah's Witnesses, Assembly of God, Mormons, and Baptists are active. All the missions maintain active outreach programs from Majuro to the outer islands. Church-sponsored functions play a significant role in the social framework of the Marshallese; these include songfests, rallies, youth groups, women's groups, and programs for the elderly.

Freedom of information is guaranteed in the Constitution of the Marshall Islands. In the early 1980s there was one privately owned, independent newspaper published in both English and Marshallese. Newspapers from Guam and Honolulu were readily available. The one radio station in the Marshalls was owned and operated by the government, and its programs were in both English and Marshallese. All sessions of the national legislature were broadcast live by the station and could be heard throughout the Marshall Islands.

The Economy

In the early 1980s the gross domestic product (GDP—see Glossary) of the Marshall Islands continued to be derived largely from United States-funded expenditures, which were made available through the Department of the Interior. These went to cover both government operations and capital improvements—the latter including airports, roads, docks, water, power, and sewage systems. The Interior Department's grants-in-aid were augmented by other federal programs for education, health and food projects, community development, and economic development. In FY 1979 approximately 85 percent of the budgetary resources available to the Marshall Islands came from United States sources, and the remainder was locally generated.

The heavy inflow of United States aid created an essentially cash economy in which taxable salaries for public sector workers accounted for nearly 70 percent of the total wages and at least 50 percent of GDP in 1975 (the latest year for which information was available). The principal source of private sector incomes was copra production. Other sources included an annual United States payment of US$9 million for the use of the Kwajalein missile range facility. The payment provided compensation for the landowners and community leaders of Kwajalein Atoll and also helped fund social welfare projects for all islanders of the Marshalls.

Economic development continued to be hampered, as elsewhere in the TTPI, by limited natural and human resources. A partial solution to the problem has been the promotion of foreign investment. The government was fully supportive of free enterprise and set up an investment board as well as an economic development loan office to encourage ventures in agriculture, fisheries, tourism, light industry and manufacturing, construction, and other businesses. As a result, in February 1981 a loan package was executed with the Midland Bank of London to assist in financing the construction of a 12-megawatt power plant and a fuel storage tank farm.

Much of the land in the Marshalls was unproductive, and foodstuffs and most consumer goods were imported, paid for with the meager earnings from the export of copra, coconut oil, and *trocas* shells. Agriculture and marine resource development ranked first and second among the development priorities to reduce the need for imports. Tourism placed third, but its growth was expected to be slow in view of the inadequacy of hotel and tourist infrastructure. Nevertheless, in FY 1982 there were 3,809 tourist arrivals, over three times the total in FY 1981, when it was

Delivery of food and other supplies to Kili in the Marshall Islands, which like most other islands depends on air transport and ships for necessary supplies and contact with the outside world
Courtesy Patricia Luce Chapman

estimated that tourists spent US$323,456 in the Marshalls.

As of mid-1981 the government was the largest employer, having a total of 1,959 workers. The private sector had over 200 workers, including 70 employed in the tourist industry. Additionally, there were over 200 alien workers, mostly in construction. Evidently, the remainder of the working population was in the subsistence economy. Government employees were paid a minimum wage of US$1.00 an hour; the average minimum wage for private sector workers was US$0.85. All skilled alien employees were paid the minimum rate of US$1.25 an hour.

The Political System and Security

The process of transition to the status of a full-fledged self-government was still under way in 1984 under the Constitution of May 1, 1979. The political system was to be based on the principles of democracy but at the same time was to recognize the importance of protecting the rights and responsibilities of traditional

leadership. The Constitution created the Council of Iroij, consisting of five *iroij laplap* (paramount chiefs) from the Ralik chain and seven counterparts from the Ratak chain. The allocation of seats was based on the traditional system of hereditary rights and ranks. The Constitution is silent on the extent of *iroij* rights and powers, but the Marshallese know by custom that the *alab* is responsible for harvesting the food on the lands of the *iroij* and, at the beginning of a season, offers part of his harvest to his *iroij*, who is also entitled to collect his share of copra produced on his tribe's lands. Many other traditional *iroij* rights and powers remain valid today, even though they are not expressly recognized in the Constitution.

The council's formal functions are to "consider any matter of concern to the Marshall Islands and to express its opinion to the cabinet." It may request the reconsideration of any action by the legislature affecting customary law, traditional practice, or land tenure. Among the possible actions entertained by the council in the early 1980s were the introduction of a bill in the legislature to prepare a complete genealogy of all *iroij* in the Marshall Islands and a request to the government for strengthening studies of Marshallese culture and customs in the schools.

The Constitution provides for three branches of government. The executive branch is led by the president, who is the head of state and is elected by the legislature, called the Nitijela (Fountain of Knowledge). The president and cabinet ministers are drawn from the legislature and are collectively responsible to it. They must resign en bloc if a motion of no confidence against the cabinet, initiated by four or more members of the legislature, is carried by a majority of the lawmakers.

In mid-1984 the legislature exercised its authority in consultation with the advisory Council of Iroij. Its 33 members were popularly elected by secret ballot to a four-year term from 25 districts. The more populous districts were Majuro, having five seats; Kwajalein, three; and Ailinglaplap, Arno, and Jaluit, two each. The remaining districts accounted for one seat each. The election was conducted under a system of universal suffrage, the minimum voting age set at 18.

Justice was administered by the Supreme Court, the High Court, district and community courts, and the Traditional Rights Court. Trial was by jury. The jurisdiction of the Traditional Rights Court was limited to cases involving titles or land rights and other disputes arising from customary law and traditional practice.

The concept of local government is incorporated in the Constitution which declares that the people of every populated atoll

or island not part of an atoll should have the right to self-government. As elaborated in the Local Government Act of 1980, each of the 25 municipalities is to have its own constitution and make ordinances to deal with such matters as alcoholic beverages, litter, pigpens, zoning, or the protection of fish and marine resources.

Law and order was the responsibility of the Department of Public Safety, which was headed by the chief of police, who reported to the minister of internal security through his immediate supervisor, the attorney general. The department's five main functions were patrol, investigation, licensing and registration, jail services, and fire fighting.

Republic of Palau

The Republic of Palau is located in the westernmost extreme of the Caroline archipelago, 800 kilometers east of the Philippines. It became a self-governing republic on January 1, 1981, under a constitution that had been ratified in the July 1979 referendum. Geographically and culturally it shares the same historical experience with the FSM—initial contact with European navigators in the sixteenth century followed by a short period of European rivalry in the closing decades of the nineteenth century that culminated in successive German and then Japanese control. In 1947 Palau, along with other TTPI island groups, was placed under the UN's strategic trusteeship to be administereed by the United States.

Physical Environment

Palau consists of six island units that are arranged along a northeast-southeast axis at the outer edge of the Asian continental shelf (see fig. 6). Altogether they stretch nearly 700 kilometers and have a total land area of 461 square kilometers. Much of the territory, however, consists of uninhabited volcanic and coral limestone islands, mangrove swamp, and rocky land. The major island unit is known as the Palau cluster; it contains about 200 individual islands, the major ones being Kayangel, Babelthuap, Koror, Urukthapel, Eilmalk, Peleliu, and Angaur. Kayangel is the nation's only low coral atoll and has a number of islets encircling its well-protected interior lagoon. All of the islands of the Palau cluster, except Angaur and Kayangel, are enclosed within a single barrier reef, making for cultural homogeneity and relative ease of natural communication.

