



UNCLE SAM
in MICRONESIA
Social Benefits, Social Costs

*UNCLE SAM IN MICRONESIA:
SOCIAL BENEFITS, SOCIAL COSTS*

PAPERS FROM THE NINTH ANNUAL
SOCIAL WORK CONFERENCE
1989

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July 1991



MICRONESIAN
AREA RESEARCH
CENTER

UNIVERSITY OF GUAM



Published and distributed by the
Micronesian Area Research Center
 University of Guam
 UOG Station, Mangilao
 Guam 96923 USA

cover artwork by Roland Miranda

ISBN 1-878453-03-3

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This publication presents selected papers from the ninth annual conference sponsored by the Guam Association of Social Workers which was held in Guam from March 29-31, 1989.

The conference theme "Uncle Sam in Micronesia: Social Benefits, Social Costs" was inspired by several different events. The conference coincided with the centennial in 1989 of the founding of Hull House in Chicago by social work pioneer and international peace activist Jane Addams and with the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights. One of the rights this international document codifies is the right to live in peace and freedom.

We wanted to celebrate the tradition which Jane Addams represents through a conference that would help us to reflect critically on the peace and justice issues involved in the work that we do. We also wanted to highlight the importance of the United Nations declaration by drawing attention to the dilemmas we face in Micronesia because of the strategic importance of this region to the United States.

Around the same time, concern was mounting in the region regarding the possible expiration of the military bases agreement in 1991 between the governments of the United States and the Republic of the Philippines, and the possible relocation of military personnel and installations to Guam and other locations in Micronesia. In Guam, where the US military already occupies one-third of the island's 209 square miles, questions were being raised regarding the role that the people of Guam would have in these strategic decisions: the effect of such expansion on the booming tourism industry, negotiations for return of excess federal lands and efforts to reduce economic dependence on the military, the combined impacts of these on the island's already strained physical infrastructure and social fabric, and the implications for Guam's quest for more political self-determination. Similar concerns could be heard in the Republic of Belau, where the people are battling to retain a nuclear-free constitution in the midst of convoluted legalities and internal and external political conflict; in the Northern Mariana Islands, where over 18,000 acres have been leased to the US for military purposes; and in the Republic of the Marshall Islands, used by the US as a nuclear testing site after WWII and now America's most important range for the testing of intercontinental ballistic missiles and anti-ballistic missile systems.

This conference on "Uncle Sam in Micronesia: Social Benefits, Social Cost" was organized to provide a forum for analysis and discussion of the American legacy in these islands. To many people in Micronesia, the figure of Uncle Sam represents the duality of this legacy: the velvet glove of paternalistic beneficence and the iron fist of military imperialism. Historically and globally, social work has often stood at the tense interface between societal care and control. We see this most clearly in the work that we do with individuals and with families. This tension at the societal level, at the level of our relationship with Uncle Sam is less evident and, for many reasons, more difficult to confront.

As social workers and human service workers in Micronesia, we benefit directly from US federal largesse through employment and education and training opportunities. We are the ones charged with the responsibility to identify those in need, to provide care, to distribute benefits, and to comply with federal initiatives and regulations. We are also firsthand witnesses to the consequences of federal actions and programs, both good and bad. This conference was about giving voice to what we have seen and to what we know. It was about inviting dialogue and seeking ways to meet human needs and promote development which places the dignity of people and social and cultural resources at the center.

Approximately 250 participants representing diverse fields and professions attended the three-day conference that featured plenary sessions, panels, paper presentations, workshops, documentary films, exhibits and song. The blend of practitioners, activists, academicians, politicians, government representatives and military officials produced heated debates and disagreements, as well as fruitful discussions. The selected papers in this publication provide glimpses of the complexity of the topic and the diversity of the perspectives presented.

Many individuals, too numerous to mention here, worked diligently for almost one year on various committees to plan the conference and other activities for National Social Work Month in March 1989. A sincere *dangkulo na si Yu'os ma'ase'* to the officers of the Association: Annabelle Aguon, Sister Trinie Pangelinan, Arthur San Agustin, Julita Lifofoi, Peter Duenas, and all the members and volunteers whose hard work made the conference possible. My special thanks go to the other members of the Conference Programme Committee: Capt. Wes Nolan, Sr. Trinie Pangelinan, Gerhard Schwab, Sarah Thomas, and Dr. Jean Wycoff. To Carl Diaz in Manila, *maraming salamat po* for arranging for our keynote speaker, Edmundo Garcia, whose discussion of the Philippine situation sparked important discussion and broadened what we could see as the

range of alternatives for the future. Our deepest appreciation goes to all the conference presenters, especially those featured here, for their information and insights.

The Association also gratefully acknowledges the University of Guam for co-sponsoring this conference and, in particular, Dr. Roy Tsuda, former Academic Vice-President, for his encouragement and approval of financial and facility support.

A publication such as this has been a goal of the Guam Association of Social Workers since our first conference in 1979. It finally became a reality with the financial and technical support of the Micronesian Area Research Center at the University of Guam. I am especially grateful to the Director of MARC, Dr. Donald Rubinstein, who provided invaluable editorial assistance and assumed responsibility in my absence for preparing this monograph for publication. I am also grateful to Rosita Dueñas Tosco, MARC Administrative Officer, for her assistance in many details of the publication. June Moorehead and Geri Nauta also provided typing assistance in the first phase of this project.

There has been a long delay in the publication of this monograph. But recent events underscore the importance of continuing the debate and discussion of these critical issues. The Philippines, despite considerable opposition within the country, has extended the military base agreement with the US for a transition period yet to be negotiated. The war in the Persian Gulf provides another stark reminder of the vulnerability of people and of our environment to military and economic geopolitics. We know from our experience in the Pacific that more than economic costs and benefits must be taken into account in these analyses.

As our leaders strive for the creation of a new world order, the challenge is as pressing as ever to understand these broader forces against peace and to link these with other forms of aggression and exploitation that we see everyday in the work that we do. We hope this publication will stimulate further discussion and action.

Vivian Dames
Associate Professor of Social Work
University of Guam
Chair, Conference '89 Programme Committee

Opening Remarks

Lieutenant Governor Frank F. Blas

Good Evening, and to those of you visiting our beautiful island, a warm hafa adai.

I would like to welcome all of you to the Guam Association of Social Workers Conference and thank each and every one of you for your work in helping the people of Guam and in the rest of Micronesia.

All of you here in this room have a tremendous burden. You are on the front lines of a serious battle, a battle that inflicts casualties on our people throughout Micronesia, the battle of change in our islands, in our cultures, in our societies. In this battle, you are fighting against something that is sometimes not so visible, not so evident. In most cases, this process of change is subtle, oh so very subtle, but the effect sometimes is shocking, shattering, long lasting to our people.

I am not advocating that we all step back and let the world pass us by. Far from that, but what we can do is appreciate what is good for our people, what is beneficial for our islands and utilize change for the better. But at the same time, we must be on guard, ready to fight against change that destroys what is good on our islands, ready to protest against change that disturbs our way of life.

At one time, a glorious time, our people in Micronesia lived lives of prosperity in the islands throughout the region. Our ancestors displaced no one, and we made no claim on other lands. Centuries later, we are still recovering from those changes brought to us from the outside. Yes, things have changed, there is no doubt, but we have persevered.

We have persevered through centuries of trauma, through the tragedy of war, war brought to our shores from those from the outside. We have persevered and now in this modern time, we are questioning, protesting, claiming our place in the world.

This time has long been awaited. We live in an era more and more are calling the age of the Pacific, and those of us in Micronesia are preparing ourselves to make our place, establish our position in the world. But there is a ghost of the past haunting us, like those times when others came to our shores, the eyes of the world are on us. Once again, our islands and waters are the focus of international attention. Some see our region as only a strategic location to be

exploited for military bases. When they look at us, they see our fishery resources to be exploited. When they look at us, they see our mineral resources under our waters, in our exclusive economic zone, to be exploited.

Our lands are seen as ready to be taken to be exploited for their tourism potential. What the rest of the world does not see when it looks at Micronesia are the people of Micronesia. Our most important resource, indeed our most important treasure which must be protected above all else is our people. If there is anyone that must benefit from the wonders of our lands it is the people that have called them home for thousands of years.

As we discuss the expansion and development of our region's tourism potential, it is for our people's benefit. As we discuss firm local control of our own 200-mile exclusive economic zone, it is so our people will benefit from the resources contained in and beneath our waters.

Our ancestors lived in a blest time. They could succeed and live prosperously in their accustomed ways, under their own rules and way of life. But that we cannot do.

We cannot because the world around us has changed. We cannot return to those glorious times. As people living in modern times, we cannot afford to be uninformed on matters and issues developing beyond our shores. We are irrevocably tied to the rest of the world.

But this conference encourages each and every one of us, gives us hope for the future. As a result of this conference, questions will arise on how ideas and different ways affect us, affect our people, our lifestyle, our customs and traditions.

Yes, we are connected forever to the rest of the world, but despite the trauma of change from the past, we have persevered and will persevere. We will make the right choices in preserving what is good and great about our islands, our society, our people.

Thank you, si Yu'os ma'ase, God bless you.

Partnership in Education Program

Barbara Askey

This paper provides an overview of the Navy/Guam DOE Partnership in Education program, in order to assist in assessing the impact of "Uncle Sam in Micronesia."

BACKGROUND

Nationwide demographic projections for the year 2000 and beyond indicate a decreasing pool of young people available to enter the work force. In addition, the increasing numbers of young people placed "at risk" of not reaching their maximum potential because of poverty, drug and alcohol abuse, teen pregnancy, problems associated with single parenting and both parents working, is a major concern to educators as well as to private and public sectors. As the pool of competent young people decreases, the work force must look towards those "at risk" to fulfill labor demands. This poses a great challenge for education:

- To reach the "at risk" young people in order for them to realize their maximum potential;
- To educate the young for a less specialized, more professional work environment that values the ability to solve problems, to learn, and to apply new skills.

The military as well as the business community is interested in assisting schools in the challenge to produce competent, productive and healthy individuals.

In 1983, President Reagan responded to the concern for education as related to the quality of the future labor pool by encouraging community groups to establish partnerships with primary, secondary and post-secondary schools. Many small businesses, large corporations, governmental agencies, foundations, and the military, responded by forming various sorts of partnerships with schools. In 1984, the Chief of Naval Operations encouraged Navy/school partnerships in order to assist in the nationwide education effort as well as to return talent to communities from which it draws its officers and enlisted personnel. In 1987, the Navy on Guam, in conjunction with the Guam DOE, responded by establishing the Navy/Guam DOE Partnership in Education Programs which include Adopt-A-School, Scholastic Aptitude Test University, Guest Teacher and Saturday Scholars.

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION AND IMPACT

Participating schools experienced concrete benefits in terms of increased parental involvement in the schools; increased confidence in taking college entrance SAT; improved student achievement, behavior and self-confidence; and exposure to job and speciality skills as related to school subjects.

Adopt-a-school, the backbone of the partnership programs, began in the summer of 1987 to improve Navy parental involvement in the schools by encouraging parents to communicate with school personnel. Since its inception, the Adopt-A-School program has expanded to include assistance with school projects and programs as requested by the schools and within the scope of command resources. To date, fifteen commands have adopted twenty-five of the thirty-five Guam public schools. The ten remaining schools have indicated interest in participating.

A Navy representative is designated as liaison between command and school. Through the assistance of this representative, Navy parental communication with the schools increased and problems were resolved at the schools. In addition, many commands assisted schools with Career Day presentations and nutrition, aviation and other classroom presentations. Volunteers also assisted with President's Physical Fitness Test. Field trips to tour commands have been arranged for teachers and students. Navy volunteers participated in school Read-A-Thons, and as classroom aides. Through the Adopt-A-School program, volunteers also assisted in minor school facility repair such as roof repair, nonskid application, restroom renovation and painting playground equipment.

Impact on the schools includes:

- increased understanding and support of the schools through increased parental involvement;
- increased student career awareness;
- increased real world applications to classroom learning;
- increased opportunity for individual tutoring by volunteer classroom aides.

The Scholastic Aptitude Test University (SAT U) course provides math, English and test taking review in preparation for the college entrance Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT). Navy and Air Force volunteers instruct students for two hours on each of four consecutive Saturdays. To date, nearly 250 junior and senior high school students and active duty personnel have participated in the four courses offered since October 1987. Students report increased confidence in taking the SAT.

The Guest Teacher Program provides each public school with a listing of Navy volunteers as additional resources for classroom presentations in job skills and specialty skills that relate to subjects taught in school. During the school year 1988-1989 twenty volunteers provided classroom presentations on the following topics: Oceanography from Space, Oceanography, Typhoon Preparedness, Drug and Alcohol Prevention, Benefits of Education, Solar System, Philippines, Chickasaw Indians, Newspaper Layout, Musical Instrument Awareness and Goal Setting. Feedback from teachers, students and volunteers was positive.

- Teachers obtained additional classroom resources.
- Students gained real world applications to classroom learning.
- Volunteers obtained a greater understanding of the school, which translates into greater community support and assistance for the school.

The Saturday Scholars tutoring program involves Navy personnel as volunteer tutors in reading, writing, math and other academic subjects. The Fall 1988 pilot program successfully tutored fifty Piti Middle School students. The principal's report indicated student improvement in grades and behavior. With the success at Piti Middle School, seven Saturday Scholars programs were implemented between January and March 1989, for one or two hours on six-to-eight Saturday mornings. Nearly 200 K-8th grade students were tutored by approximately 80 Navy volunteer tutors, as well as involvement by Air Force, military wives, school personnel and other community members.

Each tutoring program was praised by students, tutors, parents, and school personnel as an effective means for improving student grades, behavior and self confidence. Between January 1988 and May 1988, the Help Our School System (HOSS) team of Navy personnel completed requested repairs of roof leak and temporary building siding at the following Guam public schools: Agueda Johnston, Untalan, Maria Ulloa, CL. Taitano, Agat, Inarajan Elementary and Truman. The team also provided consultation for repairs at the Tamuning and Andersen schools.

From January 1988 through August 1988, a total of 25 Guam DOE custodians participated in four Custodian Training sessions that offered basic training in painting, plumbing, carpentry, air-conditioning and electrical maintenance and repair at Navy Public Works Center (PWC). According to principals and custodians, the program provided valuable training in basic maintenance and repair skills. Some DOE participants have taught non-participating custodians the skills learned at the training.

CONCLUSION

These programs not only provided concrete benefits to the public schools, but also provided successful models of volunteer programs that could be organized by other community groups to meet specific educational needs.

Nuclear Free Pacific: A Personal View

Congressman Ben Blaz

Like the ocean it seeks to protect, the Nuclear Free Pacific Movement is broad and deep, with many different currents and shades of opinion. It has tackled, head-on, some of the most complex and critical issues our society faces.

I advocate many of the movement's goals because I also seek many of the things you seek. But I am not a purist when it comes to a Nuclear Free Pacific. Born of the Pacific, I am practical, with strong feelings about the best way to protect, preserve and defend the peace and richness of the region's people and environment. But I work in the pragmatic world of politics, where we practice the art of the possible, and our success is measured in part by our ability to derive a consensus on issues. So let me share with you why I agree with many of the positions of the Nuclear-Free Pacific Movement, as well as how and why I may differ with some tactics, strategies, and goals.

As a man of the Pacific, I appreciate, more than most members of Congress, the unique nature of our Pacific environment and the special grace and cultures of the peoples who live here. Looking at our region from this "Islander" point of view, I must criticize the dangerous over-reliance on military and strategic means of maintaining security in the region. True, long-term security lies in the development of healthy economies and responsive governments, not in huge nuclear arsenals. We need to devote more of our resources to building the social, economic, and political infrastructure of peace, and less to military overstructure. US nuclear testing has left a sad memory for the islands. Our mistakes were the product of a naive enthusiasm at the dawn of the nuclear age in a quest for the so-called "ultimate weapon." We have since learned that there is no ultimate weapon but only a more lethal one in the spiraling arms race.

The French insistence on continuing their testing in the Pacific is a tragic mistake. Their most recent underground test took place on December 1, 1988, when they exploded a 100 kiloton device. On humanitarian grounds alone, France should cease testing on Moruroa and on Fangataufa Atoll immediately. On strategic grounds, they should stop before they cause a total revulsion of Pacific island peoples.

It has always struck me as bitterly ironic that the French have gone to such lengths to develop a domestic nuclear power industry

that is praised world-wide for its sophistication and safety, while continuing, here in the Pacific, this testing with its harmful effects. The arrogance of the French testing program is a festering sore that has poisoned French relations with the region and will continue to do so as long as they continue to tamper with our fragile environment. Speaking with some French officials, I once suggested, as an alternative, a test site in Dijon. As expected, I did not get a response. But testing is not the only threat posed to this region by the advent of the nuclear age.

I am equally opposed to the dumping of nuclear and other toxic waste in the Pacific or any ocean. The irresponsibility that supports dumping springs from the same type of "out of sight, out of mind" mentality that led to nuclear testing in the region in the first place. The oceans of the world, interconnected sources of life and livelihood, are not appropriate places to dump radioactive or highly toxic material.

I am proud that the people of Guam have played a leading role in opposing Japanese proposals for dumping of low-level nuclear waste in the North Pacific. In joining forces on this issue, the peoples of the Pacific have provided Japan and the rest of the world with an impressive display of regional unity.

I urged and supported the United States decision last year to sign a United Nations Treaty prohibiting the dumping of nuclear and toxic waste in the South Pacific. We should do the same for the North Pacific, East Pacific and West Pacific.

I would like to turn now to the issue of nuclear weapons and nuclear forces in the Pacific, and how the Nuclear-Free Pacific Movement has helped bring about an atmosphere in which the United States can take some bold yet practical steps to bring the world closer to what we all want.

The concept of "mutually assured destruction" which has guided our nuclear deterrence policy for the last four decades, is being replaced with a policy of "mutually verifiable reductions" in strategic arms. The best interests of our region and the world are served by a gradual and carefully monitored mutual reduction in nuclear weaponry. This process should include all members of the "Nuclear Club" along with the superpowers. And the establishment of a Nuclear Free Zone needs to be examined as well.

Nuclear-free zones will not, in and of themselves, turn the situation around and head us towards a reduction of nuclear armaments and a lessening of tensions around the world. When combined with, and arrived at through negotiations, however, the establishment of

these zones can lead step-by-step, reduction-by-reduction, to the safer, more secure world which we seek. A reduction in intermediate nuclear forces in Europe should set the stage for negotiations on nuclear-free zones and arms control in the Asia-Pacific region.

At present, we are just beginning to make progress. The United States is moving to turn the arms race around, and much of the credit for this movement goes to the public. Public opinion is a powerful force.

The Nuclear Free Pacific Movement has undoubtedly played an important part in the international impetus for arms control negotiations, and that is a tremendous accomplishment and genuine tribute to the movement. It has made significant contributions to the groundswell of support for meaningful arms reductions. I salute this idealism and enthusiasm. Don't misunderstand my personal position on the South Pacific Nuclear-Free Zone Treaty. I support the treaty because it does not impede our Naval and Air Forces from passage and port visits in the region. We should sign the protocols because we are already observing them. We have already agreed in international forums not to dump nuclear waste or test nuclear weapons in the region. Nor do we need new bases or nuclear storage in the area.

The United States government, however, did not sign any of the protocols for a number of reasons. Some argue that the treaty runs against our ability to negotiate with the Soviets from a position of strength. Others argue that signing would send the wrong signal to European labor parties, adversely affecting the NATO Alliance. The Zone was also seen in Washington as a possible precedent and stimulus for other regional groups, like the Association of Southeast Asian nations, to adopt similar zones, which might compromise US military forces and bases. In the Philippines, for example, this could worsen an already tense situation, leading to political instability that would affect the entire Asia-Pacific region.

Obviously, there is a dichotomy in my position relative to a nuclear-free Pacific. Although I fully support the South Pacific Nuclear-Free Zone Treaty, I am not opposed to the preservation of military nuclear strength. For the US to eliminate its arsenal unilaterally would be suicidal folly. I also believe in the peaceful use of nuclear energy. It is indispensable both as a source of inexpensive, reliable power, and as a means to provide energy independence for our nation. It is not as safe, however, as it could or should be. Our technological expertise should be brought to bear on this issue, and we should work towards nuclear plants which are absolutely foolproof.

I believe in and have voted consistently for increased research to develop new techniques and safety procedures in handling, transport-

ing and storing nuclear waste. I do not believe we can turn back the clock on nuclear power, but we must find ways to make it safer.

Now let me try and apply some of these views to specific situations.

THE SOUTH PACIFIC NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE TREATY

This is not a dead issue for the United States. The decision is reviewed every year. I believe that if arms talks proceed in a positive direction, the United States will, one day, be able to sign this treaty.

NEW ZEALAND

New Zealand should be treated as an ally as well as a friend. I continue to urge the administration not to retaliate against New Zealand for its decision to ban US nuclear ships from its ports, despite my belief that the ban sends the wrong signals to Moscow. The damage done to Anzus — by the US as well as New Zealand — strengthens the position of those Soviet leaders who argue against meaningful arms reduction talks. I do not believe that the world is made safer or that New Zealand is made any less of a target by banning the occasional visit by American nuclear ships.

If New Zealand and the United States are to find a way out of their current diplomatic impasse, both sides must begin with the realization that they do share common goals: the goals of ending the arms race and of steadily backing away from the nuclear precipice. They simply disagree on tactics and strategy. I firmly believe that, by maintaining close defense and economic ties to New Zealand, we can keep open the dialogue that is needed for a mutually agreeable solution.

PALAU

The people of Palau made history when they wrote the world's first Nuclear Free Constitution. I salute them for it. But I would be less than truthful if I did not say that they also created an extremely difficult choice for themselves. As you are aware, Palau's constitution requires a seventy-five percent approval by the citizens of the Republic before implementing the Compact that it has worked out with the US. The reason that seventy-five percent approval is required is that the Compact allows the US to operate nuclear ships and nuclear-capable aircraft in Palau, a provision which clearly runs afoul of Palau's constitution. To the US, limitations on visits by such ships and planes is not acceptable. Even under the best of circumstances, deal-

ing with the non-controversial issues, seventy-five percent agreement is difficult to attain.

The tough decision the people of Palau have to make is this: the alternative to being a republic under the Compact of Free Association is remaining a trusteeship ward forever. I am confident that, in time, Palauans will make their own decision in their own way. I think they will find a way to implement free association. It is against the nature of the Pacific to accept having someone else as the master of one's fate.

JAPAN

The Japan Communist Party has been pushing for a nuclear ship ban policy from the Tokyo government. As the only nation ever to have suffered a nuclear attack, Japan is particularly sensitized to nuclear issues. Yet, it has developed peaceful nuclear power to a level of efficiency far above most other nations. As a lynch pin of the western alliance, it has a tremendous responsibility. I am sure that the Japanese will remain open to the western alliance because Japan also believes that reductions in nuclear stockpiles can only be achieved through hard bargaining with the Soviets from a position of strength.

THE PHILIPPINES

The Philippines Draft Constitution contains a clause that would ban nuclear weapons unless the Philippine President decides that national security requires them. No nation in Asia has closer ties to the United States than the Philippines, and no nation is more important to the security of Southeast Asia.

Washington and Manila have recently concluded interim base negotiations, and both sides are searching for common ground for the next round of talks. If the US were to lose the bases in the Philippines, backup bases in Guam, the Northern Marianas, and Palau would not make up the difference. In that scenario, we would need an entirely new strategy because, as in a chess game, we would have a new queen to contend with.

I believe the Philippines will remain within the pro-western camp and will remain the key focus of our military basing strategy in Southeast Asia. Those bases provide a position of strength from which to negotiate. Without those bases, I would be afraid to speculate what the balance of power would look like in East Asia and how that would affect the arms race.

* * *

Ladies and gentlemen, there are but fleeting moments in our lives when we have an opportunity to do something that really makes a difference. We in this room have, for one reason or another, chosen this region of the world as our arena for contribution. I commend you and especially this Association for providing the forum for discussion and dialogue.

Let me close with this story which I heard while traveling in Micronesia years ago. After hearing of the Micronesians' uncanny ability to navigate the vast Pacific with only the aid of the sun, the stars and a stick chart, an American Naval captain once invited an island chief on board his ship, and challenged him to find a particular island. After several days and nights of sailing under the chief's direction, they sighted the land that was, indeed, their destination. The unbelieving captain summoned the chief to the quarterdeck and said to him, "I am amazed. Tell me, Chief, how did you know that Satawal was here?" The chief's simple response was, "Captain, Satawal has always been here."

My friends, those of us who call the Pacific our home have always been here. If you are new, welcome to the Pacific. If you are an old friend, welcome back. In any case, *hafa adai* and thank you very much.

Rest and Relaxation in Micronesia: Guam's Sex Oriented Business — Darkness or Light?

J.C. Dierking

In ten years, Guam will have been in the business of providing rest and relaxation for American military men and women for a full century. Few cities in America with a military presence can boast of this longevity.

Thirty years ago, when I served in the military in the Western Pacific, Guam was not thought of as being an ideal duty station for young, single military men, due to the lack of "rest and relaxation opportunities." Guam was then thought by many military personnel to lack "an exciting night life." Compared to Manila, Yokosuka, Sasebo and Hong Kong, that was and still is very true. What Guam lacked in nighttime excitement, many believe it made up for in daytime excitement. Isn't there excitement in fighting a fierce current fifty feet below the Pacific sweeping you toward the Marianas Trench, or experiencing the distinctive hot pepper *finadene* for the first time, or crouching in your home while a 200 mph typhoon passes overhead. These cannot be said to lack excitement. But understandably, the lonely and the young, being very human, are sooner or later often inclined to seek out other kinds of late evening excitement.

This paper considers the nature of commercial activities which have developed in our community in response to the latter kind of demand for excitement: what was its nature in the past, what it is now, and what it may be in the future if current trends continue? Some recommendations will be made.

Guam's "R&R industry" took a remarkable change in direction and scope in the late 1970s. The young Japanese honeymooners of those first days of Guam tourism were joined in the 1980s by young Japanese single persons and adults. Guam has truly become a R&R location for many Japanese as well as the large numbers of American military personnel. Tourist arrivals have been increasing gradually over the years. The number has now reached the 500,000 per year figure. The number of military personnel stationed in Guam has stabilized for the last few years at about 11,500, not including dependents.¹

1. Government of Guam, Department of Commerce Statistics, as compiled January 1, 1989.

Thus, the impact of the military on the R&R industry in Guam is now much less significant than the impact of the tourists. However, in any event, the combined impact of both the military and the tourists on rest and recreation businesses is quite significant and is well deserving of discussion and consideration.

First, let us define relevant terminology. "Rest and Relaxation," as the term is used in the military, can be defined as temporary leave from duties for the purpose of renewal, rest and entertainment. In this sense, the average tourist comes to our shores for exactly the same purpose. Often, youthfulness, natural exuberance, a sense of freedom from the constraints of home, and the basic human nature of vacationing visitors causes them to respond to what is called (by the commercial purveyors) "adult entertainment."

Let us now define the term "adult entertainment." Many consider the term to be an artful euphemism created by the operators of sex-oriented businesses to legitimize, as least in terminology, their activities. During public hearings in Dallas, Texas, concerning a proposed ordinance to regulate sexually oriented businesses, a witness before the commission testified that the term "adult entertainment" is one "that the pornographers invented to sort of dilute the anguish that people would have if they knew what was actually going on in these places."² The ordinance was adopted in Dallas and is still in effect. It will be discussed in more detail below.

A United States Court of Appeals has accepted the term "sexually oriented business" to encompass adult arcades, adult bookstores, adult video stores, adult cabarets, adult motels, adult motion picture theaters, adult theaters, escort agencies, nude model studios and sexual encounter centers.³ It thus seems fair to use the court-approved term "sexually oriented business" for the purpose of this discussion. One does not have to be actively involved as a patron of Guam's sexually oriented businesses to recognize that our island has many businesses within the category. It should be obvious to all that such businesses are rapidly growing in number and variety.

It is now time for Guam to establish rules to sensibly regulate the presently uncontrolled and unregulated growth of sexually oriented businesses. Uncontrolled growth of the development of any community is irresponsible. It seems beyond dispute that municipal governments should plan and direct the growth of a community.

2. *Dumas v. City of Dallas* 648 F.S. 1061, 1064; Transcript (DX 1) at 15 (testimony of Elvin Arnold, Dallas Association for Decency).

3. Dallas, Texas, City Ordinances, Chapter 41A-3.

Guam municipalities, however, have no law-making authority. Thus, in the event Guam believes that sexually oriented businesses should be controlled, it is the responsibility of the Guam Legislature to provide both the leadership and the statutes. Joe Murphy wrote in a recent editorial in the *Pacific Daily News*:

There is no single agency on Guam that has the foggiest idea of just what projects are planned or under construction. . . . Planning and zoning are complicated issues, but they must be done if we are going to grow and develop in an orderly way.⁴

A more recent editorial in the *Pacific Daily News* stresses that we in Guam should set our own agenda and "not cave into the developers."