Babelthuap, about 40 kilometers long, is the largest single

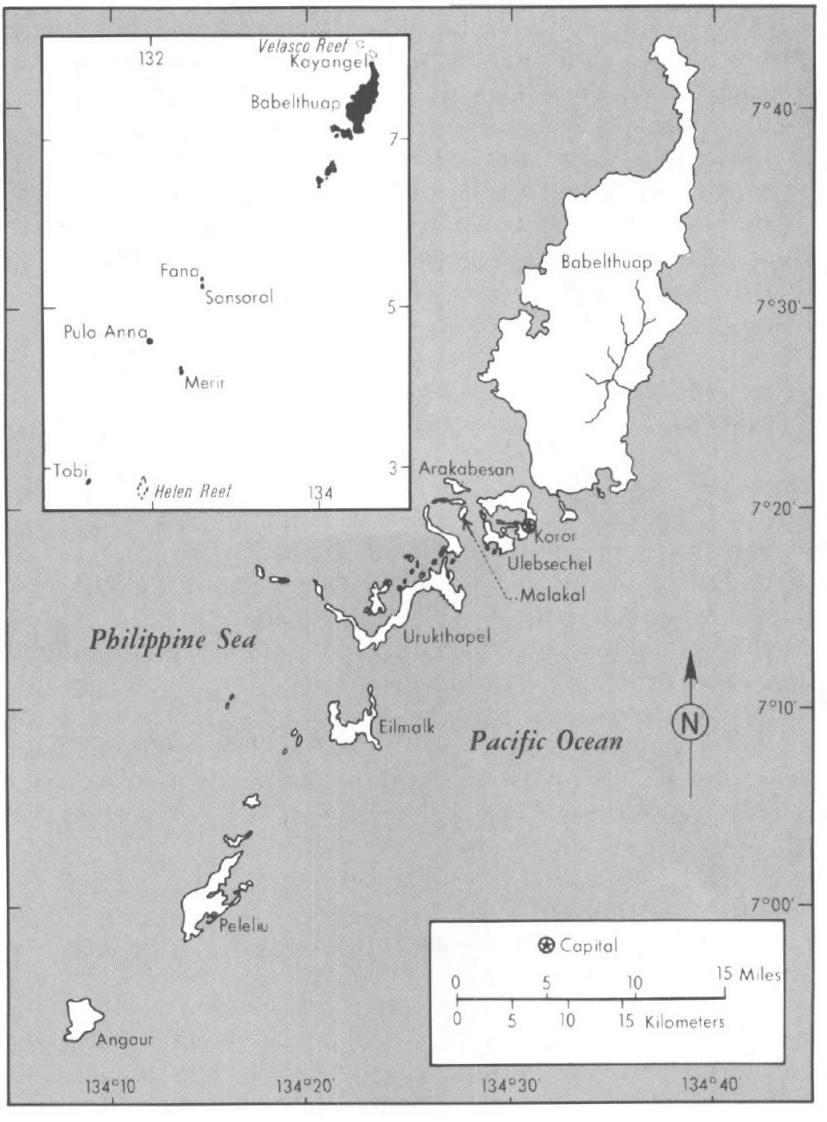


Figure 15. Republic of Palau, 1984

landmass in the TTPI. Although classified as a high island, Babelthuap is actually composed of gently rolling hills reaching a maximum height of 213 meters. The island has one of the few real lakes in the TTPI, Lake Ngardok. All the islands of the Palau cluster are covered with a dense growth of trees and bushes in great

variety.

The Social System

According to the 1980 census, Palau had 12,116 inhabitants, whose ancestors had undergone a long history of racial admixture. Present-day Palauans are a composite of Polynesian, Malayan, and Melanesian races. Since the turn of the twentieth century, Germans, Americans, and Japanese have also contributed to the racial admixture of the islanders. The people of Palau speak Palauan, the major and official language of the state. About 170 inhabitants in the southwestern islands of Sonsorol, Tobi, and Pulo Anna, however, speak a dialect of Trukese.

Palauan society is organized matrilineally into villages that were traditionally ruled by councils of 10 titled male chiefs and parallel councils of 10 titled female elders, each representing one of the ranking clans of the village clusters. The male council addressed matters relating to the local economy, warfare, and law and order, whereas the female council was concerned mainly with matters of inheritance and interlineage or interclan peace. The traditional village clusters are grouped into today's 16 states of Palau.

In the early 1980s, as in the past, land and money were regarded as the communal property of an individual's clan group, which remained a central part of life. Every Palauan was obligated to contribute money to the clan as an expression of loyalty, especially on occasions such as birth, marriage, divorce, or death. The contribution could be in currency or in an aboriginal system of payment consisting of beadlike money valuables, which, according to the findings of United States Peace Corps volunteers, was still actively used.

In 1982 the public and private school enrollment of both primary and secondary grades totaled 4,114. The public school share was 80 percent. Schooling was free and compulsory through twelfth grade. Most young people who had attended the public and mission schools spoke English. Many persons over the age of 50 spoke Japanese. Teacher education was being upgraded through extension courses offered by the Community College of Micronesia, the University of Guam, and San Jose State University. As of 1979 there were 524 Palauan college students studying abroad; this figure was 4.3 percent of the Palauan population—a relatively high level for the TTPI.

In the early 1980s the government operated a radio station to provide the islanders with local and world news, general informa-

tion, political and educational programs, and entertainment. The station also served as a direct communications link between Koror and outlying villages and islands. In addition, there was one commercial television station and one independent, biweekly newspaper.

Palau is the home of the only indigenous religious movement still active in the TTPI—the United Sect (Ngara Modekngei). This cult appears to be a modern revival of traditiional Palauan beliefs combining a mixed totem-clan-ancestral worship with belief in an assortment of nature-spirits, female demigods, and protective village deities. About one-third of the population is thought to embrace this movement, and the remainder identified with one or another Christian denomination.

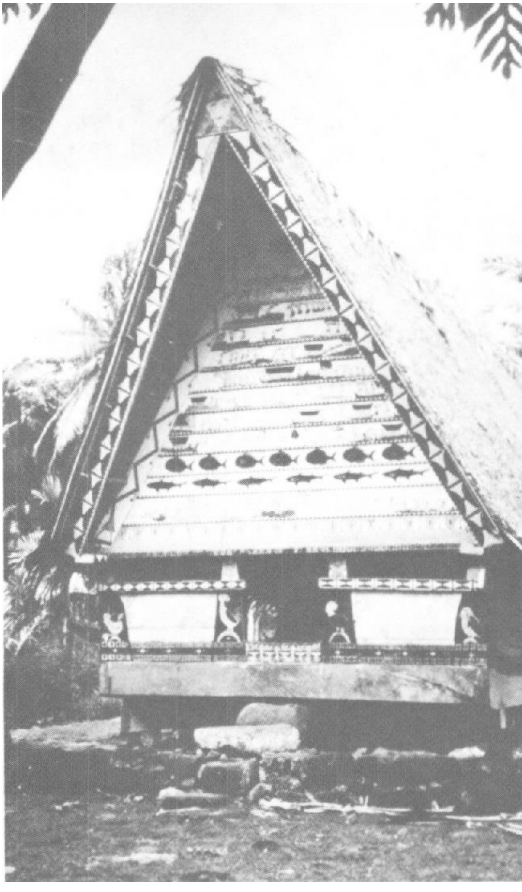
The government was the principal provider of health care in Palau. In the early 1980s it subscribed to the goal of "Health for All by the Year 2000." Emphasis was on primary health care. Because of the lack of adequate secondary care facilities and medical specialists in Palau, about 30 patients were referred to off-island facilities annually, most going to Guam and Honolulu.

The Economy

Palau has been blessed with rich marine resources, but these, like its agricultural potential, were largely untapped in 1984. The extraordinary beauty of the "rock islands" to the south of Koror could in time become a tourist attraction, pending substantial improvements in infrastructure.

Most of the resources available for government spending were derived from United States capital and payroll transfers. In FY 1982 at least 77 percent of the total budgetary resources for government operations, capital improvements, and economic development were made up of inputs from the United States. The remainder of the US$19.7 million was locally generated from taxes and fees and from reimbursements for public services. Top items in the government expenditures were education, health services, public works, and public safety.

In 1979, before Palau became self-governing under its own administrative structure, the total work force was 3,425 persons—2,057 in the public sector and 1,368 in the private sector. On a per capita basis wage earnings averaged US$1,600 in the private sector. As of mid-1981, several months after the inauguration of Palau as a republic, the total work force was officially listed as 2,807 persons—1,127 in the government and 1,668 (including 622 alien workers) in the private sector. Although fewer in



Traditional chief's house, called a bai in Palau
Courtesy
Patricia Luce Chapman

number, the government employees in 1981 earned a per capita average of US$5,874, whereas the private sector workers earned an average of US$3,494. In 1982 (the latest year for which information was available) private sector employment by business was fishers, domestics, and laborers, 41 percent of the total work force; trades, 37 percent; administrative and professional, 12 percent; and clerical, 10 percent. In the first private sector business category, 388 workers out of the 394 were listed as nonresident or alien fishers.

The sketchy information available reveals that in 1981 Palau had a total of 30 vegetable and root crop farmers and four poultry farmers. Van Camp tuna boats from the port of Malakal landed 16,000 tons of tuna, valued at US$3 million. The tourist industry was modest but was a major source of local income. In 1980 a total of 5,145 arrivals was reported, Japan accounting for 53 percent and the United States 39 percent. Palau was serviced by Air Micronesia, a subsidiary of Los Angeles-based Continental Airlines, which flew from Guam, and by Air Nauru through Manila. Aero Belau (Palau), a local airline, made several flights a day between Koror, Peleliu, and Angaur.

The Political System and Security

The Constitution provides for a bicameral legislature, an executive branch, a judiciary, and state governments below the national level. On the matter of sovereignty, it stipulates that "major governmental powers including but not limited to defense, security, or foreign affairs may be delegated by treaty, compact, or other agreement" between Palau and a foreign power or organization. Such treaty, compact, or agreement must be approved, however, by at least two-thirds of the members of each house of the national legislature—called Olbiil Era Kelulau (National Congress)—and by a majority of the votes cast in a popular referendum. Another proviso states that popular approval by at least a three-fourths margin in a referendum is needed in case such agreement concerns the use, testing, storage, or disposal of nuclear, toxic chemical, gas, or biological weapons intended for use in warfare within the Republic of Palau.

The Constitution incorporates a bill of rights and an article designed to protect "traditional rights." The government is enjoined from taking any action "to prohibit or revoke the role or function of a traditional leader as recognized by custom and tradition" that is not consistent with the Constitution. As a result, a traditional leader may play formal or functional roles at any level of government. Statutes and "traditional law" are declared to be "equally authoritative," but in case of conflict, the statute is to prevail "only to the extent it is not in conflict with the underlying principles of the traditional law."

The president is the chief executive of the national government and the head of state. His constitutional successor is the vice president. Both offices are filled by popular election for a term of four years. The president may serve only two terms. The members of the cabinet are appointed by the president with the advice and consent of the Senate of the legislature. Aiding the president in an advisory capacity is the Council of Chiefs, composed of traditional chiefs from the 16 states of the republic. The council's functions are to advise the chief executive on matters of traditional laws, customs, and their relationship to the Constitution and laws of the nation. A member of the council may not concurrently hold a seat in the national legislature.

The National Congress consists of two houses, the House of Delegates and the Senate. The members of the two chambers are elected for a term of four years. In mid-1984 the House of Delegates had 16 members, one delegate popularly elected from each

of the 16 states. The Senate was composed of 18 popularly elected members.

The judicial authority is vested in the Supreme Court, which has trial and appellate divisions. All justices of the court, like the president, are subject to impeachment by the national legislature for treason, bribery, other high crimes, or improper behavior. The Constitution states that a national court and other inferior courts of limited jurisdiction may be established by law. The appellate division of the Supreme Court may review decisions of the trial division and all decisions of lower courts, but no justice may hear or decide an appeal of a case heard by him in the trial division.

State governments are to be organized in accordance with the "democratic principles and traditions of Palau." In 1982 all 16 states had a recognized traditional chief and an elected executive officer variously known as the governor, magistrate, or secretary of state. The state governments are authorized to have their own elected legislatures.

In mid-1984 law and order was the responsibility of the Public Safety Bureau of the National Ministry of Justice. The bureau maintained a national police force and was also responsible for fire protection. Total personnel of the bureau was listed as 59 as of October 1981. The prison population in 1981 was 40.

Chapter 4. Polynesia

Tahitian tiki, typical of traditional Polynesian sacred images in human form

THE REGION KNOWN as Polynesia (from the Greek, meaning "many islands") is vast in terms of sea area, covering approximately 39 million square kilometers—excluding New Zealand and Hawaii, territories originally settled by Polynesians but containing predominantly non-Polynesian populations. In contrast, the total land area of the region is only about 8,260 square kilometers, the largest island being Tahiti at 1,042 square kilometers. The total population of the region in the early 1980s was approximately 500,000. Only Tonga, Western Samoa, and French Polynesia had populations of over 100,000, and tiny Pitcairn Island's population was only 45 in 1983. Scarcity of arable land—in fact, any land at all—and the stagnation of subsistence economies in which copra represented the only significant export stimulated large-scale out-migration to other regions of the Pacific, including Australia, New Zealand, New Caledonia, and the United States. Tourism, fishing, and the exploitation of the resources of the ocean floor, however, presented potential sources of future economic growth.

Polynesia contained an impressive diversity of political entities in the early 1980s. Tonga was an independent kingdom that had been under British protection between 1901 and 1970. Western Samoa and Tuvalu were states that had gained their independence in 1962 and 1978, respectively. Cook Islands and Niue were self-governing but in free association with New Zealand, which assumed responsibility for their defense. Tokelau was a territory of New Zealand administered by that nation from Apia, Western Samoa. French Polynesia and Wallis and Futuna were two overseas territories of France; evolution toward internal self-government was under way in the former in the early 1980s. Pitcairn Islands was a British colony and American Samoa an unorganized, unincorporated territory of the United States. Easter Island was a province of Chile.

AMERICAN SAMOA

Political Status	Unorganized, unincorporated Territory of the United States
Capital	Pago Pago
Population	36,400 (1984 midyear estimate)
Land Area	189 square kilometers
Currency	United States dollar (US$)
Main Island and Island Groups	Tutuila, Manua Islands

Lying in the heart of Polynesia, American Samoa comprises the six eastern islands of the Samoa archipelago and tiny Swains. Throughout the twentieth century it has been politically separated from the larger and more heavily populated Western Samoa, which was administered first by Germany, then by New Zealand before becoming independent in 1962 (see Western Samoa, this ch.). American Samoa's continuing close ties to a major world power in mid-1984 contrasted sharply with the vigorously pursued nationalist aims of many neighboring island states, including Western Samoa. Having few resources and a burgeoning population, American Samoa's greatest challenge in the mid-1980s was probably the strengthening of its economic capabilities.

Physical Environment

American Samoa extends some 300 kilometers from west to east between 11° to 14° south latitude, about two-thirds of the way down from Hawaii to New Zealand (see fig. 16). All of the islands except for the tiny coral atolls, Rose and Swains, are volcanic, their rugged mountains rising abruptly over the surrounding waters of the Pacific Ocean. The largest and most important of these is Tutuila. In addition there are, besides the two coral atolls, Aunuu Island and the three islands of the Manua group—Ta'u, Ofu, and Olosega. Dense forests made up of typical South Pacific