We don't need to cave in to the developers. We can afford to be selective. . . . The need to set our own agenda has always been there . . . our future will drift with the developers as long as we allow it. Plans for the future must be made now.⁵

"Adult entertainment" commercial interests will, in the long run, provide any commodity or service demanded by the consuming public which is not disallowed by law. We all know from personal experience in our community and our nation that there are strong forces which are persistently determined to provide even highly illegal commodities and services, such as gambling and prostitution, if the price is right.⁶ Potentially harmful commercial activities, such as sexually oriented businesses, should not be left to develop helter-skelter with no community guidance and long-range planning.

Let us now consider whether Guam has a history of efficient planning related to sexually oriented commercial activities? Consider some historical examples. In those hectic early days in Guam just after the second World War, there suddenly appeared from off-island ladies of the evening who were called "taxi dancers." Through the efforts of religious groups, the phenomenon was reportedly short-lived and Guam night life soon again became conservative.

4. *Pacific Daily News*, Editorial, Thursday, March 9, 1989.

5. *Pacific Daily News*, Editorial, Sunday, March 25, 1989.

6. "Gambling operators are some of the most innovative entrepreneurs around. They have to be, their business is money and the competition is fierce. Legalized gambling is viewed, sometimes with justification, as a money machine and everybody wants a piece of the action. The laws outlawing or restricting gambling are viewed as obstacles that have to be overcome so that the operator can supply the public's high demand. The lawmakers of the land have much less incentive than the entrepreneurs to keep their eyes open to the many ways ingenious individuals have of getting around the intent of the law." Nelson Rose, Current Issues in Gambling Laws, *Whittier Law Review*, Vol. 8:245, 248 (1986).

In 1969 a ring of prostitutes was discovered operating in a Guam restaurant and lounge. There was no response from our local law enforcement officials, however the United States Attorney indicted two residents of Guam under a federal statute which makes it a felony to transport women over state lines for purposes of prostitution.⁷ The *Pacific Daily News* reported in a contemporary article the existence in the community of — "rumors that the prostitutes were sent here by a 'syndicate,' an affiliate of the Mafia."⁸ Two defendants were found guilty and sentenced.

Almost 800 slot machines (also known as one-armed bandits)⁹ were brought into Guam in the late 1970s even though against the law. The machines were located in over fifty bars, taverns, clubs and even neighborhood stores. Local officials took no action. The prior pattern of tolerance prevailed, and again Uncle Sam was required to take corrective action. The offending slot machines were confiscated by the FBI and later dumped into the ocean.¹⁰

Poker machines arrived on the Guam scene in a different way.¹¹ Although the machines were made legal by Guam law, there was great public controversy when the machines were placed in full-blown gambling casinos. A Guam referendum in 1977 had rejected any casino gambling. Nevertheless, the Guam Legislature legalized the entry of poker machines. Similar to the slot machines, the poker machines were placed in bars, restaurants, clubs, neighborhood stores and even hotels. Glittering Las Vegas style casinos were established. While groups in Guam were still heatedly debating the poker machine issue, Uncle Sam again was required to step in and seize the machines due to the failure of the operators to comply with federal laws

7. U.S. District Court of Guam Criminal Case No. 47-69, filed December 11, 1969, conviction affirmed by Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, Case No. 25,952.

8. *Pacific Daily News*, December 15, 1969.

9. "As used in this Section 'slot machine' means a mechanical device an essential part of which is a drum or reel with insignia thereon and (1) which when operated may deliver, as the result of the application of an element of chance, any money or property or (2) by the operation of which a person may become entitled to receive, as the result of the application of an element of chance, any money or property." Section 19200.5 (c), Government Code of Guam.

10. U. S. District Court of Guam, Civil Cases 74-101 and 74-183.

11. Public Law 17-56, sponsored by T. S. Nelson, E.D. Ramsey and J.H. Underwood; Public Law 18-06, sponsored by E.P. Arriola and T.S. Nelson; and Public Law 18-07, sponsored by P.C. Lujan, J. P. Aguon and T.S. Nelson.

governing registration of the gambling devices.¹² To the credit of Guam, poker machines were later outlawed, belatedly, by the Guam Legislature in 1988.¹³

Recently Uncle Sam again entered the picture to shut down a business catering to "adult amusement" devotees. The FBI confiscated many illegal videos for violation of federal copyright laws. Several individuals pled guilty in 1989.¹⁴

There appears to be a pattern of inability of local authorities to assume the burden of planning for and establishing the moral tone of our community. Uncle Sam was required to step in repeatedly in an area of moral house-cleaning that should have been Guam's responsibility. Guam leaders strongly assert that Guam has passed through its governmental adolescence and is now an adult. Since this is the case, Guam should now assume an adult's obligation and no longer rely on Uncle Sam to step in when required. The 1988 action of the Guam lawmakers to outlaw poker machines and casino gambling was extremely controversial but its passage marked the first time the lawmakers responded to wide community demands to regulate any form of "adult entertainment."

Guam's failure to adequately plan continues. The most recent zoning map for our island was made in 1966 and there are no plans

12. Civil Case 88-1997, filed in the U.S. District Court, District of Columbia on June 7, 1988 and transferred to the U.S. District Court of Guam on August 15, 1988 where forfeiture proceedings continued under Civil Case 88-00027. Suit was brought under the Johnson Act, 18 USC 1173, 1177.

13. Public Law 19-24, effective October 17, 1988, Bill 433, Nineteenth Guam Legislature, sponsored by E.P. Arriola. In his letter of transmittal of the signed law to the Speaker of the Legislature, the Acting Governor stated, in part, as follows:

"the Governor made a personal commitment to your late and distinguished colleague, Senator Pedro C. Sanchez, to sign this bill. I am pleased to fulfill that commitment as well. The issue which is finally resolved by this law has been a controversial and divisive one for our community, and it is well that we can now put this behind us and continue to work on solving some of Guam's other pressing concerns. It is good that this issue has finally been resolved in a bipartisan manner, in a manner which will help unite this community to ever-greater and more noble purpose. Among those who fought successfully against gambling were Republicans and Democrats. Among those who owned these machines were Democrats and Republicans. It is well that the elected leaders of Guam, both Republican and Democrat, have joined to complete this noble work." Letter of Frank F. Blas, Acting Governor, to Speaker, Nineteenth Guam Legislature, dated October 17, 1988, serial 190704.

14. Criminal Case No 88-00009 U.S. District Court for the Territory of Guam.

underway for an updating. Overlying the 23 year-old map are zoning variances issued by the Territorial Planning Commission during all those years. Our island is riddled with spot zoning and variances that create the appearance of an unplanned, hodgepodge, frontier, adolescent community. For example, one of our most important and beautiful tourist attractions, Tumon Bay, was allowed to develop with inadequate parking so that demands are now being made to allow emergency parking in the center lane of the new Tumon Loop Road itself.

The above examples are for the purpose of illustrating the importance of planning and the serious consequences if ignored. Few people will disagree that there should be comprehensive, long range planning of our infrastructure, roads and economic development; however, some people will strongly oppose planning for the regulation and governance of the sex-oriented businesses in Guam.

One of the arguments against regulating sex-oriented businesses is the contention that such regulation would interfere with our constitutionally granted freedoms. Many say that since our country subscribes to the free enterprise system, the freely functioning market should dictate the nature of the business climate. It is argued that the constitutional freedom of expression as contained in the First Amendment would be violated by any regulation of sex-oriented businesses. There are those who would argue that a basic right of privacy is invaded by laws which regulate sexual behavior.

Some would decry the presumptuousness of those who are perceived as attempting to regulate the morality of others. Such regulation would be characterized as the result of the influence of the churches to impose their religious beliefs on others in violation of the Constitution.

Finally, there will be those who, hoping to prove that no attempt should be made to regulate sex-oriented businesses, will resort to "tried and true" epigrams such as "Live and let live" — "See no evil, hear no evil" — "Judge not others that you will not be judged" — "It's not our way to be confrontational" — "The sex business serves as a release" — "If people want to do bad, they will find a way" — "Why have yet one more law we do not enforce?" — "What else can people do at night?"

Many communities in America have taken steps to provide for the regulation of the sex businesses in their communities. No responsible community would attempt to legislate out of existence such businesses, but after due consideration, many responsible community groups in America have been able to successfully lobby for the enactment of ordinances (municipal laws) reasonably regulating such

businesses. What form can such regulation take without running afoul of the Constitution? The most fruitful source of help in drafting a legally acceptable regulatory statute is to look at accomplishments in other communities.

The City of Dallas, Texas, took steps to clean up and regulate sex-oriented businesses which leaders apparently felt were giving their city a bad name. Dallas, similar to Guam, had no regulations whatsoever regulating sex-oriented businesses. The Dallas City Plan Commission in 1986 considered studies of sex-oriented businesses undertaken in Indianapolis, Los Angeles and Austin, and after taking testimony in public hearings, enacted a very comprehensive city ordinance regulating all sexually oriented businesses. The Dallas ordinance is quite detailed. It was almost immediately challenged by operators of seven of the nine types of regulated businesses. The ordinance was upheld in its entirety by a federal district court and was again upheld by the United States Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit in February 1988.

The United States District Court for the Northern District of Texas held in the Dallas case that regulation of sexually oriented businesses was justified in spite of its impact on First Amendment interests; that time, place and manner of business restrictions on the operation of sexually oriented businesses were permissible; and that location restrictions on sexually oriented businesses were constitutional since the ordinance permitted the location of such businesses in alternative locations. Recently, the United States Supreme Court agreed to review three separate appeals of cases in which the Dallas ordinance was upheld. Those appealing the rulings are a coalition of people representing adult bookstores, adult movie houses, adult motels and topless bars.

Does Guam have any of the businesses which would be defined as an adult oriented business under the Dallas statute? We can only rely on our personal observation because the Guam Department of License and Registration does not maintain statistical information concerning any sex-oriented businesses. Upon my inquiry, I was told that the only way to determine the number and locations of such businesses is to examine all the business license applications under "service" or "retail sales." Neither does the Department of Commerce maintain such information. It is thus obvious that, in order to commence any kind of planning for the regulation of sex-oriented businesses, there must be a study commission organized with sufficient resources to survey the present state of affairs.

A casual observation should disclose, however, that there may well exist in Guam almost all of the categories of sexually oriented

businesses mentioned in the Dallas ordinance. Look at the community: Are there adult arcades on Marine Drive and Tumon Loop road, the two largest thoroughfares in Guam? Are there adult cabarets in Guam which regularly feature nude dancing? Are there adult motels which charge by the hour and give special discounts after 8:00 pm? Are there movie theaters which regularly feature "X-rated" films? Are there movie theaters which regularly offer children's movies in the early evening, then switch to X-rated movies in the late evening, causing embarrassment as the children departing from the theater meet the arriving X-rated viewers? Does Guam already have escort agencies, nude model studios and sexual encounter centers? If these particular businesses are not in Guam yet, do you doubt that they will be long in coming to Guam?

Massage parlors are in a somewhat different category than the sexually oriented businesses just discussed. Because of the public health danger represented in such business, regulatory laws and ordinances are ordinarily separately enacted. Presently, some fourteen massage parlors operate in Guam. In February of 1984, *Regulations Relative to the Sanitary Operation of Massage Parlors* were promulgated under the regulatory powers of the Division of Environmental Health, Department of Public Health and Social Service. Due to the limited authority of the Department of Public Health, the regulations are only concerned with the basic health aspects of the business and do not purport to regulate the hours of operation, level of training of massage employees, and avoidance of prostitution. Although the regulations do require physical examinations and blood tests every three months for the persons practicing massage, interestingly there is no requirement that AIDS tests be administered.

The regulations do provide for gonorrhea tests and tests for other sexually transmitted diseases.¹⁵ A dismaying statistic on massage parlors is that in 1987 alone there were 26 cases of gonorrhea and 18 cases of other sexually transmitted diseases reported in 14 massage parlors.¹⁶ That statistic was based on the voluntarily

15. Sanitary Regulation 5.1(c) requires the massage operator to submit to a physical examination once each three months, which test is to include a Gonorrhea test, but no AIDS test is required. In the event an operator is found to have a sexually transmitted disease, massage treatments must be ceased until the operator provides a written statement from a physician that the person is free from disease. See Regulation 4.2(c). No sanction is mentioned in the event of repeated contraction by the operator of a sexually transmitted disease. While there are no educational requirements for massage operators, Regulation 5.1(d) provides that "a workshop" shall be attended or an examination passed.

16. Letter of Leticia V. Espaldon, Director, Department of Public Health and Social Services, dated March 15, 1989.

reported cases only. It should be noted that, despite the existence since 1984 of Public Health Sanitary Regulations for massage parlors, sexually-transmitted diseases have increased dramatically in the ensuing years.

One must wonder whether the regulations have been successful in curbing the sexually oriented nature of massage parlors. In many other jurisdictions, laws and ordinances restrict massages to bona fide massage treatments. Under present Guam laws and regulations, the massage parlor business is basically unregulated. No training whatsoever in massage technique is required in order to practice, no police check is required, there are no restrictions against sexually oriented massages, operators are open twenty-four hours a day, and there are no restrictions on the locations of such establishments.

The City of San Rafael, California, is one of many cities in America to enact ordinances dealing with massage parlors. The Dallas ordinance regulating sexually oriented businesses did not include massage parlors in the list of such businesses, probably because it is more logical to regulate massage parlors under the classification of "healing arts."

The San Rafael Massage ordinance requires a city license prior to operation; it rules that no such establishment can be open between the hours of 10:30 pm and 7:00 am; it mandates that only massage technicians who have graduated from a recognized school of massage be permitted to administer massages; and it provides that no massage employee may sexually expose himself or herself or make any intentional contact with a customer of a sexual nature.¹⁷

The San Rafael ordinance was immediately challenged in court but was upheld in the California Court of Appeals. The massage parlor operators argued that the mandated closing time of 10:30 pm was unreasonable. But, the court held that the constitutional power of a city to provide for the protection of the public health, safety, morals, and general welfare well justified the closing hours, especially in light of the fact that extra police effort would be necessary in the event of late night hours of operation. The provision requiring training and education, and the strict rules against practicing by "trainees" was approved by the court due to "special problems requiring special legislation." The court approved the rules as a reasonable effort of the city

17. Massage Regulations, City of San Rafael, California.

to avert the danger of prostitution: "It was reasonable to conclude that the presence of untrained, inexperienced trainees in massage establishments would foster and encourage prostitution".¹⁸ The court also held that the fifteen and one-half hours of operation each day "provided ample time, for any person so inclined, to obtain a massage."¹⁹

In 1984 another Court of Appeals in California considered the Signal Hill, California, Massage Ordinance and upheld its constitutionality on the theory that the ends served by the law were plausible and justifiable.

At bench City seeks to avert the danger of brothels masquerading as massage establishments. Obviously legislators may take into account the nature of the business to be regulated, and the reasonableness of the regulation depends on the nature of the business and the ease with which it can be diverted in whole part to an unlawful business. Discouraging prostitution is a valid state interest.²⁰

Guam's poor record on sexually transmitted diseases originating in the massage establishments appears to exemplify the same "special problem" cited above.

The 1981 City ordinance of Signal Hill, California, regulating massage establishments and massage technicians, was promptly challenged in court by Circle Massage Parlor, which had been doing business in the city since 1970. Circle Massage Parlor asserted violation of its constitutional right of due process and equal protection. The court bluntly held that the operation of a massage parlor is not a fundamental right and that the government may regulate both the social and economic aspects of the business. The court also held that the equal protection clause of the Constitution was not violated because no improper classification was created. The special treatment (classification) of massage parlors was held to be rationally related to a permissible government purpose.

Circle Massage Parlor also complained of the unreasonableness of the ordinance's requirement that massage technician permits could only be granted after 200 hours of "in residence" instruction. The strict training requirement was upheld as a valid objective to discourage prostitution; recognition that only a properly trained technician can assure that injury to a patient can be avoided, and to assure that those who work in massage parlors are competent. Circle Mas-

sage also failed in its attempt to challenge the ordinance's requirement that all massage parlors be open only between 9:00 am and 11:00 pm. The court held that since massage parlors are often the location of prostitution, regulation of hours of operation was constitutional.

Finally, Circle Massage contended that the law was an illegal ex post facto law by requiring the previously existing holders of massage parlor licenses to comply with the new law within ninety days. The court held that the ordinance had no illegal retroactive penal effect, but on the contrary, the law only applied to conduct occurring after its enactment.

Guam is a island blessed with great natural beauty. It is a haven for vacationing military personnel and their families as well as a large number of tourists. We have a clear obligation, as a responsible community, to regulate all commercial activities which may be harmful to our visitors. It has been illustrated how such regulations are legal within our government's constitutional powers. We see that sex-oriented businesses in Guam are largely unregulated at the present time and that harm has resulted, or is threatened, by the absence of regulation. Examples have been provided where other responsible communities have put into place reasonable regulations to protect the public. Courts of Appeal have upheld the regulations. It is time for Guam to regulate sexually oriented businesses which have shown a startling increase in recent years.

The vast majority of the tourist visitors to our island come here for the sun, the beautiful beaches, the awesome sunsets, and the ocean sports. Our military friends, on leave, enjoy the same activities. In the evenings, our visitors are often tempted to respond to our island's sexually oriented businesses. Huge amounts of our tax money are devoted to keeping our beaches, streets and highways clean and beautiful for our visitors but little interest is shown in assuring that the night time activities our island provides are consistent with our community's image. Just as we should regulate those activities which tend to pollute the atmosphere, our shores and our beaches, so should we now take action to regulate the dangers of sex-oriented businesses.

18. *Brix v. City of San Rafael*, 92 Cal. App. 3d 47, 154 CR 647, 650.

19. *Owens v. City of Signal Hill*, 154 Cal. App.3d 123, 201.

20. *op. cit.*

Views from Both Sides of a Fence: Attitudes that Promote Disharmony between the Civilian and Military Communities in Guam

Cecille Dodge

How many of you are familiar with Alcoholics Anonymous or Overeaters Anonymous? For those of you not already aware of it, I have a confession to make, of which, even my husband of twenty years, does not have an inkling. I am a split personality! This astounding revelation came about when the call for papers came out with the list of suggested topics. My initial reaction was that the whole theme sounded so anti-military that the *pao asu* or Caucasian in me started to get defensive. In fact, I seriously considered avoiding this conference altogether because I just didn't want to hear anymore cries that the military is "taking my land" and the Department of Defense is "running our school" or how those Americanos are ruining Guam by telling us what to do. Then while sitting in the exchange cafeteria one Sunday, I started hearing "two more weeks on this God damn rock" and "I can't wait to get back to civilization so I can drink some *real* milk" and "I came out unaccompanied because I won't allow my kids in this school system." The longer I sat there the more the Chamorro in me bristled.

I consider myself an American of Chamorro/Caucasian descent. I was born and raised on Guam and am one of the finer specimens of the Catholic school system here. I am a Gov-Guam employee. I am married to a Father Duenas¹ man from Mangilao. He is Caucasian and he is serving in the United States Navy. I am giving you this brief background so that you can get a better feeling of where I'm coming from and why I am here today.

Too often I have found myself caught in the middle and bothered by the criticisms, complaints, prejudice, discontent, cynicism, mockery, backlash and whatever else you want to name it, that are tossed back and forth over the fences that separate the military from the civilian community. This presentation is a personal review of the attitudes, exchanges, events, things, accomplishments, happenings, embarrassments and anything else that, in my view, foster discord among ethnic groups living on Guam, particularly between the military and civilian communities. Some of the things I will say may

1. Catholic boys' high school in Guam.

sound insulting or offensive to some people, but those of you who know me know that I am an equal opportunity critic. However, I want to make it clear to all that it is not my intent to insult or offend anyone. I am just going to tell it as I see it, and my advice is for you to take it with a ton of salt.

The military has been an integral part of Guam history beginning with the Spanish conquistadores in the 1600's, followed by the U.S. Navy after the Spanish American War. Then came the Japanese military occupation in World War II and finally the liberation by U.S. Forces. Since then Guam has also played a major logistics role in both the Korean and Vietnam Wars. So those of us who were born here grew up with the military very much a part of our lives.

In pre-Vietnam days and to some degree still today, joining the Armed Forces was a guaranteed ticket off the island. For many of our young Guamanian men, the military served as a rite of passage into adulthood. I once asked a friend from Umatac, who was seriously wounded in Vietnam, what possessed him to join the service, knowing he may end up in Vietnam. His response was, "My brother was in Vietnam and it was the thing to do. *Bai hu hanao ha lorkue' gamera*. (I, too, had to go to war)."

I can safely assume that every family on this island has had or currently has a family member serving in the Armed Forces of the United States. Everyone in this room knows someone who is wearing a uniform—and I don't mean the blue jeans and yellow T-shirts with DOC (Department of Corrections) lettering. I can also safely assume that when we speak of our friends or relatives in uniform, we speak of them with pride; they have accomplished something and made their mark in life. I do not know of any former serviceman or retiree on this island who isn't proud of his service, proud of having seen the world, proud of having lived away from Guam for many years and especially proud of coming home again. I have often wondered if this sense of pride in being a Guamanian serviceman is ever fully understood or appreciated by most Americans in the Armed Forces. And I think that this lack of understanding of Chamorro pride is a contributing factor in the Guamanian's resentment towards the military and, to some degree, to other Statesiders on Guam.

Most military families who come to Guam for the first time have never heard of Guam, let alone know where it is located. Most U.S. libraries contain little or no information about Guam, and the "Welcome-to-Guam" packets are not always complete, or they contain some outdated information. To most Americans, Guam is so far away

from the continent that it is difficult to conceive of the island as being American. Since Guam is considered "overseas," it is therefore synonymous with "foreign." Other advice about Guam is obtained by word-of-mouth from other service people who had passed through or had served tours here. So, some military families who are transferred to Guam may already have a clouded view of what to expect. A military person's first impression of Guam is also greatly influenced by the attitude of the command sponsor meeting him at the airport. If the sponsor hates it here, the newcomer definitely will not hear anything complimentary. Chances are the newcomer will probably want to brave that twelve-hour flight back to California.

I believe it is still true that for most military families, the extent of their two year tour on Guam will consist of the following:

- Arrival at the airport.
- Breakfast or dinner at Denny's Restaurant.
- Rest at the hotel.
- Taking the introductory drive around the island to locate "Big Navy," Naval Hospital and Andersen Air Force Base.
- Along the way, checking out McDonald's, Shakey's Pizza Hut, China Arts and Micronesian Mall, all situated along Marine Drive.
- After moving on base, spending the two years driving between "Big Navy" and Andersen, with a side trip to the Ginger Jar at Christmas time, and occasionally braving that nerve-racking *Agaña* traffic to get to the Naval Hospital.
- Finally at the end of the two years, making the obligatory farewell drive around the island to take last-minute pictures to show the grandparents, before embarking on the flight back to the "real world."

Their expectations of Guam are usually the worst to begin with, and when things really don't go right, it's "Oh well, this is Guam, so what do you expect?" Other attitudes that I find rankling are reflected in comments like:

- "Back home in the United States" or "back home in America." The last time I looked that was the Stars and Stripes flying over Guam.
- "The way we did it back home in Michigan. . ." Well, what may be good in Michigan may not always be good for Guam. Why do we have to do anything the same way as Michigan? Do Michigan and California do things the same way? How

boring that would be! If you prefer the way things are done in Michigan, you can always go home.

- "Guam would be OK if we could get Monday night football." Imagine that—a successful tour on Guam being measured by Monday night football. To begin with, there's that time difference. Secondly, Monday night football would conflict with St. Jude's mass, Tun Juan's anniversary rosary in Agat and Tan Anna's *nobena* in Dededo.
- "The 'Guameese' don't speak English" or "they talk funny here." Hey, neither do most Americans. They don't say "honey chile" in Boston nor do they say "pahk the cah" in Indianola, Mississippi. We all have accents—it is not the "natives" who talk funny, it's the newcomer.
- "All the Guameese ever want is our money, and the U.S. gets nothing in return." This is a U.S. Territory and we are the most loyal Americans you'll ever want to meet. We did not burn the flag or hold demonstrations against the Federal Government during the Vietnam era; we *did* lose a higher number of sons per capita in that war than any other U.S. community. We are U.S. citizens and have the right to equal treatment. The Federal Government does not have to buy loyalty—we just want our fair share.
- "The education system here is so screwed up." Really? Our Guam school system is the result of the same school system that produced 17 million illiterate Americans. The U.S. education system ranks twelfth in the world for science and math. This is the same system that graduates immigrant students top in their classes and awards them scholarships to leading universities and colleges. Our school system here may have a lot of problems, but it is no worst than any multi-ethnic community of our size. You cannot compare our Guam school system to that of Fairfax County, Virginia, Beverly Hills or Shaker Heights, Ohio. I know of no study that demonstrates that military dependents fail academically as a result of attending school on Guam.
- The "rock." I resent my island home being called "the rock," as I'm sure residents of Rhode Island would take exception to their state being referred to as "a pebble."
- How about the subtle intimidation of locals on base? The close scrutiny of I.D. cards at the gate? The inspection of cars? Or the insult to a local salesclerk at the exchange by calling her "dummy" because she said "fumes" instead of films?

- Finally, who can forget the Air Force dependent crowned Miss Guam Universe, who announced on international T.V. that "Oh, I'm not from Guam, I'm from Andersen Air Force Base!"

Now that the Chamorro in me has criticized the military, it is time for my Caucasian half to criticize the Chamorro. We Guamanians are not exactly without fault in our relationship with the military and with Uncle Sam. On the one hand we scream about unfair treatment and discrimination, and yet our other is extended for handouts. We complain about past injustices such as being forced to speak English under threat of fines. I was a product of the English-only era, I don't recall that we ever considered that directive as being discriminatory. We spoke Chamorro in school anyway, especially on the playground, which is where I learned to speak Chamorro. We also had fun dodging the Chamorro monitors or bribing them with *daigu* and pickled papaya after school. Why waste snack money on a silly fine? How many of you here are Chamorros? How many of you speak fluent Chamorro? How many of you are teaching or speak Chamorro to your children?

I would like to read you a passage written by Rosa Salas Palomo in an article she wrote entitled "*I Derechon I Taotao*":

*Gigon ha' mafnas i lengguahen-niha, ma funas ha' lakkue' i kuttura, pues i mismo gurupon taotao. Put uttemo, ayu ha' siempre sopbla put it ManChamorro i manma tuge' gi lepblo siha ya meggaina biahi na tinige' taotao hiyong.*²

While most of us grew up in bilingual homes, it is interesting to note that English, no matter how *apling* or broken, is the primary language for most children on Guam today, except perhaps in the southern villages. Let me ask you then, how many of you would make an effort to take Chamorro language classes, and why? Why is Chamorro being taught in the schools and not in the homes?

If we have our hands out, we'd better be willing to accept the strings attached to the gifts. Nothing is free in this world. We are so used to having things given to us or done for us that when demands are made on us we get insulted. When the Department of Defense

offered us money for education, we quickly said yes, then we complained that the money wasn't coming fast enough. Now we are moaning that the DOD is telling us how to run our schools and forcing our teachers to take the intimidating BESTE Test, which is basically a 6th or 7th grade English test. If doctors, lawyers, accountants and social workers are required to take tests for certification, why not teachers. They are the ones who will mold the minds of our children. The funds are there to improve the schools, let's get on with the program and stop griping about it. So what if we have a few overseers of the DOE? In my view the real winners are the Guamanian children, for the military children attend Guam schools only for an average of two years.

Do you ever notice that at all the official functions held on Guam—state funerals, Liberation Day parades, fiestas, grand openings and dedications—the military is always well-represented? But when the military holds a function, such as a change of command, and issues invitations to our island leaders, I am sorry to say that very few respond. For all the highly paid consultants, community workers and special assistants, surely someone knows what R.S.V.P. means? When our leaders do show up for a military activity, they are usually late or they send some unannounced underling to represent them.

For all our complaints about the military, think about who provided assistance to Guam after natural disasters? A shipload of Marines was diverted to Guam after Typhoon Pamela to clean the debris off Marine Drive. Because Government House was heavily damaged, the Governor moved into Navy Housing at Naval Hospital while Government House was renovated. How many times do you see military men and women painting and laying tiles in schools, churches and community centers. These chores should be done by the villagers and parents of the students at the schools. Whatever happened to that wonderful Chamorro custom called "happy labor"? "Call the Seabees to build a skateboard ramp at this village and a baseball field at that village. Oh dear, Talofofo and Merizo are without water, call the National Guard and ask for twenty water trucks. Liberation Day is around the corner and we need seventy trailers and flatbeds—twenty from the construction companies and fifty from the Air Force and Navy. *Ai Yu'os*, Ernesto and Tomas went fishing last night and they did not come back yet, call *fan* Continental Airlines to look for them." In all seriousness, how many times a year do we call on the military to search for missing fishermen or swimmers swept beyond our treacherous reefs? How much has the Government of Guam or

2. Palomo, Rosa Salas. *I Derechon I Taotao. Chamorro Self-Determination: The Right of a People, I Derechon I Taotao*, edited by Laura Souder-Jaffery and Robert A. Underwood, p. 2. MARC Education Series Publication No. 7. Chamorro Studies Association and Micronesian Area Research Center, 1987.

the families paid towards the cost of these search-and-rescue missions? I can honestly tell you that my own favorite organization, Guam Special Olympics, cannot function without the military. Eighty-five percent of our volunteers are military men and women. We simply cannot hold our games without them. They provide the logistics support for all our sports activities and raise close to fifty percent of the funds for our expenses.