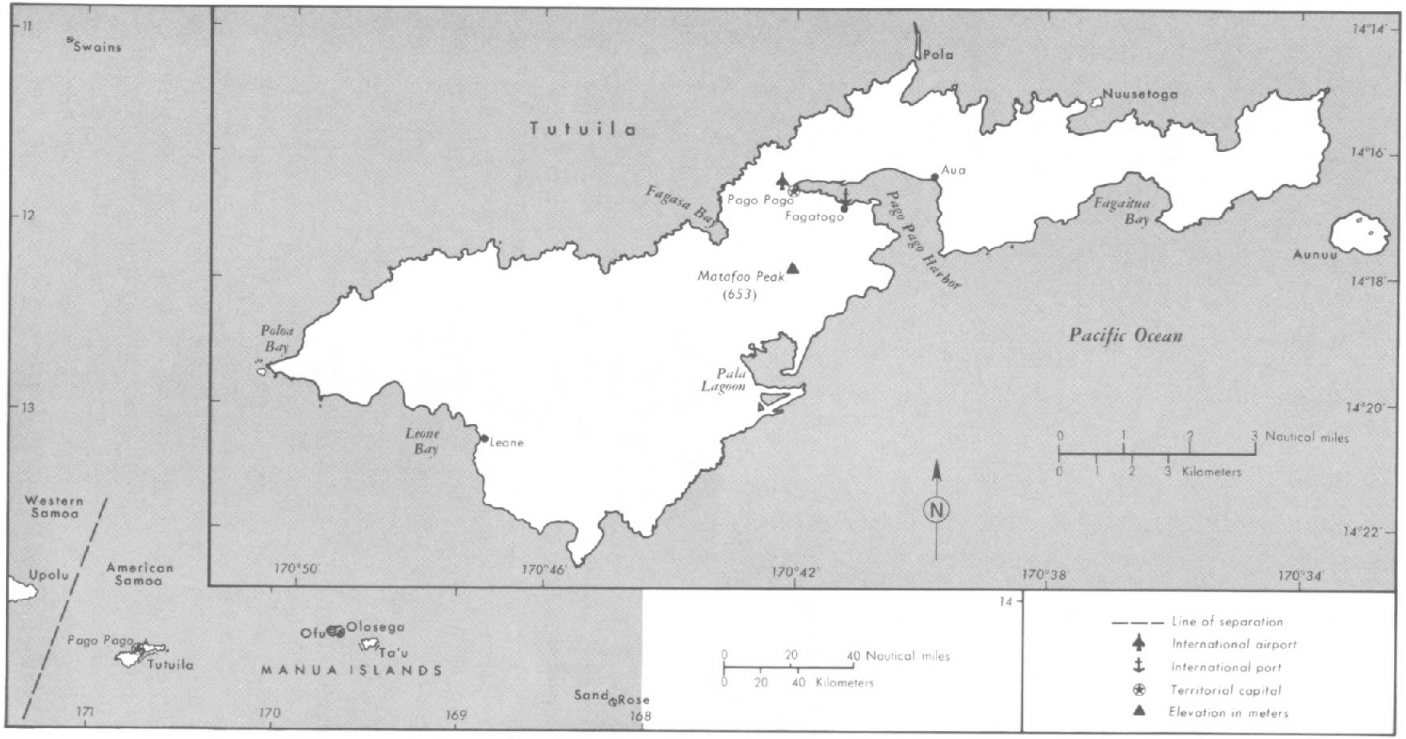


Figure 16. American Samoa, 1984

trees, such as coconut palms, breadfruit, and mango, cover these islands. Grasses and tropical vegetables flourish on open fields, watered by ample rainfall. The climate is tropical, the average temperature ranging from 21°C to 32°C; average humidity is 80 percent.

The country's closest neighbor, apart from Western Samoa, is Tokelau; other nearby islands include Tonga, Niue, and the Cook Islands. The sea area contained within American Samoa's 200-nautical-mile Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ—see Glossary) is estimated at 390,000 square kilometers.

Its favorable location astride air and sea routes is one of the few natural resources the territory possesses, apart from its equable climate. The capital, Pago Pago, which boasts one of the finest natural harbors in the world, is a regional center of business and commerce. The port affords protection from adverse weather and oceanic conditions and is accessible to deep-draft vessels. Well-developed port facilities are indicative of its use as a major port of call for over more than a century. Domestic and regional air carriers using Pago Pago International Airport provide regularly scheduled, connecting flight service to the United States and to New Zealand, Fiji, and other parts of the South Pacific.

Most of the population lives on Tutuila, which covers a land area of 115 square kilometers. Tutuila and the Manua Islands are supplied with electric power; total capacity of the power system in 1980 was 14 megawatts, and expansion beyond that was planned. Rainfall and other sources provided a generally reliable water supply, but age-related breakdowns often occurred in the village-owned distribution systems.

Historical Setting

Archaeological research on the origins of the first inhabitants of the Samoa Islands (including present-day Western Samoa) is subject to dispute and contradictory interpretation. Possibly they came by sea from eastern Melanesia by way of Vanuatu, Fiji, or Tonga, arriving as early as 1000 B.C. Considerable contact with Fiji and Tonga preceded the first sighting of the islands by Dutch admiral Jacob Roggeveen in 1722. After 1768 whaling, fishing, and trading boats visited in increasing number, while official contacts through British, German, and United States expeditions in 1791, 1824, and 1838, respectively, expanded Western influence. As agreements were concluded with local chiefs, Europeans and Americans came to dominate the economic life of the islands. At the same time, Christian missionary groups were converting the

Samoans to Christianity. Foremost among their leaders was John Williams of the London Missionary Society, remembered in particular for developing a Samoan-language script that permitted the society to achieve a remarkably high level of literacy within two generations.

Sociopolitical organization was based on extended family groups under the authority of a number of chiefs holding various hierarchically ranked titles. For centuries competition for political power and chiefly titles had kept the islands in ferment. During the nineteenth century the situation was compounded by the struggle of foreign powers for trade, commercial, and strategic advantage and by their efforts to play on local rivalries for their own gain. In 1872 the United States naval commander in the area succeeded in making a treaty with a local chief permitting the fleet to use the harbor at Pago Pago for a coaling station. Despite this setback, Britain and Germany continued to press their own interests, and in March 1889 ships of all three nations confronted one another in the harbor at Apia. It is widely believed that open warfare was averted only because a hurricane struck, destroying all but one British vessel and causing great loss of life. In the aftermath the three powers established a system of joint rule in the Samoa Islands, but this too broke down. In 1899 Britain and Germany settled their rival claims, and Britain renounced its interest in the islands in return for recognition of exclusive claims elsewhere. The next year the islands were partitioned between Germany and the United States. Germany was given paramount interest in those islands of the Samoa archipelago west of 171° west longitude and the United States equivalent interest in all those east of that line.

In 1900 Samoan chiefs formally consented to the arrangement of the 1899 agreement, ceding Tutuila to the United States. In 1904 a separate deed was signed for the Manua group. The United States Congress formally ratified the deed of cession retroactively in 1929. Meanwhile Swains, not part of the Samoa archipelago, was made part of American, or Eastern, Samoa in 1925.

During World War II the Samoa Islands were made an advance training and staging area for United States forces. Tutuila was used as a base for strikes against Japanese forces. Its physical infrastructure was greatly improved by the construction of roads, airstrips, docks, and medical facilities. A number of Samoans volunteered for military service.

Political evolution progressed slowly. During the 1930s a small political group, Mau a Pule (commonly referred to as the

Mau movement), based in the western Samoa Islands, had made little headway in American Samoa. The climate for democratization was more favorable after World War II, progressive reforms beginning with the formation of a bicameral legislature that replaced an advisory board of local leaders.

The naval station was closed in 1951, a severe blow to the local economy, and administrative responsibility for the islands was transferred from the United States Navy to the United States Department of the Interior. Economic development was modest during the 1950s, but political evolution continued. By 1956 American Samoa had its first native-born Samoan governor, Peter Tali Coleman, and the bicameral legislature had called for a constitutional convention. In 1960, after six years of debate, the convention approved the Constitution, which was ratified in 1966 and approved by the United States secretary of the interior in 1967. It continued to serve as the territory's basic law in 1984. In 1977 Coleman became the first governor of the territory to be popularly elected.

The Social System

The census taken in April 1980 enumerated a population of 32,397. By mid-1984 the total population had probably reached 36,400, based on an estimated annual growth rate of 1.7 percent. Population pressure was not the issue that it was in many small island states because American Samoans were free to resettle in any part of the United States, and significant numbers did so. In the early 1980s it was estimated that there were nearly twice as many American Samoans on the west coast of the United States as there were in American Samoa itself, an additional 20,000 or so being resident in Hawaii.

English is the official language, taught in the schools and spoken by most inhabitants. Samoan, a language closely akin to Hawaiian, Tahitian, and Tongan, is the lingua franca.

The intricate pattern of family relationships underlying Samoan society has been widely studied by anthropologists, including the redoubtable Margaret Mead, whose descriptions of sexual mores in the islands have come under strong challenge from anthropologist Derek Freeman. The basic social and economic unit is the *aiga* (extended family), in which all kinsmen related by birth or adoption are considered to be members. Each *aiga* is headed by a *matai* (chief), responsible for directing the use of family land and other assets, for assessing contributions of food and material possessions, for the performance of traditional rites and cere-

monies, and for rendering family honors at births, deaths, weddings, and other landmark occasions. These activities and levies are considered family obligations to be performed willingly and without question. In large communities the *matai* appoints other family household heads to serve as lesser officers in conducting community affairs.