"The military stole our land—give it back to us." How quickly we forget the price of freedom. American blood paid for Chamorro freedom from the Japanese. We live in an uncertain world and this island is still as vulnerable now as it was in World War II. We cannot predict what will happen in Asia in the next twenty years. Let's be sensible about our future and not allow our greed for economic prosperity to blur our need for security.

We Guamanians have every right to be angry with the Federal Government. We think of ourselves as U.S. citizens, yet Uncle Sam treats us like unwanted stepchildren. We recognize that the Federal Government makes decisions on a global scale, and often Guam's needs are as far away in their minds as Guam is to Washington, D.C., but some of these decisions were made without serious regard for the people's welfare. One example would be if the United States, without consulting the people, negotiated away Guam's right to claim war reparations from the Japanese. Yet it was the people of Guam who endured the atrocities of the Japanese occupation and received nothing for their sufferings.

Recently, the United States allowed open immigration to the U.S. for our Micronesian neighbors, without realizing that most Micronesians can barely afford a plane ticket to Guam, let alone to Honolulu or the West Coast. The influx of Micronesians to Guam is slowly creating resentment that will eventually explode if nothing is done to avoid it. With all due respect to our Micronesian neighbors, I feel that the people of Guam should not have to inherit the unemployment and education problems of other Pacific islands. In one day at a local elementary school, fifteen Micronesian students were registered. Who is paying for the education of these students?

My chief complaint against Micronesian migration is related to betelnuts and the senseless destruction of betelnut trees in order to harvest the soft young nuts. The trees are wantonly cut down or the branches carelessly pulled. Even pole-climbing spikes are used on the trees, in order to get the nuts. Guamanians prefer ripe hard betelnuts rather than the soft green nut favored by the Micronesians. It takes

seven years for a betelnut tree to bear fruit; it is not necessary to destroy the tree. I don't mind Micronesian migration, but when you hit my betelnut reserve, that is tampering with Chamorro pleasure!

If I were to list five ethnic groups, other than Chamorros, living on Guam (e.g. Caucasian, Japanese, Korean, Filipino and Micronesian), and if I were to ask the average Chamorro in Agaña to list the three groups he dislikes the most, chances are the ranking will go as follows—Filipino, Caucasian, Micronesian. Isn't it interesting that the Japanese are not listed? Yet the Japanese committed the worst atrocities against Chamorros during World War II.

We complain about the Filipino being *taffo* or pushy and how they have their hands in everything. Yet we cannot blame the Filipinos for being a hard-working and industrious people. The opportunities are there for everyone. If we Chamorros do not care to take advantage of them, we have no one to blame but ourselves.

While the resentment against the military on Guam appears to be slowly festering, the enlistment of Guamanians into the Armed Forces of the United States does not seem to be affected. You only have to look at our National Guard and Army Reserve to see how much they have grown. It is my belief that the military is here to stay. Heaven forbid that you should deprive the Guamanian serviceman of his exchange and commissary privileges. That I.D. card is a status symbol whether we care to admit or not.

It is my belief that the "backlash" attitude against the military is but a developmental phase in our quest for self-determination. It is easier to take out our frustrations with the Federal Government against the visible military here, than to take them to the bureaucrats way back in Washington, D.C.

But the time has come for us to quit focusing on the negative aspects of our differences. We are wasting too much time and effort adding fuel to disharmony. There should not be two communities on this island. There is room for only one community made up of different ethnic groups. The military should be a part of and not separate from this community. The military has already taken some steps in that direction with their "Partners in Education" and "Sister Village" programs. Next they might consider voting. But what steps have we taken to welcome the military community into the fold, aside from the fiestas we hold for them? It is too late to turn back the clock. We can only afford to move forward together. Look at the faces around you—wouldn't you like to know that face?

We have so much to give and to learn from each other. Guam has been described as a "melting pot" but I feel that is too simplistic. I think Leonard Baca's definition of "cultural pluralism" describes Guam better, and that is that "each cultural group will retain and maintain its own values and customs and that we all will learn to accept and respect each other's differences." For the military, consider your tour here as an enriching experience and a time for growth. The various ethnic groups that exist on Guam will greatly influence and develop our "world views" and help us organize our life experiences that hopefully will include a cross-cultural perspective.³ We must become aware of "the culture in ourselves and the culture in others."⁴ We on Guam, both military and civilian, have a marvelous opportunity to practice Leonard Baca's advice to "appreciate our differences, broaden our world views, and reach out to other's ways of bringing joy and meaning to our lives." Now that I have stirred up your cultural defenses, thank you and *Si Yu'os Ma'ase*.

3. Baca, Leonard. *Concepts: Is There a Melting Pot? Reaching Out*, p. 29. Eugene, Oregon: Western Regional Resource Center, 1986.

4. *Ibid*, p. 31.

Military Disaster Relief Efforts in Micronesia

Mike Dodge

HISTORY AND BACKGROUND

Since the founding of the nation the American military has provided immediate assistance in life and health threatening emergencies. In Micronesia specifically, the U.S. military has always responded to the disaster recovery needs of the region. This immediate response is particularly suited to the military method; that is, quick and precise, with thoroughly trained personnel inserted or mobilized into a life or health threatening disaster situation, where civil authorities are either temporarily disorganized or simply overwhelmed by the magnitude of the disaster. Sounds like our standard Pacific typhoon situation, doesn't it?

Additionally, as the U.S. military is a neighbor and partner in many of our island communities, we in the U.S. Armed Forces find ourselves in the midst of the recovery effort from the outset. More on that a little later.

MILITARY DISASTER ASSISTANCE PROFILE

Let us discuss a generic or model disaster recovery situation from the standpoint of the U.S. military's role — the most commonplace event being the tropical cyclone, or typhoon. Weather warnings come from the U.S. military's weather service, the Naval Oceanographic Command Center/Joint Typhoon Warning Center, located at Nimitz Hill on Guam. These warnings, in the form of weather tracking data and advisories, are disseminated through the U.S. National Weather Service to the Civil Defense organization of the territory, commonwealth, or country affected. Local military commanders then consult and coordinate with island civil authorities to ensure mutual preparedness and prevention of damage. During the passage of the typhoon everyone will hopefully remain sheltered. In the event a shelter is destroyed, some immediate local assistance may be provided.

Once the weather abates, the military and civil authorities do quick or "hasty" assessments of their respective areas. It is at this time that the "immediate danger to life and health" assistance requirements become known and are acted upon without hesitation. These needs are communicated to the Senior Military Commander who then

authorizes local military commands to provide additional assistance, although it must be emphasized that this assistance must not degrade the mission of the command. We in the Armed Forces are very good at acting swiftly with the power, force, and material to get the job done. As recovery efforts proceed, the civil authorities may request and receive additional and long term disaster assistance from many U.S. federal agencies. Military personnel are usually tapped to assist these agencies, especially in the logistics role, due to our tactical delivery capability in areas of rough terrain.

And finally, as everyone puts things back together, the military works and plans closely with civil authorities to mitigate effects of the disaster and to train for an even more thorough recovery the next time. And believe me, the one thing you can always count on in Micronesia is the weather.

DISASTER ASSISTANCE PROCEDURES

Bureaucrats always have to have a procedure, and it must be in writing. Though the U.S. Federal Government is very assistance-oriented, it is also very bureaucratic. After the passage of the storm or flood, fire, or whatever, and the initiation of immediate recovery and life saving efforts by all involved, including the military, the Governor or President of the political entity may declare a state of disaster. If further assistance is needed this Chief Executive may request that the President of the United States declare the region a disaster area. This automatically puts things in motion. It is very important that this disaster request be forwarded as soon as possible. We in the region have not always moved as fast as we should, either out of pride or disorganization. The disaster request gets the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) out here to confirm to the President of the United States that U.S. federal assistance is required. Guam and the CNMI are directly linked to FEMA. The Freely Associated states—FSM, RMI, and Republic of Palau—are covered by their Compacts for FEMA assistance. However, the Compact of Free Association for Palau has not yet been effected.

Remember how those Seabees, Airmen, Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines were right there during and immediately after the disaster? They won't stay, however, if the Pacific Commander doesn't tell them to. And he won't, if the President, through FEMA, doesn't authorize him to. Without this authorization, the Executive Agent for the Pacific Commander in this region, Rear Admiral Johnson, COM-NAVMARIANAS, would be unable to continue military involvement in the recovery effort.

This overview of disaster assistance has been speedy, because that is how things really happen. We in the islands have made do, or else suffered on for centuries. Now, to a large extent we have embraced a philosophy of doing things in order to live better, providing for both the common defense and the general welfare. One of the responsibilities we therefore have as citizens is to utilize all the tools and potential available to us. The U.S. military, the Armed Forces for this region, is here to do its share.

EXAMPLES OF MITIGATION AND RECOVERY

The list of military assistance to Micronesia is a very long and demonstrates a proud record of neighbor helping neighbor. Let me illustrate with several examples in recent memory.

Guam, Typhoon Pamela. From the sister village help, to the Navy Amphibious group diverted to Guam with its several thousand sailors and marines, to the airlift of Hawaiian Electric and Hawaiian telephone crews and equipment by giant Air Force C-5 cargo planes directly to Guam to help in the recovery, the military was there.

Saipan, Typhoon Kim. As the winds abated, a COMNAV-MARIANAS damage assessment team lifted off from NAS to Saipan to provide the first surveys. Following almost immediately were airlifts of generators to get water flowing again in Saipan's devastated utilities system. Then came the PWC power technicians to restore the power plant, and the Navy tugs and barges with power poles, and Guam Power Authority equipment, to complete this initial restoration.

Truk, Typhoon Nina. As the winds increased in strength, homes near our Civic Action Team (CAT) camp on Moen started to collapse. Air force CAT personnel immediately went out into the storm to bring their Trukese neighbors to shelter and safety. As the typhoon passed, the CAT commander deployed his men to help clear roads and assess the damage while he assisted the Governor of Truk and his Cabinet in organizing local recovery efforts. Meanwhile, the CAT camp radio operator alerted our headquarters on Guam of the situation and remained a vital communications link for Truk. From Guam, 49 USAF, USMC, USN, and USCG C-130 flights carried over 1,134 pounds of relief supplies to Truk. Pacific command logistics staff personnel even facilitated the large commercial ocean tug and barge which arrived from Hawaii with food to replace the island's devastated agricultural produce.

Yap, Typhoon Orchid. This was a good example of post-disaster military assistance. Homes were pre-fabricated on Guam by Navy Seabees out of FEMA provided material, shipped aboard the Navy

Logistics ship USNS Spica to Ulithi and FALS in Ulithi Atoll, flown ashore by HC-5 HELO crews and assembled by Navy civilian Mariners for the Spica.

Presence operations. The U.S. Navy regularly sends ships through Micronesia to assist the FSM, RMI, and Palau Governments in checking on the welfare of the outer islands. U.S. Coast Guard Air and Ship surveys, "Christmas Drop" surveys, and the general heads-up approach of all our military constantly help in the region.

Search and rescue. This is a whole field in itself. This always involves several agencies. I don't need to tell anyone here how important search and rescue is in the world's largest ocean area.

SOCIAL IMPACT OF DISASTER ASSISTANCE

Finally let's consider the social impact. Not being a sociologist, I will pose some situations from past disaster recovery assistance and ask you to consider the result and whether it has been beneficial to Micronesia.

Guam. Has the instant urban renewal following Typhoon Pamela, and Guam's dependence (albeit more perceived than actual) on the military for disaster recovery assistance, helped our political and social maturation?

CNMI. When fishermen in the Northern islands ask the Navy or Coast Guard to airdrop canned tuna, is something amiss here?

Truk. No fresh fish for several months after Typhoon Nina, due to the saturation of the market with canned fish.

Consider these situations alongside the fact that each time people are thrust together in adversity, both sides learn from each other, and out of necessity, barriers caused by ignorance break down.

Trends and Issues in the Prevention of Sexually Transmitted Diseases and AIDS

Joe Flores and Josephine O'Mallen

The Department of Public Health and Social Services is mandated by Public Law 15-96 to provide diagnosis, treatment and surveillance of infectious diseases; and more specifically, to reduce and control the incidence of sexually transmitted diseases among the high risk and sexually active age groups.

Guam has grown tremendously during the past decade. This growth is reflected not only in economic terms but also in population growth. Rapid and unexpected growth has had a dramatic impact on the overall infrastructure of the island, such as water, power, housing and more importantly, medical facilities. The greatest impact resulted from the lifting of the immigration quota, and the passage of the Micronesian Compacts of Free Association. These two changes led to an influx of immigrants from the neighboring Asian countries and the Micronesian islands. Until these immigrants can find jobs and achieve self-reliance, they are dependent for their provisions upon family members or upon the Government of Guam.

Another surge of growth can be attributed to the massive build-up of military installations on the island, and the increased homeporting of ships. The U.S. Navy now has five ships homeported on the island. These ships are frequently detailed to foreign countries where the incidence of sexually transmitted diseases is very high, especially Penicillinase Producing Neisseria (PPNG) and other types of sexually transmitted infections.

Both military bases on island are equipped with medical facilities to provide services to its military personnel and dependents. These facilities are equipped to perform diagnostic testing for various types of sexually transmitted diseases, as well as HIV tests. Serologic test materials are forwarded to the Department of Public Health laboratory for FTA-ABS confirmation.

A major concern of the program is the future of US military bases in the Republic of the Philippines. For political and economic reasons, these bases may be relocated to alternate sites in Guam or Micronesia. The relocation of Clark and Subic bases would certainly put great new demands upon the Territory's resources, and would disrupt the community.

The incidence of sexually transmitted diseases is increasing in Guam and in the rest of Micronesia. In 1988, the Communicable Disease Control Unit of the Department of Public Health and Social Services diagnosed and treated 323 cases of gonorrhea and 14 cases of (PPNG); 159 or 49 percent were from military and 164 or 51 percent were civilians. A majority of the cases reported from the military were contracted off-island, mainly in Asian areas.

Projections for the population increase over the next several years are based on a 2.4 percent growth rate, which is slightly higher than the annual growth rate in the preceding decade. The military population is expected to increase as quickly as the civilian population, due to increased homeporting of military carriers on island. Over the past six years, an average of 21,000 military personnel and their dependents comprised approximately 19 percent of the total population.

While Guam has established reliable communication and transportation links, the island is still relatively isolated from the U.S. mainland. The great distance from main sources of supplies poses numerous problems for the procurement of medical supplies and equipment, such as shipping delays, high transportation cost and large fluctuations in inventory levels. Isolation also causes problems for the medical profession by limiting the availability of on-island continuing education programs and by making it difficult to stay abreast of the latest developments in the field. The island's small population base, and its financial inability to support highly specialized health care services, also tend to isolate it from access to services which are available in mainland metropolitan areas.

In the health field, Guam has been the recipient of various federal grants ranging from health facility and sewer construction grants to nutrition, communicable disease control, maternal child and health and other service delivery grants as well as the Medicare/Medicaid Program. Guam has become a center for commerce, education and tourism in the Pacific. An increasing number of visitors, alien laborers and temporary residents arrive daily on Guam from the neighboring Pacific islands, Japan, the Philippines and other Asian countries. All of these persons are possible users of the health care system; therefore, the system must be large enough to accommodate an increasing patient population. Of greater importance, however, is the fact that this large influx of transitory people makes our island vulnerable to imported communicable diseases—such as tuberculosis, sexually transmitted diseases, cholera, leprosy, measles, etc.—and puts additional strain on Guam's Communicable Disease control and health service resources.

AIDS has become a major health priority. The AIDS pandemic now involves more than 140,000 cases reported worldwide by the World Health Organization. In the U.S. alone, more than 80,000 AIDS cases have been reported to the Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta, Georgia. Of this total, half have already died, and there are more than three million people who are carriers of the HIV virus. Global efforts in research will continue until a cure or vaccine is available to eradicate this disease.

Our island is indeed fortunate, compared to the U.S. and Asian countries. Only five AIDS cases and eight HIV carriers have been reported to the Department of Public Health. Although Guam's incidence is low, local health officials anticipate further identification of cases in the future.

The increase in incidence of AIDS is inevitable within the island's high risk groups. Furthermore, our island's large transient population of active military and their dependents, alien workers, teachers, and growing numbers of tourists, also pose a threat as possible carriers for HIV and AIDS. Because of this potential at-risk population, efforts toward education and counseling/testing services are of great importance for the prevention and control of this disease in our community.

We are fortunate to have received federal funding for the development of programs towards AIDS education and counseling/testing activities. The Department of Public Health and Social Services initiated an AIDS Program in June, 1985. The AIDS Program provides education/prevention, counseling and testing services. Such testing is conducted on a confidential, voluntary, and anonymous manner, free to individuals in the high risk groups and to the general public.

The Department of Education also established an AIDS Program in August, 1988. This program is specifically geared towards AIDS education/prevention for the school population for K-12th grade. These AIDS programs operate in conjunction with other support services, which include the Guam Memorial Hospital and private health providers and organizations.

These services cannot be effective without the support of the community. It is the community that plays an important role in the control of AIDS. With the community's involvement and concern for making informed decisions to avoid the spread of AIDS, and by extending compassion, support and understanding to AIDS patients, we can control this disease. At present, with neither an effective vaccine nor drug to prevent or cure AIDS, many sensitive issues have emerged. Confidentiality is one concern, especially those at risk for

the disease. The program makes every effort to maintain the confidentiality of its clients. Clients are not required to disclose their identity. However, there is still reluctance to undergo testing because of the fear of being recognized by friends or relatives outside of the AIDS Program. Confidentiality is more difficult in a small community with extended families, such as in Guam. To address this issue of confidentiality, the program is currently developing an outreach project to provide counseling and testing outside of the workplace, at the client's request. This project is striving to gain the confidence of the high risk group, in utilizing the program's free services.

Another issue of concern is the military's limited collaboration with local health officials. The highest incidence of sexually transmitted diseases is among the military population. The military are potential carriers of AIDS as well; however, statistics from the military are not available. Collaboration and sharing of statistical information between the military and local health officials is vitally important, in order to assess the extent of the HIV and AIDS problem in Guam, and to provide control measures through methods of partner notification.

In conclusion, AIDS and HIV infection represent an international public health crisis affecting all people, which must be addressed by social workers at all organizational levels. With their special knowledge and skills, social workers can make an important contribution to the management of this crisis, by promoting public education, psychological and social support services, and by defending and protecting the civil rights of those infected with AIDS and HIV. We must remember that AIDS is not a homosexual or drug addict's disease; it is anybody's disease, if one is not careful. Being at risk for AIDS is not the result of what a person is, but what a person does.

Is There Life after the Bases? A Philippine Perspective

Ed Garcia

A CRUCIAL ISSUE IN CRITICAL TIMES

One of the most revered statesmen in the Philippines today, Senator Lorenzo Tanada, during his testimony before the members of the Constitutional Commission on July 4, 1986, underscored the significance of the current debate on foreign military bases: "Perhaps the single most important issue in our country today is that of the US military bases in the Philippines."¹ Some forty-eight members of the Constitutional Commission, of which I was but one voice, went on to draft a Charter that was approved by nearly three out of every four Filipino registered voters. What the people ratified thus became the 1987 Constitution. Among the provisions included in the Declaration of Principles and State Policies in our fundamental law were the following:

The Philippines renounces war as an instrument of national policy, adopts the generally accepted principles of international law as part of the law of the land and adheres to the policy of peace, equality, justice, freedom, cooperation, and amity with all nations. (Section 2)

The State shall pursue an independent foreign policy. In its relations with others states the paramount consideration shall be national sovereignty, territorial integrity, national interest, and the right to self-determination. (Section 7)

The Philippines, consistent with the national interest, adopts and pursues a policy of freedom from nuclear weapons in its territory. (Section 8)

In the transitory provisions, the fate of the US military bases was resolved in the following manner: the military bases agreement between the governments of the United States of America and the Republic of the Philippines will expire as scheduled in 1991. A new agreement can be entered into only if the Philippine Senate by a two-thirds majority ratifies a new treaty, and if Congress so requires, subjects this treaty to the popular will. At the same time, it must equally be recognized as a treaty by the other contracting party, the United States.²

1. Tanada, Lorenzo. Foreword. In *The Sovereign Quest: Freedom From Foreign Military Bases*, Ed Garcia and Francisco Nemenzo, p. xiii. Claretian Publications, 1988.

2. 1987 Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines, XVIII, sec. 25.

A HISTORIC CHALLENGE

We Filipinos are currently faced with an historic challenge. After three and a half centuries of colonial rule, after a military invasion that resulted in the outright occupation of our country for four years during the second World War, and, finally, after two decades of authoritarian rule we are now faced with an awesome task: to chart an alternative future. For far too long the Philippines was known as a rich land but a country of poor people; it was a nation that was supposedly democratic but its people were not free; it was an independent state but it had no sovereign voice.

February of 1986 in the Philippines was a turning point, and we now traverse a critical period of transition. Borne on the shoulders of People's Power, the demand of the majority is to participate in the creation of a society that is just, an economy that is fair, a democracy that is participative, a state that is sovereign, and a peace that is lasting.

It is within this context that we can best understand the terms of the debate and the discussion on the US military bases in the Philippines. There are those who say that the bases must remain in the Philippines precisely because they provide adequate defense against hostile forces, they ensure economic benefits in this period of economic recovery, and they contribute to the political stability of the region wherein the Philippines occupies a strategically important location.

On the other hand, voices are raised which argue that after nearly a century the military bases must now go. The people's safety and survival come first, and in this age of nuclear warfare it is argued that military bases invite rather than deter nuclear attack. After years of providing a justification for foreign intervention, the military bases are perceived to have become obstacles in the country's pursuit of its own ends and its own path in international relations.

After seeing the results of the politics of the balance of terror, there is a growing sentiment that perhaps the Philippines can contribute to the reduction of political and military tensions in the region. The country can thus work towards regional peace in the framework of common security for all nations within the region. After years of dependence on a base-related economy that was highly dependent on the fluctuations of external factors, it is now thought that perhaps it is time to formulate a more self-reliant strategy of economic development.

These arguments I am sure have become familiar to most of you who, because of your work or your interests, keep up with literature in

this field. Recently, I completed a trilogy called *The Filipino Quest* in which I have developed a number of the arguments I have briefly mentioned. Particularly in *The Sovereign Quest: Freedom From Foreign Military Bases*, I discuss a number of these issues in more detail.³

BASES IN FOREIGN SOIL — AT WHAT PRICE?

Here I will focus on the social costs of the bases which I believe are closer to the concerns of social workers. I would like to invite readers to explore realistic and possible alternatives.

Admittedly, the US military bases in the Philippines provide social benefits. They create job opportunities, bring in foreign exchange earnings, generate inputs into the national economy and give some prosperity to the communities in the areas around the bases. According to US Embassy data, as of 1985, "the American facilities in the Philippines employed 20,581 full-time workers, 14,249 contract workers, 5,064 domestics, and 1,746 concessionaires, for a total direct employment of 42,265 Filipinos."⁴ The same source claims that the American military directly spends over \$370 million in the Philippines besides the so-called "best effort" compensation package amounting to \$481 million annually, including military assistance and the economic support fund which the bases agreement facilitates to the Philippine government.⁵

The question however remains: at what price are these military bases to be kept in Philippine territory? There are those who insist that the bases should no longer stay under any price. In response to those who put economic advantage or rental over sovereignty and survival as the central issue in renegotiating the bases agreement, is a view expressed by a distinguished author. "It might be reasonable to ask for the market value rental of the land concerned, but no more. This is simply not the issue. For those who wish the bases removed it would be cheap prostitution of principle and a dereliction of national

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3. *The Filipino Quest Trilogy* is composed of the following:
The Filipino Quest. A Just and Lasting Peace. Claretian Publications, 1988.
The Sovereign Quest: Freedom from Foreign Military Bases. Claretian Publications, 1988.
Imperfect Document, Unfinished Quest. Claretian Publications, 1989.
 4. Background on the Bases, p. 16. United States Information Service, 1986. There is a slight difference in the numbers given by the US Publication. When one adds the numbers of workers claimed by the publication, it totals 41,640.
 5. Ibid.

safety to change one's opinion if the price was right."⁶

Nevertheless, the claimed economic and social benefits of the military bases must be weighed against their social costs. In other words, we must also examine the consequent damage to human lives and to the Filipino national psyche as a result of bases-related activities. They may represent incalculable harm that must be considered to provide a proper perspective to the question of military bases.

THE LOSS OF NATIONAL SOUL

During the period of martial rule, dictatorship was supported by successive US governments despite gross human rights violations. It was clear that this policy option was taken since the official stand was to keep the military bases in Philippine territory at all costs. Bases that were supposed to guarantee freedoms were in fact no defense for the loss of basic rights of citizens, for the death of democracy and the damage done to the Filipino soul.

It is difficult to take any nation seriously that lives under the shadow of another power, whose ends are subserved by other interests. It is difficult to live with pride and dignity, when one knows that in the final analysis decisions are taken by the nation's leaders to support the global designs of another power. That is the depths of the damage done to the Filipino soul.

To live as a second-rate actor in the concert of nations is the fate of those consigned to a marginal say in their affairs, with no hand on the ultimate trigger, involved perhaps in wars not of their own making or in conflicts they have no interest in pursuing. This results not only in the warping of a people's social conscience but eventually in their loss of soul.

THE COSTS IN TERMS OF LIVES

In terms of real lives, what are the social costs? In the city of Olongapo which is home to the Subic Naval base, a veritable fantasy-land has been spawned composed of 500 clubs, bars, hotels and massage parlors. There are 20,000 prostitutes, more than 9,000 of them registered, some 8,000 unlicensed and 3,000 working as part-time

6. Campbell, Duncan. *The Unsinkable Aircraft Carrier*, p. 302. London: Palladin, 1986.

hospitality girls.⁷

In Angeles City which hosts Clark Air Base, the nights are illumined by a thousand points of light from some 450 hotels, cabarets, disco joints, bars and cocktail lounges that employ over 7,000 hospitality girls. According to the Department of Health, the registered hospitality girls in these two cities alone constitute half the total number of registered hospitality girls throughout the country. The Department of Health in fact estimates that the total number of unregistered girls could even reach thrice those registered.

In a report dated 30 July 1987, Dr. Manuel Dayrit, Coordinator of the government's AIDS prevention and control committee (Department of Health) stated: "As of 30 June 1987, 47 hospitality girls have been positive for HIV antibodies (human immunodeficiency virus); most incidence was among hospitality girls of Olongapo and Angeles City with a total of 41. Rate is 1-1.5 per 1000 women in the base cities, but the AIDS committee estimates that the rate is closer to 3-4 infections per 1000 in both places."⁸

Another social consequence are the so-called "souvenir babies" or the offspring of momentary or transient liaisons that produce unwanted children, left either to the mother, to charitable institutions, or simply to roam the streets.

Investigations into the drug trade which extends from the "golden triangle" of Southeast Asia to the bustling streets of the major cities in the United States of America have also served notice on the use made of the military bases as "transit points" or operational hubs of drug syndicates. Around these bases are some 5,000 drug addicts now undergoing rehabilitation.⁹ At an early age, the lives of the young are destroyed as they become captives of syndicates and other related crime rings like gun-running groups, smugglers, Mafia, black-market operators, gambling dens, and other base-related activities.

The dislocation of cultural communities results in alienation and cultural degradation. For example, two villages named after two former presidents, Macapagal and Marcos, literally live on American junk. Inhabited mostly by members of indigenous tribal Filipino

7. Testimony before the 1986 Constitutional Commission, culled by Florangel Braid, Volume IV, Record of the Constitutional Commission, p. 601.

8. Dayrit, Manuel. Proposed National Plan for AIDS Prevention and Control, 1987-90, p. 1. AIDS Prevention and Control Committee of the Department of Health.

9. Confreedom. *A Primer on Why the Bases Must Go*, April 1988.

groups, the Agtas or Negritos, they have lost their former lands and their proud heritage. Now, they survive as they scavenge for scrap metal obtained from the garbage dump.