In modern times Samoan chieftains have appeared in two types: the *ali'i* (high chief), who exercises primarily ceremonial functions, and the *tutafale* (orator), the new leader and the real source of authority in a community. Although heredity is a determining factor in choosing *matai* of both kinds, accession to status as a *tutafale* is achieved through election by the extended family as a whole. A candidate's general competence, popularity, and ability to make a good speech are governing factors.

Patterns of living on Tutuila have generally remained unaffected by the pace of modern life, except in or near the major settlements around Pago Pago Harbor. In recent years much construction has taken place in this area so that in 1984 its appearance was a far cry from the picturesque shabbiness that Somerset Maugham described in "Rain," his famous short story about Sadie Thompson and the missionary.

The Economy

The economy was tied closely to that of the United States. More than 70 percent of the budget of the territorial government—US$69 million—was provided by the Department of the Interior and other federal agencies. Most United States social programs were normally extended to American Samoa. Although subsistence agriculture and fishing traditionally provided the lifeblood of the economy, Samoans have increasingly abandoned such pursuits, and by the mid-1980s the government employed about 4,000 persons, or about one-half of the labor force. Attempts to trim the payroll, exercise other cost-cutting measures, and develop alternative employment opportunities in industry and agriculture were being stressed amid rumors of government financial mismanagement and corruption. American Samoa's exports, chiefly tuna, went almost exclusively to the United States, and its imports also came primarily from that source. The export industry relied on two major American-owned tuna canneries, Star Kist Samoa and Van Camp Samoa, which in 1981 together accounted for well over one-half of the private sector payroll and furnished exports valued at US$198 million. American Samoa enjoyed duty-free access to the American market.

Apart from its location, which made it a convenient regional center of commerce in the South Pacific, and its equable climate and physical beauty, the territory had few natural resources. The soil was rich and productive in some areas, but arable land was scarce. Tourism was being developed but was subject to a number of constraints, including scarcities of facilities to serve airline and cruise ship passengers.

Land tenure was loosely intertwined with social organization. In the early 1980s about 70 percent of land was communally owned; rights were passed on from generation to generation. About 25 percent was individually owned, while the remainder belonged to the government. Legislation restricting ownership to Samoans was strictly enforced, but 55-year leases and other trusteeships provided loopholes for foreigners interested in investment and retirement sites.

The Political System and Security

In mid-1984 the political status of American Samoa remained, as it had been for most of the century, that of an unincorporated and unorganized territory of the United States. The term *unincorporated* signified that American Samoa, like Guam, was not incorporated into the United States as were the 50 states; *unorganized* meant that the United States Congress had not enacted organic legislation for American Samoa that would provide for congressionally mandated powers of self-government. Instead, the Constitution of American Samoa formed the basic law of the territory. This unique arrangement ensured that certain aspects of Samoan culture that were inconsistent with provisions of the United States Constitution and United States law could be preserved, including the customary pattern of landownership and the holding of titles. Under this arrangement United States law did not automatically apply to the territory, and American Samoa with rare exceptions did not have access to the United States court system. The people of the territory were United States nationals but not United States citizens—a status unique to American Samoans. They could, however, quite easily become United States citizens by establishing residence in the United States and complying with relatively streamlined citizenship procedures, and many have done so.

Since 1951, when responsibility for the territory was transferred from the Department of the Navy, American Samoa has been administered by the United States Department of the Interior. Based on legislation passed in 1980, the territory has been

represented in the United States Congress by a nonvoting delegate since 1981.

As of mid-1984 any move to alter the territory's political status appeared unlikely. Pursuing a closer relationship with the United States would require abandonment of highly valued customary practices. Movement toward a looser arrangement would result in a substantial loss of United States revenue and would mean sacrificing easy access to United States citizenship. Although very strong ties of culture and consanguinity continued to bind the territory to Western Samoa, any merger with that state would return most American Samoan *matai* to the relatively junior status they occupied in the Samoan hierarchy of titles. Except for one title in the Manua group, the most senior titles in that system pertained to areas in Western Samoa.

The Constitution of American Samoa, as amended or revised in 1967, 1971, and 1977, bears the imprint of American democratic political principles, providing for executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government. It guarantees freedom of religion, speech, and press; rights of assembly and petition; free and nonsectarian public education; and other rights and freedoms. It also stipulates a governmental legislative policy protecting persons of Samoan ancestry against alienation of their lands and guarding against the destruction of the Samoan way of life and language. No change in the law respecting the alienation or transfer of land or any interest therein was permitted without a two-thirds majority vote by two successive legislatures and the governor.

In February 1984 elected delegates to a second constitutional convention held in Pago Pago drafted and adopted a revised basic law for the territory. Envisioning a number of important reforms, the document stressed the collective responsibility of the people of Tutuila and the Manua Islands as an island society of "true Polynesians" to protect against the alienation of their lands or the destruction of the Samoan way of life or culture. The future of the proposed constitution was uncertain, however, for a United States Congress ruling in December 1983 stated that amendments or modifications to the Constitution of American Samoa could be made only by an act of that Congress. The Government of American Samoa submitted the draft constitution to Congress but later withdrew it from consideration.

According to the 1966 Constitution, the governor is the administrative head of the executive branch, responsible for all executive departments, agencies, and instrumentalities. In early 1983 these included departments of administrative services, agriculture, the community college, education, health, legal affairs,

port administration, public safety, public works, and Samoan affairs. Special executive agencies included the offices of economic development and planning, marine resources, planning and budget, and territorial energy.

Until 1977 the United States secretary of the interior had appointed the American Samoan governor and lieutenant governor. For three years in succession, annual referenda had rejected the notion of popular election of the governor. According to a number of observers, the reluctance was rooted in the strength of Samoan customs and the extent of rivalry among family groups and *matai*. In 1976, however, the majority of voters opted in favor of popularly elected governors. The first governor, Peter T. Coleman, was elected for a renewable three-year term, beginning in January 1978. In 1980 the term was changed to four years, coinciding with the United States presidential election. Governor Coleman and Lieutenant Governor Li'a Tufele were reelected and began their second terms in January 1981. Under the Constitution governors are not permitted to serve more than two full terms.

The bicameral legislature, known as the Fono, consists of the Senate and a House of Representatives. The Constitution stipulates that the county councils shall choose the 18 members of the Senate according to Samoan custom and from among registered *matai*. Twenty members of the House of Representatives are popularly elected from representative districts. Candidates must be United States nationals. Additionally, adult permanent residents of Swains elect a nonvoting delegate to the House. Senators hold office for a four-year term and representatives for a two-year term, the legislature convening for 45-day sessions twice each year.

In the mid-1980s the judicial branch of government consisted of a single high court that had trial, appellate, and probate jurisdiction throughout the islands; five district courts; a small-claims court; a traffic court; and *matai* courts. As a general rule, a suit filed in an American Samoan court was not appealable to any United States federal court. The secretary of the interior appointed the chief justice, who was an American jurist; the governor, on the recommendation of the chief justice, appointed the associate judges. The United States civil and criminal codes, augmented by such local laws and regulations as enacted by the Samoan legislature, constitute the body of law adjudicated in the courts.

Responsible to the Department of Public Safety were police and fire units and a corrections agency. Members of the uniformed force, numbering 117 in early 1983, were organized in

a rank structure based on the United States Army. They were not armed.

COOK ISLANDS

Political Status	Self-governing, in free association with New Zealand
Capital	Avarua
Population	16,000 (1984 midyear estimate)
Land Area	240 square kilometers
Currency	New Zealand dollar ($NZ)
Major Islands and Island Groups	Northern Cook Islands; Southern Cook Islands, including Rarotonga, Mangaia, Atiu, and Mauke

Cook Islands, a self-governing state in free association with New Zealand as defined in its 1965 Constitution, is located west of French Polynesia. Kiribati lies to the north and northeast, American Samoa and Western Samoa to the northwest, and Niue and Tonga to the west. The island of Rarotonga, where the capital, Avarua, is located, is approximately 3,700 kilometers distant from Wellington, New Zealand.

Physical Environment

Having a total land area of 240 square kilometers, the 15 Cook Islands are dispersed over a wide area of the South Pacific. The distance from Penrhyn in the north to Mangaia in the south is 1,400 kilometers. The total sea area, defined by the 200-nautical-mile EEZ (see Glossary) is estimated at 1.8 million square kilometers. Cook Islands claims territorial waters of 12 nautical miles. There are two island groups; the Northern Cook Islands, composed mainly of coral atolls, and the Southern Cook Islands, containing the largest islands, of volcanic origin. The largest are Rarotonga, at 70 square kilometers the most extensive in area; Mangaia, 57 square kilometers; and Atiu, Mitiaro, Mauke, and Aitutaki, all between 20 and 30 square kilometers. The coral atolls of the Northern Cooks rarely exceed a few square kilometers in area, Rakahanga being the largest at 11 square kilometers. Penrhyn, only six square kilometers in size, encloses a lagoon of 280

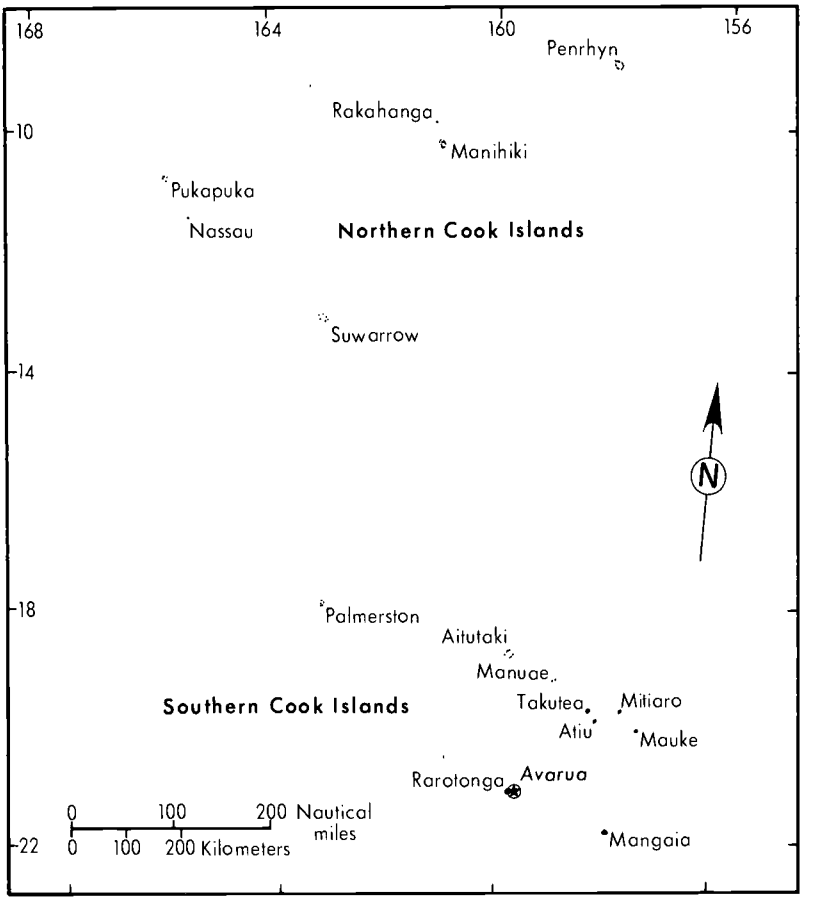


Figure 17. Cook Islands, 1984

square kilometers, one of the largest in the Pacific (see fig. 17).

On June 11, 1980, Cook Islands and the United States governments signed the Treaty of Friendship and Delimitation of the Maritime Boundary Between the United States and the Cook Islands. The agreement, ratified by the United States Senate in 1983, provided for the relinquishment of United States claims to the Penrhyn, Manihiki, Rakahanga, and Pukapuka (Danger) atolls in the Northern Cook Islands group.

The differences between the volcanic "high islands" and coral "low islands" are quite apparent. Rarotonga, a circular high island described by many observers as one of the most beautiful in

the Pacific, has a large number of well-defined peaks and pinnacles, including Te Manga, the highest, at 653 meters. The topography is characterized by steep mountain valleys cut by rapid streams running to the sea. A fringing reef around Rarotonga forms a shallow lagoon close to the shore. Rich, volcanic soils nourish a profusion of vegetation, and even the mountainsides are covered with green. Other volcanic islands are similar in appearance. By contrast the coral atolls have low elevations and fewer varieties of vegetation—primarily coconut trees—as a result of the inability of the limestone-based soils to hold water or provide nutrients.

The islands have a humid, tropical climate, though this is less pronounced in the Southern Cooks, farther from the equator than the Northern Cooks. The prevailing winds are the trades, blowing from the southeast in the Southern Cooks and from the east in the Northern Cooks. Rarotonga's average annual temperature is 24°C and the average yearly rainfall 2,000 millimeters. Tropical storms occur durring the humid months from November to March.

Historical Setting

The indigenous people of the Cook Islands trace their origins to the Society Islands and the Marquesas Islands in what is now French Polynesia, as well as to the Samoa Islands. Migration occurred over an extended period of time, beginning apparently in the eighth century A.D. Local tradition tells of the departure of Polynesian fleets from the islands to New Zealand around the fourteenth century. Although the inhabitants of each of the 15 islands developed their own cultural attributes, a general pattern of social structure could be perceived. The land was divided into small states that on the volcanic islands were often defined by the steep walls of mountain valleys. Society was hierarchical, having a class of *ariki* (chiefs), who occupied the highest positions. Wars between the small states, led by the *ariki*, were a prominent feature of life before the period of European influence.

The first Europeans to reach the Cook Islands were the Spanish navigator Álvaro de Mendaña de Neira in 1595 and his Portuguese associate, Pedro Fernández de Quirós, in 1606. The British captain James Cook, after whom the islands are named, discovered five of the islands of the southern group during his voyages of exploration in the 1770s. Some of the islands were visited by the mutineers on the H.M.S. *Bounty* in 1789.

Polynesian and European preachers of the London Mis-

sionary Society were successful in converting the people of many of the islands, especially Rarotonga, to Christianity during the 1820s. This was usually accomplished by converting the *ariki*, who then obliged their subjects to follow their example. The society and culture were deeply transformed in the process. The people were persuaded not only to abandon their old gods but also to adopt Western styles of dress, housing, and legal codes. The missionaries enacted a host of blue laws that prohibited dancing, drinking the traditional beverage, kava, and wearing flowers. *Ariki* occupied high church offices, and what one historian calls a "theocratic" political system evolved.

Protestant missionary dominance and proximity to New Zealand drew the Cook Islands economically, and eventually politically, into the British sphere of influence. In 1888 a British protectorate was established, first over Rarotonga and then over all the islands of the Southern Cooks to prevent French intrusion from their base in the Society Islands. In 1896 the British Colonial Office agreed that New Zealand should annex the islands, and this was accomplished with the consent of the *ariki* in 1901. Annexation included the Northern Cooks.

Although the Cook Islands were not involved in fighting between Allied and Japanese forces during World War II, United States forces were based on the island of Aitutaki in the Southern Cooks, and several hundred young men and women went to New Zealand to work or enlist in the armed forces. After the war, demands for self-government were voiced by members of the Cook Islands Progressive Association, whose most eloquent spokesman was Albert R. Henry, son of an Aitutaki chief.

Parliamentary institutions evolved under New Zealand auspices beginning with the establishment in 1946 of the Legislative Council, which had limited control over internal affairs. This became the Legislative Assembly of 22 elected and five ex officio members in 1957. In November 1964 the New Zealand parliament passed an act providing a constitution for full self-government in domestic matters, although an association was retained in which New Zealand would be responsible for the Cook Islands' defense and would be available for consultation regarding Cook Islands' foreign affairs. The act was promulgated in 1965, when the first elections under the new system were held. Albert Henry's Cook Islands Party won 14 of the 22 seats in the assembly and retained control of the government until Henry was obliged to step down as prime minister in July 1979.