And, what happens to the youth in the communities surrounding the bases? Two out of every three, perhaps, as several studies suggest, have been seduced by an alien dream. They no longer seem to be interested in the Filipino quest for forging a nation that must struggle and sing its own songs. Marching to the beat of a different drum, they seem to have come under the spell of Hollywood's illusions and the allure of the good life brought into their living rooms in living color or into their towns when the big ships come sailing in. Such is the impact on the minds of the young of distorted development, of base-dependent economic enterprises which fluctuate with the fortunes of war. Such is the seduction of an alien dream.

Even nature groans in the onslaught of war-related development. Not only do natural resources remain untapped and opportunities lost, but forests can be destroyed or ecology altered because of war games or target range practices. Even once-rich fishing grounds have become unsafe for fishermen spreading their nets to make a catch. The earth and seas somehow bear the burdens of base-related war preparedness.

IN SEARCH OF ALTERNATIVES

It is perhaps time to explore feasible alternatives to the military facilities. Whatever one's positions are on the question of military bases, it is important to work towards realistic alternatives to these bases. They are not meant to be permanent features of any national landscape, but neither can they disappear from the scene without any adequate preparation on the part of those whose lives they directly affect.

As early as 1975, the Philippine Chamber of Commerce and Industry had made proposals to convert the bases into commercial and industrial complexes involving both government and private sector. It was proposed that Subic Naval Base be converted into a maritime center with major facilities for ship building and ship repair. It was suggested that Clark Air Base be used as an international airport, as a commercial and industrial center for Central Luzon, and as corporate farms.¹⁰ Recent studies support the idea of agro-industrial centers in the base lands with emphasis on light manufacturing

10. Garcia, Ed. *The Sovereign Quest*, op cit., p. 44-45.

endeavors and agricultural initiatives in sugar, corn, livestock and fruit farms.¹¹ Proposals for setting up dry docks, a seaport in Subic and an international transshipment port in Clark have also been made. These proposals have become more feasible as recent review talks have reached agreement that the Philippine government assume ownership of "nonremovable buildings and structures within the bases including essential utility systems."¹²

The 1988 People's Parallel Review of which I was a member presented interesting ideas but what stands out is the framework that was formulated. This includes the participation of the people in identifying and realizing economic alternatives and transforming base areas into agro-industrial zones of cooperative enterprises, the creation of job opportunities in dignified communities, the conversion of the military facilities into peaceful and productive uses, and the ultimate creation of a self-reliant and progressive national economy. The Review pointed out that "as a rule, the choice of crops for these ventures should primarily consider the real and immediate needs of farmers and farm workers, industrial, transport and construction workers, subsistence fisherfolk and other individuals who rely heavily on the bases" for their livelihood.¹³ Regional studies have shown that more than 18,000 hectares of land are suitable for agro-forestry production, over 3,000 hectares for rice, others for corn and mongo.¹⁴ Participants also identified areas suitable for orchards, vegetable and livestock-raising, and cultivation of medicinal plants for herbal medicine.

Those familiar with the 11,000 hectares of fishing waters covered by Subic Naval Base outlined plans for commercial fishing, fish ports, canning factory, alligator farming, fish ponds and salt beds, arguing that some 2,000 small fisherfolk from Bataan and another 1,500 from Zambales could immediately benefit.¹⁵ Workers presently employed within the shipyards suggested that transforming the naval bases into

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11. Among some of the proponents of the alternative uses of the bases are the following: CRC Agro-Industrial Estate Alternative, Mariano Integrated Base Conversion Alternative, NEDA New Town Alternative, Almonte People's Agro-Industrial Alternative.
 12. Section VII, 1988 Manglapus-Schultz Agreement.
 13. Report of the Committee of the People's Response, People's Parallel Review, pp. 2-3.
 14. National Council on Integrated Area Development, Master Plan Study of the Clark Reverted Baselands Integrated Area Development Project. 1981 Report.
 15. People's Parallel Review, p. 3.

ship building and ship repair facilities would accommodate most of some 3,000 individuals who now use their skills in the naval base operations.

People also took note that the mountain areas in Zambales occupied by the facilities is an area rich in mines, with about 92% of total chromite deposits including "substantial deposits of gold, palladium, copper, silver, nickel and platinum." With the proper exploitation of the mineral wealth in the area, financed by investments from both public and private sectors, some light and heavy industries could be encouraged to produce farm implements, industrial tools and equipment for the needs of a people-oriented development.¹⁶

A University of the Philippines study also pointed out that the proposals, to be realistic, "must make a comprehensive accounting of the backward and forward linkages of the facilities with the larger economy." The study states, for example, that if "the present rate of economic growth is carried into the early nineties, the Philippines shall face an acute shortage of port, storage and cargo handling facilities necessary to support a bigger volume of trade."¹⁷ Thus it recommends more extensive port and storage facilities in the present base areas.

What these ideas show, more than anything else, is that there are indeed alternative ideas for the future, and that there is indeed life after the bases. If given the chance and the resources, people in the post-bases era can craft dignified lives in proud self-reliant communities.

LIFE AFTER THE BASES

The example of communities which not only have survived but thrived after the closure of military bases in their areas provides the best evidence that life can be more meaningful when bases are converted into peaceful and productive economic enterprises. But this does not happen by chance, and requires the participation of the affected communities.

Because of the requirements of cuts in the national budget or shifts in military strategy, government itself may decide that the bases

16. Ibid., and *The Sovereign Quest*, p 48.

17. A Study on Alternative Uses of Military Baselands for Sustainable National Development, Part I, p. 29. University Center for Integrative and Development Studies, 1988.

must go. In the United States, there has been an economic adjustment program since 1961, led by the President's Economic Adjustment Committee since 1970, and includes seventeen Federal departments. After twenty years of experience involving some 94 base closures, it has summarized its findings regarding "refurbishing discarded base facilities for non-military uses" in its efforts to minimize economic dislocation.¹⁸ Its verdict: there have been more successes than failures; it can be done. "A total of 123,777 civilian jobs are now located on the former defense facilities to replace the loss of 87,703 former (Defense Department) or contractor jobs. Within this total 109,262 are new jobs, with 14,515 jobs relocated from the communities to improved facilities on the bases."¹⁹

New educational opportunities have also been provided. From former bases, new schools have arisen: eight colleges, 28 post-secondary vocational technical institutes or community colleges, and eleven high school vocational-technical programs. They service close to 90,000 students in 50 former military bases.²⁰ Furthermore, in 68 of these military facilities, industrial parks or plants have been established providing a more diversified and economically stable situation. The case of Brookley Air Force Base is illustrative. Closed in 1969 with the loss of 13,600 civilian jobs, the residents in this affected community in Mobile, Alabama, protested vehemently. Transformed into an industrial-aviation-educational complex, it has now become a "bustling subcity" and as a *New York Times* article claimed, "many leaders in this city would not have Brookley back even if the Government came begging."²¹

18. Summary of Completed Military Base Economic Adjustment Projects, p. 1. President's Economic Adjustment Committee, Office of Economic Adjustment, 1981. Recently, a Bases Closure Act has been discussed in the US Congress in keeping, it seems, with the US government's effort to save or balance the budget.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

21. Herbers, John. Cities Find Conversion of Old Military Bases A Boon to Economies. *New York Times*, April 26, 1979.

An interesting example of economic conversion shows how the issue now transcends the ideological and political divide. In a recent *Washington Post* article ("SS20 Factory Shifting to the Carriage Trade; Prams to Replace Missiles, Soviet Says,") datelined Moscow, 29 February 1988, David Remmick writes:

A union leader in the Kremlin's defense industry announced to a committee of the Supreme Soviet legislature today plans to beat the nuclear era's equivalent of swords into baby carriages. Holding aloft a photo of a lacy perambulator, Sergie Shuklin told generals and Central Committee members that the US-Soviet treaty on intermediate nuclear forces means "we are now transferring the Votkinsk machine-building plant from military

From this discussion, perhaps it is more than evident that there is no shortcut to success. People have to do their homework, and there can be no excuses and no exemptions. In the first place, both government and people must plan, must subject the plans to public scrutiny and careful analysis. A lead agency can perhaps be identified that will anchor the efforts. Secondly, resources must be husbanded and harnessed. There must be a clear inventory of what assets one has and the possibilities that lie within one's reach. Thirdly, there must be a will, both political and collective exercised, by the local and national leadership to work out a comprehensive plan within the context of a self-reliant development strategy that will take into account the objectives of a just and humane society.

Finally, the community must be mobilized and involved. Without their support and sustained efforts through "rain and high water" there simply can be no success. People whose lives will be directly affected and who will shoulder some if not much of the burden must effectively participate in making decisions and must initiate cooperative action to implement them.

It is on this note that I would like to end. People's Power is not only about toppling dictators in the Philippines or South Korea, or bringing warm bodies to the streets in protest as in Chile or Burma. People's power is also the name of the quiet work that social workers are engaged in: awakening awareness, challenging creativity, provoking alternatives, facilitating organization, mobilizing resources and people.

Ultimately, the question is not only whether there is life after the bases; but, what kind of life people live with or without the bases. And this can best be answered if the power of the people prevails in lands like ours. It may take time but in the end every people must stand proud and free, without fear, to become the authors of their own destiny.

production to peace production, to a people's economy." He said the factory in the Urals will switch from building SS20 missiles to the baby carriages.

Attitudes and Perceptions of Filipinos toward an American Naval Base: An Exploratory Study

Erlinda Eileen G. Lolarga

INTRODUCTION

The presence of US military bases in the Philippines is a hot issue these days. Ranking government officials on both the Philippine and US panels in the review of the Military Bases Agreement (MBA) held last year were at loggerheads with each other on several sensitive matters. At present, members of the Philippine Senate as well as other concerned groups are still disputing the agreement finally forged by Philippine Foreign Affairs Secretary Raul Manglapus and Secretary of State George Schultz on October 18, 1988 in Washington D.C.

Over the years, many conflicting viewpoints have been raised about the presence of US military bases in the Philippines. Coming into sharp focus today are questions not only of sovereignty and security but also the moral and cultural degradation of our people. Descriptive reports and newspaper articles have been able to share with the public some of the positive as well as the negative outcomes of US military bases presence. But most of the studies done on the bases have been political and economic in nature. The heart of the matter is that the people whose quality of life has been directly affected by the presence of these bases, have not received much attention. There are hardly any field studies that have systematically investigated the different dimensions of social impact these bases have made on the lives of people living around them.

This paper will present some of the findings of an empirical research done by the researcher in Olongapo and Subic during the period of January to May 1988. What do residents of Olongapo and its nearby towns think of US military bases? What has been the effect of these bases in their lives?

BRIEF BACKGROUND ON OLONGAPO

Olongapo City started out as a small fishing community in Zambales province. Upon the establishment of Subic Naval Base in the area, formerly non-existent rest and recreation facilities — clubs, bars, hotels, sauna baths, and massage clinics — suddenly mushroomed all over the place. The "rest and recreation" industry very soon became

the economic backbone of Olongapo, with commercialized prostitution, euphemistically called the "hospitality" trade, as one of its most popular attractions. Nearby Subic town, unlike Olongapo, though popular also for its flesh trade, has more industries to fall back on such as fishing, agricultural crops and revenue from taxes paid by a major ship repair facility located within the municipality. Reports about Olongapo show that there are 16,000 hospitality girls in the city, registered under the Office of Social Hygiene. This is roughly eight percent of the city's total population of about 200,000.

METHODOLOGY

This research explored the attitudes and perceptions of Filipino residents of Olongapo and its neighboring towns towards Subic Naval Base in particular and US military bases in general. Also investigated were related psychological variables, namely, the residents' sense of well-being, self-respect, sense of national identity, and coping reactions to the social problems generated by the presence of US bases.

With the help of local interviewers, a questionnaire was administered to a total of 421 respondents on a stratified random sampling basis. Five categories of social groups were included in the study: 189 blue collar, sales and service workers (which included tricycle and jeepney drivers, domestic helpers, policemen, ship repair technicians); 135 entertainers (which included hospitality girls, gogo dancers, waitresses, bartenders, musicians); 46 businessmen and entrepreneurs; 44 professional, technical and related workers (which included teachers, engineers, lawyers, librarians); and seven local government officials (included in the study were councilors, ex-councilors and a barangay captain). In-depth interviews with key informants representative of the five social groups were also conducted.

ATTITUDES TOWARD U.S. BASES

In the study, attitudes toward US military bases refer to one's affective, cognitive, and behavioral predispositions toward Subic Naval Base in particular, and US military bases in general. This variable also included perceived benefits and costs of the US bases; general attitudes toward the renewal of the MBA, alternatives to US bases, things that cause worry if the US bases depart; knowledge and attitudes toward the 1986 Philippine Constitutional provisions on foreign military troops; and a 12-item Likert-type questionnaire measuring attitudes toward US bases along the following dimensions: security; economic concerns; dignity; sovereignty; and social, moral, and health problems.

PERCEIVED BENEFITS

To residents of Olongapo and its neighboring towns, having Subic Naval Base nearby assures them mainly of employment plus extra income (perceived by 59% of respondents). They also perceive that US military bases provide material aid and financial support, and helps boost the national economy (20%). Moreover, they see the US bases serving as deterrents to internal and external aggression (15%). They perceive that economic benefits from the US bases help them send their children and relatives to school, improve their lifestyle in general, and should there be any calamities —such as floods, typhoons, and fires—the US Navy is usually the first to the rescue, with relief goods and advanced life-saving equipment.

PERCEIVED NEGATIVE COSTS

On the other hand, what the residents perceive as costs or disadvantages of having the US bases around are mostly social in nature. Among the foremost negative costs of having US bases nearby, according to the study's respondents, are as follows: erosion of morality and values, which go hand-in-hand with increase in social problems like prostitution, "souvenir" babies, prohibited drugs, and other vices (28%); the threat to national security when nuclear weapons enter the country and are stored in US bases (16%); widespread and highly contagious sexually transmitted diseases such as AIDS, gonorrhea, and herpes (14%); and the exposure of Filipinos to racial discrimination, low regard, sexual and physical harassments, and unjust and crude behaviors of Americans —especially drunken ones (8%).

EVALUATION OF U.S. BASES PRESENCE

Despite the perceived social costs of US military presence, a great number of the residents still evaluate them favorably. Sixty nine percent (69%) find them "beneficial to very beneficial" while only 17% rated them as "costly to very costly." As far as the renewal of the Military Bases Agreement (MBA) is concerned, a very great majority (83%) would want this to be renewed, 11% were "not sure," and only 5% outright said "no." Indeed, if the bases should go, the majority of respondents would be greatly worried about employment and poverty (59%); would see themselves becoming economically unstable (14%); and would be concerned about the threat to national security and the possibility of a communist take-over after US military bases are removed (14%). It is disturbing that about 21% of the respondents in the study perceived no social costs or disadvantages whatsoever.

PERCEIVED ALTERNATIVES TO U.S. BASES

Nearly half of the respondents did not see or were not able to mention any viable alternatives to the US bases (49%). For some, the idea of a free port, which was probably popularized by Olongapo City's Mayor Richard Gordon, is favored (22%). There are also those who seem to favor the idea of converting the US military facilities into industrial and commercial complexes (18%).

1986 PHILIPPINE CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS ON U.S. MILITARY BASES

The 1986 Philippine Constitution states that after the bases' lease expires, "foreign military bases, troops or facilities shall not be allowed" except under a Senate approved treaty. Moreover, the treaty, if Congress requires it, must be ratified by more than half of the Filipino people of voting age. But how aware are the respondents of these provisions in the 1986 Constitution? Slightly less than half of the respondents had knowledge of the provisions in the 1986 Philippine Constitution regarding foreign military bases in the country (49%). A substantial number were not aware of these provisions (34%) or were not sure of what they were (14%).

Comparing the responses of the social groups, the entertainers registered the lowest percentage of knowledge regarding the Constitutional provisions (24%), while the businessmen and entrepreneurs registered the highest percentage (74%), followed closely by local government officials (71%). Professional, technical, and related workers were not very far behind (68%) along with the blue collar, sales, and service workers (55%).

What were the reactions of the respondents toward the Constitutional provisions on foreign military bases after 1991? After ascertaining the respondents' level of knowledge about the provisions, the interviewers stated exactly what these were, and asked the respondents whether or not they agreed with these provisions. Almost two-thirds of them (64%) were agreeable to these provisions, while about 16% did not agree or strongly disagreed (see Appendices 5 and 6). A good number, in addition, were not sure at all about their views on the matter (19%). Agreement with the provisions did not vary much among the social groups, and percentages ranged from 55% (entertainers) to 72% (professional, technical, and related workers). A clear majority of the respondents apparently favored the provisions. But one wonders whether they were all fully aware of the implications of these provisions in their life. As one pro-base Olongapo businessman lamented, anti-base literature seem to dominate in the media and hardly any pro-base sentiments are heard,

except perhaps in the likes of Mayor Richard Gordon and Senator John Osmena.

The above findings give empirical support to earlier studies and media reports enumerating the costs and benefits of US military presence in the country (Gordon 1987; Jenista 1986; Magallona 1985; Moselina 1981; Paez 1985; Simbulan 1983). These findings illustrate the viewpoint of Filipinos living in the base communities. Those interviewed were well aware of the social costs of the US bases (for example, the erosion of morality and values, the increase in social and health problems, the lowering of Filipinos' dignity) but they favor the continued presence of the bases, largely because of economic considerations (Jimenez and Javier 1987).

COPING REACTIONS

How do the people in the base communities deal with the social problems generated by the presence of US bases? The study revealed that their most common coping reactions, across all of the five social groups, are praying to God to solve these problems (94%), advising their children and relatives to avoid night clubs and other sleazy spots (87%), and approaching civic and religious groups to do something about lessening these social and moral problems (82%). Among the coping behaviors they are least likely to employ are: joining rallies to denounce these problems (38%), moving away from the place (33%), and cursing (25%). Coping reactions refer to behaviors one employs to enable one to deal with stress—in this case, stress produced by encountering negative social outcomes associated with the presence of US military bases.

OTHER RELATED PSYCHOLOGICAL VARIABLES

The social groups responded mostly in a similar manner on the above-mentioned variables, hence general trends were pointed out. However, on other variables—sense of well-being, self respect, and sense of national identity—significant differences between social groups were noted in certain dimensions of these variables. In general, attitude statements were constructed to express the variables of self respect and sense of national identity. A five-point Likert-type scale with a "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree" continuum was used to measure responses to the attitude statements. The "sense of well-being" scale was devised from previously existing scales such as the "quality of life" ladder ratings of Mahar Mangahas (Ateneo-Social Weather Stations 1986) and the "feelings" scale of Bradburn and Caplovitz (Robinson & Shaver 1970).

SENSE OF WELL-BEING

Sense of well-being refers to one's general evaluation of affect and satisfaction with life. Conditions of life that are usually associated with sense of well-being are as follows: economic and educational status, family and friendships, work, place of residence, and health. A sense of well-being scale was constructed as part of the main questionnaire. It was composed of four parts measuring the following salient features of sense of well-being: satisfaction and happiness in life, level of anxiety, frequency of experiencing twelve types of positive and negative feelings during the past week; and an assessment of one's quality of life in the past (that is, five years ago), the present, and the future (that is, five years from now). Higher scores reflected higher levels of sense of well-being.

Generally, the respondents reported relatively high levels of satisfaction and happiness in life. However, it is worth noting that the entertainers consistently scored lower than the other social groups in satisfaction and happiness in life, and in assessing their quality of life at present as well as in the future. Moreover, they reported significantly higher levels of anxiety (that is, that things might get worse for themselves and their family) compared to the other social groups. Local government officials, businessmen, and entrepreneurs reported the lowest levels of anxiety (see appendices 1 and 2).

Finally, the overall emotional profile of the total group was generally positive. "Pity for people you know," which can be seen as positive, reflecting satisfaction with one's circumstances, was the most frequently experienced feeling of the previous week (82% experienced it more than once); followed by pleasure with having accomplished something (80% experienced it more than once); "optimistic about the future" (79% experienced it more than once); and "a yearning for change" (77% experienced it more than once). The social groups when compared followed the total group trends closely in regard to the emotional profile.

SELF RESPECT

Self respect refers to one's sense of self esteem, the extent to which one respects one's self, feels one's self to be a person of worth, and one's good opinion of one's self. A ten-item Likert-type self respect scale was constructed as part of the main questionnaire, with higher scores reflecting higher self respect.

Dimensions of self respect included in the scale in which the entertainers scored significantly lower than the other social groups are as follows: the dimension of competence and efficacy (that is, having

own principles; knowing what to do in most situations; feeling of worth as a person); the morality dimension expressed by the statement "I can say that I am a person of good moral character"; the parents' regard dimension expressed by the statement "I believe that my parents can be truly proud of me"; and the community's regard dimension expressed and negatively phrased by the statement "I cannot be considered a model citizen in my community." It is interesting to note that on the item "I can say that I am a person of good moral character" the scores of local government officials were not significantly different from those of the entertainers.

SENSE OF NATIONAL IDENTITY

"Sense of national identity" refers to one's consciousness of one's national origins; one's affective, cognitive and behavioral interactions with the society in which one lives; one's patriotism; one's cultural context; and one's feeling of unity and solidarity with the people in this society. A ten-item Likert-type "sense of national identity" scale was constructed as part of the main questionnaire, with higher scores reflecting a higher sense of national identity.

It is worth pointing out that on the dimension of patriotism, the entertainers again scored significantly lower than the other groups—they tended to prefer goods from other countries more, and they had a stronger preference for living in another country like the US. In addition, the entertainers as well as the businessmen and entrepreneurs found it more difficult to be proud of being Filipino to foreigners. On the other hand, local government officials and the professional, technical, and related workers were not significantly different from entertainers in their view that sharing the country's natural resources with foreigners will help development. In terms of the dimension of solidarity, the entertainers again were significantly different from the other groups in expressing a greater need to go abroad for a better life. Thus, visions of Olongapo—the "great American dream . . ."

DISCUSSION

These findings suggest that the continued presence of US bases have had serious consequences on the psychological growth and well-being of the entertainers, which comprise a substantial number of those residing in base communities such as Olongapo and its nearby towns. The continued presence of US bases would certainly perpetuate their condition unless radical changes are made to wean them away from dependence on an economy molded by the needs of the bases and US servicemen (Go and Bansuelo 1987; Moselina 1981;

Stoltzfus 1988). It is ironic that those who actually provide US servicemen the most sought-after "services" would themselves feel very much deprived not only economically, but apparently psychologically and morally as well. Moreover, their sense of national identity may have been seriously impaired as a result of their "over exposure" to Western culture and "values" (flashy nightclubs and bars; free-spending US servicemen looking for fun, booze, and sex; and PX goods galore).

It is obvious that American military presence in the Philippines has exerted a major influence in the lives of Filipinos, especially those who live in the base communities. On the whole, residents of Olongapo and its nearby towns regard their presence positively, primarily because of economic reasons. Considering the economic crisis the country is now facing, it is understandable and expected of them to desire the retention of US military bases. Economic survival is so important that they disregard or avoid facing the reality of dangers posed by nuclear weapons in the bases; sex for sale, drug abuse and other vices at one's doorstep; and being treated rudely by Americans from the US bases.

RECOMMENDATIONS

What is our responsibility as citizens of countries seriously affected by the presence of US military bases? For how long can we ignore the social costs of these bases? How long can we allow this assault on human dignity to continue? Do we let injustices continue because we cannot adequately provide economic alternatives to our own people? The Filipino experience with US military bases is surely quite similar in many ways to the experience of those living in the islands of Micronesia.

The very least we could do is to pressure our policy-makers to look seriously into the conditions of the people residing in the base communities, and to support moves to formulate viable conversion plans for the US bases. It would be useful to determine from the people in the base communities themselves what changes can be done to improve their economic as well as their psychological well-being. US military bases in the Philippines will not exist forever. Definite measures must be undertaken to come up with concrete alternatives to the unstable economy provided by the US bases—regardless of whether their stay in the Asia-Pacific region will be extended or not. The quality of life of people in Micronesia, and in the Philippines as well, is at stake.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study was made possible by a research grant from the Ateneo Center for Social Policy & Public Affairs (November 1987 to May 1988).

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APPENDIX 1

SENSE OF WELL BEING AND QUALITY OF LIFE

abbreviations used:

LG -- local government officials
 BE -- businessmen and entrepreneurs
 PT -- professional, technical, and related workers
 ET -- entertainers
 BS -- blue collar, sales, and service workers

 SENSE OF WELL BEING: QUALITY OF LIFE
 (11-point scale)

	LG	BE	PT	ET	BS
Past	7.3	5.9	5.2	4.8	4.1
	LG	BE	PT	BS	ET
Present	8.0	7.0	6.8	5.9	5.6
	LG	BE	PT	BS	ET
Future	9.3	8.3	8.2	7.6	7.2

TOTAL GROUP

past..... 5.6
 present..... 7.9
 future..... 8.1

APPENDIX 2

SENSE OF WELL-BEING

satisfaction with life (3-point scale)

LG	BE	PT	BS	ET
2.7	2.5	2.4	2.3	2.2

happiness in life (5-point scale)

LG	PT	BE	BS	ET
4.0	3.7	3.7	3.7	3.6

level of anxiety (10-point scale)

LG	BE	BS	PT	ET
6.7	5.1	4.3	4.2	3.2

APPENDIX 3

SELF RESPECT

COMPETENCE AND EFFICACY

1. I have my own principles.

LG	PT	BE	BS	ET
(4.9)	(4.7)	(4.6)	(4.6)	(4.1)

2. In most situations I know what I am capable of doing.

LG	BE	BS	PT	ET
(4.7)	(4.3)	(4.1)	(4.1)	(3.9)

3. I do not feel that I am a person of worth.

LG	PT	BS	BE	ET
(4.9)	(4.3)	(4.2)	(4.1)	(3.8)

MORALITY

4. I can say I am a person of good moral character.

BS	PT	BE	LG	ET
(4.4)	(4.4)	(4.3)	(4.1)	(3.9)

PARENTS' REGARD

5. I believe that my parents can be truly proud of me.

LG	PT	BE	BS	ET
(4.9)	(4.6)	(4.5)	(4.5)	(3.8)

APPENDIX 4

SENSE OF NATIONAL IDENTITY

PATRIOTISM

1. I prefer products of other countries.

LG	BS	BE	PT	ET
(3.7)	(3.2)	(3.1)	(3.0)	(2.3)

2. I prefer to live in another country like America than here in the Philippines.

LG	BE	BS	PT	ET
(3.4)	(3.4)	(3.1)	(3.0)	(2.4)

3. We must share our natural resources with foreigners so that the Philippines will develop.

BE	BS	PT	LG	ET
(4.0)	(3.8)	(3.6)	(3.6)	(3.1)

4. It is difficult to be proud that I am a Filipino to foreigners.

LG	PT	BS	BE	ET
(4.9)	(4.4)	(4.2)	(4.0)	(3.7)

SOLIDARITY

5. I need to go abroad for a better life.

LG	PT	BE	BS	ET
(3.3)	(3.1)	(3.1)	(2.9)	(2.4)

COMMUNITY'S REGARD

6. I cannot be considered a model citizen in my community.

LG	PT	BE	BS	ET
(4.7)	(4.5)	(4.1)	(4.0)	(3.6)

APPENDIX 5

KNOWLEDGE OF PROVISIONS IN 1986 PHILIPPINE
CONSTITUTION ON U.S. MILITARY BASES AFTER 1991

	Responses (%)			
	Yes	No	Not Sure	Total N
Businessmen and entrepreneurs	74	15	11	46
Local government officials	71	0	29	7
Professional, technical, and related workers	68	14	18	44
Blue collar, sales, and service workers	55	25	16	189
Entertainers	24	59	12	135
T O T A L	49	34	14	421

Note: "Don't know" or no response accounts for the difference between the sum of responses shown and 100%.

APPENDIX 6

PERCENTAGE OF AGREEMENT ON PROVISIONS OF
1986 PHILIPPINE CONSTITUTION ON U.S. MILITARY
BASES AFTER 1991

	Responses (%)			
	Agree	Not Sure	Dis- agree	Total N
Professional, tech- nical, and related workers	72	18	7	44
Local government officials	71	14	14	7
Businessmen and Entrepreneurs	70	20	11	46
Blue collar, sales, and service workers	67	18	14	189
Entertainers	55	19	24	135
T O T A L	64	19	16	421

Note: "Don't know" or no response accounts for the difference between the sum of responses shown and 100%.

The Micronesian Cadastrophy: The Role of Land in the Subversion of Indigenous People

Greg Miles

PRE-WESTERN CONCEPTS OF LAND TENURE IN MICRONESIA

Prior to the changes wrought by colonial influences, land rights in Micronesia were basically of two types: clan communalism and feudalism. In clan communalism, rights to land use are defined by clan membership. Micronesian clans are mostly matrilineal; a person has rights to one's mother's clan's lands. Salient characteristics of this system are that lands are not for the exclusive use of any individual, and that land rights cannot normally be alienated except when a lineage dies out.