The Social System

According to the census of December 1, 1981, the population of Cook Islands was 17,695 and was estimated at 16,000 in mid-1984. The average annual growth for the years 1981–82 was a negative 2.9 percent, the decrease being attributed to continued migration of young people to New Zealand. Positive rates of growth, averaging 1.8 percent per year, had been recorded in the two decades between 1950 and 1970, but a period of negative growth began after 1970 (when the population was 21,323), reflecting the stagnation of the local economy. Almost 90 percent of the population lived on the volcanic islands of the Southern Cooks, according to the 1981 census. This was owing in part to continued migration from the outer islands to Rarotonga, which had 9,530 people in 1981. In late 1970 more than 20,000 Cook Islanders lived and worked in New Zealand, a number larger than the home population.

The people speak a dialect of the Polynesian language that has very close affinities with those of the people of the Society Islands and the New Zealand Maori. These languages are mutually intelligible and vary chiefly in the matter of the pronunciation of certain sounds. English is also used extensively, especially on Rarotonga.

Almost all Cook Islanders professed belief in the Christian religion in the early 1980s. A majority were affiliated with the Cook Islands Christian Church (CICC), a Protestant group tracing its origins to the first conversions made by the London Missionary Society preachers in the 1820s. There are smaller groups of Roman Catholics, Seventh-Day Adventists, Anglicans, Mormons, and others. During the twentieth century there has been a gradual decline in the power and prestige of the CICC and its pastors because of the inflow of secular influences, particularly from New Zealand. The postwar development of parliamentary politics and the migration of thousands of persons overseas have also eroded the traditional powers and prestige of the *ariki*. For geographic and economic reasons, the Southern Cook Islands have been more open to modern influence than the more isolated Northern Cook Islands.

Education in mid-1984 was compulsory for children between the ages of six and 15 (6,424 students in 1982). There were 38 schools on the islands, providing primary-, secondary-, and college-level (junior college and teacher's college) education. These were operated by the state, the Roman Catholic church, and the Seventh-Day Adventists. The New Zealand government provided scholarships for university-level education in that country.

A system of health services was maintained by the Cook Islands government and was available without charge to all citizens. In general, the population in the early 1980s was healthy. Tropical diseases such as malaria were not endemic to the islands, although there have been outbreaks of filariasis, a parasitic disease.

The Economy

The islands' economic stagnation has been exacerbated by the movement of the most active, ambitious, and best educated members of the population to New Zealand. Tourism, however, has been a sector of growing importance. In 1982 the 17,464 foreign tourist arrivals exceeded the total population. The southern islands of Rarotonga and Aitutaki accommodated the majority. A 1979 study of the labor force revealed that 54 percent of the total was engaged in services, including tourism; 23 percent in agriculture and fishing; 16 percent in manufacturing and construction; and the remainder in other occupations.

The production of crops such as citrus fruits, bananas, pineapples, taro, and copra (the last principally in the northern islands) constituted the agricultural sector. Citrus fruit and juices, papaya, copra, bananas, mother-of-pearl shell, and handicrafts were the principal exports, approximately 80 percent of those being sent to New Zealand. Sale of Cook Islands postage stamps to world philatelists was another important source of revenue. Exports by value have customarily been only a small percentage of imports. In 1981 they were $NZ5 million or less than 20 percent of imports, which were valued at $NZ26.6 million (for value of the New Zealand dollar—see Glossary). Imports included foodstuffs, textiles, and petroleum products. The processing and canning of fruit and fruit juices formed an important component of the local industry. Fishing, in both lagoons and deep waters, had considerable potential for growth but in mid-1984 remained largely unexploited except for subsistence.

The per capita gross domestic product (GDP—see Glossary) was US$1,060 in 1981. However, the economy remained dependent on subsidies from New Zealand, which averaged around US$7 million annually, and on remittances from Cook Islanders living in that country. Improvement in living standards has been impeded by high inflation, which has been associated with the increased cost of imports and has averaged 20 percent per year.

In the early 1980s infrastructure was most fully developed on Rarotonga. West of Avarua was an international airport capable of serving wide-bodied aircraft, and the island was encircled by a 33-

kilometer road sealed with low-grade asphalt. Cook Islands Airways and Air Rarotonga provided domestic service, using propeller-driven aircraft. International shipping was served by port facilities at Avarua and the nearby harbor at Avatiu.

The New Zealand dollar was the currency in circulation in mid-1984, although Cook Islands also minted its own coins in various denominations. There was a post office savings system, and the National Bank of New Zealand operated a branch in the islands. The Cook Islands Development Bank, set up in 1978, had assets of US$2 million in 1983.

The Political System

Cook Islanders are citizens of New Zealand. The 1965 Constitution grants Cook Islands complete control over internal affairs and provides that New Zealand exercise responsibility for defense and provide consultation in foreign affairs. The document allows for a unilateral declaration of full independence by the islands' government. The head of state is the British monarch, who appoints a representative to the islands. Government institutions as defined in the Constitution are similar to the British parliamentary system. The six-member cabinet, headed by a premier, is responsible to a 24-member parliament. Members of parliament serve for a four-year term and are elected by universal adult suffrage. One member is elected by Cook Islanders living overseas. An upper house, known as the House of Ariki, was created by a constitutional amendment in 1965 and is composed of up to 15 members, all *ariki*. It serves solely a consultative function, particularly on issues related to custom or land tenure. Local government is the responsibility of island councils and village committees.

Cook Islands politics was lively in the early 1980s. There were three political parties: the Cook Islands Party (CIP), led in mid-1984 by Geoffrey Arama Henry, the Democratic Party (DP) of Thomas Davis, and the Unity Party (UP) of Joseph Williams. There was a high level of political awareness among the population, and intense personal rivalries between leaders played a prominent role in political dynamics.

The CIP was in power from the time the first parliamentary elections were held in 1965 until 1979, Albert Henry serving as premier. During the campaign preceding the general elections of March 1978, the DP, the opposition party, accused Henry of corruption and other abuses of power, and an acrimonious controversy developed over the issue of the right of expatriate Cook

Islanders to participate in the election. Although the results of the March 30, 1978, balloting gave the DP a larger number of constituencies than the CIP, the inclusion of 1,000 votes by overseas Cook Islanders gave the CIP a majority. Both parties had chartered flights to bring electors from New Zealand, the DP responsible for 200 and the CIP for 800. The DP accused Premier Henry of misusing public money to charter the aircraft, and an investigation carried out by the chief justice revealed that proceeds from the sale of postage stamps had been diverted to that purpose after undergoing an elaborate laundering process involving companies in the islands and in New Zealand, as well as a United States businessman. The DP had paid for its flights out of its own funds. Henry was charged with criminal violations and removed from office. The chief justice ordered the reinstatement to parliament of eight DP candidates who had been elected without the participation of overseas Cook Islanders, and in July 1979 a new government was formed, DP head Thomas Davis serving as premier.

A general election was held on March 30, 1983. The voters returned 13 CIP candidates to parliament, and the DP seated 11 members. No UP candidate was elected. Geoffrey Arama Henry, cousin of Albert Henry and leader of the CIP (Albert Henry had died in January 1981), became premier. However, the death of one CIP member of parliament and the crossover of a second to the DP left parliament evenly divided and forced a change in government. Henry resigned in August 1983 but was appointed caretaker premier by the queen's representative. A second general election was scheduled for November 2, 1983. The DP won 13 seats and the CIP 11, and Thomas Davis resumed the premiership on November 16, 1983.

The judicial system of the Cook Islands was based on the British model. The High Court had jurisdiction over civil, criminal, and land-title cases, and the Court of Appeal heard appeals against its decisions. The final appellate court was the Privy Council, sitting in London.

EASTER ISLAND

Official Name	Easter Island (Isla de Pascua)
Previous Names	Rapa Nui; Pito-O-Te Henua (The Navel of the World)
Political Status	Province of Chile
Capital	Hanga Roa
Population	1,867 (1981 year-end estimate)
Land Area	180 square kilometers
Currency	Chilean peso (Ch$)

One of the most isolated islands in Oceania, Easter Island lies almost 2,000 kilometers from the Pitcairn Islands, its nearest Polynesian neighbor, and nearly 4,200 kilometers from Chile. It is triangular in shape and contains three extinct volcanoes and several parasitic cones, all joined by a lava plain. The largest of the volcanoes, Mount Terevaka, rises 507 meters above sea level. Lava flows have created numerous underground caves and sprinkled the island's rather thin soil with volcanic stones. Freshwater lakes in three of the volcanic craters provide the only surface water. Droughts have occurred on occasion, rainfall in the semitropical climate averaging about 1,250 millimeters annually but subject to great variation.