As outlined by John Toribiong in 1972, the clan communal system of ownership has several advantages:

- With no landlord-tenant relationship, there is an absence of oppressive problems concerning tenancy.
- Joint responsibility for the land generates cooperation among clan members.
- Since land rights don't derive from acquired wealth or economic ability, the land serves a welfare or social security function, providing a place where clan members can have housing and gardening regardless of their other wealth.
- Future generations are assured of similar security.
- Access to natural resources is equalized within the clan.
- Fragmentation of land is minimized, as are opportunities for boundary disputes.

Some islands, such as the Marshalls, had hierarchical systems that might be viewed as intermediate between simple communal ownership and feudalism. In these, land rights were held communally by clans, but superior rights were held by chiefs, above whom could be a high chief or chiefs. Although technically the chiefs' rights were superior, exercising those rights would leave the land with no source of labor, and the chiefs with no source of tribute.

In feudal systems, such as in Guam and Pohnpei, the commoners were landless, and worked lands belonging to the royalty and nobility of the elite class. Whether land tenure was communal, feudal, or an intermediate system, inheritance of rights was almost always matrilineal. A major exception was Yap, where clan membership was

matrilineal but land rights were patrilineal and shallow, with few claimants. I've been told by a Yapese that in Yap, these rights follow alternate generations—one has rights to one's father's father's lands, and carries the father's father's name, so that any family has four sets of lands associated with it. Also, in Belau, land rights follow the matrilineal clan, but a child may join its father's clan and gain associated rights.

LAND AS A DETERMINANT OF SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Patterns of land tenure influence the social, economic and political structure of pre-monetary societies. In contemporary society, derivative forms of wealth, such as cash, corporate stock, certificates of deposit, gold, jewels and other forms of accumulation can become more valued than land ownership. I call these forms "derivative" because they virtually all are ultimately traceable to control of the resources of the land, or in some cases, the sea. In pre-monetary societies, wealth is more directly tied to land tenure—even reef areas were and are subject to tenure rights. Of course, the the distribution of open sea resources remained relatively egalitarian, but even in this realm, there sometimes may have been controls on who could use what type of craft or fishing technique, or who could eat or distribute certain kinds of catch.

We can look at the differences between clan communalism and Western-style tenure along several social, economic and political dimensions. I would suggest that communal ownership is associated with a more cooperative society, and Western tenure is associated with a more competitive society. In communal systems, people are self-employed and don't work so that others can become wealthy. The contemporary Saipanese-Carolinian (Refaluash) word for work is *tarabwahu*, which derives from the Spanish *travajo*, from the same roots as the English words "travail" and "travel." Before contact with the Spanish, the Refaluash had no work because they had no word or concept for it; they might fish or garden or repair a canoe, but they never "worked"—what a nice thought!

Also in the social realm, disputes in communal societies tended to be settled by discussion and consensus, resulting in win-win resolutions. The Western approach is litigation, which results in what

* Although the concept of 'work' may have changed when Micronesians worked for colonial rulers rather than on their own land, there is an indigenous and common term, *yengaang*, in the Carolinian language, that corresponds very closely to the English "work" --[Eds.]

I call win-lose-win-win; one party wins, one loses, and two attorneys win.

In communal systems of land tenure, resources are more evenly and equitably distributed, and are more carefully conserved and protected and nurtured. In Western systems, on the other hand, resources are more unevenly distributed, resulting in disparate social problems—poverty, starvation, and homelessness at one extreme; and yuppies, the Jet Set and the super rich at the other. The Western system also seems to generate disrespect for the land and its resources, since they are seen not as wealth and sustenance and livelihood in themselves, but only as a means to an end, to be squeezed for maximum profit and then abandoned for greener fields. Some political characteristics of communal ownership include greater consensus in decision making, a closeness or tightness of the decision process, and group welfare as the prime criterion of decision making. Western systems of tenure seem to result in a more plutocratic or autocratic and distant process where the prime criterion too frequently is to satisfy special interests. The integral relation of land to cultural identity is especially evident in the Carolinian heritage—they call themselves "Refaluash," which means "The People of Our Lands."

SPANISH, GERMAN, JAPANESE AND MISSIONARY INFLUENCES

The rise of European colonialism was likely the result of technological improvements in the sciences of time keeping, navigation and ship building, which allowed sizable vessels to travel globally and to accurately and reliably determine their positions. Gaining land by waging war against one's neighbors was difficult, costly and risky, but in comparison, colonizing people who were technologically less advanced and who were essentially defenseless against Western weaponry was quick, easy, cheap, and entailed little risk of losing one's own sovereignty back home.

The advent of colonialism brought big changes to Micronesia, slowly at first, but inevitably. At first, the Spanish seemed to view Guam as primarily a food and fueling station, but the arrival of missionaries, intent on saving the heathens, initiated stupendous changes—during the subsequent hundred years, the aboriginal population was literally decimated by war, disease, social disruptions, etc. The Spanish made political changes in Chamorro society by appointing native officials without regard to their traditional status of authority, so commoners came to hold power over noblemen and the elite. This disrupted land-holding patterns. The Spanish also eventually confiscated the feudal lands and distributed them to commoners. They displaced the populations of the Marianas north of

Guam, and took all their lands as crown possessions, as well as excess lands in Guam. They ended matrilineal inheritance and gave rights patrilineally to individuals and nuclear families, imposing the Spanish custom of *partido*, or oral testament of will regarding desired land distribution upon death. Also, since rank and status were no longer inherited, *champada* or competition for rank and status, became a salient feature of the new Chamorro culture. Later, as resettlement of the Northern islands occurred, parcels of land were granted to families to provide for their subsistence needs.

In 1893, Spain published "Laws Concerning Lease of Land in Overseas Provinces," which provided for issuance of land title if ownership could be proved. The Spanish period virtually eliminated the traditional system of land tenure in the Marianas, but had no significant impact in the Caroline Islands—what is now the FSM and Belau—or the Marshalls.

The Germans claimed the Marshalls in 1885, and purchased the Carolines and Northern Marianas from Spain in 1898, at the same time that the US took Guam. Their general policy was that all land was to be put to suitable economic use and that lands not in use be acquired by the government for development by others. In the Marianas, they recognized land titles issued by Spain, but took as German those lands for which there was no title. They prohibited foreign ownership of land, but gave 99-year leases to German colonials. Their development of the copra trade encouraged natives to seek private title to lands so as to individually reap the profits generated. Land titles were given only to men; this is a stunning example of conflict in world views—Earth the Mother versus God the Father.

The German's biggest impact was in Pohnpei, where in seven years they reorganized the system of inheritance, eliminating matrilineal inheritance and the feudal system of tenure, and introduced primogeniture and private, individual ownership of lands. They were aided in their efforts by social divisions between Protestants and Catholics, and by a Pohnpeian who apparently hoped to establish himself as a land baron through the reforms. The Germans had issued about 1100 land deeds in Pohnpei by the time World War II began.

The Japanese seized Micronesia in 1914. They recognized prior titles and also the German land acquisitions, but reestablished the rights of women to own land. They also purchased or leased additional lands for governmental use. They classified private-sector lands as either privately or communally held, and as native or non-native. Government lands were classed as public use, government use, forests, or miscellaneous. Only the miscellaneous class of land

could be leased or sold. Foreign ownership of land was allowed from 1931 onward.

Missionary influences disrupted political and tenure systems in many places; beyond the Marianas, the most noticeable impact was in Kosrae, where royal titles and authority were weakened by the new teachings.

THE AMERICAN CADASTRAL SURVEY AND ITS AFTERMATH

The Spanish did no real land-boundary surveys in Micronesia. The Germans began a survey in Pohnpei, but did not finish it. The Japanese completed a survey of government lands and non-native lands, and began a survey of native lands. After World War II, when the Americans began their administration of the Trust Territory (TT) islands, they took for the TT all land rights acquired by the Spanish, German and Japanese governments and invalidated transfers of land from the public domain to Japanese corporations or nationals, and confirmed prior titles with minor changes here or there. For example, in Pohnpei, they allowed conveyance of title with or without the concurrence of the Nahnmwarki. They soon found, though, that they had a big mess on their hands—records and boundary markers were lost or destroyed; lands had been confiscated by the military, and some of these were no longer usable for agriculture; etc. There were many conflicts and disputes over land ownership.

In 1966, the Congress of Micronesia called for a cadastral survey to determine land boundaries and titles in all of Micronesia. The eight-year survey began in 1970. Land commissions are still settling some disputes, but the work of assigning title is essentially done.

Cash is very seductive, because its value is more immediately obvious than the superior value of land. As a consequence, as people have fought for and continue to fight for control of the land, families have been divided—sibling against sibling and generation against generation. Poor, ignorant people, unfamiliar with money and its management, continue to sell or lease their lands at ridiculously low prices to sophisticated and unscrupulous investors. Even public parks and schools and low-cost housing areas are being sold off by the government. Attorneys, speculators and investors are getting rich. Natives are leaving their ancestral homes and moving into subsidized Housing Authority ghettos where they live on food stamps and are forbidden to grow crops or to raise livestock or poultry or to landscape. Get a man drunk or let him run up a bill at your store, and you may get his land cheap. If the children are lucky, they someday may become waitresses or busboys or security guards. If they're lucky. In the CNMI, powerful outside interests are now battling in the courts

for the right to own indigenous lands directly or through legal loopholes, and with their millions, have successfully influenced politicians and officials to see things their way.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT—EUPHEMISM FOR RIP-OFF?

The changes which have occurred in land tenure patterns have been no accident. The colonial ethic was that land, goods and people could be bought and sold. The capitalist ethic is that there should be no limit on the free trade of lands and goods, and hence the market ethic takes precedence over preservation of traditional cultural values. The Western colonial view has been that established cultures are "adverse and regressive influences" in the development of a nation. The history of North and South America, Australia, New Zealand, Polynesia, Micronesia, Melanesia, Africa, and a lot of other places in the world, is the history of the over-running and displacement and often the extermination of indigenous peoples and cultures by Europeans and their successors. What subversion wasn't done earlier is now accomplished through TV and video movies—Clint Eastwood, John Wayne, Rambo, Dallas and Donald Trump are the ultimate expressions of cultural ideals.

The Nathan Report, "An Economic Development Plan for Micronesia" (1966), states, "One of the impediments to agricultural expansion arises from the existing patterns of land tenure—the system of undefined ownership by extended families and clans, with use rights by many, discourages investment in land improvement . . . land reform is the only ultimate solution." We hear this term, "economic development", used so freely, to excuse so many things. I think we must ask, economic development for whose benefit? It seems it is almost always to the benefit of outside exploiters (or Westernized acquisitive natives), with only a few crumbs from the banquet tossed to the majority of local people.

Spanish activities in Micronesia were for the benefit of Spanish economic and military interests, and resulted in forced labor, death and destruction for local peoples and their cultures. German activities were for the benefit of German trading and copra and phosphate and military interests, and resulted in forced labor, death and destruction for local peoples and their cultures. Japanese activities were for the benefit of Japanese trading and copra and agricultural and phosphate companies and Japanese military interests, and resulted in forced labor, death and destruction for local peoples and their cultures. American activities have been for the benefit of American economic and military interests, and have resulted in the death and destruction of local peoples and their cultures, and may yet

result in even more death and destruction for Micronesian peoples.

A Japanese, Tadao Yanaihara, writing in 1940, observed, "The islanders own little valuable property other than land." He stated:

The transfer of land to private-owned estates . . . was initiated by persistent demand of foreign capitalists through the mediation of government authority. In the German period the transfer of land to persons other than natives was prohibited by the government, apparently with the object of protecting the islanders from being deprived of their land by foreigners. But the government itself freely purchased the land owned by islanders, practically monopolizing the powers of selling or leasing the lands to capitalists at its own discretion and making this a means of acquiring land as well as of increasing its revenue. In leasing land on the isolated islets of Yap to the West Caroline Company for coconut cultivation, and in selling the mining rights on Angaur to the German South Sea Phosphate Company, the government bought the land on the islands mentioned at the expense of the respective companies and leased the land to them for a certain term of years. To the companies concerned, this was a convenient method of acquiring land at a cheap price without the troubles attendant upon direct negotiations with the islanders, and it also avoided competitive bids by rival companies, while the Government found the arrangement most satisfactory from its own point of view since it ensured importation of capital and exploitation of land as well as increase of financial revenue. Ostensibly, the regulation was to protect the islanders, but its real purpose was to control and utilize the land through an intermediary agency.

Yanaihara further warned,

. . . if it is not accompanied by an increase in the productive power of the islanders, the creation of private proprietorship of land would have the effect of depriving some of the islanders of their livelihood, as they would have lost their right to utilize land.

Is this "economic development", or something more sinister, perhaps called rip-off or exploitation? After reading my prejudices, one may dispute my facts and conclusions, but hopefully readers will at least take a second look at their own prejudices and stereotypical thinking. Quoting Walter Lippman in *Men of Destiny*,

Although we are all endowed with eyes, few of us see very well. We see what we are accustomed to see, and what we are told to see. To the rest of what is about us we are largely anesthetic, for we live in a kind of hazy dream bent on our purposes. For the apprehension of the external world, and of that larger environment which is invisible, we are almost helpless until we are supplied with patterns of seeing which enable us to fix objects clearly amidst the illegible confusion of experience. When we find a pattern that works well, in that it allows us to feel that we have made a large area of reality our own, we are grateful, and we use that pattern until it is threadbare. For to invent new patterns requires more genius than most of us have, and to deal with life freshly in all its variety is much too much trouble for preoccupied men.

Dr. Souder's paper proposes, "He who holds the purse string rules the roost." I think that, in reality, the converse is true. Put in a Micronesian context, "She who rules the roost will hold the purse strings."

History of American Education on Guam, the Impact of Military Presence and its Level of Financial Support, and the Effort We are Exerting to Improve Education on Guam

Senator Franklin J. A. Quitugua

As I was preparing for this presentation, I began to recall the past, which immediately brought back vivid memories of the simple and idyllic life we once had on Guam. I often wonder what it would be like if we had retained that simple lifestyle. It would be one without complications and without worries or problems. Everything would take care of itself. And today's conference would not be needed. We wouldn't be here discussing specific issues and problems affecting our people. We wouldn't need professional people, social workers, educators, specialists, politicians, and so forth.

The point I am trying to make here leads up to this year's conference theme: "Uncle Sam in Micronesia: Social Benefits, Social Costs." Change is ongoing in every aspect of our society, both positive and negative. One could argue that we as a people chose to bring about these changes or that it is the price we pay for being part of the United States family. For whatever reason, we are developing our island's economy to provide a wide range of opportunities and a higher standard of living for all our people to enjoy. But with this choice, we are caught in the throes of accelerated economic and social development which has created serious problems for our educational system.

As social workers, you are familiar with the multitude of problems affecting our youth and families. You have had to provide counseling, direct intervention, training, rehabilitation, emotional support, love, friendship and care to youths who did not succeed in our educational system, who didn't cut it, and now are dependent on the government for welfare and social services. You, too, are concerned about the quality of the educational service that our young people are receiving. A poor education will produce youths who will not be ready to take on the responsibilities of adult life, placing a high demand on social services and assistance programs. A good education provides opportunities and goes a long way toward prevention of social problems.

In my talk today, I will discuss the history of American education on Guam, the impact of the military presence and its level of financial support, and the effort we are exerting to improve education on Guam.

Public education is mandatory for all children aged five through sixteen years old. The Department of Education is tasked with the responsibility of educating some 26,000 students. The local government provides financial support to the entire school district which is made up of 24 elementary, six middle and five high schools. The 1989 educational budget totals some \$80 million with an additional \$10.1 million from the Department of Defense contract, giving DOE a total operating budget of \$90.1 million. In 1988, it cost the taxpayers of Guam \$3,399 to educate each child in our public schools.

Our educational system is tailored after US public schools, and embodies the fundamental principles of American education and society. Despite the diverse student population, the curriculum, subject matter and achievement goals of American school systems have been imported and are the basis for our local DOE. The student population is comprised of Chamorros (Guamanians), Filipinos, Caucasians, Micronesians, Japanese, Korean and Chinese, as well as military dependent students. These students bring into the classroom their diverse cultural, linguistic and socio-economic backgrounds. Scholastic achievement of students is also periodically assessed by means of the standardized tests, called the Science Research Associates (SRA). Although the scores continue to improve each year, students are behind their mainland counterparts by at least two grades. The reasons for the low scholastic achievement of our students are varied and complex.

Education is a dear issue, one that I take to heart. I have devoted my entire life to education. I have been involved in the education system for over 37 years, first as a student, then teacher, administrator, Director of Education and now Chairperson of the Legislative Committee on Education. I have seen many gains and losses within our public school system, but for the most part, we have made significant strides in providing quality education for all of our children.

Let me briefly recap the history of education. American public education was introduced to Guam shortly after the United States Navy took control of the island following the Spanish American War of 1898. At that time the native population spoke no English, and about 46% were literate in the use of Spanish. The Spanish schools were aimed primarily at maintaining the Roman Catholic faith and teaching the rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic. In the beginning, education under the American flag was restricted in many ways. The Director of Education was a high ranking Navy officer, and only limited funds were available to maintain the school program. A separate American school system was established for the children of

American personnel on duty in Guam. The justification offered by then-Governor Bradley was that the American children were expected to return to the United States where conditions of existence were much more difficult and where a higher degree of theoretical education was essential.

The schools for Chamorro students included industrial education where boys were taught farming, carpentry, weaving, and copra making; and girls studied lace making, sewing, cooking and weaving. Boys and girls living in the outlying villages joined clubs to learn more about farm life and better farm practices. The earliest teachers were local Chamorros who could speak some English, and non-commissioned Marine officers who had no special training in education. Buildings were generally thatched huts and the textbooks were based on the California school curriculum, a culture foreign to the local population.

Through the years, until World War II, the Naval Governor appointed Protestant chaplains to head the educational system of a Catholic population. They usually served an average of eighteen months' duty. These administrators were assisted by local people who understood the educational needs and concerns of the population. However, they lacked formal professional educational training. World War II and the occupation of Guam by Japanese forces brought about a complete cessation of the use of the English language. Education consisted mainly of simple arithmetic, farming and the Japanese language. In 1944, upon the liberation of Guam, some 5,000 children attended school. While the island began to rebuild from a war that devastated every building, classes were held in tents and other temporary rooms. The people began to rebuild Guam, including schools which were to meet the growing student population.

In the postwar years, parents had a strong desire to keep their children in school for a longer time. In the past, parents had often kept their children, especially the girls, at home once they reached age of twelve, the compulsory school age limit. The higher enrollment also reflected the change in admission policy of the Navy, which gave every child an opportunity to attend school. With this growing enrollment, the education budget was also on the rise. Educational instruction was without cost to the pupil. Funding was provided by a limited federal government budget, and the Naval government of Guam. Then in August 1950, the President of the United States signed into law H.R. 7273, the Organic Act of Guam, creating a civil government and granting the people of Guam both American citizenship and a bill of rights based on the US Constitution. The First Legislature enacted an education code similar to that of

California. Since then, the education budget has been appropriated by the Legislature.

As always, education has ranked high in the priorities of our government. In the early years, expenditures for schools and educational matters constituted the largest single item of the government and that still holds true today. The conditions of the schools are closely tied to the economy and reflect the good and bad times of our government.

IMPACT OF THE U.S. MILITARY AND ITS FINANCIAL SUPPORT

Most of you know that Guam's economy is primarily dependent upon the activities of the military services. The military has been pretty much the deciding force of our economic progress. The federal government, namely the Department of Defense, currently owns one-third of all property on island. Federal operations are located throughout 19 separate federal facilities. The properties acquired are among the best on the island. These holdings have limited private industrial development, agriculture, and tourism. "National security" made Guam a well-kept secret until 1962 when President Kennedy lifted the security clearance requirement, which had effectively kept strangers from entering Guam. This policy even affected returning residents. I, myself, was delayed in my return trip home in 1956 after four years of college because I had to wait for my passport to be renewed by the Justice Department.

Guam's civilian government, especially through the services of the Department of Education, has subsidized the presence and policies of the US federal government and the Department of Defense. The Department of Education is responsible for educating every child on Guam, both military and civilian. A recent DOE management audit study showed that it now costs the Government of Guam \$3,399 to educate each student. Through the years, about 40% of the total operational budget of the territory has gone for education.

The United States Congress established Impact Aid in 1950 to remunerate local jurisdictions for the loss of potential revenue as a result of the federal activities in the school district. In Guam, this well-intentioned program never came close to meeting the costs which GovGuam incurred in educating federally connected students. The amount of federal support through impact aid funds for each military or civil service child is \$144.87 per year.

Guam has participated in this program since 1958 and through the years its full entitlement has totalled approximately \$86 million. However, only \$59.5 million has been received to date. From this figure, you can see that a substantial amount of the cost of educating

these military connected students has been subsidized by our local government, despite the federal programs designed to assist us. In this connection, about 95% of the military and civil service dependents are living within military reservations and are not paying real estate or sales taxes.

Through the years, I have led the fight at the Legislature to get the federal government to recognize that they have a responsibility to our people and to request Congress to appropriate some \$27 million to the Government of Guam for past obligations of underfunding of the Impact Aid Program. I have continued to push Congress to investigate federal land restrictions on one-third of our island which continue to impede private sector development. Special consideration and financial assistance should be provided equal to the amount of potential revenue that could have been generated.

I don't deny that the federal government spends federal dollars here. Often we hear federal authorities say that Guam receives more federal dollars per capita than any other US jurisdiction. These are funds and grants for programs which are made to all states and territories. While Guam citizens have a much lower per capita income than the US average, we have for decades spent local dollars educating transient, federally-connected students. Underfunding of reimbursement programs has served to impoverish the school system and cause it to be criticized by those it serves, especially the military establishment. Finally in 1988, the Department of Defense entered into a contract with the Guam DOE which has infused nearly \$16 million into the Guam school system so far while requiring certain quality assurances from it.

The relationship between Guam's civilian and military authorities and institutions has been a mutually dependent liaison. The Department of Defense has increasingly relied on public services provided by the civilian government, yet has been critical of the quality of these same services. The Government of Guam has relied on financial support from the federal government for capital improvements and program support, particularly when the costs are incurred in response to Department of Defense and federal policies.

Underfunding of the costs associated with educating federally-connected students in Guam public schools has led to an "underdeveloped" educational system. Local monies that could have been spent on a massive remedial and compensatory program and infrastructure needs, on a system of superior education, have instead been required for the basic educational support of transient students whose future is not destined to benefit our island. As I mentioned earlier, the Department of Defense was finally called upon to recognize its responsibility to adequately reimburse the Government

of Guam for the cost of instructing military dependents. About \$16 million has been infused into the Guam school system in the two-year existence of the DOD-DOE contract. This is an obvious improvement, a "benefit", which we would not have received unless we had raised the issue of real costs incurred by our local government.

DOE has begun to recruit and hire fully certified teachers from the mainland to fill their classroom needs. Additional teacher aides are now funded and personnel are being hired to fill these positions for the remedial program of "LAMP" and the gifted and talented "Gate" program. Staff development training for teachers and personnel to raise their performance and competency level is on going. Computer laboratories for instructional purposes have been set up in various schools and plans to purchase more computer labs for other schools are being finalized. Some \$6 million have been earmarked for the much needed maintenance and repair of all school buildings. Even playground equipment is being purchased by DOD funds. In addition to this infusion of money, the Government continues to commit 40% of its resources to education.

With the additional money from DOD, DOE can begin to seriously tackle the problems that have been put on hold for the lack of resources. DOE can now begin to look at how they can improve the entire school system to meet the needs of the students, specifically in the areas of student performance in language, math, and science skills, with the ultimate goal to raise the SRA scores.

Another area of alarming concern that I would like to briefly discuss is the serious dropout problem that is plaguing our youths and our community. I am especially concerned, in light of the fact that our Chamorro-Guamanian students make up the highest percentage of the dropout population. I am bothered by this because, quite honestly, my feeling is that our school system is here to educate our local people to become contributing members of our community. Ms. Hope A. Cristobal and Dr. Manuel Bartonico recently shared their studies about the dropout problem during the Legislature's Committee on Education Roundtable discussion. Their findings indicate that the percentage of Chamorro students who dropout is as high as 73%. This statistic gives me the shivers. We have reached a critical point that can no longer be ignored. I have called upon DOE and the community to begin to rectify the problem. We are fortunate to have various professionals like Dr. Bartonico and Mrs. Cristobal who have thoroughly researched and analyzed the problem and have offered their findings. We need to look for ways to meet the needs of the students who find that the school and its curriculum is "culturally irrelevant or in conflict with their values."

EFFORTS WE ARE EXERTING TO IMPROVE EDUCATION IN GUAM

Our educational system reached a milestone when the Department of Defense formally contracted DOE to provide public education services for DOD dependents residing on US installations in Guam. By their financial support, DOD is now a committed partner with the Government of Guam. Some of our community leaders and educators expressed concern that by negotiating such a contract, our local DOE would lose control of the system. If you look at it from the perspective of having to measure up to the contract requirements and of being accountable for delivering the services required of DOE, it could be interpreted that we are no longer in control. However, these are measures of accountability which were developed through negotiations and which will benefit all school children, civilian and military, permanent and transient.

We have given DOE the responsibility to provide education. We expect DOE to provide academic knowledge, intellectual growth and vocational skills to our students. DOE must be accountable, must deliver what is expected of them. But who is this DOE? It is all of us—we have stock and shares in this largest government department and we can influence its processes.

Education is a long-term investment in the future of our community. This is where we can make significant changes to better our world and our people!

The Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Movement: An Overview

Desmond Samuelu

The purpose of the presentation is two-fold—first, to provide a brief overview of the contemporary Pacific, and second, to describe the NFIP movement and its role in the international quest for global nuclear disarmament.

To the industrialized world, the Pacific Islands and the Islanders may seem irrelevant and far removed from the activities and controversies related to the nuclear industry. I propose here that the Pacific Islands and the Islanders have had a more direct and negative experience with nuclear power and nuclear arms than any other region of the world. In order to understand why this is so, it is necessary to view the contemporary Pacific within its historical context. By doing so I will show that the proliferation of nuclear energy, nuclear waste and nuclear arms in the Pacific is archetypical of the worst aspect of colonialism, and that is the imposition of the will of the strong on the weak.

The history of the Pacific is the history of colonization and marginalization of the majority of the indigenous populations. I emphasize here that the process of marginalization is an ongoing one, and is evident in all spheres of life in any country irrespective of whether it is still a colony or has gained its political independence of the Pacific. The colonization of the Pacific began when the islanders discovered the James Cooks and Abel Tasmans floating around aimlessly in the Pacific Ocean. Then they welcomed the itinerant whalers, the blackbirders and the sandalwood traders. And then came the permanent settlers and the missionaries. Through the combined urging of these two latter groups came institutionalized governments. (For some unfortunate islands like Palau, it was a succession of institutionalized governments: the Spaniards, the Germans, the Japanese, and now the Americans.) With the institutionalized governments came the regimented outcasts of European society and the drafts of semi-slave indentured laborers from other outposts of European civilization such as India. The "government" of course came with all the paraphernalia and trappings of "democracy" such as the regimented soldier, the gunships and above all the zeal to "civilize" the savages. The poor "savage" population were in a no-win situation, because throughout this epoch they were decimated by numerous and well documented epidemics in Fiji, Samoa and Aotearoa. And those

that survived these epidemics had to tolerate the sponging beachcombers, the "been-there-done-that" tourists and the scrutiny of the likes of Margaret Mead and Bronislaw Malinowski.

Irrespective of the brand of colonialism — be it British, American, Australian, Dutch, French, German, Japanese — the means and the ends are the same. The ends are the creation of empires of satellite states in which the metropolitan powers have monopolies on all commercial activity, capital investment and profits. The means is the synchronization of all coercive powers of the Government, the Church, the transnational corporations, the media and the Uncle Toms. In the process the island-satellites are transformed from subsistence and self-sufficient economies to dependent enclaves of sugar, coconut or banana plantation — and now mining communities and tax-free and strike-free manufacture zones.

The engineered shift in the modes of production from subsistence to capitalist means that the "Islander" becomes increasingly dependent on cash crops and wage employment for a living. Perhaps the most drastic and long lasting impact of this shift in the mode of production is the alienation of the *tangata whenua / taukei / kanaki maoli / kainanga-e-fonua* from their land. In Pacific island societies where "man" and "land" are one and the same concept, this forced estrangement means the loss of identity, the loss of purpose and above all the loss of *mana*.

The immediate effects of this loss is the transformation of the traditional structure of indigenous communities, inevitably leading the people towards reliance on handouts and leftovers. Parallel to this transformation, the majority of the indigenous population are denied any form of participation in the colonial political process. The advent of democratic government in most Pacific islands holds a lot of promise for the marginalized populations. However, in most Pacific island governments today the combined interests of the transnational corporations, the former colonial powers, the rich and those in government still outweigh the interests of the marginalized indigenous population. The colonial infrastructure and rules and ideologies that perpetuate this process of marginalization are still very much alive and well today, even in those countries that have supposedly attained their political independence.