The island has no protected harbors or coral reefs, and its shores are precipitous in many areas. Weather permitting, most landings are made at one of four small, sandy beaches. A very small island off the southwestern tip, Motu Nui, was the scene of a "bird-man" ceremony recorded in the mid-nineteenth century. At that time servants of leading islanders would swim out to Motu Nui to await the arrival of a migratory bird, the sooty tern. The master of the first to find an egg would then be placed in seclusion for several months, presumably as the representative of the god Makemake.

Easter Island once supported large stands of forest, but these had been badly depleted by the time the Europeans first arrived in the eighteenth century; by the turn of the twentieth century, the island was grass covered and virtually treeless. There has

been some effort to replant trees in recent years, particularly eucalyptus, pine, and fruit trees.

The prehistoric society of Easter Island had been completely destroyed by the time detailed records were first made in the mid-1800s. The unreliability of what evidence is available and its incomplete, confusing, and sometimes contradictory nature have given rise to wide-ranging speculation over the island's prehistory, some of the most extreme theories centering on mythical sunken continents or extraterrestrial astronauts. The great body of responsible scholarship appears to indicate, however, that the island could have been peopled as early as A.D. 400 by Polynesian migrants who were then almost completely isolated from outside contact until the coming of the Europeans. The original settlers are believed to have increased their numbers to as many as 10,000, for several years building impressive statues and monuments until internal conflict and serious environmental degradation associated with the decimation of the original forest forced a decline in both population and culture.

One other school of thought, chiefly represented by Norwegian anthropologist Thor Heyerdahl, posits a major influence of South American migrants on prehistoric Easter Island culture. Although skeletal evidence and most artifacts are clearly Polynesian, there is insufficient evidence to refute this theory altogether or to exclude the possibility of some contact with South America. New World plants, including the Andean sweet potato, among others, were found on Easter Island and could have been introduced either by migrants or by natural methods. A minority of artifacts not of clear Polynesian type and sharing similarities to South American artifacts can also be explained either as products of spontaneous development during long isolation or as evidence of direct South American influence.

Whatever their origin, Easter Islanders left behind an impressive collection of artifacts for which the island has become famous. These include some 600 carved stone statues, a few over 20 meters high, but most between six and nine meters high. Of these, approximately 150 are still unfinished in their quarry. These statues were originally mounted on stone platforms called *ahu*, of which the remains of about 300 are still to be found. The archaeological record also includes numerous stone petroglyphs as well as the remains of stone-walled houses, some boat-shaped in form, which are grouped in large clustered settlements. The significance of the statues and the *ahu* remains uncertain, but there are some indications that they are stylized portraits of important ancestors or chiefs.

One final subject of mystery is presented by several inscribed wooden boards that were kept in some houses. These were first noted in 1864, at which time no islander could read the script in which they were written. Known as *rongorongo*, that script consists of about 120 elements, many based on human or bird-man symbols. Some elements have also been found in petroglyphs or in signatures by island representatives to a treaty with Spain in 1770. As of the early 1980s *rongorongo* had not been satisfactorily translated. Theories explaining the inscribed boards posit variously that they are unique prehistoric examples of a written Polynesian language, were used as pictographs or mnemonic devices, or were essentially ornamental. It has also been suggested that the script was developed in emulation of European writing after the arrival of the Spanish.

By the time the island was first discovered by Europeans, on Easter Day in April 1722 by Admiral Roggeveen, a major cultural decline was already under way, and the population stood at an estimated 3,000. Observers from later French, Spanish, British, and other expeditions noted evidence of an egalitarian society, dominated by warring groups that competed for scarce resources. By 1774 all statues had been toppled, presumably during internal upheavals. These visitors rarely stopped for long or had any grasp of the local language, however, and their observations are lacking in detail and are of questionable reliability.

The first close—and for the islanders, disastrous—contact with the Western world came during 1862–63, when about 1,000 islanders were captured and taken to Peru as slaves. Protests by missionaries and others soon forced their repatriation, but by that time most had died. The 15 who actually survived to return in 1863 carried smallpox and tuberculosis, which then ravaged the remaining population.

During these times of trouble Roman Catholic missionaries settled on the island, by 1868 baptizing the remaining islanders. That same year a French adventurer arrived on the island and began buying up land to establish a sheep ranch. Conflict over the ranch led some islanders and the missionaries to leave Easter Island for Mangareva Island in French Polynesia. Other islanders went to work in Tahiti. By the time the adventurer was killed in 1877, the population stood at 115. Of these, 15 couples, as well as a few outsiders who arrived later, were to be the ancestors of modern-day Easter Islanders.

After Easter Island was annexed in 1888 by Chile, life on the island was very quiet. The sheep ranch was taken over by a Chilean firm, some 18,000 sheep were given the run of the island,

and the few islanders lived in a small fenced-off area near Hanga Roa. During World War I the German navy used the island as a supply base, but otherwise during the first half of the twentieth century it was visited only occasionally by scientific expeditions, yachts, and liners. The island was under the administration of the Chilean navy, which also paid it an annual visit.

In 1965 island leaders wrote an open letter of protest to the Chilean government complaining about the naval administration and their own conditons of life, whereupon the island was placed under a civil administration and islanders were accorded the rights of Chilean citizenship. During the same period a rough airstrip first built in the early 1950s was lengthened and in 1967 regular air service to Easter Island was inaugurated. The airstrip was further upgraded in 1970 to permit jet service.

Ethnic Easter Islanders constituted approximately two-thirds of the total population during the early 1980s, the remaining one-third being made up of temporary residents from Chile who were employed by the government, the airlines, the Chilean air force or navy, or in various service occupations. An unknown number of Easter Islanders resided in Chile and elsewhere in the Pacific basin. The informal life-style on the island reflected a strong Chilean influence in dress, architecture, and certain customs, although local customs also remained in evidence.

Islanders speak a local Polynesian language called Rapa Nui or Pascuense, as well as Spanish, the official languge. They are overwhelmingly adherents of Roman Catholicism. In mid-1984 the school system was run by the Chilean government through a regional department located in Valparaíso, Chile. There was one kindergarten on the island, in addition to one school that provided eight years of primary education and four of secondary. Some children attended secondary schools in Chile, where opportunities for advanced education were also available. A hospital on the island provided medical and dental services.

Most islanders worked in agriculture, fishing, the tourist industry—which handled some 4,000 tourists in 1980—and a few very small businesses. The government also provided employment. Agriculture consisted mainly of small-scale production of food crops for local consumption. The Chilean government also maintained a farm on the island, which was intended to help make Easter Island self-sufficient in food production. Many farmers kept cattle, pigs, and chickens. An estimated 2,000 horses ran wild. Locally caught fish, including tuna, supplemented the local diet. In recent years the government has imposed a season on lobster catching to ensure continued supply. Wool from some

10,000 sheep provided the island's only significant export, but earnings were insufficient to balance the amount Chile spent on providing local services.

The road network on the island was entirely unpaved. Four-wheeled and other vehicles, as well as horses and foot power, were used for transportation. Cargo ships of the Chilean government brought nonperishable supplies to Easter Island, and reports in the international press in early 1984 indicated that the government intended to build a port there. The national airline, LAN-Chile also called regularly, bringing tourists and necessary supplies. A branch of the Chilean post office and state bank were present as well. Telephone service facilitated intraisland communication in addition to contact with Chile and the rest of the world. The amenities of electricity, radio, and televison were also available. Pumped water was supplied to Hanga Roa, but water was also collected in cisterns.

As a province of Chile, Easter Island was administered by an appointed Chilean military governor. A corps of Chilean officials provided most public services, which, along with the legal system, were the same as those in Chile. A branch of the Chilean national police provided law enforcement and maintained a small jail, and the Chilean air force and navy each had a small base on Easter Island. There was only limited local input in island government, mainly through an appointed local mayor. Reports in the international press that some elements of the population harbored pro-independence sentiments could not be confirmed as of mid-1984.