If the relevant statistics from all multi-ethnic countries such as Aotearoa, Australia, Kanaky, Tahiti, Fiji, Hawaii and even Guam are compared, a startling pattern will emerge. The pattern will show that the indigenous populations are over-represented in the jail population, formal education dropouts, recipients of social welfare cheques, infant mortality, sub-standard housing, lower income bracket, alcohol and drug abuse, and so on.

Now the people of the Pacific are facing an even greater threat to their survival — the *nuclear threat*! After the United States dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945, US policymakers became curious about the meaning and magnitude of this new force that had been unleashed. The military community was interested in what the new weapon could do and scientists were interested in its biological effects. Accordingly the US government planned a series of tests to address these questions. After reviewing various sites a section of the Marshall Islands was seen as the most appropriate. They picked Bikini Atoll for the first test, on July 1, 1946. Since then we have witnessed the explosion of up to 66 atomic and hydrogen bombs, resulting in six of their island atolls being blown off the face of the earth, while many more are left uninhabitable. Hundreds of people will still suffer from the severe effect of radiation exposure as well as contamination of their natural resources on which they must still rely for survival.

Not long after the US started its initial series of Nuclear Tests, the fateful decision was made in Paris for France to develop its own nuclear capabilities. That decision was premised on the assumption that France needed a unilateral nuclear arsenal to protect itself from any future enemy. Accordingly, the French began their nuclear bomb tests in the 1950s in Algeria, then a French colony. But due to the mounting opposition from the nationalist Algerians who were already fighting for independence, the French government started looking at alternative sites. Another reason for the search for alternative sites was a miscalculation of the weather after a 1960 nuclear explosion in Algeria, which caused a radioactive cloud to drift across the Mediterranean towards Europe, leading to some serious anti-nuclear protests against the French Government from its European neighbors.

Then, using the same reasons that the US used in selecting Bikini, the French government decided that because Tahiti-Polynesia was sparsely populated and isolated, Moruroa and Fangataufa Atolls were going to be their new test sites. The fact that Pacific Islanders were living in the neighboring atolls was of no consequence. "Better them than us!" was the probable joke during the rounds. Between 1966 and 1974, 41 atmospheric tests were conducted. Effects of these tests were recorded as far away as Mexico where fish were found to have increased levels of radioactivity, and in Fiji where rainwater was found to have been contaminated.

International pressure forced France to go underground in 1975. The French testing, though underground, still raises fears of contamination. Because the atolls are made of coral and are relatively porous, some observers predict that radiation from these underground tests will still permeate to the sea and the atmosphere. The French themselves have to a certain extent acknowledged this

prediction, for in 1988 they announced that they were phasing out their nuclear tests from Moruroa to the old atmospheric test site on Fangataufa.

Numerous attempts by Pacific island governments and people's organizations to obtain statistics relating to the environmental and medical effects of the nuclear tests have been met with stony silence or downright indignation from the French government. To use, as one should, a military parlance, what the authorities have invariably done is to fire in succession the following salvos at their adversaries.

- When it is first announced or revealed that a nuclear test base is to be established, the future victims are blandly told that no fallout or contamination will ever occur.
- When worried individuals and ecological associations ask for facts and figures withheld for "security reasons," government spokesmen try to throw suspicion on them by declaring that all greens are in fact reds.
- When independent doctors and scientists eventually prove beyond doubt that radioactive fallout and contamination have occurred, cabinet ministers and admirals and generals do all they can to minimize the danger, and swear that it is all over.
- When the number of cancer victims in the end becomes embarrassingly high, they are paid compensations in the hope this will make them shut up. "We have grown skeptical. Too many military men have told too many lies for too long."*

In French Polynesia, colonial rule has not only been maintained since the tests began at Moruroa in 1966, but has even been reinforced with the help of troops, money and massive injections of French settlers, so as to swamp the "unruly native" population. The political implications of nuclear testing in the Pacific are the same everywhere and can best be formulated thus: No colonial power will for a moment contemplate granting genuine independence to the natives of islands where their military bases are established, for fear of losing those bases.

Former Japanese Prime Minister, Yasuhiro Nakasone declared in August 1982, that the cornerstones of his government's defense strategy were:

- to prevent infiltration by Soviet backfire bombers;
- to obstruct the passage of Soviet submarines and other vessels through the Seas of Japan and Okhotsk;
- to secure sea lanes and lines of communication. He also envisaged that the "whole Japanese archipelago should be

like an unsinkable aircraft carrier putting up a tremendous bulwark of defense against infiltration [by the Soviets]."

Though the December 1987 Intermediate-Range Nuclear Force (INF) Disarmament Treaty is a positive step towards international disarmament, there is a real concern that land-based INF's banned by the Treaty will be compensated by sea-based nuclear weapons such as the American "Tomahawks" and the Soviet SS-NX-21 and SS-NX-24. In this regard the US Navy has announced that it will homeport the USS Fife of Yokosuka, Japan, in 1988. The USS Fife is equipped with 61 launchers for the Tomahawk Sea Launched Cruise Missile and this is the first time a "Tomahawk capable" ship is being homeported outside of the US.

A major loophole of current nuclear disarmament agendas is that they do not address the questions related to nuclear war infrastructures. Here I refer to command, control, communication and intelligence facilities, which are the major arteries of any of the superpower's nuclear war strategies. In addition to these facilities the US military machine also enjoys considerable logistic support, courtesy of the Japanese government.

Richard L. Armitage, US Assistant Defense Secretary, revealed in March 1988 that Japan provides the US \$45,000 for each of the 54,000 service personnel stationed in Japan. He also said, "Altogether Japan will spend \$2.5 billion . . . the most generous host nation support arrangement the US enjoys anywhere in the world". In January 1987, Tadashi Kuranari, Japan's Minister of Foreign Affairs, declared in Suva, Fiji, that "Japan wishes to strengthen its relations with the island states, and he pledged that Japan will use its economic resources to effect a "postward new deal" for Pacific Island states. This has been dubbed the "Kuranari Doctrine" and interpreted by analysts as heralding a new era in Japan's relationship with Pacific Island States. This initiative can be interpreted as being motivated by several factors:

- (a) a response to a South Pacific Forum's request, directed specifically to Japan, for more aid; and
- (b) as a response to pressure from the US government, which is continuously urging Japan to increase its overall spending on defense; and
- (c) a continuing push to use the Pacific as a dumping site for nuclear waste.

Over the past decade, the Pacific has become an area of heightened superpower confrontation. Since the late 1970s and

* Firth, Steward. *Nuclear Playground*. South Sea Books. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987.

especially under the Reagan administration, the United States has undertaken a major military buildup in the Pacific region. Part of a strategy to attain clear-cut superiority over the Soviet Union, this build-up is particularly important in reasserting US power in what the military considers an "American lake."

By the mid-1980s the US Commander in Chief for the Pacific (CINCPAC) commanded more than 320,000 US Army, Navy and Air Force troops assigned to the Pacific. Indeed, the Pacific is the Pentagon's largest multi-service, unified region of military operations. There are more than 500 off-country military installations in the region. Ninety percent of them are American installations. The build-up has triggered a dangerous game —escalating a superpower nuclear arms race in the Pacific. The US and the Soviet Union do not dance on an empty stage in the Pacific theatre. The peoples and nations of the region are deeply entangled in superpower strategy, hosting forward deployed military forces and receiving military warships.

Warship traffic and port calls are growing in number, due to frequent military exercises, flag-show deployment, and travel to destinations such as the Persian Gulf. Most of these are American. Not all allies have fallen into line, however. New Zealand rejected the nuclear strategy altogether, electing a Government in July 1984 that pledged to keep out nuclear warships. As a result the US threw New Zealand out of ANZUS, its trilateral alliance with Australia.

US and Soviet ICBM testing continues to threaten the Pacific Region. The use of Kwajalein has not only seen the continuing destruction of the atoll, but also the emergence of a dispossessed people —Kwajalein islanders—who were resettled in other parts of the Marshall Islands.

All these experiences have led to a deep-rooted skepticism towards all nuclear activities in which distinctions between peaceful and military activities, weapons and power, and low and high-level waste bear little relation to the important Pacific concerns. Anti-nuclear sentiments are ultimately linked to anti-colonialism, growing regionalism and emerging cultural pride.

In February 1982, William Bodde Jr., former US ambassador to Fiji and Tonga, said in a speech at the East-West Center in Honolulu, "Growing anti-nuclear sentiments in the South Pacific possess the biggest potential disruption to US relations in the region. I have no doubt that many of the peoples active in the anti-nuclear movement in the South Pacific sincerely represent the widespread anticipation in the region towards the use of the Pacific as a testing or dumping ground. . . . I am convinced the US government must do everything

possible to counter this movement." Coming from a career diplomat with previous postings in two Southeast Asian capitals, this quotation cannot be taken lightly, for it is as succinct as it is clear on the extent to which Washington strategists are willing to go in furthering US interests in the Pacific.

Hence, the NFIP movement perceives the nuclearization of the Pacific as a further projection by the major international powers of their political and economic clout, of their material affluence, and of their unfounded beliefs in their own moral, ideological and cultural superiority. Furthermore the NFIP Movement regards the nuclearization of the Pacific as an escalation of the imperialistic process which began some 300 years ago, in which the indigenous peoples of the Pacific were subjugated to the whims of their colonial masters and their lands arbitrarily subdivided into strategic outposts of so-called "progress." Therefore in addressing the nuclearization process in the Pacific, the NFIP Movement places emphasis on the historical context in which it is taking place. The Movement at best attempts to articulate the feelings and thoughts of the indigenous peoples of the Pacific who have had to endure three centuries of living under a succession of laws and ethical systems, devised and decided upon for them by mandarins in foreign and distant lands.

For the NFIP Movement, this necessitates going beyond the simple examination of nuclear arms —such as SS-NX-20x, "Tomahawks" and Trident Systems—as weapons of annihilation, to tackling the issues of political and economic dependency, sovereignty and land rights, environmental conservation and justice with equity. In effect this invariably means that the NFIP Movement is confronted with the basic questions of why and what political and socio-economic systems, lifestyles and cultures it is seeking to preserve or nurture in its quest for a Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific.

The NFIP Movement is a rich and colorful network of peoples and their organizations. There are church-based groups, trade unions, independence fronts, sovereignty and land rights groups, students unions, peace and justice organizations, environmental groups, women's groups and a whole frenzy of individuals who cannot be categorized. The origins of the peoples and their organizations are not confined to the Pacific Islands proper. There are member organizations in virtually every Pacific Rim nation, except for Central and South America. Similarly, there are member organizations in Great Britain and western Europe.

By the very nature of its membership, the NFIP Movement has set for itself the almost overwhelming task of establishing working relationships between its members, and thus a functional Movement. The areas for potential conflict within the Movement is vast, owing to

the whole range of personalities, issues, languages, cultures, methodologies, beliefs, political experiences and tragedies. Clashes have always been a feature of all five NFIP Conferences since 1975. In the final analysis, however, the peoples and their organizations have always come to the conclusion that there is simply too much at stake to allow their differences to dominate their thinking and to be an obstacle to the consolidation of a functional NFIP movement.

The NFIP movement calls for a comprehensive Global Nuclear Disarmament Treaty that covers all nuclear arsenals — Soviet, American, French, German, British, Israeli, South African, Pakistani, Indian, Iraqi, Chinese; long-range, medium range or short range; land-based, sea-based or based in space.

We are working towards:

- the removal of all foreign military bases;
- the removal of all nuclear weapons testing facilities, and the prohibition of all tests of nuclear explosive devices, including those described as "peaceful";
- the prohibition on testing of all nuclear weapon delivery vehicles and systems;
- the prohibition on all storage, transit, deployment or any other forms of presence of nuclear weapons on land or aboard ships, submarines and aircraft;
- the removal of all bases carrying out command, control, communication, surveillance, navigation and any other functions which aid the performance of a nuclear weapon delivery system.

As has been pointed out previously, one cannot analyze the nuclear arms policies of the major world powers in isolation from their practices in their historical and colonial spheres of influence. For the NFIP movement this warrants our solidarity with and active support for the struggles of the peoples of the Pacific, some of which are:

- Maori struggles for the honoring of the Treaty of Waitangi in Aotearoa;
- Aboriginal struggles for land rights in Australia;
- sovereignty and independence struggles of the people of East Timor and West Papua from Indonesia;
- upholding the rule of law in Fiji;
- independence struggles of the Maori people in Tahiti-Polynesia and the Kanaks in Kanaky;
- upholding of the supremacy of the Nuclear Free constitution of Belau.

In conclusion, I shall finish with a quotation from Sister Christine Tan, a prominent champion of the poor and the oppressed in the Philippines. In her speech welcoming participants to the 5th NFIP conference in Manila, November 1987, she says,

Our battle is for freedom from Nuclear Arms and all the evil this connotes in our people, in our lands, in our seas, in our winds. In this battle we are being made pawns, dumping sites, burial fields, of forces from outside with far more resources and power than we possess. But regardless of how super these forces are and how small our island are, our political determination surpasses all these threats and manipulation. To these evil powers we therefore say, we the free people of the Pacific refuse to be cowed. We shall overcome.

The Military and Crime: Impact of a 20th Century Environment on the Micronesians

Adolf P. Sgambelluri

The world is changing and Micronesians are in a fast lane. Will life be different in the 21st century from the way it is now? This is an obvious question, but the not-so-obvious answers depend upon how one views society in the Micronesian context, and how one would analyze the changes that have taken place thus far. Change ideally takes place logically, progressively, over a period of time. Only inventors, prognosticators, and futurists dare to envision the full flowering of change in all its manifestations. The rest of us have to wait for it to happen.

Leonardo Da Vinci, Thomas Edison, Jules Verne, George Orwell, and other great minds saw beyond their years. They lived in the present, but their imagination, insight, and intelligence allowed them to probe the future. They obviously had the ability to extrapolate from the particulars of the present in order to contemplate what lies ahead. Few things happen at once. Look at the airplane, automobile, radio, and television, just to name a few of our modern convenience miracles that are now taken for granted. Change and progress are functions of time. They occur uncontrollably, and it's impossible to calculate to the second when the next labor-saving device, gadget, or machine will render all previous models obsolete.

A short while ago, most people thought a futurist was someone who gazed into a crystal ball, intoned a mysterious chant, and waited for a revelation to descend upon him. The futurists are scientists; they study the future with the same objective techniques archaeologists and anthropologists apply to the past. Using information gathered from the past and present, they can gauge to a reasonably accurate degree where we're going to be ten, twenty, fifty years—even a century—from now. As they learn more and as technology improves, their ability to make accurate forecasts improves proportionately. Using sophisticated probability curves, statistical surveys, and millions of pieces of data stored efficiently in computers, they tell us with a built-in margin of error what lies ahead.

In *The Third Wave*, Alvin Tofler describes our future world in terms of waves of change. He writes, "Until now, the human race has undergone two great waves of change, each one largely obliterating earlier cultures or civilizations and replacing them with ways of life

inconceivable to those who came before." The first wave of change, the agricultural revolution, took thousands of years to play itself out. The second wave, the rise of industrial civilizations, took a mere 300 years. Today, history is accelerating even more quickly, and it is likely that the third wave will sweep across history and complete itself in a few decades. More than likely, we who are present today will, therefore, feel the full impact of the third wave in our own lifetime.

How does it impact on Micronesia? Plenty, and a good part of it is on the drawing board—socially, economically, politically, and religiously. Before the Europeans arrived in Micronesia, islanders had a subsistence lifestyle—meeting their basic needs by catching, raising, or growing all their own food, and making their own tools from materials at hand. Any trading was usually done as simple barter. Islanders could make many things from local materials. The basic foods were coconut, breadfruit, taro, pandanus, banana, and a few others. Fish hooks were made from hard wood or shell. Fish traps were employed. Islanders used wooden spears to catch reef fish. They made tools out of wood, stone and shell—there was no metal. They used adzes to hollow and shape canoes and for other carving. Buildings were constructed of wood and thatch, lashed together with coconut rope. Healers were skilled in the use of plants and herbs to cure infection and poison. The Islanders' religion was basically polytheistic; they believed in many gods, spirit and ghosts. If two islands worshipped different gods and battled with each other, the winning island was assumed to have the stronger god. The defeated island generally would adopt and worship the god of the victors. This is one explanation of why Christianity was accepted so rapidly. The European god was thought to be powerful, because the Europeans were so powerful and had so many good things.

The basic value for most Micronesian cultures was and still is the extended family. Brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles, grandparents, and cousins all lived and worked together. For the islander, it is important not to show true feelings, and never to say anything offensive. They must be nice to each other to keep the peace. This is hard for many Europeans and Americans to get used to. Westerners want straight answers. Islanders will say what they think the listener wants to hear. That is the island way, the polite thing to do.

Life in Micronesia was simple. The description of traditional island culture presented here does not imply things are the same today, or that customs in aboriginal times never changed. It is understood that any cultural system undergoes constant modification, as the society's members respond to changes in habitat and population, to contacts with other societies, or to the very process by which a person learns his culture. In Micronesia, each cultural

configuration is the product of an evolutionary continuum, which did not end when Micronesians first met Europeans in 1521 upon the occasion of Magellan's historic landing in the Marianas. In the more than four centuries following, islanders came to know in varying degree other explorers, both Catholic and Protestant missionaries, whalers, beachcombers, traders, blackbirders, and officials of five nations—Spain, Germany, Great Britain, United States, and Japan, who at different times established control over one group or another.

[The following is offered as one way of contrasting stereotyped American and Micronesian ways of looking at life—Eds.]

AMERICAN	MICRONESIAN
1. We must shape our world, control nature and make it work for man.	1. Nature will provide for us in time.
2. We create our own future by what we do.	2. What will be will be. Man's life is controlled by destiny.
3. I have to hurry and meet somebody now. See you later.	3. There's no use rushing away from what I'm doing now. There is always plenty of time.
4. Save for the future.	4. Worry about tomorrow when tomorrow comes.
5. If I work hard enough, some day I'll make it to the top.	5. Work a little, rest a little. Whatever you do, try to keep other people happy.
6. What's mine belongs only to me.	6. What I have is yours; what you have is mine.
7. The sensible man is the one who strikes out on his own, learns to do things for himself, and makes his own decisions.	7. The wise man is the one who knows his place in the world, respects authority, and does what he's supposed to do.
8. Always tell the truth, no matter how much it hurts.	8. The feelings of others are more important than an honest answer.

These contacts ushered in a new era, not without bloodshed, population dislocation, and cultural atrophy. These contacts introduced a new technology, a system of exchanging local products for imported goods, a religion not incompatible with Micronesian orientations toward the spiritual world, medical treatment for endemic and introduced diseases, schools for learning foreign ways, and governments that outlawed civil war and alleviated the crisis periodically created by typhoons and droughts. Spain abandoned her island holdings in 1898, selling Guam to the United States, and leaving the rest of the Marianas and the Carolines to augment Germany's possessions in the Marshalls and Nauru. The first World

War saw the Germans evicted by the Japanese. After the second World War, Japan was forced to withdraw. In 1947, the former Japanese holdings became a United Nations trusteeship and, with Guam, were governed by the United States.

The keynote of island administration was provided by the U.N. emphasis on trusteeship, on the progressive development of island peoples economically, socially, educationally, and politically. Self-government was the stated goal, with recognition that it could be achieved only by further economic advancement.

It was inevitable that the older Micronesian customs would continue to disappear with each passing generation. Nevertheless, Micronesians themselves stood in the forefront of those who cried "Progress!" Despite this seeming rush towards assimilation, much of Micronesian tradition is still visible, as in food technology, language, kinship practices, political structures, and the covert aspects of native supernaturalism.

Micronesia is moving into the 21st century. It is caught up with Tofler's third wave. The transition is inevitable. There are some that would oppose the change. Unfortunately, to survive in today's world, there is a need to have an open society, in contrast to the perceived closed society of Polynesia.

There is a tendency to perceive that the island culture of Micronesia is perfect. The fact is, however, that no existing culture can be viewed as perfect. They all have aspects that are very useful and functional but they also have aspects considered undesirable. The Pacific island cultures are often pictured as idyllic, perfectly balanced, well-ordered societies that were brutally defiled and destroyed by the "white man," or *haoles*. To a certain extent this was true. But the island cultures had their darker aspects: frequent warfare, slavery, cannibalism, infanticide, despotic rulers, human sacrifice, incest, and even exploitation of some islands by others.

Whenever a high technology culture begins to influence a subsistence culture, certain things are inevitable. The culture generally would be modified as influences from the outside permeate throughout Micronesia. Sometimes the change is drastic and sudden, sometimes more gradual. Nevertheless, a part of the inherent and organic culture will survive. Only when the population is totally wiped out, will the culture not survive. The population adapts and changes. But elements of the original culture always remain. The key is the degree of change—how much of the traditional culture is carried on, and which aspects of the culture are retained. Inevitably, it will result in a combination culture which will function accordingly.

There is a perception that islanders were completely forced into all the changes. Contrary to this perceived notion, islanders were often willing participants in the progress towards change. The change resulted in a desire for formal education and an acceptable level for literary competency. This has led to a growing awareness and understanding of the outside world. Professor Reilly Ridgell of the Guam Community College, and author of *Pacific Nations and Territories*, stated that "development itself and the general opening up of the islands . . . could be considered a positive result of contact." This idea is often challenged by people who believe in the "zoo theory!" This theory states that the islanders should have been left alone. The theory deplores the changes that have altered national lifestyles, and holds that the original cultures were very functional and should have been left alone. The problem with the "zoo theory" is that it denies the islanders the right to make choices about their own lives. It decides for them how they should live, treating them like children or animals in a zoo.

The opening up of Micronesia can be considered positive and beneficial. The islanders now have more options and more opportunities than when they were locked into their traditional cultures. And the original cultures were not static, they were constantly evolving like all cultures do.

The primary agency of the U.S. government that can be credited with the changes in Micronesia is the military. Article 5 of the United Nations Trusteeship Agreement gave the U.S. the authority to establish military facilities; to station and employ armed forces personnel; to make use of volunteer forces organic to the Trust Territory (TT). This was the catalyst for the changes in Micronesia. The U.S. military put Micronesia into the 20th century. Article 6 contained the four major responsibilities of the United States as trustee: (1) to foster the development of such political institutions as are suited for the TT; (2) to promote the economic advancement and self-sufficiency of the TT; (3) to promote the social advancement of the inhabitants; and (4) to promote the educational advancement of the inhabitants of the TT.

The impact of the military on Micronesia was considered very positive. Micronesians had the perception that the military "was better than the Department of Interior." The military were more efficient because they were more prepared to handle the inhabitants of the TT. Senator Mike Mansfield stated, "Personally, I would rather have civilian administrators, but in view of practical and realistic considerations . . . I am forced to the conclusion that the military would be the best administrator in Micronesia . . . the military would

have the only trained personnel to carry out the job for the administration of the Micronesian Islands."

The hub of the Micronesian islands is the U.S. Territory of Guam. A select few Micronesians were sent abroad for training and education, with the expectation that they would return to their home islands, assume positions of leadership, and work towards the established goals for Micronesia.

When the Compact of Free Association between FSM and the United States was implemented on November 3, 1986, the situation changed; for the first time Micronesians were allowed free entry into the U.S. and its possessions to live and work without restrictions.

There are several factors which have been identified as contributing to the adverse impact of the socialization process of the Micronesians in Guam. First, there is a cultural difference between Guam and the other islands within Micronesia. Guam is fast paced, highly competitive, and technologically far ahead. The second is financial. The Micronesians' standards of living are generally lower when compared to Guamanians. Their first difficulty is to find adequate housing at a cost they can afford, on the meager salary that their entry-level jobs provide. The tendency is to move into facilities already overcrowded, unsanitary and in bad need of major repair. Families tend to group together in a single facility. These households often depend on the income of only one or two breadwinners, and they have the usual trouble making ends meet, especially when additional kinsfolk in any number unexpectedly arrive for a long stay on Guam. Unfortunately, this type of environment and situation forces the group to consider leading a life of crime on Guam. Part of the problem is that invariably what Guam establishes as a criminal liability is not considered so by Micronesian standards. It's the culture—or so they would reason.

The Department of Corrections has been the recipient of those Micronesians charged with violations of the laws of Guam and Federal statutes. The focus here is the Micronesian population at the Department of Corrections; the information was obtained from the Guam Police Department.

The majority of the offenses committed by the Micronesian population, incarcerated at DOC, are generally crimes against the person (murder, rape, robbery and assault). The major offenses committed are invariably alcohol related. Although the data are not sufficient to establish casual linkages, drugs and alcohol clearly play a prominent role in the majority of their criminal activities. About 60 percent were under the influence of alcohol or drugs when committing crimes; and the desire for money to buy drugs and alcohol was the

single most frequently cited reason for committing crimes. The offenders involved with alcohol alone commit crimes less often, but are more likely to be arrested. The offenders involved with both drugs and alcohol have the highest offense rate.

Most Micronesian offenders do not view themselves as professional criminals, although their criminal activity was sustained over a period of time, and was consciously directed toward a specific purpose, be it high living, support of a drug habit, or repayment of debts. These offenders do not routinely plan and prepare for their crimes. Approximately half used little or no planning and preparation. For the typical offender, pre-planning is limited to visiting the location and, less often, staking out the target. Such measures as wearing a disguise, developing a new identity, and obtaining a special car are uncommon.

It is revealing to note that the majority of the offenders did not have meaningful jobs; or invariably were not employed. The chief barrier to employment is not the persons's previous arrest records, but rather his lack of extensive or skilled work experience. It is widely believed that unemployment and criminal activity are associated. Coupled with this notion, a reasonable hypothesis is that the offender who is involved with drugs or alcohol may be more careless and desperate, thus exposing himself more than a non-user to arrest, conviction, and subsequent incarceration.

It is not my intention here to portray the Micronesians as a social problem for Guam, but rather to characterize this group's mode of activities, because it represents just a beginning in the endeavor to understand the potential for criminal behavior among Micronesians trying to survive in Guamanian society. If we want to know more about those offenders who are increasingly responsible for criminal activity, this effort must be continued. We must not judge the Micronesian population as a whole, but rather identify those likely to be a problem for the criminal justice community.

Guam is an island with a booming economy and a growing labor shortage. Micronesians need jobs. It is time to appreciate each other—Guamanians and other Micronesians. There should be mutual understanding and help. Our judgments of these Micronesians should be kinder, and we should also bear in mind that they are facing major cultural adjustments and changes in life styles, without those resources that they could call upon when they were back home on their own islands.

* * *

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Richard D. Shewman

The military presence in Micronesia is a fact of life. Its presence is part of the history that shapes us. Even on islands that do not have a direct military presence, the "strategic value" of Micronesia is a factor that plays itself out in almost every aspect of the relationship between the Micronesian governments and the United States.

This conference attempts to examine the various impacts of the American presence in Micronesia, and more specifically the military presence, from a variety of perspectives. Most of these perspectives reflect the concerns of the social work community, dealing with social, medical, and psychological impact.

This paper takes a somewhat different tack, offering a few thoughts on the moral implications of the military presence. This approach is offered not to infuse a religious perspective into the discussion, although such a perspective would not be out of place. Rather, this perspective seeks to provide a greater depth of understanding for our other reflections on the impact of the military presence. A disclaimer is appropriate at this point. The material I will present comes from a variety of public, official documents published by the Vatican and the US Bishops' conference, as well as from a variety of academic sources. The conclusions drawn from this material and its application to Micronesia are solely my responsibility and do not necessarily reflect the opinion of my employers.

It is my intention to provide a foundation for the discussion related directly to Micronesia by explaining a number of concepts essential to our discussion. Next we will examine how these concepts have influenced both essential American values and the development of the Church's position with regard to war and the military. This includes a discussion of the "just war" concept and its recent evolution in response to the introduction of nuclear weapons into the world's arsenals. Finally, two issues will be examined as we apply the previous material to the situation we find in Micronesia. The first issue to be discussed is that of the military presence and the political status of Guam. The second issue asks similar questions with regard to Palau.

MORALITY

Before proceeding very far it is probably useful to explain what I mean by morality, since these reflections on the military presence in Micronesia are offered from the perspective of moral principles. Every society has rules that govern human interaction. These rules can be general and as informally regulated as rules of etiquette, or quite formal and strictly enforced, such as with the criminal laws of a community. These rules of behavior have their basis in the values of the community, which find specific expression in what is perceived as "right" and "wrong" behavior.

Values can be seen as relative, changing with the times and popular philosophies, or reflecting some absolute and objective measure of "right" or "wrong," such as revelation or natural law. When we speak of what is perceived as absolute and objective measures of "right" and "wrong" we are speaking of morality.

Scripture is one source of "absolute" and "objective" moral criteria for human behavior. Yet, we can find "absolute" moral criteria from non-religious sources in the heritage of the human community. Both political philosophy and moral theology make heavy use of the concept of natural law as a non-scriptural source for "absolute" moral criteria. Briefly stated, moral theologians, strongly influenced by Aquinas, understand natural law as the idea that the various patterns of behavior are manifestations of an underlying system of laws of divine origin. These laws of nature lead to the perfection of God's purpose for his creation and can be understood through the application of reason or logic to the observations of natural phenomena.

A more secular explanation is offered by the 17th-century Dutch jurist Hugo Grotius, who believed that humans by nature are not only reasonable but social. Thus the rules that are natural to them—those dictated by reason alone (whether God exists or not)—are those which enable them to live in harmony with each other. Thomas Hobbes and John Locke developed this concept further with regard to the contractual nature of the civic bond.

The American Declaration of Independence is an excellent example of the application of the concept of natural law, from the political perspective, as well as one of the best sources for identifying the absolute moral principles upon which the American nation was founded. It was in England's violation of moral principles based on natural law and thus universally applicable, as laid out in the Declaration of Independence, that the American colonies were able to argue the legitimacy of their claim to the use of revolution and acts of war. The moral principles found in the American Declaration of

Independence express John Locke's concept of natural rights, which is a variation on the concept of natural law. Locke advanced the contract theory of government, arguing that all "just" governments are founded on the consent of the governed and are designed solely to protect people in their inherent rights to life, liberty, and property.

The Declaration of Independence departs from Locke's concept of natural rights by substituting "the pursuit of happiness" for "property" in the trinity of inalienable rights, using the arguments of Swiss legal philosopher Emrich de Vattel, which are based more strictly upon natural law. This appears to have been done because Jefferson wished to emphasize public duty, rather than personal choice; the natural law theory Jefferson used argues that happiness is attainable only by diligent cultivation of civic virtue. Thus, the inherent right of every human being, as affirmed in the American Declaration of Independence, is life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. This is understood in the context of the consent of the governed and in the requirement of both governed and leadership to diligently cultivate civic virtue. The rest of the Declaration goes on to document the violation of the inalienable rights of the American colonists by the British Crown. Moral criteria for a just government were set forth and the actions of a nation were evaluated in light of these criteria. In this case, it was determined that England had failed in its moral duties to the American people and that revolution was an morally appropriate action.

Another moral system that serves as the basis of many of these reflections is that of the Catholic tradition of Christianity. It is the tradition I am familiar with and the tradition to which many of the people of Micronesia subscribe. This tradition has its foundation in Scripture, with reason as an important interpretative tool. The tradition has been applied and interpreted throughout the past two thousand years. As a result, there has developed a number of principles which aid in understanding the moral implications of our actions as individuals and as groups of people.

HUMAN ACTS

A fundamental moral proposition of the Judeo-Christian tradition is that humanity is made in the image and likeness of God¹ and that the ultimate end of the human being is God Himself, so that in all its actions humanity must direct itself towards God and His purpose. A related proposition is that people find their happiness in

1. Genesis 1:27.

the attainment of their ultimate end. The more perfect the attainment of this ultimate end, the greater their happiness. Humanity does not find lasting happiness outside of its ultimate end. Attainment of this end is achieved through relationship with God.

Morally positive acts are those acts which are consistent with our human nature, as God formed it, which lead to the attainment of our ultimate goal and happiness, and are consistent with the demands of our relationship with God. Morally evil acts oppose the goals and demands of our relationship with God. As we can see from our earlier discussion of natural law, morally evil acts can also be said to oppose human nature and reason. Morally neutral acts have no significant impact one way or the other.

Humanity achieves its ultimate goals through human acts. A human act is an act of the will. That is, a human act is an act which is done freely and with sufficient knowledge to understand what one is doing in performing the act. It is through human acts that one exercises responsibility for oneself and others. It is through human acts that one performs virtue or vice.

At the social level, the ability to perform morally positive or neutral human acts is an essential human right, as it makes the attainment of the ultimate goal of humanity possible. This is reaffirmed by natural law, as explained by Vattel, Hobbes, Locke, and Grotius, which requires the performance of civic virtue for the realization of a just society. To the extent that the performance of morally positive or neutral human acts is inhibited, a people are oppressed. This is the basis of the Declaration of Independence.

The performance of morally evil human acts is excluded from being considered a human right, as it is contrary to both the ultimate goal of the individual, as well as the survival of society and its function of providing a context that supports the achievement of the ultimate purpose of humanity.

THE MILITARY AND "JUST WAR"

There are two somewhat complementary traditions on the issue of war and military service within the history of Christianity. The oldest tradition is pacifist. The newer tradition, associated with St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas, allows for the use of arms under certain conditions.

The general understanding which arose among the early Christians was that they were not to participate in warfare. They were people of the "Kingdom of God" and were not to become embroiled in the conflicts of earthly kingdoms. This was reinforced by an

aversion to idolatrous military customs, which were incorporated into Roman military life. Probably the clearest example of this pacifist heritage is St. Martin of Tours. He was born in 315 AD, the son of a career military man. He became an officer in the Emperor's elite cavalry unit, following in his father's footsteps. He was attracted to the Christian faith and eventually baptized. A short time following his baptism Gaul was threatened by barbarian tribes. Martin refused to take up arms against the barbarians and requested to be allowed to resign his commission. His refusal was based on his Christian faith. He clearly assumed that it was unlawful to fight.

Over the next fifty years the understanding of the Christian community regarding war began to shift. Christianity was no longer the faith of a persecuted minority but was the state religion. Bishops were no longer pastors for small flocks of persecuted believers but were leading citizens in the community and had responsibility for the care of thousands of people. This responsibility brought with it concern for the safety of these people.

Augustine was born in Carthage, North Africa, in 354 AD. He was educated in Rome and Milan and after a checkered youth he settled into a career as a teacher of Rhetoric. Like Martin he was converted to Christianity. A number of years later he was chosen as bishop for the city of Hippo in North Africa. It was in Hippo that he did a great deal of his writing, much of which still influences political and philosophical thought, as well as theology. Toward the end of his life the barbarian tribes pressured the Roman Empire with waves of invasion forces, each time chipping away more and more at the perimeter of the Empire. Augustine struggled with his responsibility for the welfare of so many people. How could he reconcile the need to protect these innocent people in the face of the barbarian invasions, with the pacifist understanding of Christian involvement in war that had been passed down from the early years of the faith?

The result of his struggles was a position we know as the "just war" theory. Augustine argues that it is a moral wrong to allow evil to befall an innocent third party. Thus, in the face of an unjust aggressor the Christian has a moral duty to defend the innocent. Viewed at the political level, the State has a moral responsibility to participate in the defense effort. This understanding was accepted by the Church and has served over the centuries as the foundation for the Church's position on the morality of war and military service. There were abuses and as a result a variety of criteria were added to the "just war" theory to limit its application. By the time of Aquinas, the "just war" theory had developed to its pre-Hiroshima understanding, which follows.

The requirement for a "just war" are several: (1) the cause must be just, (2) declared by competent authority, (3) the comparative justice of the positions of the combatants must be recognized, (4) the intention must be right, (5) it must be the last resort, (6) there must be probability of success, and (7) the damage anticipated must be proportionate to good to be realized.

For the cause to be just, a real and certain danger to life or the conditions for decent human existence must be present. Retribution is not a just cause, nor is war for territorial expansion or financial gain. The war must be declared by competent authority. This requires that the lawful and have legitimate authority in a state, with power to declare war, be the one to declare a state of war. However, this allows for a situation where the legal authority has lost its legitimacy and other groups within the community may in fact be competent and legitimate authority, even if they do not possess the mechanisms of power. Thus, just revolutions are recognized as a possibility.

Comparative justice demands that the merits of both parties to the conflict be weighed. The reasons contributing to the decision to enter into war must be of sufficient severity to justify the death and destruction involved, as well as override the presumption against war. This precludes the presumption by any combatant to an absolute right to war. Any claim to legitimate war is limited to the accomplishment of just objectives, assuming compliance with other criteria for just war. Right intention requires that the reasons for war must be directed toward the pursuit of peace and reconciliation. Unnecessarily destructive acts or imposing unreasonable conditions, such as unconditional surrender, are contrary to right intention.

Before a just war can be declared, all possible alternatives must have been exhausted. War is not one policy tool among others that can be drawn on as strategists see fit. War is the final act of self-defense when every other attempt at a just peace has failed. A war that has no hope of being won is not a just war. The purpose of this criteria is to prevent irrational resort to force or hopeless resistance when the outcome of either will be disproportionate or futile. It is recognized that at times defense of key values, even against great odds, may be a proportionate witness of those values.

Proportionality means that the damage to be inflicted and the costs incurred by war must be proportionate to the good expected by taking up arms. In determining costs, the impact of war on other nations that are not parties to the war must also be taken into account. Even if the decision can be made to proceed with a just war because the criteria have been met, the conduct of the war must be consistent with the principles of proportionality and discrimination, if

the war is to remain a "just war." Thus, the combatants must continue to insure that the strategy and tactics of war remain proportionate to the good expected. Pope John Paul II has made it very clear that the right and duty of a people to protect their existence and freedom is contingent on the use of proportionate means."²

Regarding the criteria of discrimination, all acts of war must be directed toward combatants. The lives of innocent people may never be taken directly, regardless of the purpose alleged for doing so. This has translated over the centuries into immunity of civilians from the acts of war. The Fathers of the Second Vatican Council laid great stress on the protection of non-combatants: "Any act of war aimed indiscriminately at the destruction of entire cities or of extensive areas along with their population is a crime against God and man himself. It merits unequivocal and unhesitating condemnation."³

JUST WAR IN THE NUCLEAR AGE

The criteria for morally "just war" were developed during an era when war occurred on a battlefield between soldiers who fought with weapons that brought them into close contact. The consideration of proportionality and discrimination between combatants and non-combatants had some meaning in this context. The American Bishops have pointed out that nuclear weapons particularly, and nuclear warfare as it is planned today, raise new moral questions. No previously conceived moral position escapes the fundamental confrontation posed by contemporary nuclear strategy. The destructive potential of the nuclear powers threatens the human person, the civilization we have slowly constructed, and even the created order itself.

Pope John Paul II commissioned a study by the Pontifical Academy of Sciences, which reinforced the findings of other scientific bodies. One of the conclusions of the study is especially pertinent. "Recent talk about winning or even surviving a nuclear war must reflect a failure to appreciate a medical reality: Any nuclear war would inevitably cause death, disease and suffering of pandemic proportions and without the possibility of effective medical intervention. . . . Prevention is essential for control."⁴ The Bishops have taken the position that "the possibilities for placing political and moral limits on nuclear war are so minimal that the moral task, like

2. Pope John Paul II. World Day of Peace Message 1982, #12.

3. Pastoral Constitution, #80.

4. Bishop's Pastoral Letter, "The Challenge of Peace."

the medical, is prevention: as a people, we must refuse to legitimate the idea of nuclear war." Recounting well-documented statements of the recent Popes, as well as their own understanding of the moral issues involved, the Bishops pastoral letter on the Challenge of Peace listed several moral principles regarding nuclear war.

Under no circumstances may nuclear weapons or other instruments of mass slaughter be used for the purpose of destroying population centers or other predominantly civilian targets. (147)

Retaliatory action, whether nuclear or conventional, which would indiscriminately take many wholly lives, lives of people who are in no way responsible for reckless actions of their government, must also be condemned. (148)

We do not perceive any situation in which the deliberate initiation of nuclear warfare, on however restricted a scale, can be morally justified. . . . Therefore, a serious moral obligation exists to develop non-nuclear defensive strategies as rapidly as possible. (152)

We judge resort to nuclear weapons to counter a conventional attack to be morally unjustifiable. (153)

One of the arguments for the use of a nuclear strategy is that the weapons will not be used. Their purpose is deterrence only. Pope John Paul II has taken the position that deterrence may be judged morally acceptable "certainly not as an end in itself but as a step on the way toward a progressive disarmament." The US Bishops expand on the Pope's statement by saying that:

Although we acknowledge the need for deterrent, not all forms of deterrence are morally acceptable. There are moral limits to deterrence policy as well as to policy regarding use. Specifically, it is not morally acceptable to intend to kill the innocent as part of a strategy of deterring nuclear war. . . . We cannot be satisfied that the assertion of an intention not to strike civilians directly, or even the most honest effort to implement that intention, by itself constitutes a "moral policy" for the use of nuclear weapons.

Indeed, even if only military targets were hit with nuclear weapons, the fallout and radiation would kill, directly and indirectly, tens of thousands in the surrounding cities and countryside.

All of this led the Bishops to conclude that nuclear deterrence was not morally acceptable as a long term basis for peace. Nuclear deterrence is a strategy based on the possible use of immoral means and can be no more than a stopgap on the way to peace based on moral means. Further, even during the stopgap period only a sufficiency of nuclear weapons to deter attack is acceptable. The quest for nuclear superiority must be rejected. Each proposed addition to our strategic system or change in strategic doctrine must be assessed precisely in light of whether it will render steps toward

"progressive disarmament" more or less likely. The Bishops go on to state:

Of primary importance in this process is the need to prevent the development and employment of destabilizing weapons systems on either side; a second requirement is to ensure that the more sophisticated command and control systems do not become mere hair triggers for automatic launch on warning; third is the need to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons in the international system. (189)"

The final quote from the Bishop's Pastoral Letter, "The Challenge of Peace," regards a suggested foreign policy "which recognizes and respects the claims of citizens of every nation to the same inalienable rights we treasure, and seeks to ensure an international security based on the awareness that the creator has provided this world and all its resources for the sustenance and benefit of the entire human family." (202)

APPLICATIONS TO MICRONESIA

Micronesia has been a intimate part of the US defense strategy ever since World War II. This is clear from the published statements of various military commanders in the region, from studies commissioned by the federal government over the years, and from the financial investment that has been made in the Micronesian military installations over the years. One need only read the Compacts of Free Association to see the importance military land use has been given by the negotiators.

To the extent that the US is exercising its right to defend itself against unjust aggression and the various island communities have formally agreed to the presence of the military in their community, the mere presence of the military in Micronesia appears to be within the bounds of traditional moral principles, both from Christian tradition and concepts of natural law upon which the American nation was founded. However, A corollary of the right of each nation to defend itself from unjust aggression, is the right of sovereignty and self-determination for each nation. Consent of the governed is one of the principles upon which the Declaration of Independence is based. Further, this particular right is discussed in Pope John Paul II's recent encyclical, *On Social Concerns*. The Pope emphasizes that this right must be respected in the dealings of larger nations with their Third World neighbors.

It is here that the waters become muddy. To what extent are the military here in Micronesia at the invitation of the sovereign

governments of the region? Clearly the Marshallese, as a sovereign people, have entered an agreement with the United States that allows the military presence. Should the military ever need to establish a presence in the Federated States of Micronesia, provision exists for that in the agreement that sovereign people have with the United States. A question arises however, with regard to the morality of the military presence in Guam. Guam has been denied the right of self-determination as a sovereign people since the time of its initial occupation by Spain. The United States took control of Guam, as an occupying force, around the turn of the century. It lost control during World War II and regained control of the island near the end of the war. Since then its claim to a legitimate presence on Guam has been that of victor. The people of Guam exercise a great deal of self-government in the running of their internal affairs, yet the form and structure of their government is determined by the US Congress. They have yet to function as a sovereign people and exercise self-determination regarding their government.

Thus, the political status issue currently being debated on Guam and in Washington is critical to the morally legitimate presence of the US military on Guam. Until the people of Guam, using a governmental structure to which they have consented, can negotiate with the US government regarding the military presence, there would appear to be a cloud over the moral presence of the military on Guam. While not directly involved in the actual negotiations, the military objectives of the United States played an important role in the development of the Compacts of Free Association. This is especially clear with the Compact negotiated with the Republic of Palau, because a conflict between the Palauan Constitution and US military considerations has become the primary obstacle to the implementation of that agreement.

Two moral issues come into play with regard to the Palauan Compact situation. The first issue is that of sovereignty. The Palauan Government is the duly constituted government of the people of Palau based on a constitution and plebiscite process that afforded an opportunity for an act of self-determination by the people of Palau. The US government, through various administrative actions and court decisions, has recognized the sovereignty of the people of Palau.

The Palauan Constitution is the embodiment of the sovereignty of the Palauan people and the product of their collective act of self-determination. That Constitution forbids the presence of nuclear materials within the territory of the Republic of Palau. This prohibition conflicts with US military considerations. Within the

context of the attempt to forge a relationship of free association between the Republic of Palau and the United States, the US position appears to be that the Palauans must change their Constitution to accommodate US military considerations before the relationship of free association can be realized. The issue has been brought before the people of Palau repeatedly and in every case the people voted to maintain the Constitution as it is.

This raises questions as to the moral validity of the position the US has taken in its negotiations on the Compact. Consistently demanding that the Palauan Constitution be changed, in light of the consistent refusal of the Palauan people to accept such change, seems to be a rejection of the actual sovereignty of the Palauan people. If this is the case, then the US has no moral basis for its present or future involvement in Palau other than that of the victor in war. After 44 years this becomes a questionable basis.

It might be argued that the US presence is based on the Trust Territory status of Palau, as a result of a United Nations decision. I particularly exclude the status of Trust Territory as a valid argument because the US ended that status in all of the other districts of Micronesia when their compact agreements took effect. To the best of my knowledge, the only reason that Trust Territory status remains effective in Palau is because of the nuclear clause in the Palauan Constitution.

In justifying the right of the American people to declare its independence from Britain, Jefferson presented a litany of abuses worked on the colonists by the British Crown. Two of the abuses vilified by the American Founding Fathers might justly be directed today at their descendants in office by the Palauan people. Specifically, the Declaration of Independence complains that King George III "has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws." The Trusteeship has always been a foreign imposition on the people of Micronesia. The Compact of Free Association which would give legitimacy to any relationship of the Palauans with the US government is in limbo.

The other complaint against King George III is that he took "away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments." The refusal of the US to accept fundamental aspects of the Palauan constitution, aspects of their constitution that the Palauan people have resolutely refused to modify in referendum after referendum, seems to be flying in the face

of the very complaint made by the American Founding Fathers against the British Crown. If the Founding Fathers used these arguments against the British Crown, as examples of violations of natural law and, therefore as violations of universal moral principles, the morality of the negotiating position of the present US government is highly questionable, by the very principles the US has accepted as mandatory for just governance.

The other moral issue raising doubts about the negotiating position of the US regarding nuclear materials in Palau goes back to the issue of nuclear deterrence and its related moral principles. The US Bishops point out that one of the characteristics of a "moral policy" of nuclear deterrence is "the need to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons in the international system. (189)" The non-nuclear clause in the Palauan Constitution is specifically aimed at preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons in the international system, specifically Palau. The insistence that Palau modify its Constitution to accommodate the introduction of nuclear material seems to be an attempt to provide for the proliferation of nuclear weapons. If this is the case, then the US is failing to comply with essential criteria for the moral use of a nuclear deterrence strategy. This shifts the arena of moral questioning from a relatively localized issue of US-Palauan relations, to a questioning of the moral integrity of the national nuclear deterrence policy.

CONCLUSION

My purpose in this paper is not to judge anyone. Rather, it is to briefly examine the implications of the military presence in Micronesia from the perspective of the moral tradition of the Catholic Church, as well as some of the moral principles upon which the American nation was founded.

I have attempted to avoid making any specific moral judgments regarding the behavior of the US, or any other government, on these issues, as it is presumptuous to do so without having access to all of the facts. However, I have felt it appropriate to raise questions and concerns where there appear to be moral conflicts resulting from US policy in Micronesia.

The Last Trusteeship — Island of Opportunists: A Personal View of the Republic of Palau

Donald R. Shuster

The "Last Trusteeship — Island of Opportunists" referred to in my title is the Republic of Belau, which has experienced some rather fierce internal debates, to put it mildly, regarding the proposed Compact of Free Association agreement with the United States. By "opportunist," I mean an individual who has the insight required for recognizing opportunities and the energy and determination to seize them at the right time. Palauan society like most small-scale societies has the tendency to hammer down those nails that stick up too high, so Palauan opportunists are very judicious in their timing and strategies. Tricky tactics, craft and prudence have been valued behaviors among Palauans. It is my position that Palau has a good number of opportunists. This, paradoxically, has been both a blessing and a curse.

People who follow events in Palau as reported in the *Pacific Daily News* may recognize names such as Roman Tmetuchl, Polycarp Basilius, John Ngiraked, the late Lazarus Salii, Ibedul Gibbons, Moses Uludong, and the current executive and legislative leadership of Palau. Generally, political leaders are, par excellence, opportunists because they are skilled at using events and people to get what they want and accomplish what they believe is important.

Palau's historical record is rich with examples of Palauan opportunism. It appears the first meeting of Palau islanders with *chad era ngebard*, men from the West, took place in 1579. Francis Drake reported that Palauan enthusiasm to obtain foreign goods was first expressed forcibly. After this failed a strategy of cunningly lifting what they could from Drake's men was tried. Some 130 years later, in 1710, Francisco de Padilla contacted Palau and discovered that the islanders were no less sticky-fingered than those of Drake's visit. The Palauans who were chased off de Padilla's ship escaped with a string of glass beads, and others in canoes warned the strangers that Palauans on a nearby island were likely to kill them. Here we see one group of Palauans warning strangers about the hostility of another group of Palauans. Implied here is the first step in an alliance.

Some 70 years later, just this sort of alliance was established between Chief Ibedul of Koror and Captain Henry Wilson. The Englishman's ship had run aground on Palau's western reef, in the

sphere of influence of the Ibedul. Wilson and his men rescued a good amount of the tools and supplies from the *Antelope*, and set up camp on an island not far from the wreck. Through a Malay-speaking linguist among the crew, and a Palauan-speaking Malay castaway, Wilson and Chief Ibedul were able to communicate. What an incredible stroke of luck! Taking advantage of a very ripe opportunity, the Ibedul persuaded Wilson to use his men and muskets to help him defeat his enemies from the rival areas of Melekeok and Peleliu. In this one stroke of opportunism, the Ibedul became paramount and has, to the present day, remained paramount vis-à-vis foreigners. In 1985, I visited Ulong island where Wilson and his men encamped and was fortunate to attend a ceremony commemorating the 1783 alliance between the Ibedul and Captain Wilson. The present Ibedul, Yutaka Gibbons, and the British High Commissioner to Kiribati, Charles Thompson, made impressive speeches that day and unveiled a handsome plaque and stone monument.

Eight years after Wilson's visit, Captain John McCluer visited Palau with gifts from the East India Company, which felt indebted for Chief Ibedul's assistance to Wilson and his men. McCluer recognized two power blocks, one centered around Chief Ibedul and the other around Chief Reklai, and he described the relationship as one of constant hostility. As might be expected, Chief Ibedul again used foreign muskets to suppress the Reklai and forced him to give up his most precious piece of Palauan money. Through a keen sense of opportunism, the Ibedul retained his position as the superior *rubak* or chief of all Palau.

The first Americans to hit Palau shores were whalers whose ship, the *Mentor*, crashed on the reef north of Kayangel Atoll. The whalers became pawns in the long standing power struggle between the Reklai and the Ibedul. However, this time the foreigners ended up in the Reklai's sphere of influence. Recognizing the potential danger to his position, the Ibedul attempted to woo the men to his side. High level negotiations took place between emissaries from the Reklai's and Ibedul's groups, and the dispute was settled by a payment of Palauan money to the Ibedul. As Parmentier has noted, ever since Drake's visit in the sixteenth century, Palauan power struggles have "involved the encompassment of external sources of power, whether valuables, firearms, or castaways" (Parmentier 1987:41). A critical element of these power struggles has been opportunism.

The first known assassination of a foreigner who became deeply involved in Palauan political activity took place in 1866. Andrew Cheyne, a Scotsman, began trading in Palau in the 1840's for sea cucumber, turtle shell, and shark fins for the China market. Cheyne allied himself with the Ibedul but after twenty years of intermittent

trade, which became progressively more costly for Cheyne in terms of muskets and powder, he unwittingly established relations with the Reklai. Angered by this clear case of treachery and double-dealing, the Koror chiefs plotted Cheyne's death. The Scotsman was lured from his house, attacked, strangled and murdered by the Ibedul's warriors. In this one bold stroke, characteristic of an opportunist, the Ibedul put down a challenge to his paramountcy by his key rival, the Reklai, and rid himself of a treacherous foreigner.

However, competition and civil strife between the Ibedul and Reklai continued. In 1880 a trading ship belonging to David O'Keefe ran aground on the reef near Melekeok, the Reklai's village. Recognizing the political implications of this event, the Reklai ordered his warriors to imprison O'Keefe's crewmen and strip the ship. The Ibedul, allied with O'Keefe, paid a ransom of Palauan money to free the crew and in 1881 and 1882 visiting British warship captains attempted to settle the issue of the plundered cargo. However, trickiness and opportunism prevented a negotiated settlement and the ship captains, becoming impatient with the Reklai's intransigence, landed British sailors at Melekeok and Ngchesar. The troops destroyed the villages, and dynamited fourteen grand *bai* (men's meeting houses). The two factions were on the verge of civil war when the *H.M.S. Espiegle* arrived in August 1883. With the assistance of Johann Kubary, a European ethnologist who could speak Palauan and was familiar with the history of the latest dispute, Captain Cyprian Bridge met jointly with Ibedul and Reklai, resolved the dispute and, in the style of the West, had the two chiefs sign their "X" to a treaty of peace which read:

We the undersigned, Chief of the Palao Islands, on this Eleventh day of August, A.D. 1883, do hereby solemnly agree to give up our old standing quarrels, to make peace with one another, and to preserve it for the future. We also undertake to use every effort to prevent our people from committing murders or other acts of aggression, either on each other or foreigners (Hezel and Berg 1979:350).

The opportunism and attempted manipulation of people and events surrounding the plundered cargo almost resulted in serious cultural consequences. It took foreign intervention to settle the dispute. Parallels to very recent events are haunting—in presidential candidate Moses Uludong's call for Commonwealth Status for Palau as a political arrangement for preventing debilitating internal conflict, and in House Speaker Santos Olikong's testimony before the US Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources in January 1988. Speaking of the near tumultuous and dangerous furlough period, Olikong claimed

Palau lacks as of today a stable and reliable political system to go on its own, and it behooves the United States as an administering authority to

provide the necessary stabilizing political force and climate before the Trusteeship Agreement terminates (Committee on Energy and Natural Resources 1988).

These parallels bring us to Palau's present. A key event in the contemporary period was the Micronesia-wide referendum of 1978. In that plebiscite Palauans voted to politically separate themselves from the other ethnic areas of Micronesia—the Marshalls, Kosrae, Pohnpei, Truk, and Yap. That event set two political opportunists against one another: John O. Ngiraked, leader of the unity group, and Roman Tmetuchl, leader of the separatists. The separatists won in a close vote, 55 percent "no" to 45 percent "yes." Tmetuchl had been an active force in Palauan politics since the mid-fifties and this dramatic victory added to his stature as an assertive, bold and forward-looking leader. Separation also set the stage for Palauans to draft their own constitution, a very significant nationalistic act. After vigorous controversy—a hallmark of Palauan politics as I have noted above—the Constitution was finally ratified in 1980 (Shuster 1980). The document established internal self-government for Palau, which began in 1981 under President Haruo I. Remeliik, Vice President Alfonso R. Oiterong, a bicameral National Congress of 34 members, and a judiciary. The Constitution has become widely known throughout the world for its nuclear free clause.

On the evening of June 30, 1985, Palau's nightmare began with the brutal and senseless assassination of President Haruo I. Remeliik. That nightmare has not been brought to justice. Remeliik's murder, I believe, was an act of ruthless, reckless, and cursed opportunism by individuals desiring greater power and wealth, by men seeking to cover up illegal activities.

About 1983 it seems that a small group of highly placed people who had gained the trust of President Remeliik became engaged in successfully extorting hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of dollars as up-front money paid out when secret heads-of-agreement contracts were signed with foreign investors. The investors mistakenly believed that the up-front payments and signed agreements would assure them certain benefits such as fuel importation privileges, a road building contract, land for a hotel, or for fishing licenses. For example, prior to Palau's default of the \$32 million loan for the IPSECO power plant, three Palauans and two of their foreign "associates" met in Hong Kong to split up \$330,000 of up-front money. This was to be the first installment of a million dollar payment for a ten-year fuel contract. The investor was a Mr. Steven Wong of Hong Kong and the intermediary a certain C. Y. Chen who had visited Palau on numerous occasions. This arrangement was never completed because Mr. Wong decided to invest his money in

mainland China. But that didn't prevent the Palau contingent from keeping their payments.

I believe this kind of fraudulent activity carried out in the international arena was invigorating and even intoxicating for the small circle of Palauan operators. An informed source estimated that some 40 "deals" of this type were put together prior to the Remeliik murder—and that meant a lot of up-front money!

We may never know who assassinated President Remeliik or why but it seems clear the murder was politically motivated. Mr. Remeliik had been president of the Palau Constitutional Convention and the first elected and reelected national president. He was a grass-roots, unpretentious, honest man whose enormous responsibilities weighed heavy on his shoulders. I believe he realized toward the end of his first term that he had made a mistake in allowing a few individuals around him, under the guise of economic development and trade relations, to become deeply involved in illegal, self-serving arrangements of the type described.

Prior to the end of his first term, President Remeliik became concerned about a Modekngai* prediction that if he ran and won reelection, "Palau would lose something precious." Mr. Remeliik interpreted this portent as meaning his death and was reluctant, as you might expect, to expose the wrongdoing that swirled around him.

However, the second Palau Congress, alarmed about the deteriorating IPSECO and compact situations, pressured Mr. Remeliik for information and action. In response, he allegedly agreed to speak publicly about these issues. He was killed before he could do so.

Lazarus E. Salii was elected President of Palau on August 28, 1985 to complete Mr. Remeliik's term in office. It is both ironic and tragic that President Salii did not live to complete that term. He was buried on Angaur island on August 28, 1988—exactly three years to the day he was elected!

In many ways Haruo Remeliik and Lazarus Salii were polar opposites. Remeliik was a Palauan through and through. He felt ill at ease outside Palau. He wasn't an efficient or inspiring administrator and didn't generally read or analyze issues. He was more concerned with social relations and harmony than in making tough decisions. Nevertheless, Remeliik was a gifted speaker who knew nearly everyone in Palau by name, lineage, clan and title. He was a humble,

* Modekngai, meaning "all-together," is an indigenous Palauan religious movement. About one-third of the nation are adherents to this religion.--[Eds.]

sensitive, generous person who brought people together by consensus rather than compulsion. Lazarus Salii, on the other hand, read avidly, had lived outside of Palau for many years and had a reserved, sophisticated demeanor. He was rational, analytic, intelligent but he was also impatient, arrogant and enormously ambitious. His short term in office showed he coveted power, personal image, and wealth. These passions ultimately spelled his doom.

Lazarus Salii perceived himself as issue- and action-oriented. He believed a chief executive should initiate projects, be assertive and, if necessary, take risks. He certainly lived up to this model. In his first six months in office, Salii established task forces to resolve the IPSECO power plant default and to study methods for providing retirement and health insurance coverage to government employees. Having been separated from his roots for a long time, Salii paid close attention to tradition and personal relations. Early on, he met with Palau's high chiefs to discuss their role in his administration and established a mechanism for including them in the government decision-making process. The new president worked successfully to open the Palau airport building in time for his administration's inauguration. Throughout 1986 and into 1987, Salii was active in signing various construction contracts or turning soil to begin projects including the Ngaremlengui water and road project, the Ngatpang road project, a \$400 million bond issue, the Ngaremlengui-Melekeok road and power line project, a dock, channel and road project on Kayangel Atoll, a new airport, and the Babeldaob road project.

Although these infrastructure projects made good *Palau Gazette* copy, President Salii had one overwhelmingly clear objective—to win full approval of the Compact of Free Association. He had been intimately involved in work on the Compact for many years. It was "his baby," so to speak, and he let people know this. Palau's Compact is front-loaded with some of \$140 million to be paid out by the US to Palau during the first year of implementation. That meant monies to cover premature or ill-conceived infrastructure projects, and to deliver on heads-of-agreement contracts for which up-front payments had been received—a neat way of extorting money from your own government!

Despite Salii's winning the 1985 Special Election with 52% of the popular vote, he faced some formidable opposition. Yet his own base was not solid, and couldn't be because he is from Angaur, an island perceived as low-ranking in the Palauan cultural scheme. But of greater significance was the small group of skilled, ruthless and reckless opportunists that surrounded him. These individuals were instrumental in getting Salii elected and therefore believed they could use and manipulate him for their own selfish aims. It was these

persons who got Salii entangled in all forms of questionable situations that resulted in seven law suits being filed against him. Henchmen of this same group took the law into their own hands during the chaotic three-month furlough period (July-September 1987), intimidating and using violence against anyone who stood up or even spoke against them.

President Salii in his oath of office swore to protect and defend the Constitution of the Republic of Palau, yet he allowed these henchmen to carry out illegal activities which were violations of fundamental human rights. It seems Mr. Salii believed that the tactics of force would achieve Compact approval. One of my Palauan informants claimed that President Salii surrounded himself with the worst possible advisers—vindictive, ruthless, greedy, crazy individuals. While this may seem exaggerated, the lawlessness and violence of the furlough period bears out this characterization (Butler et al 1988).

Late 1987 and 1988 were stressful times for President Salii. Concerns regarding intimidation, violence and the climate of terror and lawlessness of the furlough period were transmitted to members of the US Congress by former Palau Peace Corps Volunteers, Palauans living on Guam and the US, and various influential organizations such as the Center for Constitutional Rights, Greenpeace, and the American Friends Service Committee. A further embarrassing issue for Salii came to light in a December 2, 1987 front page story of the *Pacific Daily News* (Perry 1987:1). The story named President Salii, his brother, Carlos, and the Ibedul as recipients in 1983 and 1984 of payments totaling \$450,000 by International Power Systems Co. Ltd. (IPSECO), which had built a large electrical generating plant on Babeldaob, Palau's large island. The US General Accounting Office (GAO) records show that the total was actually \$550,000 and that IPSECO also made payments of \$200,000 to the President of the Republic of the Marshall Islands, \$100,000 to Daniel High, then a high ranking Trust Territory Official, \$50,000 to then Senator Hokkons Baules, and a payment of \$175,000 to Polycarp Basilus.

Later in December 1987 and in January 1988, President Salii appeared before the House Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs chaired by Representative Steven Solarz and the Senate Energy and National Resources Committee chaired by Senator J. Bennett Johnston. While President Salii was accorded the respect that went with his high office, both congressional groups asked questions about the furlough period violence and lawlessness and the IPSECO payments.

I believe these events, and perhaps Salii's own soul searching, shook him into full awareness of the terrible mistakes he had made

and how he had allowed himself to be manipulated by the ruthless opportunists around him.

Events intensified throughout 1988. The General Accounting Office was pressing to return for further investigation, and President Salii had a host of problems haunting him—the charges of intimidation and violence of the furlough period documented by a panel of international jurists (Butler et al 1988); dealing with the IPSECO default situation and the political fallout of the alleged bribes; failure to have the Compact approved or the constitutional amendment referendum decision reversed; the pressure of his political opponents who, in mid-1988, were attacking Salii from all sides; and, finally, his announcement of and preparation for the 1988 presidential reelection campaign. Salii, I believe, was driven into a very tight psychological corner by the press of these problems and decisions. He had no convincing explanation for the highly questionable practices that the GAO had uncovered. If he ran for reelection, he would have to face the Palauan people and explain the violence of the furlough period and the alleged corruption of his administration.

Lazarus Salii was undoubtedly an intelligent but very private man who could not tolerate opposition and would often freeze up in its face. People who knew him say he was a loner, a recluse, too proud to seek advice from an older person or a priest. During the months prior to his death he became more isolated from his associates and lost interest in his work. He also was concerned about his public image, that of a bright, polished, political leader, honest and competent. But the man who thrived on control was losing control. He would be exposed as a corrupt tyrant, a brittle man whose ego allowed others to manipulate him. All this came crashing down on his consciousness more forcibly than ever on August 20, 1988, just a day before he was scheduled to announce his candidacy for reelection. Early that morning Mr. Salii was reportedly seen at his office, and police records indicate that he had asked his driver to burn two or three bags of papers outside his home. He was a broken man. He had gained what he had desired since his advocacy of a presidential form of government during the 1979 Palau Constitutional Convention—the presidency of Palau—and he had destroyed it! That day his anger became uncontrollably intense. Lazarus Salii couldn't see or understand anything and at that moment he put a gun to his head and ended his life.

As one can see, Palau's short period of partial self-government has been one of great social costs—the tragic deaths of two presidents and the chaos of the furlough period. These events have brought

shame, sadness, loss and, yes, anger to Palauans. I can assure you that Palauans are not proud of being the last trusteeship!

Palau's new executive leadership, President Etpison and Vice President Nakamura, has had a cautious beginning. While Mr. Etpison has done well in private business and is very knowledgeable of Palauan political and social customs, he is inexperienced at leading a government bureaucracy. The President relies on Vice President Nakamura, who also serves as Minister of Administration, to run many of the day to day affairs. For his part, President Etpison meets frequently with his Council of Chiefs which is constitutionally mandated to advise him on traditional and customary matters. He also meets regularly with the state governors and other community leaders of Palau.

Recognizing the status issue as critical, President Etpison established a broad based 25-member Commission on Future Palau/US Relations soon after he took office. The Commission's chairman, Vice President Nakamura, recently concluded a series of successful meetings on the Compact issue with key Congressional and Bush Administration officials.

Nevertheless, President Etpison faces two challenges. The easier one is to obtain Senate approval of four individuals to head up the ministries of Justice, State, Natural Resources, and Social Services. The three people first nominated were rejected by the Senate. They had been appointees of Mr. Salii and were not acceptable to the Senate. By mid-1990, Mr. Etpison still was without ministers.

The other challenge is more formidable. Mr. Etpison won the presidency by the slimmest of margins. Just 31 votes separated him from Roman Tmetuchl, one of Palau's shrewdest of opportunists. As a result, the President's support base is quite narrow. But of greater concern are the political opportunists who wield influence in Mr. Etpison's kitchen cabinet. There appears to be two brands of them. The first and more dangerous are the ones who manipulated Salii and, to a lesser extent, Mr. Remeliik. The others are generally misdirected younger people who don't quite know what running a constitutional government is all about.

I hope dearly that Mr. Etpison will soon disassociate himself from the dangerous brand of opportunists, the reckless, ruthless ones, be his own man, and work closely with his talented vice president. Also, he needs to gain Senate approval of individuals to fill the four ministerships and the overseas liaison positions. If he can accomplish this, Palau will then be poised to utilize the talents, energy and the creative (positive) opportunism of its people. Yet, I must sound a

warning. Until Mr. Remeliik's murders are brought to justice and Palauans fully understand what drove Lazarus Salii to suicide, the nightmarish clouds of the recent past will not dissipate.

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Psyche Under Siege: Uncle Sam, Look What You've Done to Us

Laura M. Torres Souder

Drenched by heavy rains, up to their ankles in mud, heads bowed low, spirits sagging, the Chamorros at Manengon, Maimai, Tai, Talofoto, and Inarajan were desperately clinging to a last ray of hope. In the silence of the night, Pete Rosario began to sing several lines of a song he had composed—"Sam, Sam, my dear Uncle Sam, won't you please come back to Guam." It was 1944, and Japanese Imperial Forces had occupied Guam for nearly three years. The brutalities and atrocities of a cruel war on an innocent people had taken their toll. Japanese losses in the Pacific were mounting. Guam was being readied for battle. The Japanese herded Chamorros in long arduous marches into concentration camps. Many died. Exhausted, vulnerable, weakened by malnourishment and disease, the Chamorros waited like sheep.

Prayers were answered in that rain-soaked month of July with the second coming of dear old Uncle Sam. Sam came back with thousands of troops to reclaim "our land" for democracy. The joys of "liberation" were sweet. Chamorro survivors of World War II embraced all that was American with overwhelming gratitude and profound respect. Uncle Sam and his men were worshipped as heroes, and rightfully so. No one who lived through the tyranny of Japanese occupation went unscathed. Survival became synonymous with American Military Forces.

In deeply felt acts of Chamorro reciprocity, our people extended the most valuable of their possessions, albeit the only possessions they had to give—land and their very spirits—to Uncle Sam. Why? Uncle Sam brought freedom from the Japanese. Yes, he brought food to the hungry: K-rations like spam, corned beef, cheese, pork and beans, bacon, powdered eggs, and powdered milk—some of which have become island staples. Yes, he brought medicines to the sick and rebuilt the hospital and clinics to minister to the health needs of the people. Yes, he brought clothes to the needy through the American Red Cross, a welcome relief to most whose only wardrobe consisted of the clothing on their backs. Yes, he provided shelter to the homeless, first pup tents and quonset housing and then wooden houses with tin roofs. Yes, he built schools and provided jobs.

The war-torn island community of Guam underwent a total face-lift and reconstruction in the years following the war, as Uncle Sam got on with the business of establishing a well-fortified American

outpost. Yes, Uncle Sam helped an injured people in many ways. His coming set the foundations for the kind of American community that Guam has become. Many of us in this room, are living products of Uncle Sam's presence in more ways than one!

This is why Chamorros, particularly those who suffered during the war, feel obligated to Uncle Sam. The Chamorro proverb, *Maulek-na man gagao ya ti manae ki manae ya ti un chuli* ("It is better to ask and not be given than to be given and not to accept"), gives us some insight about the Chamorro way of thinking. Reciprocity continues to lie at the heart of the social world of Chamorros. Generosity, such as Uncle Sam's, is understood and responded to within the framework of Chamorro exchange and obligation. The responsibility to reciprocate as individuals and as a collective community to the benefits brought by Uncle Sam obligated Chamorros to give the best that they had. And so our people gave precious land and continue to offer their sons and daughters to show their appreciation to Uncle Sam. Obligation being a sacred duty, Chamorros have since been caught in a never-ending cycle of paying back.

Never mind that Agaña, the capital city for centuries, had been razed to the ground by an American bombardment that, according to military information later declassified, was not essential to the takeover of Guam in 1944. Never mind that because of the bombing of Agaña and the subsequent rebuilding of Guam, the material culture of thousands of years of island heritage was swiftly leveled by bulldozers making way for military installations. Never mind that island residents were arbitrarily relocated away from their traditional homesteads, repeating a policy of relocation dating back to the late 1600's. Never mind that the choicest lands—extending from Tarague in the North to Orote in the South—were taken without just compensation for the eleven military bases that now grace our tiny homeland of 212 square miles. Never mind that these lands were the site of the most productive farms, rice fields, and coffee plantations which contributed to the self-sufficiency of Chamorros before the war. Never mind that Chamorros today must suffer the reputation of being a lazy, shiftless lot who have become totally dependent on handouts without due consideration to the causes of dependency. Never mind that Chamorros today must suffer the humiliation of being fenced out of ancestral lands—I have personally witnessed and experienced the pain of having been turned back at the gate to the Naval Air Station (NAS), and told that "this is US Government property, mam," while my mother in the car was trying to explain to deaf ears that my grandfather owned a big chunk of NAS. Never mind that we are a generation whose environment has included barbed-wire fences erected to keep the natives in their "rightful place". Never mind that

the postwar generations on Guam cannot conceive of life on Guam without the military. Never mind that English-only policies have threatened our ancestral language and way of life.

One wonders how Chamorros are able to deal with such mixed feelings. Another Chamorro proverb gives us a clue to Chamorro coping strategies: *na mesngon hao sa i mesngon mangana* ("be tolerant and courageous for it is the tolerant and courageous who win in the end). This attitude helps explain the propensity of Chamorros not only to turn the other cheek, but to offer their left sides and their right sides and everything in between.

The value placed on tolerance, courage and reciprocity has helped Chamorros deal with the increasingly apparent reality that Uncle Sam didn't come back in July of 1944 to save the Chamorros but "to save face" and to secure a bastion of defense of what I have recently come to learn is called the 'Pacific theater.' Chamorros have long known that Uncle Sam needs us. Masterful survivors of colonization, Chamorros are skillful at making it seem as if the need is ours. Perhaps our biggest fault is that we have guarded this secret too well.

We are nearing our hundredth year as an American colony, and we are still talking about promises unfulfilled. To most Chamorros the very thought of scrutinizing Uncle Sam's motives in our homeland is tantamount to calling down the wrath of God. As our leaders speak out for an improved political status and removal of economic constraints, as a growing number of Chamorros are pressing for self-determination, as we have begun to confront power with truth, we are accused of being un-American. The media and the military chastise us for being ungrateful, of all things! "Naughty, naughty, you should not bite the hand that feeds you. Remember, life boils down to this, he who holds the purse strings rules the roost."

Guam's story in the twentieth century is inextricably linked with the American experiment of colonial empire-building overseas, which began with Hawaii in 1893. To understand the present struggles and circumstances of Guam and the other American flag territories in the Pacific, we need to take a critical look at this colonial legacy and how it has impacted on the psyche of the indigenous people of the so-called "American Pacific."

Uncle Sam is typically viewed as a great benefactor, a white-bearded Santa Claus whose generosity is unparalleled, and from whose hands have come American citizenship for Chamorros, federal dollars by the millions, rehabilitation funds during disasters, food stamps and other assistance programs, modern health and sanitation facilities, access to American education and the media, unrestricted

travel to and from the States, a language passport to the world via English, and perhaps most significantly—to peoples in search of freedom and justice—the ideals of democracy and democratic government.

This overwhelming picture of generosity is often depicted as a one-way flow of "goodies" from Uncle Sam to his misbegotten Pacific wards, whose lives would have remained impoverished and culturally destitute save for "Westward Ho! and Manifest Destiny and Mission." We who have paid the price exacted from this costly relationship with Uncle Sam know better. We have been slow to realize that, for us, the war has not ended. Our whole relationship with Uncle Sam has been continuously defined in the context of war. It was the Spanish-American War that first brought Uncle Sam to our shores. It was World War II that brought him back. Uncle Sam brought Guam into the Korean and Vietnam conflicts. Today, we are the unwitting hosts to over 365 nuclear warheads. All this in the name of defense?! Is being a sure target in the event of another war, an act of protection? I have a really difficult time making sense of this line of reasoning. And yet, we are expected to believe that "all of this" somehow serves our best interest.

We have become the worst kind of mistress to Uncle Sam. Much like women throughout the world who are "kept" by possessive, oppressive husbands or lovers, whose silence is interpreted as docile acceptance of benevolent patriarchy, the island people of the "American Pacific" have been whopped into docile submission, so to speak. There is no greater testimony to Uncle Sam's success in the Pacific than this mindless dependency. Our psyches are under siege! Our spirits as indigenous people are held under lock and key. We are typically afraid to speak out for fear of reprisal. Our creativity and self-sufficiency have been stymied. We long for justice!

Fortunately, like women throughout the world who refuse to be silent any longer, who would rather struggle and suffer through a less glittery but wholesome self-initiated plan for survival with or without their "keepers," we who have been rendered inarticulate by colonization are garnering the courage and commitment to reclaim our destiny.

We must confront power with truth. We must put an end to this war! We must examine and understand the devastating effects that American colonization has had on our psyche as colonized people, and on our ability as island people to remain connected with our island cultures and to self-direct future alternatives as we move into the Twenty-first Century. We must have the courage to say no and to demand justice. We can no longer afford to be inhibited by the fear of reprisal. The price for such silence is too great to pay.

As community service providers, I am sure that social workers can share countless stories of courage. We must take inspiration and learn from the wisdom offered by a four year-old girl who garnered the courage to say to her sexually abusive father, "Daddy, I'm not going to let you hurt me with your stick anymore."

We must put Uncle Sam into focus and recognize him for what he is and for what he represents. He has filled our mouths with candy; we must not let him get away with claiming no responsibility for our rotten teeth. We must recognize and admit that Uncle Sam is here because of Guam's strategic importance to American defense and not for reasons of love. In our enthusiasm to welcome Uncle Sam we have given him the status of mother's brother. We must tactfully put Uncle Sam in his rightful place, and remind him that he is after all a visitor, one who has received the royal carpet treatment, but a visitor nonetheless. This is an important psychological distinction because Chamorros could never charge an uncle rent for example, but a visitor—well, maybe. We must recognize that Uncle Sam is the bearer of colonization and that colonization can never be equated with liberation or freedom. War is not justice. Dependency is un-American. Benevolent dictatorship is not democracy. We must be courageous enough to rewrite the song. "Sam, Sam, do listen and be kind, look what you've done to us."

Military Plans in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands

Froilan Cruz Tenorio

Let me first clarify my role as Resident Representative to the United States, for a clear understanding of the Office of the Resident Representative is directly relevant to the topic of my paper. Instead of a non-voting delegate to the US House of Representatives, like Guam and the other territories and possessions of the United States have, the Northern Mariana Islands has a resident representative. Despite what the title seems to imply, the resident representative does not sit in Congress at all, nor does he serve the Governor as his agent in Washington. Rather, he is elected directly by the people of the Commonwealth to serve them as their representative to the United States government. My role is really more like that of a diplomat than anything else, so I am actually vested with a type of executive, rather than legislative power.

However, our governor and other elected Commonwealth officials don't agree with this idea, nor does the United States government. They are used to diplomats who are appointed, not elected. However, this characteristic of the office is only one of several unique features required or permitted by the Covenant to Establish a Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands in Political Union with the United States of America, which is the full name of the agreement that governs the relations between the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands and the Government of the United States.

Of course, military officials are used to dealing with the Governors of the various states, and that goes for the Governor of Guam as well. As a result, they deal directly with the NMI governor. My office is in Washington, D.C., just across the Potomac from the Pentagon, but as far as the Defense Department and the Commonwealth governor are concerned, my office could be in Liberia. This is in direct violation of the Covenant.

In order that nobody think that ego has anything to do with this assertion, or that I am trying to build an empire in the Washington office, or that this is just a turf battle between my office and the governor's, I want you all to know that I am not running for reelection as Washington Representative in this year's election. Instead I am running for Governor. If I had any ulterior motive, I would not

be promoting the emasculation of the governor's office while I am trying to occupy it. As governor I hope to make the United States government understand that in all matters affecting our relations, the US must deal with the Washington Representative directly, and not with me.

The presence of the military in the Commonwealth is a matter of concern that affects our relations with the United States. As such, it is the responsibility of the Resident Representative. As the incumbent, it is appropriate, therefore, that I address the issue of the social impact of the military in the Commonwealth.

I assume that all of you expect me to say that any military impact has to be negative. And since most of you are experts or specialists in this field of study, I suppose you are right. But before I get into what specific social impact we can expect from the presence of the military in the Commonwealth, I would like to discuss briefly how we got ourselves into this situation and what, if anything, we can do about it.

Why did the US decide in the early 70's to give us the opportunity to become a member of the American political family by negotiating commonwealth status? I would answer that if not the only reason, the most prominent one definitely was that we were strategically located in the Pacific. The decision was based purely on national security considerations: keep other countries out and away from Guam and Hawaii and at the same time have a fall-back option if the US has to move out of the Philippines. It was for this reason that a land lease agreement was made an integral part of our Covenant.

The terms of our relationship with the United States government, including the military, are framed in the Covenant, which was approved by our people in a plebiscite in 1975. The Covenant also was approved by the Congress of the United States by joint resolution and became US Public Law 94-241.

The US has complete responsibility and authority for the defense of the Commonwealth, as it does for the entire United States. To enable it to carry out its defense responsibilities, the US leases almost 18,000 acres of land on Tinian and approximately 177 acres on Saipan. In addition, if the United States must acquire more land not included in the original lease, the Northern Marianas government is obligated to provide it. Recently, for example, the US Air Force leased approximately 4 hectares in the northern end of Saipan for a radar facility which is now nearing completion. The impact of this facility is quite small, as you might imagine, but even this stirred up a hornet's nest when it was under consideration.

If a full-scale military base were to be located in the Commonwealth, the impact would be very large indeed, but not all negative. There would be advantages and disadvantages. Many of the advantages would be economic. Fiscal benefits derived from taxes and user fees, direct contributions to infrastructure development and skilled training programs would be clearly viewed as a benefit to the local community. Local businesses might also benefit as vendors to the military itself and to individual uniformed and civilian personnel.

Most of the disadvantages are social and physical in nature. Our government has considered some of the consequences of increased military presence, in a study titled, "Economic Development Priorities: a Blueprint for Good Growth." The study cites some problems that are likely to arise as a result of a substantial military presence on Tinian. These include "pornography and prostitution resulting from increased demand; increasing numbers of non-resident workers without suitable leisure time activities; visiting ship crews . . ." and other problems associated with the introduction of a large transient community to a small insular society. These could be significant and may range from mutual suspicion and hostility, to strained infrastructure and overcrowding of schools and other facilities, and a "felt need to stay off the streets."

With the military usually come a proliferation of establishments such as massage parlors and ill-reputed bars. These establishments are hotbeds of troubles—from increased prostitution to sources of sexually-transmitted diseases. The Commonwealth government would be required to provide additional police and public health protection for the military and others. There would be added strain on water and land resources, limited as they are now.

There could be some positive social benefits as well. For example, it is likely that a base would attract more young people to enlist in the military. This would give them an opportunity for training and travel and would provide a constructive alternative to drugs and crime—although these problems are not unheard of in the military either.

On the other hand, the fiscal benefits mentioned earlier are small, given the social cost. Even the economic analysis has a down side—the need to avoid economic dependence on a military apparatus that is always subject to change. A recent defense study recommended the closure of a number of military facilities on the mainland. The outcry from these communities was heard far and wide because the military had become the mainstay of their economy. Our island community cannot afford to become so dependent on any one economic activity. So, even the economic justification for increased military presence is not entirely positive.

While the United States has negotiated an undisputed right to utilize its leased lands for defense purposes, the Commonwealth has also secured mechanisms to minimize the negative impact of a military presence on our islands. The first of these mechanisms is what I call "policy containment." The terms by which the military will operate in the Commonwealth are described in the "Technical Agreement" which accompanies our Covenant. They will be limited to those terms.

Second, there will be a Civil-Military Advisory Council to address the social, cultural, and economic concerns that arise between our governments. The whole purpose of the advisory council is to minimize the negative impact of the military presence in our islands.

Military plans for the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands are sketchy at best. Before I left Washington, the question of what the military intends to do in the Northern Marianas was put to top-ranking Pentagon officials. These are individuals who have a longtime familiarity with the situation in the Philippines, Japan, Okinawa, Korea and elsewhere in Asia.

During the course of the meeting I was informed that significant discussions were underway in Hawaii. It would seem that continuing pressures—including strategic, political, and economic—have made it necessary for the Pentagon to conduct a comprehensive evaluation of its defense requirements in the Pacific. Although it will be a while before we learn what was decided at those Hawaii meetings, let me share with you what I learned from the Pentagon so far.

The answer to what the military will do with its leased lands in the Northern Marianas depends on several major factors. The US is obviously concerned about the status of its base rights in the Philippines. Will Mrs. Aquino's government permit the United States to stay at Subic Bay Naval Station or Clark Air Force Base when their leases expire in 1991? I personally think so, since the Philippine government needs the economic and military support of those troops.

I also personally think that it is in the best interests of the United States to stay in the Philippines. To move the bases to Guam or the Northern Marianas would require not only a tremendous amount of construction money but the US government would have to recruit the same people it left behind in the Philippines to work in our islands at much greater cost. As it is, we already have many foreign workers in the CNMI, as we have run out of local workers.

On the other hand, the cost of sustaining troops abroad is clearly worrying the Congress and others concerned about the US budget deficit. The continued devaluation of the dollar has made this cost even higher than before. Adding to this problem, I was told, is

pressure from the Japanese government which want our huge military establishment to leave Okinawa. If the US capitulates to this pressure, where will they place their troops? That is where the Northern Marianas comes into play. Tinian is obviously one option being discussed by military planners in Hawaii.

I would not actively encourage increased military activities in the Commonwealth for several reasons. The social risks seem to outweigh the potential economic advantages. However, the die has been cast, and a military base in the Commonwealth is possible by negotiated agreement between the parties.

In addition, we are proud to be Americans and certainly more than willing to accept the benefits which come to us because of that status. One of the obligations that all Americans share is to "provide for the common defense" as stated in the Preamble to the US Constitution. I think that if a military base were to be established in the Commonwealth, most of us would take pride in the fact that we had become an important link in the strategic chain which protects our freedom and liberty. In any case, regardless of how we feel, we will not go back on our word as pledged in the Covenant.

It now remains to be seen whether the military presence can be structured in a way that minimizes its negative impact on our community. I believe that the answer is yes—in a very limited way.

The Civil-Military Advisory Council will play a large role in preparing the community for attendant social changes. Limiting further military acquisitions is another means of controlling the impact. An emphasis on cost-sharing of infrastructure projects and greater contributions to social programs would alleviate some social pressures. By all accounts, the military will not necessarily respond favorably or even immediately to these kinds of programs. In the final analysis, the local government, in this case, the Commonwealth government, must be vigilant and must be persistent as well as insistent that these and other programs are implemented in order to lessen the negative impact of increased military presence in our islands. In this regard, there is much we can learn from the Guam experiences. At the very least, we can be aware of some of the problems which Guam has encountered in its relations with the military, and have a better opportunity to avoid or reduce them.

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A Comparison of Morale by Ethnicity: Implications for Military/Local Hire

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There's No Place Like Home: Healing the Scars of Adult Survivors of Child Molestation

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